

Meredith McKinney thesis

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 - Apostrophes:
'...background to the Tale's development...'
appears as
'...background to the Taleзs development...'

A thesis
submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of
The Australian National University

A Study of
Saigyō monogatari

VOLUME I

Meredith McKinney

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Finally, I would like to dedicate this study to the memory of Takizawa Yoshitaka, who first introduced me to the delights of reading classical Japanese literature, and who continued to provide the inspiration for my further studies. His untimely death in 1999 occurred as I sat in the manuscript room of Tenri Library, and coincided to the hour with the moving experience of first taking into my hands the precious scroll of *Saigyō Hōshi shūka*, which unlocked so many secrets for me.

⁸⁹ *The Tale of Saigyō: a Medieval Tale of the Poet-Priest Saigyō*, Michigan Papers in Japanese Studies no. 25, Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1998.

Abstract

Many questions surround the anonymous medieval work known as *Saigyō monogatari* (translated here as ‘The Tale of Saigyō’, and for simplicity generally referred to as ‘the Tale’). When was it first created? By whom, and for what intended audience? By what process did it proliferate into the many variant texts that have come down to us? How many other variants may once have existed? What is the relationship between the existing variants, and which can be considered the earliest? Might this be the ‘original text’, or is it too a reworking of some now lost original text?

In the last forty years, these questions have been taken up by a number of scholars, but to date there has been no full-length study that takes into account the wide range of variant texts and attempts in any systematic way to analyze them in a search for answers. The present study seeks to fill this gap. I compare 11 texts, consisting of representatives from all the main variant categories and including all the texts which are known to be, or which seem to me to be, early forms. Detailed textual comparison can be found in Appendix 1.

Part I introduces the background to the Tale’s development, and the variant texts. In Part II, I translate the variant known as Bunmeibon. Many scholars have either claimed or simply assumed that Bunmeibon is a close version of the Tale’s original form. I take issue with this belief, and one of the aims of this study is to pursue the question of the relationship of the B text line (of which Bunmeibon is representative) with the A text line, which has generally been regarded as the secondary or ‘abridged’ line, with the purpose of establishing that it is rather the A line that retains traces of the original text and of the impulses that led to the Tale’s original formation.

The detailed comments which follow each section of the Bunmeibon translation are intended both to place it within the context of the other ten variants and draw out their possible relationships, and to examine other issues that the section

raises in relation to the Tale as a whole. Most of these issues hinge on the question of how Saigyō is depicted. I trace the volatile shifts that occur between the two poles of Saigyō as poet and Saigyō as religious practitioner, how the Tale does and does not attempt to merge the two, and what forms this double Saigyō image takes as the Tale progresses, both inter- and intra-textually.

This question is fundamentally linked with the above question of relationship between the text lines. The scholars who focus their study on Bunmeibon largely assume that the main focus of the Tale is religious in intent. I hope to show that the Tale's fundamental form in all variants does not reflect this, that much of the religious material found in Bunmeibon and the other B texts is the result of interpolation and reworking, and that it is the early A texts' more literary focus that contains the likely key to the original impulses behind the Tale's formation.

Part III draws together the results of my investigation, and situates the Tale within the wider context of the *kyōgen kigo* debate.

Note

In my use of Japanese in the text, I have generally followed accepted usage in giving the reading in italicized roman script together with the Japanese script where the word first appears.

In my discussions of textual variations, where questions can often hinge on the choice of Japanese characters, I have chosen to give the Japanese script without transcribing its pronunciation except where clarity seems to require it. I do, however, transcribe the poems.

Texts commonly referred to are sometimes abbreviated as follows:

SKS: *Sankashū*

SKKS: *Shinkokinshū*

HSS: *Hosshinshū*

SJS: *Senjūshō*

SIZ: *Saigyō isshōgaizōshi*

SHS: *Saigyō Hōshi shūka*

SSS: *Saigyō Shōninshū*

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PART I

Introductory Discussion

SECTION 1: Textual Influences

Introduction

Saigyō monogatari is a tale which purports to tell the story of the late Heian early Kamakura waka poet Saigyō (1118-1190). Its protagonist has long been considered one of Japan's greatest poets, and the work contains a large number of his poems,¹ but its hybrid nature, and the lack of textual cohesion in its many variants, has until recently largely excluded it from serious scholarly attention.

The first generation of modern scholars was primarily interested in mining the Tale for information relevant to the historical Saigyō, and their consequent dismissal of it as 'unhistorical' led to it being deemed generally unworthy of serious critical evaluation.² Kanai Kisatarō was the first scholar to treat the Tale as a literary rather than a pseudo-historical work, and to claim value for it.³ We shall see that this question — the extent to which the Tale's variants adhere to the known facts, and the type of 'romantic' interpretation given to the Saigyō figure — provides one of the variables by which to evaluate the various forms of the Tale. I will argue in this study that the element of 'romance', with its associations of the emotive and idealized depiction of protagonist(s), is in fact of great importance to the fundamental nature of the Tale and the problem of its development.

The Tale's origins remain obscure, but its earliest forms are generally agreed

¹ The number of poems varies greatly among the variants. Of the full-length texts examined in this study, the range is from *Saigyō Hōshi shūka* (64 poems) to *Bunmeibon* (201 poems).

² The early *kokubungaku* scholars Fujioka Tōho 藤岡東圃 and Kurokawa Shunson 黒川春村 are mentioned by Kanai as typifying this general attitude to the Tale. (Kanai Kasatarō 金井嘉佐太郎, *saigyō monogatari kō* 西行物語考, *Kokubungaku to Nihon seishin*, 1936, p. 492).

Although this attitude has now been replaced by an approach which attempts to deal with the Tale in its own terms, the tendency to dismiss its importance is still evident from time to time. As Taniguchi Kōichi (谷口耕一, *saigyō monogatari no keisei* 西行物語の形成, *Bungaku* 46 [October 1978], p. 28) points out, many have considered the Tale to be a mere 'rehash' (*nibansenji* 二番煎じ), and hence sub-literature. This judgement is in reference to its lack of content material unique to the Tale, 'aside from two or three *setsuwa*' (ibid.). It is ironic that the Tale, which was earlier dismissed for its fictionality, should later be dismissed for its lack of fictional creativity.

³ Ibid., pp. 491-508.

to have emerged around the mid-thirteenth century.⁴ One of its characteristics, however, is the complicated textual volatility among its variant forms, which points to an ongoing and actively participatory reception of the work. While acknowledging the presence of numerous variants, until recently most scholars have chosen to limit their discussion of the Tale to the Bunmeibon text,⁵ both because it has generally been assumed that it represents the oldest complete version of the Tale⁶ and because of its easy availability.⁷ However, as I show in this study, Bunmeibon in fact represents a culmination of one line of textual development, and the focus on it as the representative text, along with the resultant undervaluing of the separate A line of texts, has inevitably led to distortions of perception of the Tale's overall structure, content and significance.

One of the characteristics of Bunmeibon and its related line of texts (the B line) is the strong presence of religious content material, generally in the form of

⁴ Discussions of dating have largely centred around the two earliest extant manuscripts, Emaki (the Tokugawa/Mannō handscroll) and Seikadō, both of which have been dated to around 1250 or earlier. Since both these texts bear evidence of being copies and/or rewritten versions of earlier texts, and since they represent two separate but strongly interrelated textual lines that strongly imply a mutual ancestor, it is evident that an earlier dating for the Tale's first emergence should be assumed. However, as I argue in this thesis, too little evidence of the Tale's original form now remains for us to reach conclusions about such questions. I suggest a date of between 1220 and 1230 for the earliest form of the presently existing Tale (the date which, coincidentally, The Ministry of Cultural Affairs proposed for the Seikadō manuscript when it was designated an Important Cultural Property, although this date has since been disputed). However, it seems likely that partial versions of what was later to coalesce into the Tale were already in circulation at that time, as I argue below.

⁵ This trend largely continues, the two impressive exceptions being Yamaguchi Makoto 山口真, whose studies of the Tale focus on the shifts that he perceives to have resulted from its active reception history, and Tonami Miwako 礪波美和子, who has made careful cross-textual collations of material as well as investigating lesser-known variants such as *Saigyō Hōshi shūka*. The lack of any full-length study of the Tale, however, has perforce meant that discussions of intertextual relations remain partial, and many scholars inevitably choose to refer to intertextual evidence only where it supports their position, without examining overall evidence. The lack of such a study is one of the gaps this study hopes to fill.

⁶ Its close relationship to the early Emaki text has led many scholars to believe that it represents the full text of which Emaki is a partially lost picture scroll version.

⁷ It is contained in the two important present-day collections of Saigyō's work: Kubota Jun 久保田淳, *Saigyō zenshū* 西行全集, Nihon Koten Bungakkai Kichōbon Kankōkai, 1977; and Itō Yoshio 伊藤喜夫 and Kyūsojin Noboru 久曾神昇, ed., *Saigyō zenshū* 西行全集, 2 vols., Hitaku Shobō, 1981. It was also generally available in earlier full collections of his work.

didactic passages occurring here and there throughout the text. These religious passages serve to reinforce the impression given by the overall structure of the Tale, which begins with a lengthy depiction of the young Norikiyo (Saigyō) awakening to the Buddhist truth (*hosshin* 発心) and ends with his attainment of Paradise at death (*ōjō* 往生). It is clear that one of the aims of these versions of the Tale is to present Saigyō as saintly Buddhist practitioner, and most recent scholars have pursued this reading, focussing their attention on the Tale's religious content to draw conclusions about the aims, origins and nature of the work.

There has thus been an emphasis on the religious aspects of the Tale and its portrayal of Saigyō, with some scholars seeing the work as essentially a proselytizing vehicle for the religious message of Buddhist salvation.⁸ Almost all concur in seeing *Saigyō monogatari* as a text whose primary aim is a religious portrayal of Saigyō and whose message is contained above all in the religious passages found in varying degrees in most of the variant texts.

Yet it remains the case that both the Tale's overall structure and large parts of all existing variants do not sit comfortably with this definition of the Tale as primarily a work of religious intent. The pervasive presence of Saigyō's poetry, and the poem-centred and entirely non-religious character of many of the small episodes that make up the Tale, have to date been largely ignored in scholarly debate. Some scholars have devoted attention to the role of Saigyō's poetry in the Tale, and argue for a somewhat more complex reading which allows poetry to play a larger role in the religious message.⁹ Most would agree with the proposition that the Tale's Saigyō

⁸ This position is put most strongly by Takagi Isao 高城功夫, Kojima Takayuki 小島孝之 and Yamaguchi Makoto 山口真琴. The overt statements of religious intention in many of the later variants, such as that found in the closing passage of *Bunmeibon* (section 57), encourage such a reading.

⁹ Sakaguchi Hironori 坂口博規, although stating that the Tale's primary aim is to present an example of the ideal *sutebito* 捨て人 (one who has cast away his attachments to the world to live in solitary pursuit of religious salvation), considers that the Tale's author also intended the work to be simultaneously a collection of Saigyō's famous poems. (Sakaguchi Hironori, *saigyō monogatari kō 西行物語考*, *Komazawa kokubun* 13 [1976], p. 44.)

Yamaguchi Makoto agrees in seeing the Tale as essentially a religious biography, but one which also produced a collection of Saigyō's poetry which had nothing to do with the Tale's basic

figure is intended to embody the belief that the practice of poetry can be entirely compatible with the search for Buddhist enlightenment.¹⁰ However, the role and importance of the theme of poetry in the Tale has been for the most part barely acknowledged; the fact that Saigyō is a famous poet is so much a given as to need no mention, and the pervasive presence of his poems has only been examined in relation to their provenance.¹¹ Overall, the neglect of the theme of poetry in the Tale has been remarkable. At most, discussion has concerned itself with the ways in which the famous poet is reinterpreted and idealized in religious terms by a later age.¹²

I believe that this focus of concern, undeniably important though it is for a reading of the later variants, has obscured the fundamental nature of the Tale as essentially having been conceived in the form of an *utamonogatari* 歌物語 or poem tale and continuing to retain this form, together with the poetic sensibility that it embodies, despite overlays of religious material that accrued during the course of its evolution. One of the few scholars to have glancingly acknowledged this aspect of the Tale is Numanami Masayasu, who refers to the Tale as having an *utamonogatari* character,¹³ although he categorizes it as primarily belonging to the tradition of the genre. (Yamaguchi Makoto 山口真琴, *Ōkyōju to saihen — Saigyō monogatari no dentō to keisei* 享受と再編 — 西行物語の伝統と形成, *Bukkyō bungaku* 14 [March 1990], p. 39.)

Taniguchi Kōichi particularly emphasizes the role of the *waka shugyō* 和歌修行 message (discussed below) (*Ōkyōju to saihen — Saigyō monogatari no keisei* 西行物語の形成, *Bungaku* 46 [October 1978], p. 47), though he sees the Tale as primarily a religious portrait of Saigyō with poems *apasted* in here and there (Taniguchi Kōichi 谷口耕一, *Ōkyōju to saihen — Saigyō monogatari no kōsō* 西行物語の構想 *Chiba Daigaku gobun ronsō* 7 [1979], p. 31.)

¹⁰ This belief, summed up in the phrase *kyōgen kigo* (狂言綺語), is discussed in detail below.

¹¹ Primarily by Sakaguchi, see note 9. Tonami Miwako has compiled an exhaustive list of the poems contained in 23 variants, together with their provenance. (Tonami Miwako 礪波美和子, *Ōkyōju to saihen — Saigyō monogatari shohon ni tsuite* 「西行物語」諸本について, *Ningen bunka kenkyūka nenpō* 11 [March 1996], pp. 135-142.) Tonami is the most inclined to acknowledge the importance of poetry in the Tale.

¹² Sakaguchi (*Ōkyōju to saihen — Saigyō monogatari no keisei*, and *Ōkyōju to saihen — Saigyō monogatari no seiritsu jiki wo megutte* 「西行物語」の成立時期をめぐって, *Komazawa Daigaku bungakubu kenkyū kiyō* 駒沢大学文学部研究紀要 34 [March 1976], pp. 43-69) has devoted particular attention to this question, although it is also touched on by Taniguchi Kōichi, Kojima Takayuki and others.

¹³ Numanami Masayasu 沼波政保. *Ōkyōju to saihen — Saigyō monogatari ni okeru ishitsuisei* 西行像試論 — 「撰集抄」と「西行物語」における異質性, *Dōmei Daigaku*

literary *monogatari* 物語 (prose tales).¹⁴ I would argue, however, that whereas in *monogatari* the poems are embedded in the narrative structure, which is primary and has a relatively high degree of continuity, in all sections of the Tale we find a very different, brief and episodic narrative structure, for the great majority of which the poems are central,¹⁵ and that in this and other ways the Tale conforms to the *utamonogatari* form.

This reading of the Tale allows attention to be paid not only to the religious message and the scattered passages and episodes of religious content that reinforce it, but to the Tale as a whole, inclusive of the large number of sections where the focus is essentially poetic. Moreover, it accords with the conclusions I draw from detailed cross-textual comparison, which strongly indicates that the form of the Tale that later variants such as *Bunmeibon* inherited had its origins in texts that adhere much more closely to the *utamonogatari* form,¹⁶ as I argue in detail below. Finally, a full acknowledgement of this abiding aspect of the Tale is important for a fuller understanding of the tensions that are manifest in every variant, which are the primary focus of this study.

1.1 *Saigyō monogatari* as *utamonogatari*

Although the *utamonogatari* is an important literary genre in its own right, it is so largely owing to its great exemplar, the early Heian work *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語 *ronsō* 38 (June 1978), p. 64.

¹⁴ It is interesting to note that Numanami is also one of the few scholars to choose the A texts (*Shōhōbon*) rather than *Bunmeibon* as his focus of study. Other scholars who pay attention primarily to the A text line, such as Kuwabara Hiroshi and Tonami Miwako, have likewise been inclined to place greater weight on the Tale's literary and poetic qualities in their reading of the Tale generally.

¹⁵ Of the 57 sections I have identified in *Bunmeibon*, 39 unarguably belong primarily to the *utamonogatari* form. Only five of the other 18 sections (4, 10, 49, 56 and 57) contain no poem. Although in a number of the remaining 13 sections the poems are fitted to the narrative only awkwardly, this often appears to be due to the later accretion of religious material onto an earlier simple and non-religious *utamonogatari* episode (typically seen in sections 8, 20, 21, 25, 50, 51 and 54). The urge to include one or more poems, in pseudo-*utamonogatari* style, even in episodes which otherwise are entirely religious in context, itself suggests the strong continuing imperative to maintain the fundamental *utamonogatari* form.

¹⁶ Typified by *Saigyō Hōshi shūka* 西行法師集歌, see Appendix III.

(circa 905-920). The other two important works generally acknowledged to belong to this category, *Heichū monogatari* 平中物語 (957?) and *Yamato monogatari* 大和物語 (951?), were created within fifty years of *Ise monogatari*, after which the genre appears to have largely fallen into decline, although it was a major influence in the subsequent development of the monogatari form. Thus, insofar as *Saigyō monogatari* (whose very earliest version could not have been created before the beginning of the thirteenth century) can be considered an utamonogatari, it is a lonely late example, postdating the period of the utamonogatari by at least 250 years.

It is instructive to see precisely how and to what extent *Saigyō monogatari* follows the example of *Ise monogatari*, on which all subsequent utamonogatari were modelled. A comparison of the two, indeed, can not only serve to introduce the Tale's form and structure but also throws light on several important characteristics of *Saigyō monogatari* which are central to the discussion which follows.

Like that earlier work, the Tale essentially consists of a series of short discrete sections centred on a poem (or poems) which is the focus and climax of the section, and typically appears at its close. In *Ise monogatari* these sections each form a complete and self-contained episode (*dan* 段), and in the majority of these episodes there is little or no narrative connection from one to the next.¹⁷ The protagonist is a vaguely defined and essentially anonymous *ōman* , although subsequent reading tradition identifies this man with the great poet Ariwara Narihira 有原業平 (825-880), author of most of the poems used.

This identification of the protagonist as a famous historical poet is in *Saigyō monogatari* entirely explicit, and here the narrative episodes constitute together a single chronological narrative which is the story of his life. They are not formally divided into *dan*, and at times the narrative division between episodes almost entirely disappears. Although this tendency to greater narrative continuity draws *Saigyō*

¹⁷ The same can be said of *Heichū monogatari*. In the case of *Yamato monogatari*, each episode stands on its own with no suggestion of narrative continuity (i.e. each is an utamonogatari in its own right).

monogatari away from the strict *utamonogatari* genre and towards the *monogatari* form, however, the narrative nevertheless overwhelmingly continues to be structured around the poems and their circumstances of composition, and it is through the moments of the poems that the story of the life is constructed. As with *Ise monogatari*, it is the fact of the poems that remains central to the structure of the work.

Debate continues on the question of whether *Ise monogatari* made use of the poems of Narihira which were contained in the imperial poetry collection *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 (?c. 914), or whether in fact Narihira's poems in that collection were drawn from the earlier *Ise monogatari*, but the relation between the two is undeniably strong. In the case of *Saigyō monogatari* the situation is clear — almost without exception, the poems are drawn from Saigyō's poetry as it appeared in earlier collections, primarily his own collection *Sankashū* 山家集 (date of compilation unknown) and the imperial collection *Shinkokinshū* 新古今集 (1205). Indeed it is Saigyō's established fame as a poet, and in particular the fact that he is the most strongly represented of the poets included in *Shinkokinshū*,¹⁸ that is undeniably the primary underlying fact behind the creation of the Tale. While *Ise monogatari* is a depiction of an anonymous protagonist who spontaneously composes poems in response to the circumstances in which he finds himself — essentially a man, who composes poetry (as is natural for a man of sensibility)¹⁹ — the protagonist of *Saigyō monogatari* is the poet Saigyō, whose fame as a poet is already established as a given in the knowledge of the reader. Thus *Saigyō monogatari* grew out of and takes as its premise the fact of the historical Saigyō's poetic fame, while *Ise monogatari* never attempts to depart from the realm of fiction, whether or not the poems (and occasionally the named protagonist) have an independent, prior and historically

¹⁸ 94 of his poems are included in this collection, of which 92 appear in the various versions of *Saigyō monogatari*.

¹⁹ Indeed the classification 'poet' could be said to have scarcely existed at the time of this tale's creation, when the composition of poetry was so integral and essential a part of the life of every educated person.

verifiable existence.

The fact that *Saigyō monogatari* is first and foremost the story of a famous poet, and would not have been created if this were not the case, is an essential point which has been largely ignored in scholarly discussions of the Tale, and it is a fact which is important to keep in mind in any study of the Tale and the possible reasons for its creation and dissemination. Not only is the Tale essentially structured as a form of utamonogatari, but it is the tale of a man whose fame rests on his poetry. Saigyō's poems, and the fact that he is a poet, thus remain absolutely central to the form and content of the Tale.

One further point of comparison serves to point up another fundamental aspect of *Saigyō monogatari*. It is generally agreed that *Ise monogatari* presents a portrait of one who embodies the courtly ideal of *fūryū* 風流, generally translated as stylishness and essentially concerned with the art of courtly love.²⁰ This was the ideal of the age, and Narihira quickly became the epitome of that ideal. In a later age, Saigyō likewise was transformed through his Tale into one of the epitomes of that age's ideal, which was that of *suki* 数奇 — a dedication to an aesthetic way of life, which was closely associated with travel and religious reclusion. If the early forms of *Saigyō monogatari* can be said to have an aim, it was surely to present the Saigyō figure as an embodiment of this ideal.

The *suki* ideal, however, was not an uncomplicated one. The version of it which concerns us in *Saigyō monogatari* had its ascendancy in the late Heian and early Kamakura periods to which Saigyō belonged, but the concept of *suki* grew out of an earlier use of the word (好き) whose essential meaning is *irogonomi* 色好み, an elegant pursuit of the erotic. This was an important element in the *fūryū* ideal, and one which the protagonist of *Ise monogatari* well exemplifies. Narihira and Saigyō were thus both in their very different ways *sukimono*.

By the mid-Heian period the word was beginning also to be used in an

²⁰ Konishi (*A History of Japanese Literature* vol. 2, Aileen Gatten trans., Earl Miner ed., Princeton, 1986, p. 132) calls it a world of amorous passion underscored by witty, poetic refinement .

extended sense, to signify artistic skill and sensibility, and in the following century it evolved further, leaving behind all overtones of amorousness and instead increasingly signifying a distinctly unfrivolous devotion to the pursuit of aesthetic and artistic ideals in life. This version of the *suki* ideal was first clearly voiced by the recluse poet Nōin 能因 (988-?1058). By Saigyō's day, the ideal of reclusion was becoming increasingly associated with this concept, an association whose importance increased in the following century, as the Heian period ideals and sensibility gave way to that of the Kamakura period.

This reclusion (*tonsei* 遁世) or 'escaping from the world', although formally a religious gesture involving taking the tonsure and devoting oneself to the pursuit of Buddhist practice, was in practice considerably different from the 'leaving the world' (*shukke* 出家) which was the gesture of leaving one's home and entering the priesthood. The recluse (*tenseisha* 遁世者) typically rejected organized religion, and his or her strictly religious practice was often secondary to artistic pursuits (poetry being overwhelmingly the most important of these). Although the ideal would have the *tenseisha* live in lonely isolation in his 'grass hut' (*sōan* 草庵), he or she was in fact actively engaged in poetic exchanges and social intercourse with like-minded friends, and generally chose to live within easy reach of the capital.

The typical *tenseisha* thus existed at the uneasy boundaries of the two worlds of artistic and religious pursuit. Not all *sukimono* were *tenseisha* — *Saigyō monogatari*, for example, provides an example of the non-religious *sukimono* in section 36 — but all *tenseisha* can be said to have been to some extent *sukimono*. As the Kamakura period's more strongly religious sensibility took hold, the concept of *suki* came increasingly to be affected by the religious aspects of the recluse ideal, bringing into sharper and sometimes uncomfortable focus the difficult relationship between the *tenseisha* as *sukimono* and as religious aspirant which we find embodied in the Tale.

Mezaki Tokue, who has investigated in depth the complex and evolving relationship between the two, makes an interesting comparison between Saigyō and

his younger contemporary Kamo no Chōmei 鴨長明 (1155-1216) on the one hand, and the great exemplar of the suki ideal from a later age, Yoshida Kenkō 吉田兼好 (1283-1352), the two finest literary exemplars of this ideal.²¹ He points out that while Kenkō's sense of the suki life was built securely on a chill resignation to the Buddhist philosophy of *mujō* 無常 (transience), both Saigyō and Chōmei in their different ways were riven by the inherent conflict between the strictures of Buddhism and its prescriptions for living, on the one hand, and on the other the aesthetic of elegant refinement (*yūga* 優雅) that the tonseisha's life generally embodied. Both these earlier writers, says Mezaki, aused the acute contradictions between the suki spirit (*sukigokoro* 数奇心) and the Buddhist adherent's spirit (*dōshin* 道心) as literary energy to fuel their writing. This puts well the dilemma inherent in the world of the tonseisha of this period, a dilemma which is central to both the development and the content of *Saigyō monogatari*. Where the earlier *Ise monogatari* could portray the day's *sukimono* ideal in unambiguous terms, for the creators of *Saigyō monogatari* the image of the *sukimono* Saigyō was far more fraught with difficult nuance and sometimes outright contradiction.

Onto the fundamental utamonogatari form of the Tale, then, is grafted a confusion of other influences and impulses, and it is with these that modern scholars have largely concerned themselves. It is necessary, however, never to lose sight of the Tale's essential structure and status as utamonogatari, which continues to assert the primary importance of the poetry and of the protagonist's identity as poet, despite the strong presence of these other elements. Indeed it is my assertion that this fundamental utamonogatari structure is the key to the earliest form and intentions of the Tale, which subsequent reworkings modified and expanded until the non-utamonogatari elements came at times to predominate and to obscure this earlier and more purely literary structure and content.

These other elements are essentially religious, and derive from the *setsuwa* and Buddhist sermon traditions. These religious literary influences will be examined

²¹ Mezaki Tokue 目崎徳衛, *Suki to mujō* 数奇と無常, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1988, p. 113.

in more detail below, along with the other literary elements that influenced the Tale's formation.

Although the Japanese literary and religious narrative traditions partake of each other and are deeply intertwined, it is rare to find a work in which the two coexist in such full and difficult partnership as we find in the many versions of *Saigyō monogatari* that have come down to us. It is my aim in this study to examine in detail the ways in which these two elements coalesce to form the Tale — their interrelationships, mutual accommodations, and the strains and tensions between them that arise both from fundamental differences and as a result of what I believe is a superimposing of the religious onto the earlier material. In the evolution of this tale we can discover a fascinating portrait of the age's struggle with the question of the relationship of religion to literature.

1.2 Sources for the Tale: Literary sources

As well as the utamonogatari form, the Tale's immediate important literary influences were two great poetic anthologies. One was the personal anthology (*kashū* 家集) compiled by Saigyō himself, *Sankashū*, and the other was the imperial anthology *Shinkokinshū*, whose compilation was ordered in 1201 by Gotoba 後鳥羽 (r. 1183-1198). It is *Sankashū* that has the more pervasive and evident influence on the content of the Tale, but *Shinkokinshū*'s influence was perhaps the more crucial to the impulses that lay behind the Tale's formation.

Shinkokin wakashū Saigyō's posthumous fame as a poet was assured by the great number of his poems that were chosen for inclusion in *Shinkokinshū*. 94 of his poems are found there, a number greater than by any other poet in the collection. Almost all of these poems are also found in the Tale, a matter which can surely be no coincidence. Itō Yoshio²² speculated that one of the early impulses that lay behind the Tale's conception was the urge to incorporate as many of the *Shinkokinshū* poems as

²² Itō Yoshio 伊藤喜夫, *Tanka hyōgen ron* 短歌表現論, Meiji Shoin, 1978, p. 275.

possible into the story of Saigyō's life, and this hypothesis has been generally accepted by later scholars.²³ Itō and others in fact habitually speak of the 'author' of the Tale, and focus their discussion on Bunmeibon, treating it as a singly conceived text, while I consider Bunmeibon to be a relatively late text created by numerous accretions to earlier texts now largely lost. Nevertheless, even in what I consider to be the earliest extant texts the proportion of *Shinkokinshū* poems is still substantial, and it seems highly probable that Itō's theory is correct.

Moreover, if the earliest texts were partly constructed around a core of *Shinkokinshū* poems, the impulse evidently continued with the accretion of later material. Itō²⁴ has made a detailed study of the poems as they are used in Bunmeibon. He shows how the poems which proved awkward to place in the context of Saigyō's life (as the Tale chooses to tell it) were fitted in by creating situations in which Saigyō is requested to compose a series or sequence of poems for a specific occasion.²⁵ In this way, for instance, Saigyō's famous love poems could find a place in a narrative that portrays Saigyō as a pure renunciate.

Of the four episodes created in this way, which contain a series of poems presented as 'composed on request' rather than composed in direct response to personal experience, three²⁶ are not found in what I consider to be the early variant texts. Moreover, they are qualitatively different from the one episode (section 3) which is found in some form in all versions of the Tale. In this episode, the young

²³ Taniguchi Kōichi has made a detailed investigation of the use of *Shinkokinshū* poems in a number of the variant texts. He concludes that the urge to include poems from this collection was probably present from the earliest forms of the Tale, and that addition of further *Shinkokinshū* poems was one way in which the Tale continued to evolve, citing the clear addition of such poems in Bunmeibon as strongly suggesting its relatively later date. (Taniguchi Kōichi, *ŌSaigyō monogatari no keisei*, pp. 32-35.)

²⁴ Ibid. 275-291.

²⁵ These episodes are found in sections 3, 22, 36 and 43 of the translation.

²⁶ Episode 22 is found in Bunmeibon but not in the early B text Hakubyō, and not in the A texts. Episode 36 is found in Bunmeibon and in the later A texts (Hakubyō is lacking this section of the Tale). Episode 43 is found in the B texts but not in the earliest A text, *Saigyō Hōshi shūka*. Although this is not sufficient evidence to point to the origin of these episodes in accretions to the B text line, it does suggest that they were not present in early versions of the Tale.

Norikiyo (Saigyō) competes with other great poets of the day to compose poems on the scenes depicted in the screen paintings of the newly constructed Toba palace, winning the retired emperor's praise. The poems are in fact without exception on the themes of travel and the solitary poet's immediate response to scenes in the natural world, and would have fitted with ease into Saigyō's own story. It seems clear that this episode, in which almost all the poems are from *Shinkokinshū*,²⁷ was not created in order to fit in *Shinkokinshū* poems which were otherwise awkward to the narrative, as Itō claims. The concept of 'composed on request' episodes, however, would have proved useful in later accretions where the more awkward *Shinkokinshū* poems were being incorporated, in a process which culminated in Bunmeibon.

From this we may tentatively conclude that the impulse to include the *Shinkokinshū* poems was present from the Tale's earliest conception, and continued as one important element in its later development. This is not surprising, since it is Saigyō's fame as a poet that underpins the impact of the Tale and the didactic messages that it was made to bear, and this fame was embodied in the *Shinkokinshū* poems, by far the most accessible and familiar of his poems for a large part of the Tale's audience. Saigyō the Poet remained the primary image through which readers and listeners would approach Saigyō the Monk, just as the utamonogatari form remained the primary form through which that more religious Saigyō was presented in the Tale's later variants.

Saigyō poetry collections: *Sankashū* If one of the Tale's aims is to weave its story of Saigyō's life around the famous *Shinkokinshū* poems, its direct reliance on material from Saigyō's own great poetic collection *Sankashū* is even more clearly evident everywhere in the Tale. This anthology, whose date and details of

²⁷In Bunmeibon, eight of the ten poems, and in the later B texts nine. In *Saigyō Hōshi shūka* we may discern an early form of this episode. Here, the retired emperor presents Norikiyo with themes for composition, and he composes two poems (in other texts these are found in section 2), one of which is a *Shinkokinshū* poem.

compilation are unknown, has come down to us in two main versions.²⁸ It is the best-known and largest collection of Saigyō's poems (others are discussed below), and much of the material in the Tale bears a close relation to the poems and *kotobagaki* 詞書 (headnotes) found in it. Where a poem appears in both *Shinkokinshū* and *Sankashū*, indeed, it is frequently the case that it is *Sankashū*'s *kotobagaki* material that forms the basis for the Tale's prose, and variant forms of the poems often also favour *Sankashū*. Non-*Shinkokinshū* poems in the Tale are largely drawn from this collection.

Reasons for the choice of such non-*Shinkokinshū* poems are various.²⁹ In the fuller variants, it would appear that poems have frequently been chosen to expand or further illustrate the theme or situation of the episode, a process that seems to have continued throughout the development of the Tale. The core of most episodes, which often becomes visible through textual comparison, seems to have consisted of one or two poems at most. These poems are closely linked to and expressive of the prose episode in which they are embedded, whose form (in typical *utamonogatari* fashion) tends to resemble an expanded *kotobagaki*.

Where a poem appears in *Sankashū* with a *kotobagaki*, it is frequently the case that the Tale's prose episode either directly borrows or is indirectly based on this. Moreover, this direct borrowing from *Sankashū* continued as a way of augmenting the Tale's material in later variants. The variant commonly known as *Unemebon*, for instance, a relatively late variant (copies first appear in 1500), contains a number of small episodes which are taken more or less verbatim from *Sankashū*. Other variant texts also freely add fresh *Sankashū* material, and it can safely be said that the use of poem and *kotobagaki* material from *Sankashū* is a consistent feature not only of the

²⁸Yōmei Bunko-bon kei 陽明文庫本系 was the version in general circulation until late Meiji. It has been largely superseded by Matsuya-bon kei 松屋本系, which is now considered closer to the original text.

²⁹ The large number of variant texts makes generalization difficult. While most of the poems in the fuller versions of the Tale coincide, there are numerous omissions and additions, which can be used as a basis for distinguishing among variant categories. The poems in all extant variant texts have been exhaustively catalogued and examined by Tonami Miwako (『Shohon ni tsuite』, pp. 135-142).

Tale's formation but also of its continuing evolution.

Thus of the two main poetic anthologies that provide the source material for the Tale, it is *Sankashū* rather than *Shinkokinshū* that deserves first mention, although scholarly discussion has focussed on the latter and taken the former largely for granted. *Sankashū* provides almost the only direct source of evidence for Saigyō's life, so it seems unremarkable that the Tale's creators should so constantly turn to it for material. Yet it needs emphasizing that the Tale in all its variants, early and late, drew directly on this source, and that the Tale's fundamental utamonogatari structure (onto which didactic and setsuwa material was superimposed, rather than displacing it) could be said to be directly derived from this relationship.³⁰ The strength and importance of the Tale's relationship to *Sankashū*, and its essentially utamonogatari structure, becomes clear when it is set alongside *Senjūshō* 撰集抄 (discussed below), the collection of Buddhist setsuwa with Saigyō as purported protagonist, which dates from around the same period as the Tale's earliest versions. In this work, although poems are included in many of the episodes, they are often poems not in fact by Saigyō, and almost none of the contents bears any direct relationship to *Sankashū* or any other of the collections of Saigyō's poetry. In comparison, *Saigyō monogatari* in all its variant forms could be said to be essentially an imaginative interpretation and expansion of select *Sankashū* material.

Sankashū in fact lends itself peculiarly well to becoming the basis for such narrative expansion.³¹ While following the usual form for private poetic anthologies

³⁰ In his interesting study of the relationship of poetry to the monogatari (Matsuda Takeo 松田武夫, *Waka to monogatari to no kōshō* 和歌と物語との交渉, *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 4:4 [1958], pp. 144-152), Matsuda discusses the inherently intimate relationship between the personal anthology (*shikashū*) and the utamonogatari form. He points out that this is a relationship that cannot be found in the case of the imperial anthologies, which depend primarily on a category structure as distinct from the more strongly narrativistic and (auto)biographical potential of the *shikashū*. His analysis of *Ise monogatari*'s relationship to the *shikashū*, which is problematic, in fact applies far more convincingly to the relationship of *Saigyō monogatari* and *Sankashū*, although the general failure to acknowledge *Saigyō monogatari* as belonging to the utamonogatari tradition leads him to overlook this work.

³¹ I will examine below (see Part I, 3.2) the self-portrait that *Sankashū* presents and how this is related to the Tale's Saigyō figure. Here, I limit my discussion to the form of the anthology itself.

(*shiskashū* 私歌集) in its division into seasonal categories followed by love poetry and miscellaneous poetry, it is remarkable for the length and detailed personal content of some of the kotobagaki. This is so particularly in the large miscellaneous section, in which much of the more directly personal poems are found. Moreover there is a tendency, often found in association with these lengthy kotobagaki, to string together a series of poems and their kotobagaki to create a single utamonogatari-style narrative (with Saigyō himself as protagonist). A simple example of this, and one that is directly borrowed in the B texts of the Tale, is the 16-poem Ōmine sequence (SKS 1104-119), a string of poems with brief and occasionally more detailed³² kotobagaki, which geographically traces the highlights of a journey Saigyō undertook along the sacred Ōmine mountain route (in present-day Nara and Wakayama prefectures). Reading the *Sankashū* sequence, the reader is implicitly invited to experience a semi-continuous narrative of a journey with Saigyō as protagonist.

Often these sequences are associated with long kotobagaki, which can sometimes create an effect more akin to utamonogatari than to poetic anthology. An example is the short sequence³³ which gives a detailed and touchingly personal description of climbing the steep path to Mandara Temple in Shikoku. This two-poem sequence is in turn embedded in a lengthy series of poems, many with similarly long kotobagaki, concerning Saigyō's sojourn in Shikoku. *Sankashū* contains numerous other examples of the tendency both to embed a poem in an unusually detailed narrative kotobagaki context and to create a sense of first person narrative through kotobagaki sequence, as well as intimate personal glimpses in kotobagaki which in turn make the poems peculiarly personal and immediate. All these characteristics, which are rarely if ever found to a similar extent in other poetic anthologies,³⁴ point in

³² Longer kotobagaki accompany SKS 107, 110, 114, 117 and 118.

³³ SKS 1370-1371.

³⁴ Another work which, though essentially a personal anthology, displays a tendency towards utamonogatari-like development is the work known as *Iseshū* 伊勢集, a collection of poems by Lady Ise (dates unknown), an early Heian poet who served in the court of emperor Uda (r. 887-897). The opening sections of this collection consist of a series of poems embedded in a semi-continuous narrative form of extended kotobagaki. It describes how her parents sent her to serve at the imperial

the direction of the utamonogatari, and almost beg a later hand to select and augment in order to draw out the narrative of personal experience implicit here.

Other Saigyō poetry collections Although the poems and episodes found in the Tale are largely taken from *Sankashū*, the other collections of Saigyō's poems were also drawn on from time to time. There are occasional poems from *Kikigakishū* 聞書集, an anthology of 263 poems thought to have been those Saigyō intended to add to *Sankashū*, as well as poems found in Saigyō's two *jikaawase* 自歌合 (personal poetry match) collections, *Mimosusogawa utaawase* 御裳濯川歌合 (1187) and *Miyagawa utaawase* 宮川歌合 (1189).

But it is the collection known as *Saigyō Shōninshū* 西行上人集 or *Ihon sankashū* 異本山家集 that provides the most intriguing other apparent source of material for the Tale. This is a collection of 597 poems, with an additional 188 poems added separately. An inscription by the poet monk Tonza 頓阿 (1289-1372) states that it is based on a reconstruction of a work in Saigyō's hand that had been destroyed in a temple fire. Many of the poems are also found in *Sankashū*, but there are a number of poems found in no other collection of Saigyō's verse. Among them, poems also found in *Saigyō monogatari* figure prominently.

Tonza, an important poet of the late Kamakura and early Namboku period, was one of those who were deeply influenced by Saigyō's life and poetry.³⁵ A further intriguing connection is his strong association with Sōrinji 双林寺 in Kyoto, where most versions of the Tale describe Saigyō as living in old age, and where persistent legend states that he died.³⁶ Independent evidence has led most scholars to believe that Saigyō in fact died at Hirokawadera 広川寺 in Kawachi, and the Sōrinji legend is court, and her subsequent love affair with the empress's younger brother. The remainder of the work is a typical poetic anthology, with poems whose kotobagaki is brief or (often) non-existent, and lacking any sense of chronologically linked narration. It is thought that a later hand largely created the anomalous utamonogatari-like opening narrative.

³⁵ He spent lengthy periods of time on religious pilgrimages and religious travel during which he composed poetry, in apparent emulation of Saigyō.

³⁶ His grave is still to be found there.

considered to have been a fabrication by the hijiri community at Sōrinji.³⁷ It certainly predates Tonza, since it appears in the early Seikadō version of the Tale (considered to date from the mid-thirteenth century or earlier). Evidence thus suggests that early versions of the Tale were influenced by, if not more strongly associated with, the Sōrinji community. The fact that the Tale contains poems (and sometimes also close copies of their kotobagaki) found otherwise only in the Sōrinji collection *Saigyō Shōninshū* is further confirmation of this association, although it is impossible to determine whether the collection was drawn on for the Tale's material, or whether it was itself augmented by poems found in the Tale. The former seems the more likely, given that the Tale shows almost no evidence of ascribing to Saigyō poems which he did not write. The Tale's precise relation to *Saigyō Shōninshū*, like that work's place among Saigyō's collections, remains to be established, but the connection is indisputably a close one.³⁸

The poetic anthology form

One more general literary influence on the Tale also deserves mention. Aside from the direct influence of the two poetic anthologies, *Shinkokinshū* and *Sankashū*, the inheritance of the broader literary form of the poetic anthology itself is also evident throughout the Tale. This of course bears in turn a

³⁷ This hypothesis is investigated with great thoroughness by Taniguchi Kōichi, who traces the complex evidence for the proliferation of this legend, concluding that it probably began with *Saigyō monogatari* itself, rather than being borrowed from elsewhere by the Tale. This lends weight to the idea that early forms of the Tale were strongly associated with the Sōrinji community. (Saigyō monogatari no kōsō [1979], pp.21-38.)

Takagi Isao also devotes attention to the likely role of the Sōrinji hijiri community in the Tale's formation, relating this to the strong presence of *Hōbutsushū*'s influence in the B line variants (which he takes to be the original form of the Tale). (Takagi Isao 高城功夫, Saigyō monogatari no tenkyō — toku ni Hōbutsushū to no kankei 西行物語の典拠 — 特に宝物集との関係, Tōyō 19:12 [December 1982], pp. 22-40.)

³⁸ This question is pursued by Yamaguchi Makoto, who links it to the Amidist reworking of certain variants of the text. He finds no clear evidence of a direct relationship, but points to the importance of the Saigyō figure in the legend of the Ji sect's founder Ippen 一遍 (1239-1289), and among the poets of that sect, Tonza among them. His conclusion is that the Tale may well have been reworked by Ji sect monks, which shifted an earlier emphasis on Saigyō as buddha-like suffering practitioner to a more Ippen-like figure. (Yamaguchi Makoto 山口真琴, Kyōju to saihen — Saigyō monogatari no dentō to keisei 享受と再編 — 西行物語の伝統と形成, Bukkyō bungaku .14 [March 1990], pp. 39-50).

strong relation to the utamonogatari form discussed above. The details of the evolutionary relationship between the two are still disputed, but it is clear that the contextualizing prose episodes that have accreted around the poems in an utamonogatari historically bear a direct relationship to the briefer kotobagaki that typically introduces a poem in a poetic anthology.³⁹ The Tale's status as utamonogatari rests partly on its narrative form (the story of a person's life told in poem-focussed episodes), but it is the pervasive influence of the poetic anthology rather than the older utamonogatari that is revealed in the seasonal structuring to be found in the Tale. Seasonal categories form the most important and fundamental structuring mechanism of poetic anthologies, and seasonal progression is likewise a constant element in the Tale's structure, particularly in the more poetic and less didactic episodes.⁴⁰ In this way, the fundamental poetic framework of the Tale is subtly reinforced.

1.3 Sources for the Tale: Religious sources

General Into the fundamental utamonogatari structure of the Tale is woven a substantial amount of religious material. The amount differs greatly among the variants, and the content too is more various and volatile among the variants than is the non-religious content (although this too shows considerable variation). I will examine later the important question of whether and to what extent this material was present from the Tale's inception, and what role it may have played in the Tale's early creation and later development. Here I will limit discussion to texts whose influence is apparent in most existing variants of the Tale.

Many scholars, particularly those who see the religious material as of primary importance in the Tale, point to genres in the field of religious literature as influences in the Tale's conception. Likely precursors include the *kōsōden* 高僧伝, hagiographic

³⁹ See Matsuda's refinement of this argument, note 30.

⁴⁰ As in the anthologies, the Tale's early poems belong to spring, and seasonality is pervasive in the journey episodes which form the basic structure of the Tale, as well as more generally wherever setsuwa or didactic material does not intrude.

biographies of eminent monks, often the founders of Buddhist sects such as Kūkai 空海 (774-835, founder of the Shingon sect) and Hōnen 法然 (1133-1212, who founded the Jōdo sect). Although the Tale reveals no direct influence from such works, their presence may certainly be felt behind the conception of the idealized biography of a ̄saintly historic person, a reading of the Tale which some variants encourage more than others.⁴¹ It is likely that the kōsōden genre had some influence on the way the Tale evolved, although its importance in the Tale’s original conception remains conjectural.

Another genre, similarly popular in the thirteenth century when the Tale was undergoing its early development, was the *hosshintan* 発心談, tales of religious awakening which were commonly used for proselytizing purposes. Certainly the opening sections of *Saigyō monogatari*, which give a detailed account of the way in which the young imperial guardsman Norikiyo awoke to the imperative need to follow the Buddhist truth and renounce the world, belong to this genre in content, although not in style.⁴² It is noteworthy that a version of this story is present in all existing variants, which indicates its early and ongoing importance in the basic conception of the Tale.

Similarly, there is clear influence in the Tale’s final sections of another religious genre popular at the time, the *ōjōden* 往生伝, tales which depict the attainment of rebirth in a Pure Land at death.⁴³ Saigyō’s *ōjō*, as his death was

⁴¹ As I argue in this thesis, it is in the B texts, and most particularly in the B3 texts, that Saigyō is most clearly depicted in this light. The A texts, which I consider to retain stronger traces of the early forms of the Tale, contain relatively little emphasis on Saigyō’s more ̄saintly religious attributes. I would thus argue that, as is the case with other religious texts whose influence is found in the Tale, it is only in later developments that the Tale could be said to be influenced by the kōsōden tradition.

⁴² Hosshintan are generally short, and their focus is strictly religious, whereas a substantial part of the Tale (the first 8 sections, in Bunmeibon) are devoted to seeing Norikiyo through to his transformation into the monk Saigyō, and much of this material is devoted to his poetic activity and the praise it won him.

⁴³ The most popular collection of *ōjōden* was *Nihon ōjō gokuraku-ki* 日本往生極樂記 (ca.983) by Yoshishige Yasutane 慶滋保胤 (ca.931-1002), who also wrote *Chiteiki* 池亭記 (982), an early forerunner of the recluse literature whose influence is also visible in *Saigyō monogatari* (see below).

perceived even at the time,⁴⁴ was undoubtedly an important element in the Tale's early creation, and it is one of the other entirely stable elements among the Tale's many variants (although its treatment varies).

These two framing episodes, *hosshin* and *ōjō*, thus enclose the Tale within what is essentially a non-*utamonogatari* framework,⁴⁵ and link it firmly to the world of religious literature. Within these two defining religious moments, however, the Tale's form and content fluctuate among the variants, with the *utamonogatari* form as the ground which is at times overlaid or modified by more religious material.

This material frequently bears the mark of a related but more general religious genre, the *setsuwa* 説話. *Setsuwa* narratives, brief stories in which the focus is on the narrative and which do not require and generally do not contain a poem, have a long history, but the particular type at issue here is the Buddhist *setsuwa*. Religious *setsuwa* can be found in earlier *setsuwa* collections such as *Konjaku monogatari* 今昔物語集 (late Heian period), but it is in the Kamakura period, when *Saigyō monogatari* also came into being, that many of the great Buddhist *setsuwa* collections were made. Some, such as *Hosshinshū* 発心集 (ca. 1214-15), have a certain literary sophistication and their concerns can include literary matters (such as the question of

Kojima Takayuki 小島孝之 (on *Saigyō monogatari* shōkō 「西行物語」小考, in *Ronshū Saigyō* 論集西行, Waka Bungakukai vol. 14, Sanbi Insatsu Kabushikigaisha, 1990, p. 310) suggests that the entire Tale is structured as an *ōjōden*. He cites the basic structure of these tales (naming, provenance and place of living etc., youth, life (shukke, practice, miraculous tales), date of death, premonitions of *ōjō*, actions and miracles at time of death, post-death miracles and affirmations) and fits them against the Tale's structure. The Tale certainly follows the basic form of this structure, which is essentially the biographical structure culminating in *ōjō*, but I would maintain that the bulk of the Tale itself is largely irrelevant to this scheme, which emphasizes miracles and religious practice. Nevertheless, it can be noted that, just as the *ōjōden* is a reading of the life in terms of the achievement of the death, so the Tale too takes as its premise *Saigyō's* *ōjō*, whose influence on the Tale seems to have increased with the Tale's evolution (as I will examine below.)

⁴⁴ See the exchange of poems between Fujiwara Teika 藤原定家 and Fujiwara Kinpira 藤原公衡 in section 57. Although the typical *ōjōden* imagery of purple clouds could be argued as being literary rather than strictly literal in reference, such poems undoubtedly did much to promote the general perception of *Saigyō's* death as *ōjō* for people of that time and later.

⁴⁵ The religious aspect of the Tale's beginning and ending, although apparently present from its earliest forms, is further emphasized in several of the B texts by the addition of a long poem-less didactic passage before the Tale proper begins (in *Unemebon* and *Kanzēibon*) and in *Bunmeibon* by the addition at the end of the copyist's personal dedication of the text to the attainment of *kechien* 結

the relation of poetry and Buddhism, outlined below). The majority of Buddhist setsuwa, however, do not aspire to any literary merit, and are purely didactic in intent. They typically tell a cautionary or exemplary tale illustrative of a Buddhist teaching, which in some collections is followed by a sermon passage of varying length directly expounding the teaching.

The influence of this form is most clearly apparent in the Tale in the variant texts in which didactic material is most overt (the B2 texts). However, it is the content rather than the setsuwa form itself that is of direct importance in the Tale's many variants. If we include the hosshintan and ōjōden within the general setsuwa tradition, as it is natural to do, we may say that material that more naturally belongs in a setsuwa collection than in an utamonogatari appears to have been present from the earliest versions of the Tale. Furthermore, where augmentations have occurred they frequently consist of setsuwa-like material. In most cases, this is fitted (often somewhat awkwardly) into the utamonogatari form through the use of poems, but at their more blatant the setsuwa elements overshadow and sometimes altogether displace the poetry.

A simple example of a setsuwa episode within the Tale is episode 30, which describes how Saigyō was beaten by a samurai when he attempted to board a ferry at Tenryū Crossing. This episode depicts Saigyō as suffering the blows with saintly composure and humility, and later sternly lecturing his weeping companion on the necessity of undergoing such humiliations in the spirit of Jōfukyō bosatsu 常不輕菩薩 (an important figure in the Buddhist pantheon who is depicted in the Lotus Sutra as bowing to and worshipping all he met.) This legend appears in all the main variants of the Tale. It is typical of setsuwa episodes in that, unlike the vast majority of the Tale's episodes, it does not contain a poem.⁴⁶ Nor is it concerned in any way to depict Saigyō as a man of sensibility, as all the non-setsuwa sections of the Tale are at pains to 縁 (a means whereby one's progress towards salvation is promoted).

⁴⁶ A poem is added to this episode in Bunmeibon, though not in the other (earlier) B1 texts, and only otherwise in Eishōbon. The poem, however, is not by Saigyō, and is presumably a later insertion, a clumsy effort to try to marry the episode into the utamonogatari form.

present him. Instead, he is presented in what I term the *æstrong* or strictly religious form, as stern and saintly Buddhist follower, who spurns his weak companion and proceeds alone on his journey (where in other episodes it is Saigyō's yearning for a companion that is emphasized). Another characteristic of setsuwa material to be seen here is the didactic material which forms Saigyō's lecture to the companion. Many of the B texts draw out the effect of the moral by adding a sympathetic passage giving the companion's point of view, which induces us to share his *æweak* pity for Saigyō, and thus to be chastised with him. In this setsuwa-style episode Saigyō, who generally in the Tale would be in the weeper's sensitive role, is temporarily transformed into a very different figure, a tool for the Buddhist message which is the point of the episode.

Some form of this legend⁴⁷ is known to have been already in circulation at around the time of the Tale's inception. An early reference to it is found in *Izayoi nikki* 十六夜日記 (1279), a literary diary account of a journey from Kyoto to Kamakura by the nun Abutsu 阿仏尼 (d.1283).⁴⁸ *æOn the twenty-third day, she writes, æ(I came to) the place called Tenryū Crossing. Boarding the boat, I was forlornly moved to recall that past time when Saigyō (boarded this boat and was beaten). This reference is commonly taken as evidence that a version of Saigyō monogatari containing this legend was already in general circulation. The presence of this legend in all existing variants does strongly suggest that it was included in the Tale from a very early stage, although it is perfectly possible that the legend was in general oral circulation. Certainly its origin cannot be traced to anything in Saigyō's own writings.*

What this early reference does show us is that legends about Saigyō were already in circulation at this time, whether as a result of or independently of the Tale.

⁴⁷ *Izayoi nikki* refers only to Saigyō's beating, and it is possible that the Buddhist message of this episode found in the Tale was the result of a later interpretation of the legend.

⁴⁸ Abutsu was also long credited as the copyist (and, by implication, at least partly the creator) of the early A text variant known as Seikadō.

Indeed the immense proliferation of Saigyō legends throughout Japan⁴⁹ is a phenomenon which suggests that the role of oral legend should not be underestimated when we consider the impulses behind the Tale's formation, although at this distance it would be difficult to trace concrete evidence of its influence.

Other setsuwa episodes (most notably that of section 21, which depicts Saigyō and his companion Saijū going begging, an episode found only in the B texts) follow the same general setsuwa form: an event which serves to point up a Buddhist teaching, followed by a didactic passage (frequently spoken by Saigyō), and often lacking a poem. They are anomalous to both the overall style and the content of the Tale's other sections, and frequently create tensions caused by the contradictory strong image that their didactic content temporarily confers on Saigyō.⁵⁰

Hosshinshū Some of these setsuwa episodes, such as sections 21 and 30, cannot be found in any other text, and most probably spring either from oral legend or directly from the inventive mind of one of the Tale's creators. Others can be found in other setsuwa collections, primary among them being *Hosshinshū* by Kamo no Chōmei. This collection's early date (ca.1214-1215) strongly suggests that it would have predated the earliest versions of the Tale, and textual comparison makes it abundantly clear that the Tale borrowed directly from it in its inclusion of the episodes that are common to the two.

These borrowings are from the two sections of *Hosshinshū* which have Saigyō as protagonist: HSS 6.5 (Saigyō's daughter takes the tonsure), and HSS 6.12 (Yuihōmonjin's retainer lives in the field of Musashino). In the Tale, HSS 6.12 material is used in section 7 and again in sections 49-51 (present in most variants in both the A and B line) as well as in section 20 (found only in the B line). I discuss

⁴⁹ First systematically studied by Yanagida Kunio in his 1927 study *Saigyō-bashi* (Yanagida Kunio 柳田国男, *Saigyō-bashi* 西行橋, Mezaki Tokue 目崎徳衛 ed. *Saigyō: shisō tokuhon* 西行: 思想読本, Hōzōkan, 1979, pp. 151-157), and more recently by Hanabe Hideo 花部英雄 (*Saigyō denshō no sekai* 西行伝承の世界, Iwata Shoin, 1996).

⁵⁰ This is discussed in detail in Part III.

these borrowings as found in Bunmeibon in detail in the Comments to the relevant sections. As always, variant texts present variant versions.⁵¹ It is interesting to note that section 7, in which Saigyō famously kicks his daughter from the verandah in a gesture of severing of family ties, is the only episode found in almost all variants.⁵² The inclusion of the episodes concerning Saigyō's wife and daughter have been the focus of much scholarly debate (detailed in Part III), and it seems likely that the later sections (49-51) were added subsequent to section 7's inclusion.⁵³ Nevertheless, it is probably safe to say that direct borrowings from *Hosshinshū* were an early and important, although limited,⁵⁴ part of the Tale's formation.

The other borrowing from *Hosshinshū* is found in section 33, the episode in which Saigyō meets the hermit of Musashino.⁵⁵ This, like the borrowings above, is in a modified setsuwa form. Unlike the other setsuwa episodes of the Tale, however, Saigyō is not given the strong role, but rather is in the *awaki* role of travelling monk, who meets and admires a saintly recluse and elicits his story.⁵⁶ (Detailed discussion of this episode and its relation to *Hosshinshū* will be found in the Comments to section 33). Here, Saigyō conforms to the setsuwa role of the *awaker* bystander who observes and learns from the saintly example of another (seen in more extreme form in the companion at Tenryū Crossing, and Saijū in section 21, who receive their

⁵¹ In the case of these borrowings, unusually, the B2 texts are marginally closer to the *Hosshinshū* form.

⁵² Interestingly, it is not present in what I consider a very early variant, *Nanakashū*. It is also noteworthy that although the basic material for this section is taken from *Hosshinshū* the key episode, in which Saigyō kicks his daughter, is not found in that work.

⁵³ These later sections are not found in the apparently early A texts, Seikadō, *Saigyō Hōshi shūka* and *Nanakashū*.

⁵⁴ It would be difficult to claim that the Saigyō of *Hosshinshū* influenced the Saigyō image to be found in the Tale. Indeed, a comparison of the direct borrowings reveals that the Tale's depiction of Saigyō even in these episodes differs considerably from that found in *Hosshinshū*. (See relevant Comments sections for discussion of this point).

⁵⁵ A version of it is found in almost all variants, including the early A texts.

⁵⁶ This role for Saigyō is not otherwise found in the Tale, but it is consistently the role of the Saigyō narrator figure in *Senjūshō* (discussed below). The *awaker* of Musashino episode is also found there, apparently borrowed from *Hosshinshū*, and it could be speculated that it was this episode's Saigyō figure in *Hosshinshū* that suggested this Saigyō role to the anonymous creator of *Senjūshō*.

lessons from the saintly Saigyō). The episode lends itself more readily than do the other setsuwa episodes to the inclusion of poetry — here, as in the *Hosshinshū* version, the hermit is a man of sensibility, and the Buddhist message is a gentle one, on the value of the true reclusive life. Among the setsuwa episodes, this is the least obtrusive in terms of the Tale's utamonogatari form and general tenor.

Hōbutsushū Also clearly present as a source in the Tale, and particularly in the A text line, is the setsuwa collection *Hōbutsushū* 宝物集 (early Kamakura period), attributed to Taira Yasuyori 平康頼 (active ca. 1190-1200). This work exists in numerous versions, making cross-reference particularly troublesome, but Takagi Isao⁵⁷ has made a detailed investigation of Bunmeibon's relation to the longest (9-volume) version of *Hōbutsushū*, and lists 19 places where direct borrowings from the collection are apparent.

Unlike the borrowings from *Hosshinshū*, these borrowings are all of purely rhetorical material rather than being related to the content proper of the Tale. They consist of short or long passages of similar wording, all taken from *Hōbutsushū*'s sermon material, and all likewise used as sermon (didactic) material in the Tale. They are noted and discussed as they appear in the Bunmeibon translation in Part II. It is noteworthy that, with very few exceptions, these borrowings are found only in the B texts. Takagi takes the B text line to be the earlier line, and Bunmeibon to retain the earliest form within that line, both of which assertions I dispute in this study. My own comparison of the texts leads me to believe that most passages of strictly religious content, such as are typified by the passages where borrowings from *Hōbutsushū* are to be found, are most probably interpolations (although such interpolations began at an early stage in the text's formation). *Hōbutsushū* is certainly an important source for such moments in the Tale, and its presence is clearly felt particularly in the B text's religious passages, but its direct influence on the Tale appears not to extend beyond

⁵⁷ ㊦Saigyō monogatari no tenkyō , 1982, and ㊦Saigyō monogatari no shōdōsei 西行物語の唱導性, *Bungaku ronsō* 62 (February 1988), pp. 84-107.

rhetorical borrowings.

It is, however, intriguing to note that tradition⁵⁸ links the composition of *Hōbutsushū* with Sōrinji, whose possible connections with *Saigyō monogatari* have already been discussed above in relation to *Saigyō Shōninshū*. According to Takagi,⁵⁹ it is likely that the *Hōbutsushū* collection was assembled from setsuwa sermon notes already in existence among the nenbutsu hijiri of the Sōrinji community, based on the Jōdo philosophy of the hugely influential mid-Heian work *Ōjō yōshū* 往生要集 (985). Given Sōrinji's connection with Saigyō through the presence of his grave there, and his importance for later members of the community such as Tonza, one may speculate that the B line of the Tale underwent development and adaptation for preaching purposes at the hands of Sōrinji's hijiri, which involved either deliberate or unintentional borrowings of some of *Hōbutsushū*'s rhetorical passages, which would have been very familiar to them. However, given that these passages in the Tale are anomalous to the overall tone and structure and strongly suggestive of interpolation, as well as their almost complete absence in the A texts,⁶⁰ I cannot agree with Takagi that they provide evidence that preaching was central to the intention behind the creation of the Tale itself.

Shasekishū The setsuwa collection known as *Shasekishū* 砂石集, compiled between 1279 and 1283 by the priest Mujū Ichien 無住一円 (1226-1312), contains several references to Saigyō, and is connected to the Tale through its inclusion of material also found there. There are several references to episodes apparently present in an early version of the Tale now lost,⁶¹ which indicate that Mujū was writing at a time when *Saigyō monogatari* was already in circulation in some form. There is also a

⁵⁸ *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 states that it was written by Taira Yasuyori when he retired to Sōrinji after the defeat of the Heike.

⁵⁹ *Saigyō monogatari no tenkyō*, p. 36.

⁶⁰ This is particularly the case for what I take to be the earliest A texts.

⁶¹ For a description of these episodes and their evidence, see discussion of early texts below (Part I, 4.1).

reference to the famous episode (see Bunmeibon section 7) in which Norikiyo kicks his daughter as a gesture of renunciation of worldly attachments, a story found elsewhere only in the Tale. From all this it is clear that Mujū was aware of and made use of the Tale, although *Shasekishū* in its turn may have influenced the Tale in its later evolution.

The primary argument for this comes from Takagi,⁶² who points to the strong echoes of *Shasekishū*'s opening section in the Shōhōbon (A text) section on the shrine at Ise.⁶³ Takagi bases his discussion on the assumption that the A texts are a later development, and assumes that the presence of this passage points to a dating of after 1283. However, given that other evidence points to a strong connection of the A text line with Ise Shrine, it would seem more natural to assume that the influence worked the other way, and that Mujū drew on a version of the Tale for this passage, as he drew on the Tale for other references. Whatever may be the case, the connections linking *Shasekishū* with the Tale tell us both that the Tale was present in some form at this early date, and that it continued to evolve, with possible cross-influences at a later time.

Wakan rōeishū The other work which is directly quoted from in the Tale is *Wakan rōeishū* 和漢朗詠集 (ca. 1013), a highly popular collection of Japanese and Chinese verse compiled by Fujiwara Kintō 藤原公任 (966-1041), quotations from which found their way into numerous later works.⁶⁴ Quotations from this work are found scattered through the Tale, and are noted as they occur in the Bunmeibon translation in Part II. These quotations are almost all from the *amujō* section of the collection, and were particularly commonly used in sermon material during the Kamakura period, which is where they are also found in the Tale.

⁶² Takagi Isao, *ŌSaigyō monogatari no tenkyō*, p. 27.

⁶³ See Appendix II, section 25.

⁶⁴ Owing to the work's immense popularity, and the frequency of quotations from it to be found in other works (both secular and religious), it is difficult to claim that quotations found in the Tale are taken directly from this work.

Senjūshō The setsuwa collection *Senjūshō* 撰集抄 (?mid-13th century) would seem a far more likely candidate for borrowing of material. This anonymous collection purports to have been written by Saigyō himself and consists of setsuwa-style accounts of the saintly recluses he encountered on his travels. Given that this collection seems to have appeared at around the same time as *Saigyō monogatari*,⁶⁵ and that it claims Saigyō as its protagonist, one would expect to find considerable cross-influence between the two works. In fact, however, they bear surprisingly little relation to each other.

Of *Senjūshō*'s 118 tales, only six are also found in some form among the Tale's variants.⁶⁶ Four of these (SJS 1.7, 5.6, 8.28 and 9.8) are based on *Sankashū*⁶⁷ poems and their kotobagaki, and it must be assumed that this is the source for these episodes, since they bear no direct relationship to the versions found in *Saigyō monogatari*. The two remaining tales found in common— that of Saigyō's meeting with the hermit of Musashino, and of his companion Saijū's death — cannot be traced to material in Saigyō's anthologies, and clearly spring from the setsuwa tradition.

Mention of Saijū's death appears only in the two B2 texts, Kanzeibon and Eishōbon, where his death is briefly described, followed by several poems on the subject of *ōjō* and mourning. This episode bears no obvious relationship to the tale found in *Senjūshō*, which tells (in the first person) how Saigyō visited Saijū on his

⁶⁵ No clear date has been established for *Senjūshō*. Based on internal evidence, some scholars believe it to be a work of around 1243-1256, while others argue for a slightly later date of 1264-1288.

⁶⁶They are:

SJS1.7, æConcerning the new retired emperor's grave at Shiramine (see section 48). (From SKS 1355)

SJS 5.6, æConcerning Chūnagon no Tsubone (see section 45). (From SKS 746-748)

SJS 6.5, æConcerning the death of Saijū (found only in the B2 texts. See K49).

SJS 6.12, æConcerning Musashino (see section 33).

SJS 8.28, æConcerning the poem by Gyōson (see section 14. Found only in B line variants). (From SKS 917).

SJS 9.8, æConcerning the poem of the courtesan Eguchi (see section 46). (From SKS 752).

⁶⁷ Or possibly *Shinkokinshū* in the case of SJS 9.8.

death bed, talked with him, witnessed his death, and took his bones back to Kōya-san, and is followed by a didactic meditation on the futility of life and the necessity of abandoning attachments and embracing reclusion. In the Tale, Saijū's death is introduced without elaboration, as introductory material for the poems, and it is most likely that the original B2 variant of the Tale borrowed the idea of the episode either from *Senjūshō* or from some other written or oral setsuwa source.

It is only in the episode of the hermit of Musashino (SJS 6.11) that we find any real overlapping of setsuwa content between *Senjūshō* and the Tale, and here the source for both is clearly *Hosshinshū*, and there is no evidence of cross-influence between them.⁶⁸ Thus even the few episodes found in both works show no direct relationship to each other, and it is clear that *Senjūshō* and *Saigyō monogatari*, while sharing a protagonist and a more (*Senjūshō*) or less (*Saigyō monogatari*) religious focus, were conceived of and continued to be entirely separate works, with surprisingly little direct influence on each other even in later variants.

Religious sources: Conclusion The direct influence from religious textual sources can thus be seen to be limited to discrete borrowings of material either from *Hosshinshū* for certain sections of the Tale, or from *Hōbutsushū* and *Wakan rōishū* for rhetorical material for the sermon passages. Furthermore, this material in the Tale is consistently associated with suggestions of later interpolation.

When we look at the role of setsuwa in another great romance of the period, *Heike monogatari*, we see that the Tale's use of this material is far from unique. Konishi Jinzichi⁶⁹ points out that the Buddhist sermon style is one strong element in that work, particularly in passages associated with *mujō*, and that setsuwa are interspersed throughout the narrative. These, as he says, were originally intended as stories to be used, varied or omitted at the discretion of the storyteller, much as

⁶⁸ A detailed examination of the relationship and differences among the three texts can be found in the Comments to section 33.

⁶⁹ Konishi Jinzichi, *A History of Japanese Literature*, vol. 3, Aileen Gatten trans., Earl Miner ed., Princeton University Press, 1991, p. 337-8.

setsuwa were used in sermons. Depending on the manuscript consulted, a given story will be present or absent; if present, it will be told in markedly different ways.⁷⁰ This is precisely what we find when we examine the religious material in the later variant texts of *Saigyō monogatari*, and it reminds us of the important fact that the fluidity of the Tale's various forms reflects the strong influence of the oral storytelling tradition. Material suitable for preaching purposes could be inserted at will by copyists such as the hijiri of Sōrinji, without particular regard for strict consistency of tone with the Tale's pre-existing material.⁷¹

Nevertheless, it is instructive to consider *Saigyō monogatari*'s more general relationship to the two most important setsuwa collections with which it shares material, *Hosshinshū* and *Senjūshō*, for despite fundamental differences of approach these works all share certain important characteristics.⁷²

Both *Hosshinshū* and *Senjūshō* consistently follow the pattern for setsuwa collections outlined above, and are clearly stated to be religious in intent. Nevertheless, both works in their different ways are concerned with exploring a version of Buddhism which is not that of the temples but rather belongs to the broader aesthete-recluse tradition, to which Saigyō was seen by a later age to belong. As mentioned above, this tradition frequently included (but was not limited to) those whose reclusion involved the practice of literature or other arts, and the religious emphasis tended to blur into the aesthetic sukimono ideal. This is the ambiguous world that *Saigyō monogatari* most typically inhabits, and it is an area of great importance also for Kamo no Chōmei's *Hosshinshū*, whose tales are so often concerned with the ways in which the sukimono and religious ideals might be combined in a form acceptable to Buddhist teaching.

⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 338.

⁷¹ The fact that this material does present inconsistencies, however, can be taken as evidence that the non-didactic ground material of the Tale existed prior to its use for didactic purposes.

⁷² *Kankyo no tomo 閑居の友* (1222), which has a strong affinity with *Senjūshō*, is another setsuwa collection with some affiliations with the particular style and concerns of these works. However, since there is no evidence of direct or indirect influence on the Tale, I will limit my discussion to *Senjūshō* and *Hosshinshū*.

While this theme is consciously pursued by Chōmei, however, it remains almost entirely subliminal in the Tale, where now one and now the other ideal is the focus of an episode with neither one nor the other achieving, except rarely, genuine integration or conscious attention.⁷³ The Tale, as a more naive romance, embodies (both in form and content) the tensions, contradictions and difficult moments of unity that Kamo no Chōmei and other religious writers⁷⁴ of the time made the conscious theme of their writing.

Where Chōmei and the Tale's Saigyō approach the problem from the realm of a commitment to literature (poetry), *Senjūshō*'s first concern is with the more strictly religious point of view, and specifically with the more extreme forms of asceticism. Nevertheless, the device of having the Saigyō figure⁷⁵ as the witness to and commentator on the lives of the recluses who form the subject of the narratives implicitly involves a certain literary or *sukimono* element in the terms of reference. And indeed, in comparison with many other *setsuwa* collections,⁷⁶ *Senjūshō* displays a markedly literary quality, with many passages in the rather florid and ornate decorative style known as *bibun* 美文,⁷⁷ a device which is generally put down to an attempt to make the work seem somehow Saigyōesque.⁷⁸ Also, as one might

⁷³ The exception is the occasional passages in which a version of the *kyōgen-kigo* doctrine (examined below) is mentioned or expounded.

⁷⁴ Notable among these is Mujū, who devoted attention in *Shasekishū* to the question of the relation of writing to religion.

⁷⁵ Continued hints and references throughout the work imply that Saigyō is the purported author (and thus by implication the narrator) of the entire work, although many of the episodes are written in the *けり* rather than the *き* narrative style, which serves to distance identification with the immediate experience of the Saigyō protagonist.

⁷⁶ *Kankyo no tomo* is a notable exception.

⁷⁷ This consists of poetic stylistic devices such as metaphor, repetition, detailed evocation, poetic quotation, and use of poetic rhythm such as is found in *michiyukibun* 道行文 passages (poetic prose which carries the protagonist along the road in a journey; frequent in *Senjūshō*).

⁷⁸ See for example Shitanishi Zenzaburō 下西善三郎, *Senjūshō ni okeru bibun no mondai* 「撰集抄」における美文の問題, *Kanazawa Daigaku kokugo kokubun* 7 (March 1980), pp. 67-78.

Another way in which many of *Senjūshō*'s *setsuwa* can be said to fit with the Saigyō image is in their strong emphasis on the inherently purifying value of the natural world, a theme which is also strong in Saigyō's poetry and, consequently, also in *Saigyō monogatari*. (See also the later discussion

expect, poetry⁷⁹ is frequently (although far from consistently) woven into both the narratives and the sermon material; indeed anecdotes concerning poetry are the primary focus of the 31 short setsuwa in book 8. Compared with the Tale's preponderantly utamonogatari form and tone, *Senjūshō* belongs firmly in the strictly Buddhist setsuwa world, yet in its different way it too, like *Hosshinshū*, is distinguished by its unusual degree of religious concern with the literary.

1.4 Sources for the Tale: Conclusion

Saigyō monogatari can thus be seen to be, to a greater or lesser degree among the existing variants, drawn from an amalgam of literary and religious source material, reflecting its theme of the meeting of the poetry and religion in the figure of Saigyō. The two types of source material, however, play somewhat different roles in the Tale, with the literary material providing the *aground* (the pervasive utamonogatari-type form and sensibility) while the religious material appears rather in specific borrowings scattered or interpolated throughout the Tale, particularly in the later variants. The sometimes awkward relationship of the two in turn reflects the difficulties inherent in the proposition that underlies the Tale, that religion and literature (poetry) are entirely compatible, difficulties which we find surfacing throughout the Tale.

This relationship, so important in medieval literature from Saigyō's time onwards, occasioned much uneasy debate, particularly so among the *ae*aesthete recluse⁸⁰ literati. It is to this tradition of recluse literature (*inja bungaku* 隠者文学), which straddled the two worlds of literature and religion, that the Tale essentially belongs, and it finds its strongest echoes both in sensibility and in preoccupation with the influence of *Maka shikan* philosophy on the Tale, a philosophy which also informs *Senjūshō*.

⁷⁹ For the most part, however, these poems are not by Saigyō, although some are purported to be.

⁸⁰ *Suki no tonseisha* 数奇の遁世者, a term devised by Mezaki Tokue, who has examined this religio-literary tradition and its inherent dilemmas in *Suki to mujō* 数奇と無常 (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1988) and numerous other works. This term is used to describe recluse writers or writers who in their philosophy and the tenor of their work belong to the world of recluse literature, such as Saigyō, Kamo

works of that genre. Whether and to what extent its earliest forms were conceived within the recluse tradition it is impossible to determine, but it is clear that its subsequent evolution took place increasingly within the terms of that tradition, and the sometimes acute difficulties that it manifests in bringing literature into relationship with religion precisely reflect the concern with this problem that we find in Kamo no Chōmei and others discussed below.

The problem of the relationship of poetry and religion only became a focus of concern with the growing importance of the recluse tradition and its literature from the Kamakura period onward,⁸¹ and it could be said that the evolution of the Tale reflects this shift.⁸² One of the earliest examples of proto-recluse literature in fact contains intriguing echoes of the Tale, although there is no evidence for its direct influence. This is a work known as *Ionushi* いほぬし, believed to be by the priest Zōki 増基 (active c. 947-1011). This early work is essentially a *kashū*, being a collection in three parts of Zōki's *waka*, but its anomalous first part (named by him or by someone later *Kumano kikō* 熊野紀行) consists of an extended narrative of his travel along the Kumano pilgrimage route⁸³ interspersed with 30 poems composed on the journey, which belongs rather to the medieval tradition of travel diaries (*kikōbun* 紀行文)⁸⁴ than to the genre of poetic anthology. Its relationship to the *utamonogatari* no Chōmei, Yoshida Kenkō and others.

⁸¹ The shift in emphasis from the Heian period (where the literary paradigm was to the fore among writers) to the Kamakura period (where writers were increasingly concerned to justify their literary and other *asuki* activity in terms of religion) has been called a *capitulation of court culture to medieval buddhist culture* by Hiraizumi Noboru 平泉登 (see Mezaki Tokue 目崎徳衛, *Saigyō no shisōshiteki kenkyū* 西行の思想史的研究, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1978, p. 122), a concept which can also be applied to the process undergone by the Saigyō figure as the Tale evolved.

⁸² I argue below that the early forms of the Tale, where the simpler *utamonogatari* form was largely undisturbed by didactic intrusion, present a much less self-conscious version of the poet-monk figure at ease with his dual role.

⁸³ *Kumano mōde* 熊野詣で, a pilgrimage that was immensely popular in the Heian period, to the Kumano and Nachi shrines in present-day Wakayama prefecture. Saigyō performs this pilgrimage in the Tale's B texts (see Bunmeibon translation sections 13 and 14).

⁸⁴ See Donald Keene's inclusion of this work in his study of travel diaries, *Travelers of a Hundred Ages*, Henry Holt and Company, 1989, pp. 32-35. *Saigyō monogatari* can also be seen as a later precursor of this genre in the long travel sections that constitute a large part of the work, sections which also reveal the *utamonogatari* form most clearly. (See sections 11-19, 29-38 and 44-49).

is evident not only in the centrality of the poem(s) to the prose, which reads like a series of lengthy kotobagaki, but in the stylized use of the utamonogatari's typical introductory sentence, 'There was a man'⁸⁵

The opening passage of the work will serve to exemplify the nature of its relationship both to later recluse literature generally and specifically to Saigyō and his Tale.

When might it have been? — there was a man who decided to flee the world and live according to his heart's desires, visiting and giving his heart to all the (famous) places and fascinating things one hears tell of, and at the same time worshipping at holy places, to rid himself of his sins. His name was Ionushi.⁸⁶ He set off on the Kumano pilgrimage on the tenth day of the tenth month, and although there were those who suggested they should all go together, there were none of similar sensibility (*kokoro* 心) to himself, so he simply left quietly with a single companion.⁸⁷

The first sentence would fit easily as an introductory description of the Saigyō of the Tale's travel sections, and the untroubled combination of suki and religious motives (with suki the predominant one) neatly sums up the dual nature of the recluse lifestyle and sensibility, which Saigyō himself epitomized. The Tale also echoes Ionushi's concern over companions, a theme whose shifting emphases encapsulate the shifts in the Tale's evolution, as I discuss in Part III. In this passage and throughout the 'Kumano kikō' section of *Ionushi*, Zōki presents a prototype of the style of

⁸⁵ *Mukashi otoko arikeri* むかし男有りけり.

⁸⁶ 'Master of the hut . . . *Io* or *iori* 庵 specifically signifies the humble dwelling or 'grass hut (*sōan* 草庵) of the recluse, and is a term redolent of the recluse lifestyle (in both its religious and its sukimono aspects). (See William La Fleur's discussion of this term in *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan*, University of California Press, 1983, pp.62-69)

⁸⁷ Masubuchi Katsuichi 増淵勝一, ed., *Ionushi: honbun to sakuin* いほぬし: 本文と索引, Hakuteisha, 1971, p. 1.

aesthete recluse that Saigyō in his turn later epitomized, and that the Tale then inherited and proceeded to subject to a later age's deepening concern with the religious side of the literature/religion nexus that here seems so straightforward. At the same time, the ㊦Kumano kikō section can be seen as a rare prototype of the Tale itself in its essential utamonogatari aspect, suggesting both how the personal and potentially anecdotal kashū form can lend itself to such a development,⁸⁸ and how intimately linked this form is with the aesthete recluse tradition.

It is important to maintain this perspective on the Tale, keeping in mind the strong degree to which, despite the religious material that frequently dominates the later variants such as Bunmeibon, the Tale inherited and continued on many levels to embody Saigyō's own sensibility together with his kashū material. In the history of the wandering aesthete recluse we can watch the cheerful Ionushi set out with his companion ㊦of like mind to visit the sites and compose poetry while simultaneously ridding himself of accumulated sins, witness his transformation into the later figure of Saigyō, lonelier and sometimes more troubled with doubts and religious tensions as he moves from the Heian into the Kamakura period, and see this figure finally evolving through the Tale into one who embodies the new and often difficult relationship between poetry (suki) and religious commitment.

SECTION 2: Kyōgen kigo

2.1 Kyōgen kigo: Theory and development

At the time when the Tale was conceived and written, the contradictions and tensions inherent between the two worlds of religion and literature (and most

⁸⁸ As Matsuda Takeo argues (see note 30 above), ㊦Kumano Kikō does not continue throughout in the somewhat elevated style seen in this opening passage and typical of *Saigyō monogatari* throughout. It soon settles into a more personal and straightforward ㊦journal style which reports encounters and conversations, such as can be found in later travel journal literature and to some extent also in *Sankashū*'s more anecdotal and personal kotobagaki. This style is associated with first person narrative, and its purpose is very different from the hagiographic intention behind the Tale's third person account. It is in the opening passage of *Ionushi*, where the gesture towards the utamonogatari form is strongest both in language and in content (and where third person narration momentarily asserts itself) that echoes of the Tale are most clearly heard.

particularly poetry) were conceptualized in terms of a popular phrase of the day, *kyōgen kigo* 狂言奇語.

This concept forms the focus for many of *Hosshinshū*'s tales and sermons, and *Senjūshō*, although less consciously concerned with taking a position on the problem, also includes numerous references to it. The concept appears overtly in several key passages in many variants of the Tale,⁸⁹ but, more importantly, its presence can be felt as a driving force behind the Tale's overall conception, and it underlies the tensions and slippages that occur both within the Tale itself and among its variants.

The term had its origins in the work of the T'ang poet Po Chü-i 白居易 (772-846), who gained immense popularity in Japan, where he was known as Hakurakuten 白楽天. It occurs in the words he wrote late in life to accompany the presentation of a collection of his poems to a temple in 841, words which both define the Buddhist litterateur's dilemma and offer a solution to it: 'May the worldly writings of my present life, all the wild words and fancy phrases [*kyōgen kigo*], serve as a hymn of praise to glorify the teachings of the Buddha in future ages, and cause the Wheel of the Law to turn for ever.'⁹⁰ This prayer first accepts the Buddhist view that poetry is a sin (the Sin of Words), then proceeds nevertheless to offer his poetry as a means to praise and preach the Buddhist truth. Just as Po Chü-i here both submits himself to the idea of poetry as 'error' and has faith that it nevertheless can be used to a positive end in Buddhist terms (without specifying how this transformation might take place), so his term 'kyōgen kigo' came in Japan to embody both the negative, strictly Buddhist view of poetry, and a variety of arguments for poetry's positive religious role.⁹¹

⁸⁹ See, for example, the opening passage in Unemebon, quoted in Appendix I, section 1, which is a fine example of many of the approaches to *kyōgen kigo* described here.

⁹⁰ Quoted by Richard Bowring in 'The *Ise monogatari*: A Short Cultural History', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 52:2 [December 1992], p. 441.

⁹¹ Yamada Shōzen 山田昭全 points out that this dual aspect of the concept is found in the different teachings of Tendai Jōdo (which uses the phrase as a condemnation of the arts) and Mikkyō (which uses it to affirm the role of the arts in Buddhist teaching and practice.) (Yamada Shōzen, 'Saigyō bannen no fūbō to naiteki sekai 西行晩年の風貌と内的世界', *Kokubungaku* 19:4 [December 1974], pp. 141-145.)

The idea first fully emerges in Japan in the early twelfth century,⁹² with the priest Sensai, who prefaced his own offering of poems to the deity of Sumiyoshi with an elaborate argument that equated poetry with the power of language in Buddhist sermons, via the concept of *honji-suijaku* 本地重迹, whereby Shinto deities were equated with figures in the Buddhist cosmology.⁹³ This early *honji-suijaku* attempt to link *waka*, as the inherently powerful language of the native gods, to the inherent power of words that express the Buddhist truth, was pursued by later religious thinkers, and found its culmination in the *darani* 陀羅尼論 of people such as Myōe 明恵 (1173-1232) and Mujū Ichien.

According to the formulation of these thinkers, the language of *waka* was essentially a native form of *darani*, mystic mantras or incantations used in esoteric Buddhism, believed to contain universal meaning and the power of salvation. In this way, the composition and recitation of *waka* could not only be justified in Buddhist terms but elevated to a position of great power.⁹⁴ *Darani* was a strictly doctrinal solution to the problem of poetry, and it is no coincidence that its main proponents were all deeply committed Buddhist priests who also composed poetry, rather than *sukimono* who had taken the tonsure.⁹⁵ It does not appear overtly in the Tale, but it is interesting to note that Mujū in his *Shasekishū* finds Saigyō a useful vehicle to propound the idea:

After Saigyō Hōshi became a recluse, he received teaching in the inner meaning of the Tendai mantras. The Yoshimizu Abbot Jichin asked him to pass on these secrets. First, practice *waka*. He who fails to grasp the

⁹² It earlier appeared in the 948 work *Sanbō ekotoba* 三宝絵詞, and is also quoted in *Wakan rōeishū*.

⁹³ Saigyō followed the popular twelfth century practice of dedicating poetry to shrines, when he dedicated his two *jikaawase* 自歌合わせ collections to the Inner and Outer Shrines at Ise in 1187. The poetry contained in them makes it clear that *honji-suijaku* played an important part in his strong relationship with Ise. (See *Bunmeibon* sections 26-28).

⁹⁴ Not all *waka* were suited to this role, however. Mujū stipulates that only *waka* which serve the Buddhist cause are permissible.

⁹⁵ However, it proved a popular concept with the *renga* poets and other writers of the Muromachi period, when literature came very strongly under the sway of Buddhist ideas.

heart of waka will fail to comprehend the inner meaning of the mantras,
replied Saigyō.⁹⁶

In his role here, Saigyō has left the world of the sukimono and become a revered Buddhist practitioner, and his poetic and religious powers have merged.⁹⁷ For a later age anxious to fit waka firmly within the Buddhist paradigm, the poet-monk Saigyō proved a potent figure.⁹⁸

Daraniron and the honji-suijaku argument for poetry's place in Buddhist practice was by no means universally accepted. Many religious men in fact rejected the proposition that poetry was permissible for the true practitioner.⁹⁹ Yoshishige Yasutane 慶滋保胤 (ca. 931-1002), a poet who in his younger days had devoted much energy to putting forward the belief that poetry and religion were compatible, famously rejected this positive interpretation of the kyōgen-kigo dilemma after he took the tonsure in 986, when he came to firmly believe that the pursuit of poetry was futile and inappropriate for the Buddhist aspirant. In this he echoed the accepted view from within the Buddhist clergy. It was in the more ambiguous world of the aesthete-recluse that accommodations were most urgently sought.

Kamo no Chōmei is perhaps the outstanding example of the attempts to justify

⁹⁶ Quoted by Bowring, *The Ise monogatari: A Short Cultural History*, p. 444.

⁹⁷ Saigyō approaches this role only once in the Tale, briefly in the B texts, in the episode in which he composes poems for the Ninnaji Abbot (see Bunmeibon 22), where the special power of his poetry is perceived as kechien for the Abbot for whom it is composed.

⁹⁸ Rajyashree Pandey (*Writing and Renunciation in Medieval Japan — The Works of the Poet-priest Kamo no Chōmei*, Michigan Monograph Series in Japanese Studies no. 21, University of Michigan, 1998, p 48), for instance, quotes an episode related in Myōe's biography in which Saigyō tells Myōe, "Waka is the true form of the Buddha. Reciting one line of waka is equivalent to carving one statue of the buddha; likewise continuing to meditate on one verse of waka is like reciting the sacred esoteric texts of Shingon. It is through poetry that I have mastered the law.

⁹⁹ Tonza, another who was anxious to give Saigyō's poetry religious sanction, in his work *Seiashō* 井蛙省 relates that on one occasion when Saigyō visited the Takao temple of Jingoji 神護寺 he won over the powerful Abbot Mongaku 文学, who despised him as an idle poet and a pseudo-monk. The tale may well be apocryphal, but there were many men of religion who would have agreed with Mongaku. (Tonza, *Seiashō* 井蛙抄, *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 続群書類集 vol. 16, Keizai Zasshi-sha, 1911, pp. 904-905.)

the aesthete-recluse's pursuit of poetry. As Pandey¹⁰⁰ points out, the stories in *Hosshinshū* may be straightforward celebrations of recluse sukimono and present waka as accepted religious practice, but the statements that follow are generally more defensive, attempting to argue a case rather than propound a self-evident truth. Indeed, Chōmei would not have needed to devote himself to justifying a positive interpretation of kyōgen-kigo at such length if he were arguing an accepted proposition. The insistence of his arguments betrays the fundamental instability of the relationship of poetry and religion, an instability which the Tale more artlessly and directly reflects.

Chōmei's central thesis, which his tales of sukimono are intended to illustrate, is that waka (and, by extension, the suki life of waka's true practitioners) is by its very nature conducive to an awakening to the Buddhist truth. The sensibility associated with the composition of waka creates a purity of heart¹⁰¹ that leads directly toward enlightenment.

In all respects he was a great sukibito, and so his heart was not tainted by worldly impurities. (*Hosshinshū* 270)¹⁰²

The practice of suki is one in which . . . (the sukibito) calms the mind by meditating on the waxing and waning of the moon. He resolves not to be tainted by worldly impurities. As a result, the fundamental truth of the transient nature of life reveals itself spontaneously to him. . . This is the first step toward escaping from the cycle of births and deaths and entering nirvana. (*Hosshinshū* 278)¹⁰³

A variation on this position is that the practice of poetry can be a means to calm and focus the mind much as Buddhist meditation practice does. As Chōmei puts it in *Hosshinshū* 276, the way of poetry can penetrate to the essence of things: how much more so, then, can we depend on it and through this means calm the mind and meditate on the transience of all worldly things.¹⁰⁴ More specifically, poetic

¹⁰⁰ Pandey, *Writing and Renunciation in Medieval Japan*, p. 136.

¹⁰¹ *Kiyoki kokoro* 清き心, a phrase also much used in the Tale, as well as in other recluse literature.

¹⁰² *Op.cit.*, p. 124.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

contemplation of the transient manifestations of the phenomenal world will lead to an understanding of the truth of transiency itself. These solutions to the kyōgen kigo dilemma are those of the aesthete-recluse rather than the strictly religious practitioner.¹⁰⁵ They are the predominant positions on kyōgen kigo to be found in both *Senjūshō* and *Kankyo no tomo*, and we shall see that where the question of kyōgen kigo surfaces in the Tale it is likewise generally in these terms. More fundamentally, they can be felt to underpin the largely unstated relation between the two Saigyōs of the Tale (the poet and the monk), and the fragility of that relation epitomizes the more problematic aspects of the argument.¹⁰⁶

Thus we find within the same text a variety of positions in relation to the question of how literature (or the suki life) serves, or more completely integrates itself with, religious commitment. Poetry can prepare one for The Way (through cultivation of sensibility), can point one to The Way (through natural imagery's symbolic/metaphoric power),¹⁰⁷ or can be in itself The Way (as a form of meditation, or as darani). Although these positions can be analyzed as, and frequently appear as, differing approaches to the question, texts such as *Hosshinshū* and *Saigyō monogatari* make it clear that in fact they tended to be felt simply as differing aspects of the one central thesis: that despite the inherent contradictions between poetic practice and the religious life, the two could be or by nature were in harmony.

The subtlest form of argument for the essential reconciliation of religion and poetry can be found in the writings of Saigyō's great contemporary Fujiwara Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114-1204), most particularly in his concept of *yūgen* 幽玄, which Kamo

¹⁰⁵ Only once in *Hosshinshū* does Chōmei approach the daraniron position, when in *Hosshinshū* 277 he presents another great sukimono as offering a recitation of a (love) poem and a darani together as kechien.

¹⁰⁶ A detailed examination of this question, and of the role of kyōgen kigo in the Tale generally, can be found in Part III.

¹⁰⁷ As Ivo Smits (*The Pursuit of Loneliness. Chinese and Japanese nature Poetry in Medieval Japan, ca. 1050-1150*, Stuttgart: Münchner Ostasiatische Studien, Band 73, Franz Steiner Verlag [1995], p. 10) points out, the more broadly associative powers expressed by the term *mitate* 見立て are poorly rendered by the more limited relationships expressed by the words 'symbol' and (more particularly) 'metaphor'.

no Chōmei inherited and extended. In Shunzei's writing, especially in *Korai fūteishō* 古来風体抄 (1197), we find a linking of poetics with the subtle religious doctrine found in the *Maka shikan* 摩訶止観 (The Great Cessation and Insight), the manual of Tendai meditation practice which propounded the cessation of discrimination and the concentration on an object in order to attain insight into one's true nature. The philosophy of nonduality and interpenetration that lay behind this meditation practice was applied by Shunzei to his understanding of the essential process of poetic composition, whereby perceiver and perceived interpenetrate, self is situated within the object contemplated and a state of nonduality is achieved.¹⁰⁸ This understanding of poetic contemplation is linked with the difficult concept of *yūgen*, which can be translated as *mystery and depth* and which in Shunzei's usage is associated with an evocation of what is finally inexpressible. This tendency to value the unexpressed over the expressed in poetry is in effect an acknowledgement of the limitations of language which at times comes close to subverting the proposition that poetic expression is a valid form of meditation. Poetry for Shunzei is most true to the *yūgen* ideal where it precariously balances language against the weight of an essential truth that lies beyond the reach of language.

Shunzei's sophisticated poetics were a far subtler form of argument than the simpler equations argued by most writers on the topic, but he too defended his position with a variety of somewhat defensive rationalizations. In the *Korai fūteishō* he justifies his assertions as follows:

In the text of the *Mo-ho chih-kuan* [Maka Shikan] the very first thing related is the process of transmission of the Holy Dharma of the Buddha . . . In a similar way we cannot but be impressed by the fact that our own Japanese verse-form, the *uta*, has from antiquity been handed down to us in precisely the same fashion.

. . . But someone might charge that, whereas in the case of the *Mo-ho chih-kuan* it is a matter of transmitting the deep truth by holy men . . . ,

¹⁰⁸ This meditative poetic practice is strikingly analyzed by Konishi Jinzichi (小西甚一, Shunzei no yūgenfū to shikan 俊成の幽玄風と止観, *Bungaku* 文学, 20.2 [February 1952], pp. 108-116.)

what I have brought up for consideration is nothing more than those verbal games known as əfloating phrases and fictive utterances [kyōgen-kigo]. However, quite on the contrary, it is exactly here that the profundity of things is demonstrated. This is because there exists a reciprocal flow of meaning between such things [as poetry] and the way of Buddhism, a way that maintains the interdependence of all things. This is found in the teaching that:

əEnlightenment is nowhere other than in the worldly passions. Again, it is as in that passage of *The Lotus Sutra* that says:
əThe bodhisattva Mahāsattva interprets even the secular classics . . . to show how they can benefit life and can be reconciled with the perfect Buddhist dharma.¹⁰⁹

LaFleur¹¹⁰ points out that these arguments are not merely facile but express sophisticated positions in relation to the negative kyōgen kigo stance of the Buddhist clergy. Nevertheless, it is clear that Shunzei felt the need to reach for every rationalization he could to bolster his essential proposition, including an admission that poetry in fact belongs to the realm of əworldly passions .

Where the kyōgen kigo arguments of theorists such as Mujū and Myōe were attempts to give poetry a valid role within the strict terms of Buddhism, by tonsured monks whose first allegiance was to their Buddhist calling, Shunzei was voicing the position of a professional poet who nevertheless felt the need to justify and locate poetic practice in relation to the Buddhist paradigm. The final argument for such poets, both tonsured and untunsured, was the concept of *michi* 道 (Way) which grew during the twelfth century and gained wide acceptance in the thirteenth century. This term was used to express the idea that the pursuit of expertise in a wide range of professions but particularly the arts is in itself a means to pursue the Buddhist Way. The concept of the dedicated pursuit of an artistic vocation per se as justifiable in Buddhist terms may not have been an accepted argument within the closed circle of the Buddhist clergy, but in the larger world it provided even secular poets with a firm sense that their poetic activity was essentially at one with the pursuit of the Buddhist

¹⁰⁹ Quoted in William R. LaFleur, *The Karma of Words*, p. 90.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

truth.

Unlike the more defensive and intellectual rationalizations examined above, from the thirteenth century onward the *michi* ideal was largely unquestioned, and it could be said to form the underlying (and for the most part unspoken) basis for the perception of Saigyō to be found in the Tale. The fundamental assumption that the activities of poet and priest are compatible is unquestioned — it is only in the details of the depiction of those activities that tensions emerge. It is a telling fact that, given that the Tale took form and underwent its early crucial developments during the thirteenth century when the *michi* ideal held sway, these tensions are nevertheless so apparent. Although concepts such as that of *michi*, or the various arguments put forward by thinkers such as Mujū, Chōmei and Shunzei, were widely accepted in *tonseisha* poetic circles of the time, the strain of holding the two worlds of religious and poetic activity within a workable relationship was seldom far from the surface.

2.2 Kyōgen kigo in Saigyō's poetry

Although the fundamental premise of *Saigyō monogatari* is that Saigyō's life and poetry exemplify the resolution of the *kyōgen kigo* dilemma, there is little overt reference in his own writing to his position on the question. It is certain that the subject of the relation of poetry and religion was of immense importance to him, as it was for other poets of his time, and the more so because his adult life was lived within the terms of the tonsured *hijiri*.¹¹¹ However, unlike his contemporary Shunzei, he chose to leave no record of his thoughts on this or other subjects, and one must look to his poetry to guess at what his position may have been.

Two poems, both found in most versions of the Tale, serve to hint at the fact that for him too the *kyōgen kigo* problem produced unresolved tensions, and that his approach to it involved a variety of positions.

¹¹¹ Although it was far from uncommon for poets to take the tonsure, this usually occurred at a much later stage of life, after a career at court, and constituted a kind of voluntary retirement. The exact nature of Saigyō's status as *hijiri* will be discussed below.

The first, more famous poem is found in the A texts but not in the B.¹¹² The poem is not included in *Sankashū*, but appears as no. 676 in *Saigyō Shōninshū*, and in *Shinkokinshū* as no. 1844, with a virtually identical headnote.

The priest Jakuren¹¹³ approached various people for poems for a hundred-poem collection, but I declined; I set off for Kumano, and on the way I had a dream in which Tankai, the administrator of Kumano Shrine, said to Shunzei that all things decline, but only this Way¹¹⁴ does not change even in the world's latter days, and told him this poem¹¹⁵ should be composed. This opened my eyes, and I therefore composed and sent the poem, and at the end wrote the following:

*This sensibility alone / holds good / to the world's latter days — / had I not had that dream / I'd not have heard this truth.*¹¹⁶

The poem means little without the contextualizing headnote which, as William LaFleur points out,¹¹⁷ is deeply embedded in the kyōgen kigo debates of the day. The dream is a dramatic enactment of a solution to the kyōgen kigo dilemma, in which the voice of religion¹¹⁸ instructs the greatest poet of the day that Saigyō should not feel constrained to forego the composition of poetry while engaged in the ascetic practice of pilgrimage, and that the composition of the requested poem is not only permitted but encouraged by religious authority.

The reason given is that in these latter days, although the state of religion and the world is in general decline, the Way of poetry holds fast. Such a statement rests on

¹¹² See translation section 14. The Bunmeibon version is particularly confused, and in fact omits the poem itself.

¹¹³ 寂蓮 (?1139-1202), poet and priest, whose poetic style followed that of his more famous uncle Fujiwara Shunzei. One of the few poets of the time to travel extensively, though less so than Saigyō.

¹¹⁴ 道, i.e. the Way of Waka.

¹¹⁵ i.e. the poem Jakuren had requested.

¹¹⁶ *sue no yo mo kono nasake nomi kawarazu to mishi yume naku ba yoso ni kikamashi* すゑの世もこの情のみかはらずと見し夢なくはよそに聞かまし.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 3.

¹¹⁸ The authority of the dream works on two levels. Not only is the voice that of a powerful representative of religion, but, as LaFleur points out (ibid., p. 4), such a pilgrimage dream was considered revelatory, a direct communication from the deity.

a strong affirmation of the practice of poetry as a Way (or religious practice) in its own right, one fully justifiable in religious terms. One can assume that Tankai is here confirming for Saigyō an interpretation of poetry that he himself wished to believe. It is noteworthy, however, that it was a matter of some anxiety for him. He had declined Jakuren's request to submit a poem to the collection, with the implication that it was inappropriate to compose while on pilgrimage. Moreover the revelation of the dream was in direct response to this dilemma, which was obviously deeply felt. The evidence of this poem and its headnote thus reveals that for Saigyō too the kyōgen kigo dilemma was a real and continuing one, which moments of resolution such as that of the dream could only temporarily assuage.

Another aspect of the solution presented by the dream is its intimate connection with the world of Shinto. Not only is Tankai the head not of a strictly Buddhist establishment but of the syncretic shrine at Kumano (and thus speaks on behalf of a native Shinto deity, although also with the authority of its Buddhist honji counterpart); his reference is to the Way of poetry not as an individual practice, but as an unaltered ancient tradition that still persists as embodied in Saigyō,¹¹⁹ and that he must uphold. This as it were syncretizing concept of waka, which implicitly places it on a par with the Buddhist tradition (and thereby sanctions it as a native version of the Truth itself), is one we have seen in Shunzei's first argument quoted above, where he openly equates the antiquity and transmission of the waka tradition with the Buddhist dharma.

This serves to remind us that honji suijaku syncretism and the kyōgen kigo debate became important at the same time in Japanese cultural history, and suggests to what extent syncretistic thinking offered solutions to the kyōgen kigo dilemma (as also seen in the *adaraniron* outlined above). Certainly Saigyō's poetry and life reveal a deep connection with what could be called the Shinto face of syncretism, as

¹¹⁹ Most full versions of the Tale also introduce the young Norikiyo with a passage that places him in terms of his splendid inheritance of the age-old waka tradition. The B texts emphasize the sacred nature of this tradition by their reference to the belief that it sprang from a poem composed by the god Susanoō no mikoto. (See Appendix 2, section 1 of the *Shōhōbon* translation.)

witnessed by his long sojourn at Ise (see Bunmeibon sections 24-28) and his dedication of his two jikaawase collections to the inner and outer Ise shrines, as well as a number of other poems concerning the gods.¹²⁰ It would seem that the version of poetry as *michi* which Tankai propounds in the dream, while not strictly Buddhist, is close to Saigyō's own intuitive sense of the religious dimensions of his poetic activity.

Nevertheless, as we have seen, Saigyō's position in relation to the *kyōgen kigo* dilemma was a far from untroubled one. Another poem and headnote which deals with it directly again comprises both a clear acknowledgement of the problem and a solution to it, although a very different one. The poem is SKS 1118, and appears in many of the B versions of the Tale.¹²¹

When I worshipped at Mikasane Falls, it seemed to me particularly holy,
and I felt as if the three sins had been rinsed from me.
*Even the sins of words/ which lie piled upon me / are washed pure / and
my heart is clarified / at Mikasane Falls.*¹²²

In this rare reference to the Buddhist teaching which is the origin of the *kyōgen kigo* dilemma, Saigyō clearly acknowledges that his poetic activity is in strictly Buddhist terms unquestionably wrong. The context of the poem is an ascetic pilgrimage he undertook along the arduous Ōmine mountain route sacred to *shugendō* practice, during the course of which he composed a number of poems. The irony of composing a poem that states that one has been purified of the sin associated with the composition of poetry is no doubt more evident to the logical modern mind than it would have been to Saigyō and the readers of the time. The poem is above all an acknowledgement of the purifying power of this holy place, which washes away all the sins that humans naturally accumulate through living, even (in Saigyō's case) the sin of words, which the も of the poem singles out as especially intractable, while at

¹²⁰ Another example found in the Tale is poem 169 in Bunmeibon section 44 (SKS 1095), which is dedicated to the god of the Kamo shrine in Kyoto.

¹²¹ See translation, section 15.

¹²² *mi ni tsumoru kotoba no tsumi mo arawarete kokoro suminuru mikasane no taki* 身に積もる言葉の罪も洗はれて心澄みぬる三重の滝.

the same time being one among the other sins which the falls purify.

This is a poem expressing the moment's deep emotion, the pilgrim's joy at the purifying experience of visiting the holy waterfall, rather than a statement per se of contrite acknowledgement of wrongdoing that would naturally lead to abandoning the sinful act. For the Buddhist Saigyō, it would seem, the commitment to the composition of poetry unavoidably placed him in a state of sinfulness — which, however, could be alleviated at moments such as this — and he was resigned to the fact that this should be so. He was prepared to live with the dilemma, rather than abandon poetry.

There is no suggestion in this poem that poetry itself could provide a way through the dilemma, as other thinkers argued and as in another context his own dream revealed to him. The Buddhist condemnation of poetry is here unquestioned. Nevertheless, the terms of the poem remind us of Chōmei's argument, that poetic activity is associated with a purity of heart that can lead the poet towards enlightenment. The key to this concept is the important idea of ʻpurity', one that appears constantly in Saigyō's poetry and that is also the key concept in much recluse literature generally, and of particular importance in Buddhist recluse works such as *Hosshinshū* and *Senjūshō*.

The words expressing this concept of purity or clarity, *kiyoshi* 清し and *sumu* 澄む and their various cognates, carry an important load in recluse literature, where they are commonly associated with a state of mind equivalent to that attained through meditation, one that approaches and sometimes seems to merge with a state of enlightenment. It is with the aim of ʻpurifying the mind' (*kokoro wo sumasu* 心ころを澄ます) that the recluses Saigyō encounters in *Senjūshō*, or those of *Kankyō no tomo*, take up their ascetic practice, and if a practice is seen to achieve this end it is justifiable, whatever its nature.¹²³ Almost without exception, the hijiri type of recluse

¹²³ Itō Hiroyuki points out that many of the ascetics depicted in *Senjūshō* are described in terms of purity of heart to the exclusion of any mention of a Buddhist aim or context. (Itō Hiroyuki 伊藤博之, ʻ*Senjūshō* ni okeru tonsei shisō 撰集抄における遁世思想, *Bukkyō bungaku kenkyū* 5 [1967], p. 190.)

depicted in these works (as well as in *Hosshinshū*) chooses a natural environment far from human habitation in which to pursue his practice, one that has *tokorogara* 処柄, a particular quality of place conducive to purity of mind. The Tale's hermit of Musashino (section 33) is typical when he explains his reasons for choosing to live there by saying, "My heart was taken by the flowers of this plain, and there is no season when my heart is not purified by the sight."

The concept of purity, and the importance placed on it in the *tonseisha* tradition, in fact forms a kind of nexus where many of the apparently disparate elements of that tradition meet, and it is a key concept both in Saigyō's poetic philosophy and in the portrait of him that the Tale presents. The pursuit of purity is generally presented in recluse literature as an integral aspect of Buddhist practice, doctrinally associated with the philosophy of the *Maka shikan*, which prescribes the choice of a tranquil dwelling place (*kankyō seisho* 閑居静処) for the pursuit of a meditation practice, preferably one deep among distant mountains.¹²⁴ The practice of stilling the mind through meditation (*shikan*) was frequently expressed in terms of clarity, a concept with deep associational roots with the concept of purity, and hence the strict meditative practice of the *Maka shikan* doctrine came to be associated with the Shinto sensibility that associated powerful or "sacred" elements in the natural world with the important concept of purity. Choosing to be in such a place (one with *tokorogara*) thus became in itself a gesture through which one naturally partook of the purifying properties of that place, as we see in Saigyō's poem quoted above (SKS 1118).

What was in the *Maka shikan* teaching a means to an end (surroundings conducive to meditation) thus tended to become almost an end in itself, or at least to naturally produce the desired spiritual state of its own accord, without the necessary mediation of meditation.¹²⁵ As *Senjūshō* (9.5) expresses it, "To dwell in seclusion in a

¹²⁴ Saigyō's choice of the name *Sankashū* 山家集 for his collection of his poetry tacitly places his oeuvre within this meditative tradition.

¹²⁵ Although it was generally associated with a meditative practice.

mountain valley is to quiet mind and body and be without distraction. In doing this, we attain clarity of heart. The natural power of place, an essentially Shinto response, becomes naturally grafted onto the stricter Buddhist teaching, softening it in much the same way as the mediation of the native gods was said, in honji suijaku thought, to soften (*yawaragu* 和^レ) and make more accessible the difficult Law of Buddhism.¹²⁶

The syncretic impulse, which directly and indirectly played such an important part in reconciling the dilemma of *kyōgen kigo* as we saw above, thus also lies behind the important and essentially syncretic concept of purity and clarity to be found in recluse literature, and throughout Saigyō's writing. Indeed the impulses behind the recluse ideal of the Kamakura period writers have strong links with earlier manifestations of syncretic Buddhism, in the form of the precursors of what was later systematized as *shugendō*. Itō points to the frequent reference in recluse literature to the early figure of Genpin 玄賓 (d. 818), a sage and forerunner of the *shugendō* tradition who is portrayed as spurning the city and choosing to live beside the pure and sanctifying waters of sacred Mt. Miwa.¹²⁷ This important Shinto concept of purity was one of the distinctive elements that Japanese reclusion added to the ancient Chinese Taoist recluse tradition,¹²⁸ which forms yet another layer in the image of the mountain hermit inherited and refined by Saigyō.¹²⁹

The strong links between the recluse concept of purity and the Shinto response to the natural world naturally flow over into the world of *waka*, which is intimately connected to Shinto not only through its mythic origins but, more immediately,

¹²⁶ Poem 91 in *Bunmeibon* section 28 exemplifies both the concept of softening associated with the native gods, and the easy merging of Buddhist and Shinto content through the image of clarity .

¹²⁷ *Senjūshō ni okeru tonsei shisō* , p. 179.

¹²⁸ This tradition can be seen as the origin of the belief that dwelling in the natural world is of itself conducive to a state of enlightenment (connection with the Tao).

¹²⁹ An example of the Taoist aspects of this image is found in the Tale in *Bunmeibon*'s idealized description of Saigyō's life on Mt. Yoshino (an area which in turn has important *shugendō* links). (See *Bunmeibon* section 13).

Although Saigyō left behind no poetry in Chinese, the persona of his poetry (as well as the pattern of his life) bears the strong imprint of Taoist recluse ideals, as I will discuss below.

through the pervasive presence of the natural world in traditional waka imagery. Saigyō's poetry frequently brings into conscious, even explicit, focus the generally more diffuse religious sensibility that is implicit in waka's natural imagery. It is thus not surprising that words associated with the concept of purity should occur so pervasively in his poetry, almost always in connection with natural imagery. This is nowhere more striking than in the abundant moon poems, for which Saigyō is justly famous.

The image of the moon can serve to stand for what is surely Saigyō's clearest and most consistent intuitive response to the kyōgen kigo dilemma. In his poetry, the moon is at once the physical object present to the poem's speaker, the bearer of associative meanings that connect the poem's moment to the long waka tradition, a religious symbol, and an object of Buddhist meditation.

In poems such as the following, the moon clearly carries important religious meaning: *The darkness has brightened / and the clear moon / that dwells now in my heart / may mean that for me too / the western mountain's rim is near at hand* (SKS 876)¹³⁰

The headnote to this poem is *kanjin* 観心,¹³¹ whose meaning of meditative practice places it in a firmly Buddhist context (reinforced by the reference to the west, the direction of the Pure Land paradise). Such poems, which link the visible moon to the moon in the heart, make clear reference to the Shingon practice of moon disk meditation, *gachirinkan* 月輪観, wherein the practitioner seeks to draw the moon (commonly through a representation of it) into his mind and thus to become one with the enlightened state that the moon embodies. In Shingon literature, the full moon as vehicle for meditation is ascribed virtues which link it strongly with the moon of Saigyō's poetry: it is described as perfect, as unstained, pure and luminous, each of

¹³⁰ *yami harete kokoro no sora ni sumu tsuki wa nishi no yamabe ya chikaku naruran* 闇晴れて心の空にすむ月は西の山辺や近くなるらん. (See Bunmeibon section 39).

¹³¹ A form of Shingon meditation whereby one's heart becomes identified with that of Nyorai 如来, at which point the ideal of attainment of Buddhahood in this present body (*sokushin jōbutsu* 即身成仏) is achieved.

which qualities is associated with meanings to be sought through meditation on it.¹³²

Poems such as the above, which explicitly link the image of the moon with meditative practice, are rare,¹³³ but in Saigyō's poetry generally the moon is the pure, luminous and perfect moon we find described in Shingon literature,¹³⁴ and in this sense his moon poetry is to be read as an expression of a sensibility deeply influenced by Buddhism.¹³⁵

But his moon poems can be said to be 'Buddhist' only in the most general sense. While many of his poems are susceptible of a Buddhist (although not strictly

¹³² Yamasaki Taikō (*Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, Peterson, Richard and Peterson, Cynthia, trans. and adapted, Yasuyoshi Morimoto and David Kidd, ed., Boston and London, Shambhala Press, 1988, pp. 213-214) quotes from a text by the great Shingon reformer Kakuban, *Single Collection of the Essential Secrets*, giving details of these qualities as follows:

Perfect. Even as the moon is round and perfect, one's mind lacks nothing. . . Contemplating the roundness of the moon, visualize the perfect form of the mind. . .

Stainless. Even as the moon is stainless and white, one's mind is the unstained Dharma. . . Contemplating the whiteness of the moon, visualize the spotlessness of the mind. . .

Pure. Even as the moon is pure, one's mind is without defilement. . . Contemplating the absolute purity of the moon, visualize the pure nature of mind.

Luminous. Even as the moon shines brightly, the radiance of one's mind is bright and clear.

Originally apart from the darkness of delusion, the mind is eternally free. The moon of the mind shines clearly within one's breast, and the darkness of the five hindrances disappears. When the round mirror shines within the mind, its radiant wisdom illuminates all.

¹³³ Exceptions can be found in the so-called 'Bodaishinron poems' of *Kikigakishū*, composed on themes from the religious tract *Bodaishinron* 菩提心論, one of the sources for the gachirinkan meditation. I discuss below the Tale's telling omission of these poems based on Buddhist doctrinal themes.

¹³⁴ Yamaori Tetsuo points out that this is in contrast to the moon to be found, for instance, in the poetry of Saigyō's great younger contemporary Fujiwara Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241), which is typically depicted as soft and misted. (Yamaori Tetsuo 山折哲雄, 'Shōji no umi — Saigyō to 'bukkyō 生死の海 — 西行と「仏教」', *Kokubungaku* 30.4 [April 1985], p. 43).

¹³⁵ Masaki Akira has traced the sudden appearance of moon imagery in Japanese poetry largely to the influence of Shingon and its gachirinkan meditation, and points to Saigyō's poetry as epitomizing this shift. He points out, however, that although a new awareness of the moon as religious symbol is clearly apparent in Saigyō's writing, it would be wrong to read all his moon poems as religious. Masaki's mention of the influence of Chinese poetry on waka moon imagery reminds us that the influences on Saigyō's writing were various, and that Chinese recluse poetry was strong among them, as I discuss below. (Masaki Akira 正木晃, 'Tsuki, shinpi no gyōhō, nihonteki bi 月・神秘の行法・日本の美, *Mikkyō no sekai* 密教の世界, Bessatsu rekishi tokuhon tokubetsu zōkan 71, Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha [1994], pp. 202-211.)

meditative)¹³⁶ interpretation, for the vast majority of poems this can only be the a deep reading, brought to the poem by a reader aware of the importance of Saigyō's Buddhist practice.¹³⁷ A typical cross-section of Saigyō's moon poetry can be seen in the collection of moon poems found in the Tale in section 21 of *Bunmeibon*. Of the ten poems, two (poems 71 and 76) are overtly religious in content, two (poems 70 and 77) allow for a possible Buddhist reading, while the overt content of the remaining six seems to preclude any religious reading. Significantly, several of the poems clearly belong to the tradition of love poetry (poems 75 and 78, and possibly also poem 72), and the sensibility expressed in the poems generally is one of yearning and of sorrowing that is far from the world of Buddhist meditation and non-attachment, and belongs fully to the emotional world of *waka*.

Thus, while Saigyō's moon can often be a symbol of the Buddhist truth, it also partakes of the full inheritance of the moon of the *waka* tradition within which he wrote, where since the *Manyōshū* the moon has held the features of the beloved, been the focus of the waiting lover's frustrations, and been the constant in which two separated lovers can meet through gazing at it simultaneously. All these moons are to be found in Saigyō's poetry. Yet, as Yamaori points out,¹³⁸ Saigyō also inherited the moon of later *waka*, and significantly deepened further the evolution through which it became more than a mere object for projecting human love and longing, and grew to be a mirror reflecting the inner heart, and a means to focus the world of inner

¹³⁶ Where the moon in Saigyō's poetry appears to carry religious overtones, it is most often associated with a pure state (enlightenment) longed for but unattained, typified in SKS 314:

Perhaps this yearning heart / may reach fulfilment — / stay awhile yet / and do not sink
below the mountain rim / autumn moon. (*shitawaruru kokoro ya yuku to yama no ha ni*
shibashi na iri so aki no yo no tsuki 慕はるる心やゆくと山の端にしばしな入りそ
秋の夜の月.)

¹³⁷ Such a reading is epitomized by that of the priest Yamada Shōzen, who argues for a Buddhist reading of Saigyō's poetry. His analysis of the poems of Buddhist content is admirable, and he is right to draw attention to the symbolic Buddhist content of much of Saigyō's poetry in general. It is nevertheless the case that the primary reading of the great majority of Saigyō's poems is most naturally a literary one. (See Yamada Shōzen 山田昭全, *saigyō to Bodaishin-ron* 西行と「菩提心論」, *Bukkyō bungaku* 8 [1984], pp. 1-11.)

¹³⁸ *Shōji no umi*, p. 41.

reflection. In this sense, Saigyō's moon reflects all that he brings to it, and to the practice of poetry. Seen one way, it is the pure and perfect Shingon moon disk, object of meditative practice and symbol of Buddhist truth and enlightenment; seen through the focus of the old waka tradition, it becomes the moon of the lover, of yearning and of remembering; and seen through Saigyō's own particular sensibility it is both the luminous object that rises in the sky and moves him with its sheer beauty, and the adequate reflection of his own heart, which can contain both the aspirations of the Buddhist practitioner and the depth of feeling of the poet.

Saigyō would certainly never have attempted to analyze his poetic uses of the moon in these terms, and it is precisely his distance from the world of analytical judgement and logical explanation that allows the moon to be the whole that it is in his poetry, containing and reflecting the many facets of his poetic world. In just this way, his poetry as a whole contains and reflects a great breadth of worlds, many of which would seem to conflict with the strictly Buddhist aspirations that a later age associated with him and that he himself frequently expressed. Poems that are conscious of the kyōgen kigo dilemma offer no final solution to it, and reveal Saigyō as deeply troubled by it, yet the poetry as a whole does not reflect this, and we must assume that, like the moon, the final truth he sought through poetry could contain and reflect all that was in his heart, including its most unenlightened attachments, both to the world and to the waka tradition itself.

Saigyō's position vis a vis the kyōgen kigo dilemma, as revealed in his poetry, was thus multiple, shifting, largely intuitive, and frequently apparently contradictory — essentially, the response of a poet rather than of a doctrinaire man of religion. Where the question comes into focus in his poetry, that focus most commonly takes the form of an essentially syncretic response, which has strong affinities with the Buddhism of later recluse literature through its emphasis on the inherently enlightening powers of the natural world, the importance of the experience of apurity to be gained from immersing oneself in that world, and more generally the unspoken faith in the idea of poetry as michi. Nevertheless, where the poems do

address the question of *kyōgen kigo* directly, as in SSS 676 or SKS 1118 above, we find behind the momentary resolutions offered a more pervasive anxiety when confronted head-on with the dilemma which his life choices embodied. In strictly Buddhist terms, Saigyō appears to have found no final solution to this large problem,¹³⁹ and it is this unresolved tension that adds a strong piquancy to a full reading of his poetry.

Saigyō monogatari inherited both Saigyō's dilemma and his varied responses to it. Insofar as it is the tale of a recluse poet, it provides a strongly drawn portrait of the more reclusive aspects of the Saigyō of the poems; although, as we shall see, the Tale selects against the aspects of Saigyō that do not fit this ideal. It is only where the Tale's soft focus shifts towards a harder, more strictly Buddhist content, in which the Saigyō figure must play the role of religious exemplar, that difficulties and tensions appear within and among the texts. In this too it is true to Saigyō's experience, although in the process it subverts its own stated aim.

SECTION 3: Saigyō and his Tale

3.1 Saigyō's life

Idealized portrait though it is, the Tale is loosely circumscribed by the known facts of Saigyō's life. That these facts are relatively few gives the Tale its scope. It is further aided by the relative immediacy of the subjective portrait of Saigyō that emerges through his poetry. Thus the raw material from which the Tale constructs its Saigyō figure is both sketchy as to grounding facts, and at times unusually intimate in the details of personal and private experience.

The facts are on the whole straightforward. As the Tale relates, Saigyō was born Fujiwara Norikiyo 藤原義清, to a minor branch of the Fujiwara clan which

¹³⁹ My evidence for this statement is based on his own writings. The firm pronouncements that later writers (such as Renza in *Saigyō Shōnin danshō* 西行上人談抄) report him having made on the essential unity of poetry and religion very probably owe as much to the beliefs and projections of those writers as to Saigyō's own ideas.

traditionally provided guards for the imperial household. His date of birth is 1118, a date not recorded in the Tale, which more traditionally begins by placing him in relation to the retired emperor Toba (Toba-In 鳥羽院, 1103-1156), whom he served as a young man. Norikiyo began his career as a palace guard (*hokumen no bushi* 北面の武士), and although the Tale portrays him as a favourite of Toba-In apparently destined for a high rank within the guards,¹³⁹ if not already in a position of considerable power,¹⁴⁰ he had not achieved a rank of any note at the time of his shukke at the age of twenty three.

Sonpi bunmyaku 尊卑分脈 records that he had a wife and son. There is no record of a daughter, and legend quite possibly changed son to daughter for greater emotive effect.¹⁴¹ Nor is there any record of the reasons for his shukke, which is generally believed to have occurred in the spring of 1140, when he was twenty three (the Tale makes him twenty five, an example of its loose approach to dates). It was at this time that he took the religious name Saigyō.¹⁴²

From his shukke until his death in 1190, Saigyō appears to have lived outside the capital, although with frequent returns to it.¹⁴³ Evidence from headnotes to poems suggests that he first lived close to the capital, in *bessho* 別¹⁴⁴ communities at Kurama

¹³⁹ Several texts specify that Toba-In intended to promote him to a rank of second in command in the Ministry of Police. (See Bunmeibon section 2).

¹⁴⁰ See the companion's lament in Bunmeibon section 30.

¹⁴¹ The Tale's depictions of the episodes concerning Saigyō's wife and daughter appear to be derived directly from *Hosshinshū*. They fit the common pattern of moving setsuwa depictions of the Buddhist aspirant spurning his weeping family.

¹⁴² He was also known as Enji 円位.

¹⁴³ One early reappearance in the capital is briefly recorded in *Daiki* 台記, the diary of Minister of the Left Fujiwara Yorinaga 藤原頼長 (1120-56). In 1142, on the 15th day of the third month, he records Saigyō as soliciting *ippōgyō* 一品經 (sutra copying in which each person undertakes to copy one fascicle, generally of *The Lotus Sutra*) among the people at court. On this occasion, he told Yorinaga that he was 25 years old, and had left the world two years earlier. The diary goes on to record that people praised him for having chosen this path despite his youth, his wealth, and the fact that his heart was free of sorrows (心に愁いなし). This, the only objective and contemporary picture of him, suggests that his shukke was motivated by a genuine spiritual calling, rather than the reversals of fortune or personal loss that speculation has attributed to him.

¹⁴⁴ Communities of recluses which sprang up in the vicinity of temples.

and in the western mountains (present-day Arashiyama). In 1143 he set off on the first of his famous travels, going to Ise and then north into the Tōhoku region. This is as described in the A texts, but not the B texts, which interpose sections (11-23) describing him at Yoshino and going thence to Nachi, along the Ōmine route and finally back to the capital. From approximately 1148 he appears to have based himself in the bessho community on Mt. Kōya, headquarters of the Shingon sect with which he was affiliated, although the poems record that he often made forays to the capital as well as other journeys. One of the places that appears frequently in his poems, and where he seems to have lived from time to time, is Yoshino, a mountain area rich in both religious and literary associations and famed even then for its blossoms, which have a special place in Saigyō's poetry. (The B texts but not the A texts depict him as living there, in sections 11-12).

The next major journey he is known to have made is to Sanuki (Shikoku) in 1167, at the age of fifty. Here he visited the grave of Sutoku 崇徳 (1119-1164) who had recently died in exile there. His visit is described in both A and B texts (see Bunmeibon section 48), and the subsequent time he spent living in a hut beside the important Shingon temple of Zentsūji in Sanuki is also sketched in. The next record of his travels to be found in headnotes is a pilgrimage he undertook to Kumano, Shingū and thence again to Ise, in 1180 at the age of sixty three. The Tale does not mention this journey, although the B texts depict him as visiting the area around Kumano in his Ōmine pilgrimage (see above) at an earlier stage in his career. It is quite possible that he travelled in the area more than once, since the Kumano pilgrimage route was a popular one. Certainly he seems to have accompanied Goshirakawa-In at least as far as Sumiyoshi when the retired emperor undertook the Kumano pilgrimage in 1171. The sequence SKS 1104-1119 is a poetic record of his journey along the Ōmine route, described in the B texts (sections 13-17), although without indication of date.

Having reached Ise, Saigyō spent the next six years living at nearby Futami Bay, in close association with the poetic circle associated with the priests of Ise Shrine. The Tale places this sojourn at Ise much earlier, conflating it with Saigyō's

visit to Ise before his first northern journey. From here, he set off in 1186, at the advanced age of sixty nine, once again travelling northward to the Tōhoku area, officially for the purpose of collecting funds for the rebuilding of Tōdaiji, which had recently been destroyed by fire. This trip, like the Ise sojourn, is conflated with the earlier one in the Tale. En route, he is known to have met with Minamoto Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147-1199), founder of the Kamakura bakufu, although this is not recorded in the Tale.

In 1187, at the age of seventy, he was back in the capital, soliciting the judgement of Shunzei and Teika for his two *jikaawase*. At some point before his death, he moved to Hirokawadera (or Kōsenji 弘川寺) in Kawachi, where he died on the sixteenth day of the second month in 1190, at the age of seventy three.

3.2 Saigyō becomes legend

The immediate cause of Saigyō's attaining legendary status was his famously foretold *ajō* death beneath the cherry blossoms at full moon, which so impressed his contemporaries and continued to awe later generations. I will discuss this key event and its relation to the Tale below, but it is first important to consider more generally what aspects of his life were and were not chosen for inclusion in the Tale.

As mentioned above, while the Tale remains generally faithful to the larger known facts of his life (if in somewhat garbled form), it omits or glosses over a number of areas that could be expected to be included in a straightforward biographical depiction. The most obvious of these is the more social aspects of Saigyō's tenuous life. His poems make it clear that he maintained quite close connections both with other poets and with many of those he had known at court, and he appears to have made frequent visits to the capital. Some versions of the Tale do devote space to instances of his poetic exchanges (see for example section 42 of *Bunmeibon*), but such places most often seem to be later additions to swell the Tale, brief episodes which are largely close versions of *Sankashū* headnotes, and which are at odds with the general tone of the Tale. No mention is made of his participation in

the poetry meetings of the day,¹⁴⁵ and the many poems he wrote on a set theme, where they are included in the Tale, are almost always given a new and personal context of composition. Saigyō's poetic activity is overwhelmingly depicted as being conducted in solitude and far from human habitation, and the evidence in his writing that this was by no means the only life he led is almost completely ignored.¹⁴⁶

Another notable omission is any depiction of his life on Mt. Kōya,¹⁴⁷ which was his base for many years. It would seem that this too constituted a version of Saigyō that was at odds with, or at the least irrelevant to, the Tale's idealized image of him. This serves to emphasize the fact that the Saigyō of the Tale is essentially solitary, not only in his poetic activity but also in his guise as religious practitioner. Mt. Kōya was a vast monastery, with an extensive and highly active *bessho* community with which Saigyō was apparently affiliated, but his relationship to organized religion and his years spent living in close proximity with other *hijiri* would jar with the image of the solitary recluse that the Tale projects. It is above all his wanderings in distant lands that are the focus of the Tale, the times during which he most closely approximated to the solitary and richly sentimentalized poetic recluse characteristics with which the Tale endows him.¹⁴⁸ Even his return(s) to the capital are depicted as essentially solitary experiences.

This is not the only version of Saigyō that legend inherited. Aside from the

¹⁴⁵ This is particularly evident in the Ise sections, which gloss over the fact that his life at Futami seems to have been full of visits by poetic disciples, and participation in *utaawase* events at the shrine.

¹⁴⁶ Another, more general shift of emphasis could be claimed in the de-emphasizing of the frequent periods during which Saigyō appears to have lived in one place for extended periods of time (called by Mezaki his *astasis* [*sei* 静] periods), in favour of an emphasis on the periods when he was engaged in travel (Mezaki's *amotion* [*dō* 動] mode). (See Mezaki Tokue, *Saigyō no shisōshiteki kenkyū* 西行の思想史的研究, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan [1978].)

¹⁴⁷ Made explicit in the *kotobagaki* to numerous poems.

¹⁴⁸ This image disregards the fact that even his journeys would certainly have been interspersed with social occasions, such as his meeting with Yoritomo mentioned above. The only such event mentioned in the Tale is his extended stay with Hidehira in Hiraizumi (see section 36 of *Bunmeibon*), which he is depicted as having undertaken only after much persuasion and against his inclinations.

vast and fascinating wealth of folk legends that have surrounded the Saigyō character down the centuries, the same age and social milieu that produced the Tale also produced a number of written stories concerning Saigyō, and it is instructive to compare the Saigyō that emerges in these stories with the Saigyō of the Tale, and to note their important differences.

Typical instances of the general setsuwa treatment of Saigyō can be found in the stories concerning him that are contained in the *Kokon chomonjū* 古今著聞集 (1254), a compilation of setsuwa made by Tachibana Narisue 橘成李 (dates unknown). A number of the stories originate in *Sankashū* headnotes and poems; five of these (KKCMJ nos. 57, 156, 157, 460 and 465) also appear in similar form in Bunmeibon and some other B texts, but none are present in the A texts.¹⁴⁹ The consistent impression given in almost all the Saigyō tales found in *Kokon chomonjū* is of a man interacting with others, either through poetry exchanges or through more general social relations. Tellingly, where the question of Saigyō's religious practice comes up, we find a very different and much more humorously frail image of him than that found in the Tale. One of the episodes the two works¹⁵⁰ have in common is the story of Saigyō's Ōmine journey in the company of a group of yamabushi led by one Shunanbō (Sōnanbō in the Tale).¹⁵¹ Here, the point of the story is that Saigyō underestimated the arduous nature of the religious practice (*shugyō* 修行) of the journey, and is taught to know better. He is depicted as experiencing a failure of nerve, and being chastised by Shunanbō, after which he finally gains the strength to complete the undertaking. In the Tale, on the other hand, Saigyō's journey is largely a

¹⁴⁹ No firm conclusions as to influence can be drawn from this, since Narisue may have taken his stories from a version of the B texts, or (equally possible) vice versa. It may also be that both independently drew these episodes directly from *Sankashū*. It does, however, tend to re-enforce the impression that the A text content was formed earlier than the B texts, and is generally less compromised by insertions of additional material.

¹⁵⁰ Like the other episodes from *Kokon chomonjū* found also in the Tale, it is present only in the B texts.

¹⁵¹ See Bunmeibon section 15-17. The comments to section 17 summarize and discuss the *Kokon chomonjū* version and its relation to that of the Tale.

poetic one, the few religious moments are of emotional sublimity¹⁵² rather than hard-won spiritual gain, and his relationship with Sōnanbō is one of deep mutual affection and a meeting of sensibilities.

Saigyō as a humorously weak figure is in fact a common theme in legends and tales. Other examples can be seen in two stories of him found in another setsuwa collection, *Ima monogatari* 今物語 (1239-40?), said to have been compiled by Fujiwara Takanobu 藤原隆信 (1177-1265). One relates how Saigyō came visiting a noble house to find the master absent, and the servant abused him as a lowly monk and kicked him away with a curse, not knowing who he was. Saigyō departed ignominiously, leaving behind a line of verse which later allowed the master to identify him. This tale of humiliation at the hands of the ignorant bears a formal relationship to that of Saigyō's humiliation at Tenryū Crossing (Bunmeibon section 30), but the Saigyō of that episode is an entirely superior and bodhisattva-like person, the antithesis of the sorry and slightly ridiculous figure of the *Ima monogatari* story. The other Saigyō story found in this collection is a similarly humorous depiction of Saigyō, who here abandons the shugyō of his Michinoku journey when he learns that his poem has not been included in the selection for a prestigious imperial poetry collection,¹⁵³ and hastens back to the capital to try to rectify this. Here Saigyō is gently lampooned as being far more concerned about his poetic reputation than his religious practice, a version of him severely at odds with the Tale's Saigyō, which is premised on his awe-inspiring reconciliations of the kyōgen kigo dilemma.

Ton'ari's tale of Mongaku's low opinion of Saigyō's religious credentials and his threats to break his head if he ever comes across him likewise reflects this humorous Saigyō type, and it is no surprise to find that the folk legend version of Saigyō is overwhelmingly also of this type, with a common theme of Saigyō being

¹⁵² The poem at Mikasane Falls (Bunmeibon poem 53), quoted above, is the main such moment.

¹⁵³ The poem is SKS 470 (Bunmeibon poem 104), and the collection the *Senzai wakashū* 千載和歌集, whose compilation was ordered in 1183.

bested in exchanges with locals¹⁵⁴ or otherwise mildly humiliated and made the butt of jokes in the places he passes through on his travels.¹⁵⁵

It would seem rather odd that a poet as revered as Saigyō should in general legend become so much the target of gentle ridicule, until we remember the long tradition of making fun of monks and priests, particularly itinerant ones. Seen against the Saigyō of these stories, however, the entirely serious, high-minded and solitary Saigyō of the Tale is revealed as being the product of a careful selection of material. Even the Saigyō of *Hosshinshū*, from which the Tale freely borrows, is a far more social and down-to-earth person, whose concerns for his daughter are worldly rather than spiritual.¹⁵⁶

The one characteristic that links these two very different Saigyōs is the quality of human frailty. If the Saigyō of the Tale were an entirely high-minded monk, withstanding deprivation without a murmur and devoting himself unswervingly to spiritual practice, he would be no more memorable than the hundreds of such hijiri types depicted in Buddhist setsuwa. The emotions he would arouse would be those of astonishment (*arigatasa* 有難さ) and awe in the presence of that which is sublimely holy (*tōtoki* 尊さ), emotional expressions with which the witness conventionally responds to the hijiri of the setsuwashū. Those hijiri, however, do not provoke the cry of *aware* (哀れ, *ahow moving!*) which the Tale's Saigyō consistently draws from us

¹⁵⁴ This important aspect of the folklore Saigyō appears to have its origins in his poetry, being a variation on the theme of the famous poetic exchange with the courtesan of Eguchi, in which Saigyō is bested in a poetic exchange with a local courtesan (SKS 752, 753, see Bunmeibon translation section 46). This short *Sankashū* exchange and kotobagaki episode, a version of which found its way into many setsuwa collections as well as the famous Nō play *Eguchi*, can be said to contain the seed of the *ahumble* Saigyō of legend (the Saigyō that the Tale eschews). In this episode he is a poor itinerant monk, subject to the humiliation of begging shelter and thus at the mercy of the common folk (in this case, a prostitute), by whom he allows himself to be gently and cleverly mocked, a trait that would have greatly endeared him to folk legend.

¹⁵⁵ An investigation of this rich folklore material is beyond the scope of this thesis, since there is no evidence of its influence on the Tale. Hanabe Hideo 花部英雄 has made a close and thorough study of the folklore Saigyō in his *Saigyō denshō no sekai* 西行伝承の世界, Iwata Shoin, Tokyo (1996).

¹⁵⁶ See the comments to section 49 for a discussion of the two versions of Saigyō in this episode.

who witness him (frequently aided by the narrator's promptings), ultimately a far more compelling emotional response from a reader's point of view. It is Saigyō's human struggle and suffering, rather than his achievements, that provide the ground tone of the Tale, and it is this that holds the audience. As in the case of folk legend, the key to the powerful nature of the Saigyō figure is his human frailty, although where that frailty is humorously lovable in folk legend, it here wrings our hearts, taking on the powerful force of the emotion of aware that in its various forms is the tenor of so much of Japanese literature.

It is the presence of this pervasive emotion, however, which creates the dilemma that destabilizes the Tale, particularly in its more religious versions: how to depict a Saigyō who is at once movingly and endearingly human, and awe-inspiring in his strictly religious practice and attainments. This theme is one I will trace in my detailed examination of the Tale in Part II, and my conclusions are to be found in the final discussion of Part III.

Needless to say, the Tale did not arbitrarily construct this image of Saigyō. As with the facts of his life, so with its tenor also, the Tale essentially drew on and refined elements that were already present in Saigyō's own writing. Here it was aided by the fact that Saigyō left nothing beyond his poetry. The Saigyō that posterity inherited from his poetry was the poetic persona, a construction whose roots go back into the Chinese recluse poet tradition and, in Japan, to his poetic forebears such as Nōin, for whom the status of "wandering monk" was the defining element in his poetic projection of himself. Despite the presence, noted above, of many poetic exchanges and other poems whose headnotes reveal a highly social side to Saigyō, to an overwhelming degree his poetic persona is that of the recluse poet — alone, immersed in and deeply responsive to the natural world, wandering far lands or making his temporary dwelling in mountains¹⁵⁷ or by temples, frequently beset by loneliness and by the forces of nature.

This is the Saigyō whom we find threading his way through the Tale,

¹⁵⁷ The title *Sankashū* is an expression of this persona.

particularly in the travel sections and all those sections where poetic content (both in the prose and in the presence of poems per se) is not overlaid or compromised by religious content. If the Saigyō of the Tale is a romantic projection, he is little more than an extension of the projected persona that Saigyō himself created in his writing. William LaFleur states that Saigyō intentionally patterned himself on the Sakyamuni legend, and to this extent was creator of his own myth,¹⁵⁸ which the Tale inherited pre-formed. I will examine the question of Saigyō and the Sakyamuni myth below, but it must first be said that religious patternings were among the least of the self-created Saigyō image. The Tale convinces us in part precisely because the persona of the poems around which it is largely constructed is so much at one with the idealized Saigyō figure portrayed in the narrative.

Indeed it is one of the more remarkable features of *Sankashū*, and of Saigyō's poetry in general, that the voice of the poems is at once so intimately personal and so closely identified with the ancient type of ̄recluse poet . The waka tradition always assumes a personal presence behind the poem, ̄the poet (where not otherwise specified, such as in *byōbu-uta* 屏風歌) responding directly to experience, but this was often more an accepted convention of reading than the absolute identity of the person with the poet of the poem that a naive reading would assume. This is not to suggest that Saigyō's poetry was ̄insincere , or that his poetic persona was ̄false

¹⁵⁸ William LaFleur, ̄The Death and 'Lives' of the Poet-Monk Saigyō — The Genesis of a Buddhist Sacred Biography , Frank Reynolds and Donald Capps, ed., *The Biographical Process: Studies in the History and Psychology of Religion*, The Hague: Mouton (1976), pp. 343-361. LaFleur's argument that the ̄author of the Tale ̄merely extended and made more overt a structure intended by his subject, Saigyō himself ̄ (p. 344) is formally similar to my own position, but where LaFleur sees the Tale as inheriting Saigyō's patterning of his life on that of Sakyamuni (i.e. a religious patterning), I consider the Tale to have most importantly inherited the much more pervasive and striking persona that Saigyō's writing created, a persona that was based on that of the religious recluse poet. To the extent that Saigyō's life could be said to echo that of Sakyamuni (apart from the common shukke, LaFleur's only concrete example is the ̄intentional coincidence of his death day), it surely does so only in the way that any wandering monk's life does. It is the Tale, primarily through its imaginative embellishments on Norikiyo's shukke and its final interpretation of his life in Buddhist terms as he prepares for the famous ̄jō, that imposes the religious patterning on a life that it elsewhere presents more consistently through the poetic persona it inherits. LaFleur in fact could be said to be performing the same act of retrospectively reinterpreting the life in the light of the miraculous death that the Tale itself performs.

The matter is surely more complex. Certainly Saigyō, more than any other Japanese poet of his time or before, lived out the recluse poet ideal, and wrote out of that life. Yet it is simplistic to assume that, because he chose to pursue in life the poetic recluse's lifestyle to the extent he did, his poems expressing the recluse experience are all or entirely personal and private expressions.

Ivo Smits, agreeing with Steven Carter that we must not underestimate the role of convention in constructing a poet's mask or persona in the waka and renga traditions, argues that poets would nevertheless often try to bring the mask closer to lived experience by recreating an approximation of the situation of the poem, for example by composing recluse poetry at a country estate or temple.¹⁵⁹ In such cases, says Smits, imagined life and real life were to overlap to a degree that the distinction between the two was, if temporarily, removed.¹⁶⁰ Assuredly, Saigyō achieved this overlapping of imagined and real to a far more compelling degree than those court poets who temporarily retired to their country estates to taste the poetic recluse experience. But it is important to recognize that, in so doing, he was not merely personalizing the (less real) ideal. Rather, we might say that in this gesture of submitting his life to a pre-existing pattern he was elevating the merely private to a level on which it partook of and drew sustenance from the great wealth of resonance that belonged to the long tradition of the poetic recluse type. This is the equivalent of the process by which an individual, in composing a poem out of felt experience (whether real or imagined), elevates that experience to one which partakes of the richness of the waka tradition. Just as the use of *honkadōri* 本歌取り (alluding through diction or imagery to a previous poem or poems) deepens and expands the individual poem's resonance,¹⁶¹ rather than detracting from the sincerity of

¹⁵⁹ Ivo Smits, *The Pursuit of Loneliness*, pp. 28-29.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Konishi Jinzichi (*A History of Japanese Literature*, vol. 2, Aileen Gatten, trans., Earl Miner, ed. New Jersey: Princeton University Press [1986], p. 99) refers to the practice of *honkadōri* and more generally the waka poet's constant awareness of the link between present work and preexisting expression as retrospective orientation. It could be said that this orientation tended to extend itself beyond the realm of waka to that of experience per se, which gains its meaning through its relation to

expression , so too in the process of patterning his life on the poet recluse ideal, Saigyō as it were became the figure in the poem , blending with the figure that the tradition had created and thus achieving, not only in his poetry but also in lived experience, a deep interpenetration of individual and tradition.

Nevertheless, although the suprapersonal poetic persona and the private person appear so thoroughly integrated in Saigyō's case, we must beware of assuming complete identity, and of the modern habit of reading the poem as the expression of the private person, who may allude to a traditional type but only by way of extending the private self. Part of Saigyō's genius was to imbue the persona of his poetry with an unusually down-to-earth sense of intimacy of a lived individual life,¹⁶² but here too we would be wise not to read too simplistically. In the depiction of the poet-self as humble individual replete with endearing human frailties, Saigyō was drawing not on the waka tradition but on the older tradition of Chinese recluse poets, whose poetry is in the personal, often rather rueful voice of the recluse in daily life in his humble abode.¹⁶³ Even at his most intimate and direct, Saigyō was not the lone voice of the individual, but a voice that implicitly inherited and extended a vast world of voices that had gone before.¹⁶⁴

Thus, rather than search out the real Saigyō and examine how the Tale did and did not idealize and recast him, it is closer to the spirit both of the Tale and of Saigyō's own life and writing to see the two as partaking of the same great tradition whereby an individual's life is imbued with meaning and depth by being perceived from without, or experienced from within, in terms of the larger ideal, which has in turn acquired its power through the previous lives that also partook of that tradition. By drawing Saigyō into the realm of legend, the Tale in fact only extends Saigyō's (echoing of) that of the great forebears (*sennin* 先人) in a given tradition.

¹⁶² This was to a great extent achieved by the sometimes highly personal and extensive kotobagaki accompanying poems, as explained above.

¹⁶³ This is so not only in Saigyō's kotobagaki but also in some of the poems. (An example can be seen in section 52, poem 192)

¹⁶⁴ The extent to which Saigyō extended as well as inheriting this recluse poet tradition is well attested by those such as Bashō who took him as a revered model in both life and writing.

own literary construct of the self; the Saigyō of *Sankashū* and his other personal collections already belongs to the realm of legend. In this sense, the Tale seems no more than a natural extension of the Saigyō material of his own writing, inheriting and refining both the poet recluse figure and the unresolved kyōgen kigo tensions that that figure embodied.

Where the Tale in its many variants departs from the material it inherited is at the points where more overtly religious content is superimposed on the *Sankashū* figure.¹⁶⁵ It would seem reasonable to assume, then, that the Tale began life as a fairly straightforward presentation of the Saigyō persona it inherited, which belongs to the world of the poetic projection of the recluse ideal, and that its overtly religious material, whose tone is so frequently at odds with this persona, is a later accretion. Yet even in what appear to be the earliest surviving forms of the Tale, two important elements are present that portray Saigyō primarily¹⁶⁶ in religious terms: the descriptions of his shukke and of his ōjō. Saigyō left virtually no record of his shukke,¹⁶⁷ and the shukke scenes with which the Tale opens can thus be assumed to be imaginative renderings of the event in the setsuwa style. The ōjō sections likewise belong to this style, but are of far greater importance, since it is generally accepted that Saigyō's ōjō was the single compelling fact that shifted him firmly into the realm of legend, and thus propelled the Tale into being.

¹⁶⁵ This is not to deny that Saigyō did occasionally compose waka with specifically religious content. Examples are poems on themes from *Bodaishinron* (see note 133 above) and *The Lotus Sutra*. Both these groups of religious poetry are found only in *Kikigakishū*, an anthology compiled by Saigyō's followers, consisting of poems he did not include in his own collections. It may be that Saigyō considered these strictly religious poems to have no place in his general poetic oeuvre. Their exclusion from the Tale is on the face of it more surprising, since the Tale is elsewhere at pains to establish Saigyō's religious credentials and to portray him as dedicated religious aspirant. It may be that these poems were not in general circulation and hence not available to the creators of the Tale. However, it seems equally likely that these doctrinally strict and difficult poems did not suit the purposes of the Tale, whose religious content belongs to the popular emotive style of the preacher rather than the realities of Buddhist study and practice.

¹⁶⁶ The depictions of both his shukke and his ōjō include poetry, but they belong to the setsuwa rather than the utamonogatari tradition. Particularly in the shukke passages, the focus is religious, the poetry illustrative.

¹⁶⁷ Poems such as SKS 723, 726 and 728 are identified in kotobagaki as belonging to the period of his shukke, but no details of this are given.

Given the tenor of the times, it was in fact almost a requirement that his death be interpreted as an achievement of *ōjō*, which was imputed to many who had gained a reputation as *shōnin* 上人 (saintly priest) during their lifetime. When news of his death spread, poets duly composed and exchanged poems of lamentation, as was the custom. Many versions of the Tale close with the famous exchange between Fujiwara Teika and Fujiwara Kinhira 藤原公衡 (see Bunmeibon translation section 57), in which Teika laments Saigyō's death and is comforted by Kinhira, whose poem refers to the rumour that he was welcomed into death by bodhisattvas trailing the purple clouds which signified *ōjō*.

Such poems in themselves would no doubt have been enough to seal Saigyō's reputation, but far more important was the achievement referred to in Teika's poem,¹⁶⁸ of dying at the time of the full moon of the second month, which was both the day of Sakyamuni's death and the day that Saigyō, in his famous poem,¹⁶⁹ had stated that he wished to die. The fact that he actually died on the following day, as Teika attests in his headnote to the above poem, made little difference to the awe which the news instantly produced, and was soon tidied by legend¹⁷⁰ to coincide more precisely with Sakyamuni's death day. Without the poem, Saigyō's death would have been just another *ōjō*, admirable but unremarkable. It was the uncanny fulfilment of the poem's prediction that instantly lifted him into legend.

What this achievement represented, in terms of the Tale's Saigyō figure, was not only the fulfilment of a prediction but, even more importantly, a meeting of poetry and religion in a sublimely climactic moment which drew poetry into the realm of ultimate religious attainment. Here was proof beyond question that poetry could, and in Saigyō's case did, serve religion's ends — the poem as magnificently answered

¹⁶⁸ *mochitsuki no koro wa tagawanu* 望月の頃はたがはぬ (that time of full moon is indeed the same).

¹⁶⁹ 願はくは花の下にて春死なむそのきさらぎの望月の頃 (I pray / that I may die / beneath the blossoms of spring / at that special time, / the second month's full moon.) See Bunmeibon translation section 54.

¹⁷⁰ It is often assumed that this date shift was the work of the Tale, but it is equally likely that the Tale inherited this version of the death from pre-existing legend, oral or otherwise.

prayer and prophecy. The unstated implication was that Saigyō's ōjō was not only predicted by but was somehow even the result of the poem's power, which by extension implied that Saigyō's poetry per se partook of this religious power, drawing its own power from his religious dedication. Saigyō as poet was thus implicitly drawn whole into the final image of Saigyō as saint.

With his death, Saigyō succeeded in embodying an intuitively deeply convincing reply to the questions of the kyōgen kigo debate. This reply flowered out of a moment when poem and life story came together, and in this sense it seems only natural that the inheritors of the legend of his ōjō should look back to his life and his poetry to find there a confirmation of what his final achievement implied about both. Inevitably, the death came to reinterpret the life (and its poems). The fact that the ōjō scene appears to have been present and important from the Tale's earliest versions strongly suggests that the first impulses behind the Tale's formation were in part an urge to see the life and its poetic achievements in terms of the death.

Thus, from the beginning Saigyō's tale was implicitly more than simply that of a poet-monk. Yet it would seem that the early versions of the Tale were largely content to inherit the figure of poet-monk that Saigyō's own writing had constructed, and leave the final achievement of his ōjō to implicitly cast a glow of awe and sanctity back over that figure, rather than actively redraw the figure in the light of the ōjō. In this study I argue that it is only as the Tale evolves that this implicitly religious aspect of the Tale is brought increasingly to the fore through addition of material, which overlays but does not replace the more literary (apoetic) poet-monk image of *Sankashū's* Saigyō and his poems. In the process, the problems embodied in the ongoing kyōgen kigo debate, which Saigyō had for the most part managed to sublimate through the intuitive understandings of his poetry, and which his ōjō had succeeded in transcending, emerged once more. These lines of tension that both bind and separate the dual figure of poet and saint in the Tale are inherent from the Tale's beginnings, and provide one means to plot its possible evolution, as successive inheritors of the Tale struggle to make explicit the Tale's implicit theme, that of the

great poet who became a saint.

SECTION 4: The Texts

4.1 The texts: Introduction

The proliferation of textual variants of *Saigyō monogatari*¹⁷¹ and the complexities of their interrelation have been a major stumbling block for scholars of the Tale. The approach of most scholars has been to largely ignore the great variety of texts and choose one (generally Bunmeibon) on which to base their study, in some cases prefacing this with a brief discussion of textual categories and probable evolution, and referring from time to time to other variants to support their argument. This has sprung from an understandable need to avoid the morass of constant cross-textual comparison,¹⁷² but it has inevitably led to a somewhat simplified reading of the Tale, with Bunmeibon taken to be the representative version, and the other variants largely dismissed as secondary and later developments.

The usual reasons given for the choice of Bunmeibon are that it is the longest (əfullest) text, and that it appears to retain the earliest form of the Tale.¹⁷³ The issue of which variant retains the earliest or original form was the first to be addressed by scholars of the Tale, and is still one of the key questions in scholarly debate, since studies of a given work are traditionally based on əthe original text .¹⁷⁴ It is now generally conceded that there is no original text of the

¹⁷¹ The general use of this name, which belies the great variety of texts and the names attached to them, has tended to reinforce the assumption that it is essentially a single work (plus variations), rather than a volatile collection of differing texts. I reluctantly follow the accepted nomenclature, for simplicity of discussion.

¹⁷² For earlier scholars, there was also the limitation of available texts, with only Bunmeibon, Seikadō, the longer A texts (Shōhōbon etc.), and *Saigyō isshōgaizōshi* in print.

¹⁷³ I examine the arguments in support of this claim in my introduction to the Bunmeibon text in 4.2.

¹⁷⁴ Faith in the authority of the əoriginal text in textual studies derives from the traditional focus on authorial intention, and has led a number of scholars to assume a single author for the Tale, whose work was subsequently interfered with by other hands. This reading reinforces the limiting valorizing of a single variant of the Tale.

Tale in existence,¹⁷⁵ and that Bunmeibon shows clear signs of rewriting and augmentation. Nevertheless, the tradition of treating Bunmeibon as the primary text largely continues.

My own position in this study is as far as possible to retain a multiple focus, and by constant cross-textual awareness to arrive at an understanding of the Tale as a dynamic rather than a static text. My belief is that the original text was probably a very simple one, far briefer than most of the existing texts and largely composed of poems with short or somewhat extended headnote-like introductions, strung together as a series of episodes depicting Saigyō's life — an utamonogatari, in short, whose basic form is retained to a greater or lesser extent in all the existing texts. If this original were to be discovered, it would certainly be worthy of close study. However, although I believe we may detect its ghostly presence at the points in many episodes where most of the variants momentarily coincide in textual content, it is meaningless to attempt to base a study of the Tale on this putative original, or to limit discussion to the variant that appears closest to it in content, since to do so would be to severely limit our understanding of the Tale as we know it. Moreover, no presently existing version of the Tale is a fully satisfying and complete text; all contain evidence of copying errors and omissions (either deliberate or through manuscript loss), augmentations and general reworkings of material. Thus it is of far greater

¹⁷⁵ There are tantalizing glimpses of the existence of early versions of the Tale now lost. In a manuscript known as *Tōmon zasshō* 藤門雑抄, in the collection of Ōsaka Shiritsu Daigaku, there is mention of a work entitled *Saigyō hosshin shugyō monogatari* 西行発心修行物語 whose copy bears the date of 1251, and whose quoted opening sentence coincides with that found in most versions of the Tale. In *Towazugatari* とはずがたり (1313), Gofukakusa In Nijō 後深草院二条 relates how at the age of nine (in 1266) she was deeply moved by a picture and poem she saw in a work called *Saigyō ga shugyō no ki* 西行が修行の記. The scene does not exist in the commonly known present versions of the Tale, although (interestingly) it is found in the abridged version known as *Nanakashū* 七歌集 (which I believe contains early traces of the Tale). The above evidence shows that versions of the Tale were already in circulation fifty years after Saigyō's death, that these versions differed from one another at least in name and thus probably in content also, and that there are both coincidences and differences when compared to present variants. These glancing references hint at the existence of an early proliferation of variant texts, reinforcing the conclusion I reach that the original text lies buried well behind the versions we have inherited, if indeed it ever existed as a single entity.

interest to treat the variant texts as a complex whole, and to consider their possible evolution and interrelation.¹⁷⁶ I believe this approach not only does justice to the realities of the Tale as a dynamic text, but can provide a deeper understanding of the construction and evolution of its Saigyō figure, and thereby of the shifting and difficult interrelationship of poetry and religion that this figure embodies.

Nevertheless, it has been necessary to choose one text as a focus through which to compare the other texts, and to exemplify general points of discussion. My choice of Bunmeibon rests firstly on the fact that it is the longest of the existing variants, and contains the most material which can also be found among the other texts. I do not wish to claim it as representative, as do most scholars who choose it as their focus of study, and indeed the process of textual comparison will reveal that it is frequently at odds with other variants at points where they coincide, and seems to belong to the end of one among many lines of textual development. My other reason for choosing Bunmeibon is that it allows me to engage with the opinions of the other scholars who have studied it.

Bunmeibon belongs to one major line of texts, traditionally known as the Kōhon 公本 (fuller or larger text) line. The other major line, known as the Ryakuhon 略本 (abridged text) line, does not contain the episodes between Bunmeibon sections 10 and 25. It may partly be this terminology, with its implication that one line is in some way an abbreviation of the other, that has led most scholars¹⁷⁷ to assume that the earliest texts were similar to Bunmeibon,

¹⁷⁶ The only two scholars to date who have approached the Tale in this way are Yamaguchi Makoto 山口真 and Tonami Miwako 礪波美和子. Unfortunately, their studies have so far been limited to short papers of limited focus, which do not allow for overall conclusions to be drawn.

¹⁷⁷ The only scholar to assert that the Ryakuhon line was the earlier was Kawase Kazuma 川瀬一馬 (Saigyō monogatari no kenkyū 西行物語の研究, in *Nihon shoshigaku no kenkyū* 日本書誌学の研究, Meiji Shoin [1944]). He early argued that the text now known as Seikadō retained the earliest form of the Tale, and that the Kōhon line was the result of later augmentation, a position with which I am in general agreement. In 1964 Itō Yoshio 伊藤嘉夫 (Saigyō monogatari no tane to shikumi 西行物語のたねとしくみ, *Atomi Gakuen kokugoka kiyō* 跡見学園国語科紀要 12 [1964], pp. 865-880) reversed this judgement, and subsequent scholars have followed Itō.

and underwent a later modification that dropped sections 10 to 25. My examination of the texts suggests that this was not the case.

In order to facilitate comparison of the two lines, I include in Appendix II a full translation of the Ryakuhon line text known as Shōhōbon 正保本, with underlining to indicate the points where it coincides with the Bunmeibon text either completely (full underline) or with minor variations (dotted underline). I choose this text to represent the full version of the Ryakuhon text.¹⁷⁸ In my translation of Shōhōbon I also indicate the points at which it differs from the earlier and briefer Ryakuhon text, Seikadōbon 静嘉堂本. This text (described in detail below) is acknowledged to be one of the earliest copies of the Tale in existence, and surely holds a key to questions of textual evolution. However, it is generally (and, I believe, arbitrarily) dismissed from serious consideration in questions of the original form, owing to its apparently abridged nature.¹⁷⁹

The other text whose full version I include is a transcription of a manuscript held in Tenri Library, whose title is *Saigyō Hōshi shūka* 西行法師集歌. This work has recently been examined by Tonami Miwako,¹⁸⁰ who places it in the Ryakuhon line, and believes it to be an early and important variant. I agree with Tonami, and have included my own transcription of the text, since it is currently not available in published form.

I cannot claim to have made a complete cross-textual study. The number of texts is too numerous,¹⁸¹ and the variations in many cases are too slight to warrant individual attention. However, I have chosen one or more texts from

¹⁷⁸ Kubokebon 久保家本 and *Saigyō hosshinki* 西行発心記 are close variants of Shōhōbon.

¹⁷⁹ Kojima Takayuki (*Saigyō monogatari shōkō*, p. 305) speaks for general scholarly opinion when he says, “The content of this work reveals beyond question that it is an abbreviated text. (Thus) in any consideration of the original form of *Saigyō monogatari*. . . it should be treated as being no more than one form of the work in the history of the Tale’s reception.

¹⁸⁰ Tonami Miwako 礪波美和子, “Tenri toshokan-zō *Saigyō Hōshi shūka* ni tsuite 天理図書館蔵『西行法師集歌』について, *Nihon bungaku* 44:2 [March 1995], pp.12-20.

¹⁸¹ Tonami Miwako lists 50 variant texts in her meticulous description of presently existing variants, “*Saigyō monogatari* shohon ni tsuite 『西行物語』諸本について, *Ningen bunka kenkyūka nenpō* 11 (March 1996), pp. 134-149.

each of the major categories, and believe the selection to be representative. A detailed summary and comparison of all these texts, section by section, can be found in Appendix I, and I summarize my findings at the beginning of the Comments to each section of the Bunmeibon translation.

4.2 Texts and categories

The question of categorization is a vexed one, with a wide variety of scholarly opinion. Within the two major divisions of Kōhon and Ryakuhon — sometimes now referred to more neutrally as the Kō 甲 and Otsu 乙 lines respectively, following Matsumoto¹⁸² — it is now generally accepted that there are further subdivisions, particularly among the Kōhon texts. Matsumoto's is by no means the only categorization used by scholars, most of whom choose to tinker with a previous formulation to bring out their own personal reading of the matter, but it is the first to do justice to content, plot and text differences, and has been used by a number of subsequent scholars, including Tonami, on whose categories I base my own. He divides the variants as follows:

Kō: B 1 Emaki

2 Meiōbon (Unemebon)

C 1 Bunmeibon

2 SIZ

D 1 Eishōbon

2 Kanzeibon

Otsu: A 1 Seikadō

2 ㄩ Kubokebon

□ Shōhōbon

∧ Hosshinki

¹⁸² Matsumoto Takenobu 松本隆信, *3Zōtei Muromachi jidai monogatari-ri- genzonbon kanmei mokuroku 増訂室町時代物語類現存本簡明目録, Otogizōshi no sekai 御伽草子の世界, Sanshōdō (1982).*

Tonami, who to date has performed the most meticulous and thorough work on textual comparison, expands and somewhat alters this analysis.¹⁸³ To the four alphabetical categories she adds, under Kō, an E line consisting of two partially preserved and closely related texts.¹⁸⁴ In the Otsu line, she adds *Saigyō Hōshi shūka* (see Appendix III) as her first category, indicating the early status she accords it.¹⁸⁵ In the Kō line, she includes the seldom-studied Hakubyō emaki 白描絵巻 as her second B text. Omitting the subcategories where she lists minor variants, her categorization is as follows:

- Kō: A 1 *Saigyō Hōshi shūka*
 2 Seikadō
 3 Shōhōbon
 4 *Saigyō Hōshi hosshinki*
- Otsu: B 1 Emaki
 2 Hakubyō emaki
 3 Bunmeibon
 4 *Saigyō issōgai zōshi*
- C Unemeibon
- D 1 Eishōbon
 2 Kanzeibon
- E Ihon *Saigyōki* etc.
- Ref. *Nanakashū*

I will broadly follow Tonami's classification, which has the virtue of echoing my own understanding of textual relations in placing *Saigyō Hōshi shūka* at the head of the Kō list, inserting Hakubyō before Bunmeibon, and

¹⁸³ Tonami, ʼShohon ni tsuite , pp.148-149.

¹⁸⁴ *Ihon Saigyōki* 異本西行記 and *Saigyō hosshin monogatari* 西行発心物語. These texts contain much addition of Buddhist and Chinese legends, and other added notes on people and places, but stop at Saigyō's journey east. They appear to be related to *Nanakashū*, since they contain nine poems found otherwise only there (including the poem quoted in *Towazugatari*, see note 175).

¹⁸⁵ This text has not otherwise been studied, although its existence was known, so it does not appear in the categories devised by other scholars.

reversing the accepted order to make the A texts the first category. The only listed works I have omitted from my study are the fragmentary E texts, and *Saigyō Hōshi hosshinki*, which I choose to treat as a subcategory of Shōhōbon.

However, largely for ease of discussion, I choose to rename and thus simplify Tonami's classifications, calling the Kō (Ryakuon) line the A line, and the Otsu (Kōhon) line the B line. My version of the classification thus becomes:

A Line: A1 *Saigyō Hōshi shūka*

2 Seikadō

3 (a) Shōhōbon

(b) Kubokebon

(c) *Saigyō Hōshi hosshinki*

B Line: B1 (a) Emaki

(b) Hakubyō emaki

(c) Bunmeibon

(d) *Saigyō isshōgai zōshi*

B2 Unemebon

B3 (a) Eishōbon

(b) Kanzeibon

B4 Ihon *Saigyōki* etc.

The eleven texts I use in this study are as follows (abbreviated names in brackets):

A LINE

The defining characteristic distinguishing the A texts is the absence of the Yoshino/Kumano section. The A texts generally follow the B texts in content for the early part of the Tale, up to the point where Saigyō makes his home in the western hills of the capital after his shukke (section 9). At this point the two lines radically diverge. While in the B texts Saigyō goes to Yoshino,

thence to Nachi and on to Kumano where he joins the yamabushi for mountain austerities, later returning to the capital and from there going to Ise, this long section does not appear in the A texts. Here, Saigyō goes directly from the western hills to Ise (a section considerably expanded in comparison with the B texts' Ise section), and from there goes north on his journey to the Eastern provinces. Other omissions and additions in relation to various of the B texts also occur, but in these places the B texts also disagree among themselves; the above difference is therefore considered the defining one.

The other defining factor in comparing the A to the B texts is the strongly 'literary' flavour of the prose of A, which reveals itself on every level: on the linguistic level, in choice of wording and use of descriptive expression; on the syntactic level, in skilful linking of sentences and episodes to maintain a sense of connectedness and flow among the parts; and on the level of content, in its emphasis, through description and choice of episode, on the 'literary' image of Saigyō as wandering poet, and relative de-emphasis of the purely religious aspects of his depiction such as are to be found in the B texts. This comparatively sophisticated literary quality of the A texts has led scholars to treat these texts as a later development and 'tidying' of the less coherent and less rhetorically impressive B texts. My own understanding of the Tale, as having originated in a modified utamonogatari form directly related to *Sankashū* as its primary source, which underwent later accretions and rewritings to accommodate a more heavily religious reading, inclines me to see this 'literary' quality of the A texts as another aspect which links the Tale back to its origins.

A 1: *Saigyō Hōshi shūka* 西行法師集歌 (SHS)

This text exists in a single handscroll copy, held at Tenri Library. There is a confusion of pagination in the middle section, but the text is otherwise coherent. The calligraphy has been tentatively dated to the Nanbokuchō 南北朝

era (1336-1392). Apart from a cursory mention by Kuwabara,¹⁸⁶ it was not investigated or described until Tonami Miwako's work in 1996,¹⁸⁷ described above. Until Tonami's persuasive argument that it retains traces of the Tale's early form, it was considered to be a later poetic selection from the Tale. More than any other existing complete version of the Tale, its focus is on the waka, and its narrative text is a simple form of that of the fuller A texts. It thus displays a strong utamonogatari form. It lacks almost all the more strictly religious material found in fuller texts, and contains almost none of the passages influenced by *Hōbutsushū* or other setsuwashū. The simple utamonogatari form and paucity of religious material have led scholars to dismiss this text. I follow Tonami in considering it a valuable clue to the Tale's early development and form, and treat it as a probable early text.

In this study I refer directly to the Tenri Library handscroll (transcribed in Appendix III).

A 2: Seikadō bunkozō-bon 静嘉堂文庫蔵本 (SEIKADŌ)

Named after the Seikadō Collection in which it is housed. This text, written on the back of a sutra, is frequently referred to as 阿但スニヒツボ 伝阿仏尼筆本, owing to the long-standing belief that its calligraphy is that of the nun Abutsu.¹⁸⁸ While dating is controversial, and the attribution to the hand of the nun Abutsu now tends to be discredited, it is undoubtedly an early work, whose calligraphy has been dated by the Ministry of Culture to 1220-1230, although most scholars place the work as belonging to the mid-thirteenth century. Thus it either pre-dates or is at the very least as old as the early

¹⁸⁶ Kuwabara Hiroshi 桑原博史, ㊦Kaisetsu: *Saigyō monogatari ni tsuite* 解説：西行物語について, *Saigyō monogatari* 西行物語, Hanpon Bunko no. 6, Kokusho Kankōkai (1974), p. 3.

¹⁸⁷ Tonami Miwako, ㊦Tenri toshokan-zō *Saigyō Hōshi shūka ni tsuite* .

¹⁸⁸ Abutsu-ni 阿仏尼 (d. 1283) was the author of *Izayoi nikki* 十六夜日記 (1280), a diary of her travel from the capital to Kamakura, which contains a valuable apparent mention of the Tale (quoted above).

(Tokugawa/Manno) emaki. Kawase considered it to be the earliest descendent of the original form of the Tale, although most later scholars have relegated it and the A texts generally to secondary genealogical status.

The text closely follows that of Shōhōbon and the other later A texts with only minor textual variations until Saigyō's journey to the Eastern provinces. At this point, abbreviations appear, and the tale of the journey breaks off after poem 103 (section 32). This section is immediately followed by an abbreviated version of sections 54 and 55, which relate Saigyō's composition of the famous poem and his death, at which point the tale ends.

Kuwabara's theory that the sudden abbreviations from section 32 are the result of limitations of space¹⁸⁹ is generally accepted by later scholars. This evidently abbreviated nature of the text has led scholars to dismiss this text in their search for the Tale's earliest form, an argument which ignores its unquestionably early date. As Chino points out, if the Seikadō text is a mere abbreviated copy, it must be a copy of a still older text, and thus provides valuable evidence of the early development of the Tale.¹⁹⁰ Moreover, it is not intermediary between the A and B texts but belongs purely to the A line, showing that this line was already in existence at an early date.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ Kuwabara Hiroshi 桑原博史, *Saigyō to sono shūhen* 西行とその周辺, Kazama Shobō (1990), p. 257. He points out that the earlier pages average 10 lines per face, while at the point where abbreviations begin this increases to 12 or 13 lines, and the characters become smaller and more cramped.

¹⁹⁰ Chino Kaori 千野香織, *Saigyō monogatari emaki no fukugen* 『西行物語絵巻』の復元, in *Saigyō monogatari emaki* 西行物語絵巻, *Nihon emaki taisei* 日本絵巻大成 vol. 26, Chūō Kōronsha (1979), p. 155. Chino is one of the few scholars who argue that Seikadō may retain an early form. She points out that its simpler final section, which omits the *Hosshinshū*-derived episodes concerning the wife and daughter, and the poetic exchange, makes for a more satisfying and moving ending to the Tale.

¹⁹¹ Yamaguchi, who argues from the premise that Seikadō is a development from earlier B texts, nevertheless acknowledges that it is on the whole more coherent, and that in the B to A development which he assumes, it follows an opposite course to the general accretive tendencies by removing the women's *ōjō* scenes and returning the Tale to a simple portrait of Saigyō himself, an unusual reading which is true to the original intention of *Saigyō monogatari*. (Yamaguchi Makoto, *kyōju to saihen*, p. 41.) Since his assumption is based on no firm evidence, it would seem more reasonable to accept the possibility that the development was rather from a Seikadō-type A text to the

As this text is virtually the same as that of Shōhōbon until the journey to the Eastern provinces, I will only refer to it where it departs from Shōhōbon. It should be kept in mind, however, that unless otherwise indicated, what is said of Shōhōbon is equally true of Seikadō, and thus of one of the earliest remaining texts.

In this study I refer to the transcription found in the Kubota Jun *Saigyō zenshū*.¹⁹²

A 3: Shōhō sannen kanbon 正保三年刊本 (SHŌHŌBON)

Dated 1646, this appears to be the first printed version of the Tale to appear. Eight copies survive. This text is very close to that of the Kuboke emaki 久保家絵巻 (which also exists in the form of written text only), and *Saigyō hosshinki*. It has been extensively studied and annotated by Kuwabara Hiroshi.¹⁹³ I treat this text as representative of the later A texts.

In comparison to the A texts described above, Shōhōbon contains more content which coincides with or closely echoes that of the B texts, including religious material, although it preserves the essential A text form. It is thus a suitable text for close textual comparison with a representative B text, and for that reason I have included a complete translation in Appendix II, with full textual comparison with Bunmeibon.

In this study I refer to the transcription found in the Itō/Kyūsojin *Saigyō zenshū*,¹⁹⁴ with cross-reference to Kuwabara Hiroshi's edited monograph *Saigyō monogatari*.

fuller B texts.

¹⁹² Kubota Jun 久保田淳, ed., *Saigyō zenshū* 西行全集, Nihon Koten Bungakkai Kichōbon Kankōkai, 1977, pp. 1007-1018.

¹⁹³ *Saigyō monogatari*.

¹⁹⁴ Itō Yoshio 伊藤喜夫 and Kyūsojin Noboru 久曾神昇, ed., *Saigyō zenshū* 西行全集, vols. 1 and 2, Hitaku Shobō, 1981, pp. 332-371.

B LINE

The B line includes a wide variety of texts, many of which differ greatly from each other. All are characterized by including versions of the Yoshino/Ōmine sections and first return to the capital, which the A texts lack.

The B1 texts bear a strong relationship to each other, while the B2 and B3 texts, although clearly related to the B1 texts, omit and add a great deal of material. In comparison to the A texts, the B texts are less coherently structured, less interested in æliterary effect, and tend to include larger amounts of overtly religious material. This is particularly so of the B2 texts.

B 1 (a): Tokugawa reimeikai-zō emaki /Mannoke-zō emaki 徳川黎明会蔵絵巻 / 万野家蔵絵巻 (EMAKI)

This work is undated but is considered one of the two earliest texts (generally dated mid-thirteenth century). It consists of two scrolls of text and illustration, but is unfortunately incomplete. Three later copies of it exist. Its text differs only in minor details from that of the equivalent sections of Bunmeibon.¹⁹⁵ These scrolls have received thorough scholarly attention by art historians, and have been published in three separate editions over the years.¹⁹⁶

The first scroll, which takes its name from the Tokugawa family collection in which it is housed, is also known by the name of æDen-Tosa

¹⁹⁵This has encouraged scholars to attempt to reconstruct it with reference to Bunmeibon, as well as to the later emakis, which bear evidence of its influence. See in particular Chino (æ*Saigyō monogatari no fukugen*), who believes the original set consisted of at least three and possibly four scrolls, but would have had less material than that of Bunmeibon.

¹⁹⁶Kadokawa Shoten henshūbu 角川書店編集部, ed., *Saigyō monogatari emaki, Taima mandara engi* 西行物語絵巻、当麻曼陀羅縁起, *Nihon emakimono zenshū* 日本絵巻物全集 vol. 11, Kadokawa Shoten, 1958.

Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美 ed., *Saigyō monogatari emaki* 西行物語絵巻, *Nihon emaki taisei* 日本絵巻大成 vol. 26, Chūō Kōronsha, 1979.

Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美 ed., *Saigyō monogatari emaki* 西行物語絵巻, *Nihon no emaki* 日本の絵巻 vol. 19, Chūō Kōronsha, 1988.

Emaki 伝土佐絵巻. It is incomplete,¹⁹⁷ consisting of only sections 6 and 7.

The second scroll, which belongs to the Mannō family collection, is also sometimes referred to as Hachisugabon 蜂須賀本,¹⁹⁸ after the collection in which it was previously housed. It omits the didactic material of section 8, and takes up the story at section 9, continuing to poem 61 in section 18 (though part of section 14 and section 15 is missing).¹⁹⁹

Although both scrolls are incomplete, and it is likely that several more scrolls existed, this valuable work is generally acknowledged as holding a key to the Tale's early form. Many scholars have been inclined to consider it the original text, but this assumption seems unjustified, given its textual discrepancies and the impossibility of forming any final judgement owing to its fragmentary nature. I choose to eschew the pursuit of a phantom original text, and treat Emaki simply as a valuable early text, of roughly the same date as Seikadō.

In this study I refer to the transcription found in Kubota Jun *Saigyō zenshū* (pp. 1019-1046), with cross-reference to the facsimile and transcription found in Komatsu Shigemi's edited volume *Saigyō monogatari emaki*.²⁰⁰

B 1 (b): Hakubyō emaki 白描絵巻 (HAKUBYŌ)

This emaki was first transcribed and described in 1982 by Miya Tsugio,²⁰¹ who dated it as pre-1496.²⁰² Only one partial copy of this text exists. It consists of four scrolls, with illustrations in monochrome ink. It omits sections

¹⁹⁷ The opening words *sono go ya kitarazariken* その期やきたらざりけん (found also in the A texts) make it clear that a previous section of the Tale is missing.

¹⁹⁸ By Tokugawa Yoshinobu and Chino Kaori in *Nihon emaki taisei*, vol. 26.

¹⁹⁹ Textual discrepancies indicate that a portion of the text is lost at this point.

²⁰⁰ See note 196, Komatsu Shigemi, 1988.

²⁰¹ Miya Tsugio 宮次男, *Hakubyō Saigyō monogatari emaki 白描西行物語絵巻*, *Bijutsu kenkyū* 322 (December 1982), pp. 19-41.

²⁰² There is reference to its repair in 1496.

17 to 43. The break occurs between scrolls two and three, and Miya therefore surmises a missing scroll. Mistranscriptions are plentiful, evidence in some cases of hasty copying. The illustrations reveal a relationship to the early emaki both in scenes chosen and in details such as placement of figures and buildings.

Although this text has been largely ignored by scholars of the Tale, my study of its relationship to the other B1 texts reveals that it almost certainly pre-dates Bunmeibon and SIZ, although it is closer to these two texts than to Emaki. It would thus appear to be an intermediary development between the earliest existing B text and its later forms.

In this study I refer to the transcription by Miya Tsugio.²⁰³

B 1 (c): *Saigyō isshōgaizōshi* 西行一生涯草子 (SIZ)

An undated text bearing a close relationship to Bunmeibon. One complete and one fragmentary copy exist.

Itō Yoshio²⁰⁴ considers it relatively close to the original but makes it subsidiary to Bunmeibon in his genealogy. Other scholars make occasional use of this text at points where Bunmeibon appears corrupted, and in general it is treated as a kind of supplementary version of Bunmeibon, of which it is generally considered an offshoot. It has differences in wording, and added material, specifically the Hosshōji episode (see Comments to section 2), which it shares with Hakubyō and Unemebon. My own textual analysis suggests that it is a pre-Bunmeibon text.

In this study I refer to the transcription found in the Itō/Kyūsojin *Saigyō zenshū* (pp. 253-311), with cross-reference to that found in Takahashi

Kenjichi's edited monograph *Saigyō monogatari*.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ See note 201.

²⁰⁴ Itō Yoshio, *Tane to Shikumi*, p. 271.

²⁰⁵ Takahashi Teiichi 高橋貞一, ed., *Saigyō monogatari* 西行物語, Nihon koten bungaku vol. 8, Bungei bunko, Benshinsha, 1983.

B 1 (d): Bunmei jūninen okugaki-bon 文明十二年奥書本 (BUNMEIBON)

This is the earliest dated complete text (1480), and the longest of all existing texts. It contains material found throughout the other B texts, and this fact plus its close relation to the earlier Emaki text have combined to make it the chosen text for study by almost all scholars to date, most of whom consider it to bear a close relationship to the original Tale. Three copies of it exist.

The text of Bunmeibon is relatively uncorrupt,²⁰⁶ although most scholars agree that it contains transcription errors and other evidence of copying. It has a final section not found in other texts, which appears to have been added by the copyist. Scholars who choose Bunmeibon as their focus of study generally take the richness of its content to represent the original full text of the Tale, from which other versions (both A and B) derive. My own comparative textual study strongly suggests that, in relation to the Text's early forms, it is in fact a relatively late product of considerable reworking and accretion of material. It appears, however, to have been a popular form of the Tale, whose direct influence can be seen in the B2 and B3 texts.

In this study I refer to the transcription found in the Kubota Jun *Saigyō zenshū* (pp. 961-997), with cross-reference to that found in the Itō/Kyūsojin *Saigyō zenshū*. (pp. 253-311).

B 2 (a): Kanzei jūnananen okugaki-bon 寛永十七年奥書本 (KANZEIBON)

This text was named by Akitani Osamu²⁰⁷ after the manuscript dated Kanzei 17 (1640), and transcribed and introduced by him in 1981. Four copies

²⁰⁶ The most glaring problem is the placing of poem 114, which in all other texts is found in its original *Sankashū* context (see Comments to section 35). This is corrected in the Kyoto University library copy (a partial manuscript which otherwise contains many corruptions), while the poem appears twice in the Tenri library manuscript (also incomplete).

²⁰⁷ Akitani Osamu 秋谷治, *əKanzeibon Saigyō monogatari kō 寛永本「西行物語」考*, *Hitotsubashi ronsō* 86:51 (1981), pp. 80-102.

exist, which differ occasionally in minor textual detail. In this study I refer to that held in the Keiō University library, which is generally considered to be closest to its original form,²⁰⁸ although where differences among the texts are important I note them. All four texts bear the name *Saigyō ekotoba* 西行絵詞.

The two B2 texts are rich with unique material, evidently the product of active rewriting. They have a strong textual relationship to the B1 texts, particularly Bunmeibon, but also contain material found otherwise only in the A texts, as well as much additional material of their own. Akitani concludes that Kanzeibon is to some extent a bridging text between the A and B lines, although the inclusion of the Yoshino-Kumano material²⁰⁹ places it within the B category. My own textual analysis confirms this. Kanzeibon shares with Eishōbon the inclusion of a Buddhist section to introduce the Tale, and much other overtly didactic material is scattered throughout the text. The tenor of much of this material is strongly Amidist.

Akitani sees these two texts as early offshoots from the B line, sharing a common ancestor with the Bunmeibon line of texts, although this does not adequately explain the presence of abridging material with the A texts, which the Bunmeibon line lacks. A relationship with the B3 text Unemebon is also evident. The special nature of this text and Eishōbon, together with the complicated relation they bear to most other existing texts, has frequently led scholars to skirt them when dealing generally with the Tale. Most agree, however, that Kanzeibon is an early form of the text.

In this study I refer to the transcription by Akitani Osamu.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸Tonami, however, suggests that the other texts may be earlier (Shohon ni tsuite, p. 273).

²⁰⁹Yamaguchi Makoto, however, points out that although this material is included, the religious austerities aspect of the Kumano section, important in its depiction in the Bunmei texts, goes virtually unmentioned here. (Yamaguchi Makoto, Saigyō monogatari no kōzōteki saihen to Jishū, Kōchidai kokubun 23 [1992], p. 18).

²¹⁰ See note 207.

B 2 (b): Eishō rokunen okugaki-bon 永正六年奥書本 (EISHŌBON)

Named after the date in the sole existing copy, Eishō 6 (1509). This text bears a close relationship to Kanzeibon, although which is the earlier text remains a matter of debate.²¹¹ It contains double entries of poems and other mistranscriptions which have led Taniguchi²¹² to suggest that it was a re-creation of the Tale using a variety of other texts.

While bearing a strong resemblance to Kanzeibon overall, this text differs in a number of significant details which make it worthy of study in its own right.

In this study I refer to the transcription by Yamazaki Jun.²¹³

B 3: Kaida Uneme-ga emaki 海田采女画絵本 (UNEMEBON)

This work is as confusing in its naming as in the various attempts to classify it within the textual genealogy. I have chosen the name most frequently used, which derives from the name of the illustrator inscribed at the end of the work.²¹⁴ It is also sometimes referred to as ㊟Meiōbon 明応本, from the date Meiō 9 (1500) inscribed at the end. Other names are ㊟Watanabeke-bon 渡辺家本, named from the collection in which it is housed, and ㊟Ekotoba 絵詞, the name under which it appears in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*. It consists of four (in some versions five) illustrated scrolls. The illustrations show evidence of influence from the early Emaki.

Seven copies of this text (many of them partial) exist. The version I refer to is that found in Itō/Kyūsojin Saigyō zenshū (pp.312-330), with cross-

²¹¹Most scholars who have dealt with the question have assumed Eishōbon to be earlier, but Akitani (㊟Kōzōteki saihen , p. 21) is of the opinion that Kanzeibon is the earlier work.

²¹² Taniguchi Kōichi 谷口耕一, ㊟Saigyō monogatari no keisei 西行物語の形成, *Bungaku* 46 (October 1978), pp. 27-48.

²¹³ Yamazaki Jun 山崎淳, ㊟Keiō Daigaku fuzoku toshokan-zō *Saigyō monogatari ekotoba* 慶応義塾大学附属図書館蔵「西行絵詞」, *Shirin* 16 (October 1994), pp. 1-29.

²¹⁴Kaida Unemenosuke Minamoto no Sukeyasu 海田采女佑源相保.

reference to that found in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*.²¹⁵

Most scholars agree in categorizing this text as a secondary offshoot from the Bunmeibon line of texts, although they have differed on whether or not it deserves its own category. Chino (1979) is of the opinion that it was undertaken as an independent collection of stories in emaki form, using material from previous texts, and certainly the many great discrepancies when compared to the B1 line of texts warrant this conclusion.

It is characterized by a disconnectedness between episodes, the prose often reading very like a commentary on the pictures. The prose style is simple, and there are a number of differences in the order of episodes when compared with the B1 line, as well as added episodes not found in other texts. There is overall a strong Buddhist flavour, and several of the copies (including the one used in this study) are characterized by the presence of an introductory section in the form of a Buddhist sermon, which flows seamlessly into the opening words of the tale itself. Despite the religious content, it is interesting to note that in a number of cases the additional material reinforces the utamonogatari tendencies of the Tale.

Nanakashū 七家集

This anomalous work does not fit comfortably into any of the above categories, though the presence of the Ōmine/Yoshino sections aligns it with the B texts. It is part of a selection of the work of seven poets, and the only existing copy has been tentatively dated by Itō²¹⁶ as mid-Tokugawa. Despite this copy's late date, however, Akitani²¹⁷ argues that the work itself is considerably older, and internal evidence leads him to believe that the section of this work related to *Saigyō monogatari* (called *Saigyō sankashū* 西行山家集) retains an early form

²¹⁵ *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 続群書類従 vol. 941, Keizai Zasshi-sha, 1902.

²¹⁶ Itō Yoshio 伊藤喜夫, *Tanka hyōgen ron* 短歌表現論, Meiji Shoin, Tokyo, 1978, p. 29.

²¹⁷ Akitani Osamu, ㊦Kanzeibon *Saigyō monogatari*, p. 638.

of the Tale. My own textual analysis tends to confirm that much of this work's material is of an early date.

This work has generally been considered to be an extract of poems from the Tale, with simple kotobagaki often close to those found in *Sankashū*. Its heavy emphasis on poems, as well as its written presentation,²¹⁸ clearly invites the description of poetry collection rather than monogatari. However, in structure the work is clearly related to the Tale, containing much the same sequence of episodes and poems, although with the addition of a number of poems not found in most other versions of the Tale. Among these is the poem mentioned by Nijō in *Towazugatari*,²¹⁹ and this and other evidence has led both Itō and Akitani to conclude that *Nanakashū* was derived from a version of the Tale which predates any existing version. As one would expect, religious material is almost entirely absent. The form could be said to be midway between poetry collection and utamonogatari, and the prose preserves a strong sense of first person narration (as found in *Sankashū*).²²⁰ It is thus tempting to treat *Nanakashū* as a modified example of the ur-form of the Tale.

The final episode and poems leave Saigyō in the capital at a point where the Tale begins to prepare him for his journey to Sanuki. Another short independent text in the same style, called *Utamakura moshioyusa* 歌枕もしほ草, picks up the story. It consists of a close-to-verbatim reproduction of *Sankashū*'s Shikoku poems and kotobagaki, most of which are not present in the Tale. It is possible that such works, essentially extracts from *Sankashū* which emphasize narrative continuity, existed from an early date, and were amalgamated and elaborated to become the first full versions of the Tale as we know it.

²¹⁸ The kotobagaki prose is dropped down the page in relation to the waka, whereas the monogatari form drops the waka and makes the prose visually dominant.

²¹⁹ See note 175.

²²⁰ In this, and in its position midway between *kashū* and *utamonogatari*, it bears striking resemblance to the characteristics found in *Ionushi*.

Despite the fact that *Nanakashū* is essentially a poetry collection, its evident close relation to the Tale as well as its likely early date make it an important text, although most scholars have chosen to ignore it.

In this study I refer to the transcription found in Sasaki et al *Saigyō zenshū*.²²¹

²²¹ Sasaki Nobutsuna 佐々木信綱, Kawata Jun 川田順 et al, eds., *Saigyō zenshū* 西行全集, Bunmeisha, 1941, pp. 358-361 and 386-397.

PART II

Bunmeibon: Translation and Comments

I have divided the translation into sections for ease of discussion. The division is generally at points where the narrative suggests a natural break, but occasionally it is made more arbitrarily if no clear break suggests itself in an extended passage, or in the case of a series of short unconnected poems and kotobagaki material.

The Comments are divided into three parts. Part 1 gives an overview of textual relations for the section (for details, see Appendix I). Part 2 discusses issues which arise in relation to the section's content. Part 3 discusses the use of poems in the section.

The sources of the poems are indicated in brackets after each poem. SKS is *Sankashū*, SKKS is *Shinkokinshū*, SSS is *Saigyō Shōninshū*. Variations from the anthologized version of the poem are noted in a footnote. Poems not by Saigyō are included in the text without a number.

Bunmeibon 1

During the time of retired emperor Toba,¹ there was a man named Guardsman of the Left² Fujiwara no Norikiyo, who served as an imperial guard.³ In bravery of heart he followed the tradition of Masakado⁴ and Yasumasa,⁵ and there was none to rival him. When he took up the bow and arrow, he was on a par with Yōyū.⁶ Winged

¹ Toba reigned from 1107 to 1123, and was retired emperor from 1123 to 1156, the period to which this expression refers.

² *Sahyōe no jō* 佐兵衛尉. The third rank of the Left Guard, which together with the Right Guard guarded the palace and provided military escorts for official occasions.

³ *Hokumen no bushi* 北面の武士. The general name for nobles who served the retired emperor in a military capacity.

⁴ Taira no Masakado 平将門, d. 940. Mid-Heian period warrior whose turbulent life is recorded in *Shōmonki* 将門記 (940).

⁵ Fujiwara Yasumasa 藤原保昌, 958-1036. Governor of Hizen, Yamato, Tango, Settsu and other provinces. There are many legends of his military prowess, and he was named in *Jikkishō* 十訓抄 (ca.1252) as one of the four great warriors. See also *Konjaku monogatari* 今昔物語集 (date unknown) 25 and *Uji shūi monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語 (ca. 1190-1242) 28.

⁶ 養由, a legendary archer of the Spring and Autumn Annals period (春秋時代) in China.

creatures of the sky, hoofed creatures of the earth, all fell to his bow as he pleased. In the art of poetry and music he was heir to Narihira and Ki no Tsurayuki,⁷ and since he was regularly summoned to sit among the lowest of the Senior Nobles and Privy Gentlemen, those who were experts in the arts praised him as a jewel of the imperial court. There was nothing lacking in his array when on duty, or in that of his retainers and dependents; he seemed indeed as powerful as Sudatta.⁸ When in service⁹ at the palace of the retired emperor he strove not to disobey the imperial command, haunting the courtyard and telling of his distress,¹⁰ and when he was not granted leave to withdraw, he guarded the palace floor till break of day; he followed all the ceremonies, being called to attend the music and dance beneath the blossoms, moon-viewing, court football games, and palace gatherings. And such a name did he make for himself at these gatherings that the retired emperor signified a wish to promote him to great heights in rank,¹¹ but he avoided it in various ways; for although to the eyes of others he appeared to be close to the retired emperor, in his heart he thought only of the transience of this world. He considered how, after dreaming of falling into hell, Sakanoue no Masasuke¹² assumed the cap of the fifth rank in order to avoid

⁷紀貫之 (ca. 872-945). Early Heian poet, most famous for his role as compiler of the *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 (ca. 920).

⁸須達, a chief in ancient India and follower of the Buddha.

⁹仙洞きょうさく策の時 (Itō/Kyūsojin *Zenshū*: きょうさく). I take きょうさく to be the result of textual corruption. Hakubyō and Unemebon are the only two other texts to contain a version of this expression. Both have 仙洞祇候のとき, which I take to be the intention of Bunmeibon's expression.

¹⁰庭をあたためてうれへをのべ. This expression is also found in Unemebon, but would seem to be a corruption of 座をあたためてうれゑをそへ (Hakubyō). Its meaning in the context of this Tale is unclear.

¹¹Teii 廷尉, an alternative name for the high-ranking position of sa 左, second in command in the *kebiishi-chō* 檢非違使庁 (Ministry of Police).

¹²坂の上の正助. A reference to a legend now unknown. A markedly similar version of this tale is found in *Kokon chomonjū* 13.45, one of many examples of the close relation of that text with *Saigyō monogatari* (as discussed in detail by Takagi Isao 高城功夫, *Saigyō monogatari no tenkyō — toku ni Hōbutsushū to no kankei* 西行物語の典拠 — 特に宝物集との関係, *Tōyō* 19:12 [December 1982], pp. 22-40).

being promoted to the ranks of kebiishi,¹³ and gave up all worldly ambition; and he took to heart the verse

At the hour of our death, all must relinquish

Wife, riches, even the throne.

Our only true companions, in this life and the next,

Are the Buddhist precepts, alms-giving and selflessness.¹⁴

∅The tonsured emperor Kazan¹⁵ by reason of these very words cast away the throne of ruler,¹⁶ betook himself to the beach of Chirinohama,¹⁷ performed austerities at the holy mountain of Nachi, and finally entered the Buddhist Way. The clouds of the passions are thick; though one beats the tame dog of wealth and fame it will not leave.¹⁸ Good karma is dark and hidden;¹⁹ though one beckon it,²⁰ it is hard to bring it

¹³ 檢非違使 (see note 12). A much sought-after post.

¹⁴ A quotation from *Daijitsukyō* 大実経 vol. 16, popular and much quoted in literature of the Heian period and later. It is also quoted in *Hōbutsushū* (Takagi Isao 高城功夫, ∅*Saigyō monogatari* no shōdōsei 西行物語の唱導性, *Bungaku ronsō* 62 [February 1988], p. 89).

¹⁵ 花山の法皇 (968-1008). He reigned as emperor from 984-86. His taking of the tonsure is related in *Ōkagami* 大鏡 (ca.1119). A version of the following passage is found in *Hōbutsushū* (Takagi, *ibid.*, p. 89).

¹⁶ Jūzen no i 十善の位. Lit. ∅the position of the ten virtues, a reference to the idea that one is born into the position of king or emperor as a result of having kept the ten commandments of Buddhism in a previous life.

¹⁷ 千里の浜. Also called Chirigahama or Chisatonohama, an area on the Kumano pilgrimage route, in present-day Wakayama Prefecture.

See Bunmeibon section 14, in which Saigyō visits Chirinohama on his way to Nachi, and there dreams of being admonished for his failure to compose a poem; later in that section he visits the remains of Kazan's hut at Nachi. Both here and in the ensuing reference to Kazan's austerities at Nachi, parallels with Saigyō's own later experience are clearly intended. (SIZ contains only the reference to Nachi). It is noteworthy that this reference is not found in either the A texts, which omit these later episodes, or in the B2 texts (which contain the episodes).

¹⁸ A reference to a parable found in the *Nehangyō* 槃涅經 (*Mahā-parinirvana Sutra*), vol. 15, which compares wrath (here altered to desire for fame and fortune) to a tame dog, which it is difficult to rid oneself of.

¹⁹ 因果の白業はくらくして. This sentence is otherwise found only in Hakubyō and Unemebon. Hakubyō, which follows Bunmeibon closely in other respects at this point, has ひやくかう, while Unemebon has 白豪. None of these is meaningful in the context, and I assume an early textual corruption here.

²⁰ Comparison with related texts (Hakubyō and Unemebon) make it clear that Bunmeibon should here read 菩提の山の鹿まねけども.

to you. Hearing of one who is wealthy, we envy; seeing one who is poor, we mock — pleasures within a dream, moon upon the waves; the heart is ever difficult to still; what is sure is only that the mayfly is born in the morning and dies at evening.²¹ The outward breath waits not for the inward breath, but closes life. Drawn by the bonds of the Five Desires,²² we sink to the bottom of hell. Nāgārjuna²³ held that even if a man is prosperous, if his desire does not cease, he must be called poor. Likewise if he is poor, but has not desire, he must be called rich. The saint of Mount Shosha²⁴ wrote, *æBend your own arm and make it your pillow. In this lies happiness. Why should you seek after the shifting clouds of glory in this world? If I do not choose to loathe the world now it will be a sorrow in the next life. Those who yearn for paradise attain rebirth into the western Pure Land. It is like the grasses, which lean as the wind blows. Thus, why should I,²⁵ this despicable self, not live (in reclusion) under some mountainside? Thus he thought, and composed:*

1. *When do they think they must lament? / when ponder? — / that they thus pass this life / blind / to the one to come. (SSS 559, SKKS 831).*
2. *At what stage / of our long sleep / will we awaken / from this dream / into enlightenment? (SKS 758).²⁶*
3. *What is it / that catches at my heart / and holds it to this world — / so that the world / is yet more hateful to me? (SKS 729, SSKS 1831).*

²¹ This and the subsequent images appear to be a pastiche from *Hosshinshū*. (Takagi, *æSaigyō monogatari no shōdōsei*, p. 92).

²² Goyoku 五欲. Desires which arise as a result of attachment to the five senses.

²³ Ryūju Bosatsu 竜樹菩薩 (ca.150-250). One of the founding masters of early Buddhism.

²⁴ Shōkū Shōnin 性空上人 (928-1007), founder of Enkyōji Temple on Mt. Shosha in Harima. The following quote, however, is from *The Analects of Confucius*.

²⁵ Comparison with Hakubyō and Unemebon make it clear that Bunmeibon here omits (こは何事に障りて).

²⁶ The first phrase is いつの世に.

1. COMMENTS

(1) This section is present in all the texts.²⁷ Comparison of the various texts for this section illustrates well their characteristics and the complex and intractable nature of their interrelations.

Among B1 and B2 texts, textual comparison reveals a tangled relationship pointing to Hakubyō as the likely indirect progenitor of the other texts, with the probable existence of one or more intermediary texts now no longer extant. Bunmeibon appears to have little direct influence on the other B texts, and SIZ (unusually) is also strongly independent of the other texts in a number of places. In comparison with the A texts, these B texts place a relatively strong emphasis on Norikiyo's military skills and heroism, which is particularly emphasized in SIZ's insertion of a description of a military incident at Hosshōji.

The B2 and B3 texts introduce the Tale with independent didactic passages, which firmly focus the Tale from the beginning on Norikiyo's subsequent religious dedication and understanding. The B3 texts go on to introduce Norikiyo and his poetic activity in the didactic terms of *kyōgen kigo*

Among the A texts, Shōhōbon and the early Seikadō (typically for these early sections) present virtually indistinguishable versions of the same material, indicating that the Shōhōbon material is very early. This material, when compared to that of the various B texts, is remarkable in its flowing and relatively *aliterary* presentation of the same basic content, and in its relative emphasis on the poetic aspect of Norikiyo's skills (which, however, are described without the *kyōgen kigo* interpretations found in the B3 texts).

SHS abbreviates the elaborate content found in all the other variants. That content appears here in swift summary reminiscent of a *kotobagaki*, followed by the three poems, giving this section a simple *utamonogatari* form.

Nanakashū's kotobagaki is a close echo of that of the A texts, but one of the

²⁷ With the exception of Emaki, where the opening sections of the Tale have been lost.

poems that follow is found only in the B texts, indicating this text's bridging relationship between the two main text lines.

(2) One obvious aim of this introductory section in the Tale is to establish Norikiyo's superlative skills and enviable position in the court,²⁸ to make the more impressive his decision to throw all away and embrace the Buddhist Way. Another aim is to establish his pedigree and skill as a poet, here linked first to his court activities and special favour with the emperor. The section continues, however, to introduce the antithesis, Norikiyo's private rejection of this world and his longing to embrace the Buddhist Way, which reaches a final expression in three poems which speak of his urgent desire and inability to relinquish his attachment to the world. This antithesis, between public glory and private religious longing, becomes the theme of the first seven sections of the Tale, culminating in Norikiyo's transformation into Saigyō as he takes the tonsure.

It is at this point, the introduction of the Buddhist theme, that major disruptions occur among the texts. The various categories of the texts all differ radically in the content of the Buddhist passages of this section, a characteristic instability which we shall find throughout the Tale. The A texts, by their relatively stronger emphasis on his poetic skills, represent one end of the spectrum of emphasis, as will continue to be true throughout the Tale.

It is interesting to note that the highly condensed form of this section found in SHS omits all didactic material, relating only that Norikiyo found the world sad and dreary (*ushi* うし) — a word (and sentiment) which belongs in the realm of poetry and poetic sensibility rather than of sternly Buddhist awakening. This points up the underlying set of tensions that forms the basis for the Tale's instabilities, centred around the difficult relationship of poetry and religion. It is in strong contrast to the didactic nature of the B2 and B3 texts, which explicitly couch their references to

²⁸ He was in fact merely a low-ranking member of the aristocracy, but the Tale gets around this in every way it can, by proclaiming the emperor's special love for him, by comparing him with the rich and illustrious Sudatta of legend etc.

Norikiyo's poetic activity in doctrinal kyōgen kigo terms.

(3) The three poems express the sentiments of Norikiyo's religious ponderings which the didactic passage preceding them elaborates. Typically, two of the three poems (2 and 3) are found in *Shinkokinshū*. Poem 3 is the most direct expression of the situation depicted here, the other two being more general expressions of Buddhist sentiments relating to hosshin. None of these poems is specified as from this period in Saigyō's own collections. Their use here thus exemplifies the Tale's freedom of approach in its use of poems within the biographical framework.

Bunmeibon 2

Since this man's heart was particularly pure, and he was indeed outstanding in his love of waka, whose tradition he inherited from Hitomaro²⁹ and Akahito,³⁰ when the emperor gave poetic themes to compose upon according to each season and requested poems, he would compose on the spot — here are some of his poems on The First Day of Spring.

4. *Ice that sealed the rock gaps / now starts to melt — / under the moss / water trickles / seeking its way. (SSS 1,³¹ SKKS 7).*

5. *As if to make us know / the shift into spring / this mist hangs / between the new year / and the old. (SKS 4,³²*

6. *Filtering through the mist / the voice of the uguisu — / spring / in this*

²⁹ Kakimoto Hitomaro 柿本人麿 (dates unknown), eighth century waka poet, considered the greatest poet of the *Manyōshū* 万葉集.

³⁰ Yamabe no Akahito 山部赤人 (fl. 724-737). Also a *Manyōshū* poet.

³¹ This poem also appears as the first poem in SSS, where it reads *iwama tojishi kōri mo kesa wa tokesomete koke no shitamizu michi motomuran* 岩間とぢし氷もけさはとけそめて苔の下水みちもとむらん. The first variation, but not the second, is also found in SKKS.

³² *tachikawaru haru wo shiredomo misegao ni toshi wo hedatsuru kasumi narikeri* たちかはるはるをしれどもみせがほにとしをへだつるかすみなりけり.

2. COMMENTS

(1) The narrative restabilizes among the texts in section 2, after the instabilities introduced by the didactic material of the first section. All the texts³⁴ present the same content, and among the A texts there are only minor textual variations. SIZ and Hakubyō are particularly close, with Bunmeibon revealing minor additions of material. The A texts (among which there is virtually no variation), however, contain considerable textual variation relative to the B texts, particularly in the opening section, and reveal a stronger sense of narrative structure.

It is the poems that reveal most variation among the texts. Bunmeibon is alone in its textual variants of the poems. Poem 6 is the only poem found consistently among all texts (with the exception of Eishōbon, which frequently omits poems), and may have formed the core poem for the original version of this section. Only the B1 texts contain all three poems.

(2) This scene returns us to Norikiyo as court poet, and is of a piece with the tenor of the introductory scenes of his favoured position with the emperor. The shift back to the world of worldly honours and public poetry, after the private anguish and determination to leave the world with which that section concludes, is an abrupt one. This section in fact merely elaborates on section 13's presentation of Norikiyo the favoured poet, and might seem to belong more properly as an extension of that material.

Indeed comparison of the A texts reveals that some of this B text material is a variation of this part of section 1,³⁵ which suggests that an earlier narrative flow may

³³ *uguisu no koe zo kasumi ni morete kuru hitomi tomoshiki haru no yamazato* 鶯の声ぞかすみにもれてくる人めともしき春の山里.

³⁴ With the exception of Unemebon, which omits this section.

³⁵ Shōhōbon repeats in section 2 the phrase *tomi no ogawa no nagare wo ku(mu)* 富の緒川の流を汲(む) found in section 1 as well as the names of Hitomaro and Akahito, and the earlier phrase *shhiki ni shitagaite* 四季にしたがひて here becomes *toki ni shitagaite* 時にしたがひて. The B texts appear to have inherited the results of this repetition — although section 1 contains different material at

have been interrupted by the interpolation of didactic material in section 1. SHS solves this problem by its lack of this section 1 material: section 2 is its introduction to Norikiyo as court poet.³⁶ Whether this represents the section's earliest form or no, it is true to say that the similarities among the texts in this section, which follows the utamonogatari style of brief kotobagaki-type introduction followed by poem(s), is in marked contrast to the previous section's proliferation of textual detail and intertextual instability.

The one point of difference in this depiction of Norikiyo as public poet is in the reference to his poetic skill in terms which imply that it relates to spiritual accomplishment. In the B texts, this is merely hinted at in the opening phrase,³⁷ which implies that it was the act of constantly purifying his heart that led to his superior poetic skills. The A texts are more explicit: He used waka as a means to purify his heart of the dust of the world and concentrate his thoughts. Thus, although the focus reverts to Norikiyo's public life, his private religious urgings now give his poetry a different cause and aim.³⁸

3) The poems establish one of the organizing features of the Tale, which binds it to the world of utamonogatari and poetic anthologies: seasonal progression. Here the poems are proffered as being composed on the theme of Early Spring,³⁹ as *daieika* 題詠歌⁴⁰ solicited by the retired emperor. Poem 4 justifies inclusion on grounds first that it is a *Shinkokinshū* poem, and second that its language and imagery strongly suggest the tentative early urgings of a heart seeking the Buddhist Way, that hosshin which Norikiyo is privately in the throes of. Poem 5, which is the partner to this poem this point, in section 2 these phrases are echoed with variations throughout the B texts.

³⁶ *Nanakashū*'s complete omission of section 2's prose material takes this one step further.

³⁷ *Tsune ni kokoro wo sumashite* 常に心をすまして.

³⁸ Here again, SHS appears the most straightforward in its depiction of Norikiyo: section 2's content follows naturally from section 1's single focus on his private religious musings.

³⁹ *Shoshun* 初春 or *risshun* 立春

⁴⁰ Poems composed on an assigned topic, on formal occasions. Miner, Odagiri and Morrell (*The Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature*, Princeton, 1985, p. 272) point out that these poems are inherently fictional, as opposed to the immediately autobiographical (private) poem.

in Saigyō's *Mimosusogawa utaawase* anthology, is a more formal daieika composition. It is not present in the A texts. Poem 6, whose formal theme in *Sankashū* is given as *uguisu* in quietness,⁴¹ evokes the mountain village associated with a recluse's life, for which Norikiyo privately longs, and would be equally well placed in any later part of the Tale.

Bunmeibon 3

In the second year of Daiji,⁴² there was an imperial progress to visit the Toba Palace.⁴³ The retired emperor viewed the fusuma in the newly rebuilt palace, and since their various paintings were delightfully executed, he called on the most brilliant poets of the day — Major Counsellor Tsunenobu,⁴⁴ Middle Counsellor Masafusa,⁴⁵ Mototoshi,⁴⁶ Toshiyori⁴⁷ and others — to compose, and they vied with each other to do so. Norikiyo was also among those summoned, and being ordered to compose verses on appropriate sections of the fusuma pictures, he composed a series that very day. Among them were the following:

Upon seeing a valley stream flowing below mountains deep under snow in early spring:

7. The snow that lies / so deep on the high peaks / has melted — / white waves /

⁴¹ *Kanchū no uguisu* 閑中鶯.

⁴² 1127. In SIZ this date is given in the opening sentence instead of at this place. All other texts follow Bunmeibon, with A texts giving the precise *around* the tenth day of the tenth month of the second year of Daiji. The date also appears at the beginning of section 4 in the B texts.

Historically, Norikiyo would have been only ten years old. Kuwabara Hiroshi (*Saigyō monogatari*, p.48) speculates that this date was a compromise allowing the various famous poets to be gathered with Norikiyo, but the fact that two of them were even so already dead makes this implausible. There may be more plausibility to his second suggestion (also made by Taniguchi Kōichi, *Saigyō monogatari no Kōsō* p. 29), which links this date with that of the completion of the imperial poetry collection *Kinyōshū* (金葉集), although nothing in the text suggests this connection.

⁴³ Built by Shirakawa in 1086 in the south-west area of the capital.

⁴⁴ Minamoto Tsunenobu 源常信 (1016-1097). He died 30 years before this date.

⁴⁵ Ōe Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041-1111). He died 26 years before this date.

⁴⁶ Fujiwara Mototoshi 藤原基俊 (? - 1142). The teacher of Fujiwara Shunzei.

⁴⁷ Minamoto Toshiyori 源俊頼 (?1055-?1129). Tsunenobu's son.

on Kiyotaki's waters. (SSS 2, SKKS 27)

Upon seeing a plum tree flowering before a grass-thatched hut in which a hermit sits in reclusion in a mountain village:

8. Come seeking this hut / to see my plum's full flowering — / though I live estranged from people / yet there is a time / for visits.

(SSS 34, SKKS 51)

Upon seeing a man seated below a wild profusion of blossoms, gazing at the moon:

9. Gazed at astray⁴⁸ / through clouds / of blossom, / the moon / is hazed to the eye. (SKS 90)⁴⁹

A scene depicting a man seated beneath cedars in a mountain field, gazing in search of the first hototogisu of summer:

10. Here I will take my stand / to wait out the silence / before the hototogisu's call / in this cedar grove / among mountain fields. (SSS 141, SKKS 217)

Seeing the moment when his search is rewarded and he hears the first call of the hototogisu:

11. The hototogisu / has emerged / from deep among mountain peaks — / his voice is descending / to these lower foothills. (SSS 151, SKKS 218)

A scene depicting a woman⁵⁰ scooping water from a pure stream in the shade

⁴⁸まよふ. See following note.

⁴⁹ The odd まよふ is here まがふ. Most texts keep the original reading, Hakubyō follows Bunmeibon. The fact that some versions of Kanzeibon follow one reading and some the other suggests that this is probably an unintentional misreading.

⁵⁰女房. Other B texts agree, Kanzeibon has 女, and this scene and poem is omitted in Eishōbon. The A texts have the neutral 旅人. Nothing in the poem or its original kotobagaki suggests a female protagonist, and the scene described here would be unusual in traditional fusumae.

of a willow:

12. *In the willow's shade / where the pure stream / flows on by the wayside / I
halt my steps / and stand a while. (SSS 621,⁵¹ SKKS 262⁵²)*

A forlorn scene of the first wind of autumn:

13. *Ah how the dew drops / must be spilling now / from those grasses — / the
autumn wind has risen / on the fields of Miyagino. (SSS 170)*

Seeing a deer calling by a hut overlooking mountain fields:

14. *A deer calls / near the hut / among mountain fields — / startled, / he startles
the deer. (SKS 440, SKKS 448)*

Seeing white clouds hanging upon high mountains:

15. *In Akishino / chill autumn showers must be falling / over the low villages / for
clouds swathe / the peaks of Mount Ikoma. (SSS 619, SKKS 585)*

A scene depicting the treetops on a great mountain peak played over by wind:

16. *Leaves are falling / in the village below / dark Ogura mountain — / there in
the branches / the brilliant moon. (SSS 291, SKKS 603)*

*Since an imperial decree was difficult to deny, he composed and presented in
the course of a day ten fusumae poems; the emperor pondered them deeply, and
finding them great and rare poems, and model works for these latter days, he ordered
the calligraphers of the day, Sadanobu⁵³ and Tokinobu,⁵⁴ to write them (on the*

⁵¹ たちどまれけれ is here たちどまれつれ.

⁵² 道の辺の is here 道の辺に.

⁵³ Fujiwara Sadanobu 藤原定信 (1088-1156). A famous calligrapher.

⁵⁴ Identity unknown. *Sonpi bunmyaku* lists a Minamoto of this name, but he appears to have had no renown as a calligrapher. Kuwabara Hiroshi (*Saigyō monogatari*, p.46) suggests this name may be an invention from a variation on ʼSadanobu .

screens).

3. COMMENTS.

(1) All texts but SHS contain this section, in closely related versions. Among the B1 texts, Hakubyō seems to represent the earliest form, with Bunmeibon a later development. The A texts give a stronger dramatic touch by presenting Norikiyo as composing ten poems within the sitting, where the other poets composed one each.

The only major disruption in the texts, apart from minor textual confusions, is in the final two poems, particularly poem 16. Their order is reversed in the A texts, and poem 16 is omitted in the B3 texts. The kotobagaki to poem 16 also reveals confusions: Hakubyō and the B texts are the only texts to use the name Ogurayama 小倉山. SIZ and Unemebon have *oku no yama* おくの山, and in Unemebon this shift is transferred to the poem itself (see note 50). Bunmeibon is alone in having *ōyama* おほ山. These variations suggest an early textual confusion which perhaps originated in the intervening texts between Hakubyō and SIZ.

(2) The primary intention of this section is to demonstrate Norikiyo's superb literary skills in a court setting. To this end, poets many years dead are as it were raised from the grave to set him off. In this scene, the tension between public life and its obligations, and the newly experienced urge to reject this life, is in abeyance.⁵⁵

While this section presents Norikiyo's brilliance in the eyes of retired emperor and court with relish, at the same time the Tale's context implicitly places the scene within the framework of one who rejects these values. This tension between this exaggerated depiction's evident savouring of Norikiyo's successes at court, and the Buddhist rejection of that world —the Tale's ostensible theme — reappears from

⁵⁵ It is suggested only in the stock expression *ae* since an imperial decree was difficult to reject, a phrase which, though commonly used in such contexts, is given more force here by being used elsewhere to justify Saigyō's composition of poems unseemly for a religious practitioner. The phrase here may serve to suggest (what is quite clear in the heavily religious content of the opening sections of Unemebon, Kanzeibon and Eishōbon) that from the beginning of the story Norikiyo is being depicted as it were retrospectively, as an unachieved version of the Saigyō he would become, and his participation in these worldly events is even at this stage a compromise requiring justification.

time to time throughout the Tale.

The poems themselves are in fact noteworthy for their consonance with the image of the later Saigyō. In contrast to the religious content so far presented as the alternative to Norikiyo's present life, however, this is Saigyō as *sukimono* recluse rather than as strictly religious practitioner. Indeed the poems serve to illustrate this *sukimono* ideal. They move through three seasons depicting scenes which implicitly or explicitly include a lone person, sometimes a recluse, more commonly a man⁵⁶ engaged in poetic contemplation of nature. The suggestion of travel is built into the successive scenes both through the variety of their scenery and through the use of *utamakura* place names.

It is as if the later poetic Saigyō is being introduced in stylized form as a kind of fantasy projection. The poems, whose scenes are made explicit by the paintings described, lead the reader (and by implication Norikiyo himself) imaginatively beyond the proud moment of their composition amidst the pomp of the imperial court and into the idealized opposite world of solitude in natural surroundings which Norikiyo will soon embrace. It is noteworthy, however, that his decision, which until this point has been expressed in purely religious terms (as *hosshin*), is here projected purely poetically, i.e. both through the medium of poetry and as the figure of the poet engaged in *suki* travel and contemplation. The terms are here set for the double aspect of the *saigyō* image which this Tale plays out.

This scene thus carries the Tale forward not only by demonstrating Norikiyo's skill and his special place in the emperor's esteem, but also by projecting the future Saigyō figure into the present, as well as shifting the emphasis of his decision and its implications from the purely religious to the predominantly *suki* life. The fact that the previous section has prepared the meeting of these two aspects of the future Saigyō allows the implications of the poems of this section a freer play.

(3) The poems are, in fact, from Saigyō's later life, and the original *kotobagaki*

⁵⁶ The figure of the woman which appears in the scene given for poem 12 is something of an aberration. It does not appear in the A texts.

show that most were not composed as daieika. Thus this section reverses the common process of the Tale, whereby daieika are presented as written out of the direct experience depicted, the protagonist being Saigyō himself. All the poems of this section could as easily have been used in a post-shukke section of the Tale.⁵⁷

Eight of the ten poems are found in *Shinkokinshū*, a clear example of the likelihood that one of the primary impulses behind the Tale's formation was to anthologize in biographical form Saigyō's most famous poems, as found in that collection. The fact that these poems would already be strongly imbued with a poeticized image of the figure of Saigyō for the educated reader would further enhance their projective power at this point in the narrative.

Bunmeibon 4

It was perhaps on the eleventh day of the tenth month of the second year of Daijū⁵⁸ that by imperial decree the sword known as Asahimaru was placed in a red brocade bag and presented to Norikiyo via the hand of the Secretary Controller.⁵⁹ He was also called before the imperial consort, and presented with outer coats and fifteen splendid robes of exquisite crimson layers, by the hand of a girl in waiting, Otome no Mae, on behalf of Gonchūnagon.⁶⁰ Those who saw him were amazed and envious; and thus his attachment to the world grew great, and he felt tears of joy and gratitude soak his sleeve. When he returned home that evening, the joy of his whole family on seeing him knew no bounds. But at this too he felt no pleasure,⁶¹ but only continued to ponder the transiency of this world, and the meaninglessness of public position, and sorrow weighed his heart the more.⁶²

⁵⁷ Poem 8 in particular would seem to belong naturally among the plum poems of section 9.

⁵⁸ See note 42.

⁵⁹ Tō no ben 頭弁. A senior official, in close service to the emperor.

⁶⁰ In A texts, Chūnagon 中納言, a lady-in-waiting to the empress.

⁶¹ Regarding this apparent contradiction with the previous sentence, and its implications, see Comments below.

⁶² The sentence in Bunmeibon runs on to the next scene, but I have chosen to end the section

4. COMMENTS

(1) The texts generally echo each other quite closely for this scene, the only striking variation being Hakubyō's omission of the final scene. The didactic content of this scene (Norikiyo's further thoughts on transience and the meaninglessness of worldly glory) is the only place which presents major textual variations among the versions. This scene, which appears to be a result of Norikiyo's accomplishments in the previous scene, is only directly related to that scene in the A texts and in Eishōbon; the other B texts disrupt the narrative flow with a rather odd repetition of the Daiji 2 date. It is also noteworthy that the Hosshōji scene which appeared after section 1 in SIZ is included after this section in both Hakubyō and Unemebon, which call it *the beginning of his hosshin*.⁶³

This section, which has no poem, is not present in SHS or *Nanakashū*. This, along with the repetition of the Daiji 2 date, and of the phrase *akore ni tsukete mo* which elsewhere is associated with textual disruptions, suggests that this section may be an interpolation to strengthen the hosshin theme.

(2) This scene is presented as the apogee of Norikiyo's career, in details treated with particularly awed attention in Bunmeibon. To be thus favoured by the emperor adds to Norikiyo's dilemma, for apart from the worldly pride which it induces in him, his obligation to the emperor whom he is privately steeling himself to betray by leaving his service is hereby increased further. This psychological moment thus constitutes Norikiyo's greatest test, as is made clear in the final passage of the section, which describes his private rejection of this public praise and glory.

This rejection, however, is presented much more ambivalently earlier in the here since the following scene is clearly a separate episode.

⁶³ This suggests that the scene in fact belongs earlier in the Tale, the most logical place being before the reference to the emperor's desire to promote him in the Imperial Guards (see section 1). It is interesting that SIZ, which places this scene in section 1, in fact inserts it unnaturally, and also, confusingly, refers to this as being *another* instance of his hosshin. It is clear that this scene, found only in these three texts, has a confused history of interpolations and omissions, although its presence in Hakubyō indicates that it was included in some at least of the early texts. In general, all but the early variants display strong evidence that these early sections were much reworked and added to in order to

section in many of the versions. Authorial comment in the B texts reports that his attachment to the world deepened, and Bunmeibon in particular makes confusion blatant with the contrast between his *əjoy* at the riches and honour heaped on him, and at the envy of others, and the later statement that he *əfelt no pleasure* from this.⁶⁴ Among the B texts, only Hakubyō presents a consistent portrait, by describing this moment of pride and attachment while omitting the final scene in which he rejects this experience, leaving him to gain his (first) understanding from the following Hosshōji episode.

In the A texts, however, there is no disjunction between Norikiyo's immediate response and his later thoughts. What in the B texts is narratorial comment (*əhis attachment to the world grew great*), is here Norikiyo's own realisation of danger, given in internal monologue: *əCould there be any prouder moment than this in my life? My attachment to this world can only grow the deeper for it*. Thus, while in the B texts Norikiyo's initial response reflects the unironic glorying in his accomplishments that is presented in the narration itself, the A texts never lose sight of the narrative trajectory; Norikiyo is strengthened rather than temporarily weakened by his test.

Bunmeibon 5

He and an intimate friend, imperial guardsman Satō Noriyasu,⁶⁵ who served in the same imperial guards, obeyed an imperial command to wait on the retired emperor, and when they were returning together from the Toba Palace that night they promised each other that they would attend there together the next morning in particular splendour. (They parted and) Noriyasu remained at Shichijō Ōmiya. The next morning when Norikiyo called in on his way to fetch him, he found a noisy
emphasize the hosshin story.

⁶⁴ This double response is interestingly echoed in a textual shift among the B1 texts, whereby the key word *əaware* is in Hakubyō and SIZ used to describe his joyous tears at the imperial favours, while in Bunmeibon it has been removed from this sentence and placed in the final sentence describing his sorrow at worldly vanity, the opposite response.

crowd of people thronging the gateway, and heard from within the sound of various voices crying and lamenting: *ᅁThe young master died suddenly last night . Upon hearing the unrestrained weeping of the nineteen-year-old wife and the mother of eighty some years, his heart grew yet darker. He thought of the flame before the wind,⁶⁶ dew on the floating lotus leaf, dream within dream, and longed to cut off his hair⁶⁷ then and there; but he thought he must first visit the retired emperor one last time and beg leave from his service, and he hastened his steed (towards the palace), yet tears overflowed his sleeves⁶⁸ as he went. Now this man (Noriyasu) was two years his senior, and in his twenty seventh year. Norikiyo sorrowed at this proof of how all must die, some preceding and some following, and as he went he thus composed:*

ᅁAt morning pink-cheeked and youthful / we are proud in the world. /At evening our whitened bones / rot in the field. ⁶⁹

17. *A sad place indeed / is that mountain pass / into death — / once it is crossed / there can be no returning. (SKS 763)⁷⁰*

18. *Though I see / all about me / the dream that is this world / yet, seeing, / my*

⁶⁵ There is no historical evidence for the existence of this person.

⁶⁶ This and the two following expressions are common Buddhist metaphors for the transience of life. The A texts have equivalent but different metaphors at this point.

⁶⁷ もとどりをきる. Cutting off the topknot. A gesture marking the first stage in the act of shukke, preliminary to being officially accepted as a monk.

⁶⁸ たもとの涙せきあへず. A textual corruption is evident at this point among the texts. The B1 texts have せきあへず (SIZ:せきあへざりける), but the B2 and B3 texts have instead variations of the confusing さきにたつ. The source of this confusion is evidently a copyist's jumping a line to incorporate the expression おくれさきだつ. It is interesting to note that one of the Kanzeibon texts replaces 前 (さき) with 雨 in an attempt to save the meaning with the expression 涙の雨にぞほちける ("his sleeves drowned in a rain of tears). The A texts omit all reference to his tears.

⁶⁹ A verse from a Chinese poem by Fujiwara Yoshitaka 藤原義孝 (954-974) found as poem 793 in the popular *Wakan rōeishū*, echoing similar expressions found in a number of Buddhist texts. This is clearly not composed by Norikiyo, and should be read here as a quotation of text prefacing his own poems, although this is unclear in the B1 texts. Most B texts follow Bunmeibon, but Kanzeibon adds the words *ᅁ思ふべし思ふべし* to the end of the quote, making it clear that this is intended as a kind of self-admonishing preface to the poems. Eishōbon omits it, while A texts place it earlier (see below).

⁷⁰ The second phrase is *mata mo kono yo ni* またもこの世に.

foolish heart does not awaken. (SKS 759)⁷¹

19. *How can I have lived / these long months and years / in a world / where he
whom I saw yesterday / today is gone?* (SKS 768, SKKS 1748)⁷²

5. COMMENTS

(1) All the variants are in general agreement for this section, except for the A texts, which substantially expand and dramatize the scene. Hakubyō appears closest to the original B text, with Bunmeibon containing unique additions and variations, notably in the age of the mother (who is elsewhere fifty in the B texts, and seventy in the A texts). This section is not present in SHS.

(2) This episode is presented as providing the shock necessary to propel Norikiyo into action. In theme, it follows through from the previous scene which balances public glory (here made explicit by the friends's vow to appear at the court the following day in particular splendour), and its concomitant pride and obligations (two great obstructions to shukke) against the increasing urge toward shukke.

The scene is framed and as it were contained within the theme of obligation to the emperor. Norikiyo's decision to go once more to the court and formally request to be released from service to the emperor is no mere matter of simply resigning his position. To serve the emperor involves a deep commitment of love and obligation, and to leave his service as Norikiyo does is equivalently a betrayal, as the emperor's displeasure in the following episode makes clear.⁷³ Later episodes⁷⁴ and references throughout the Tale clearly show the strength of the bond which Saigyō continues to

⁷¹ The first phrase is *yo no naka wo* 世の中を.

⁷² The first two phrases are *toshitsuki wo ika de waga mi ni okurikemu* 年月をいかでわが身におくりけむ.

⁷³ The A text elaborates these implications by reminding readers, through Noriyasu's words, that Norikiyo's position too has been inherited down an illustrious line of ancestors who served equivalently, adding obligation to ancestors to the weight of obligation to the emperor.

⁷⁴ In particular, see section 53.

feel throughout his life,⁷⁵ and reveal the powerful nature of his dilemma as he struggles here to commit himself to shukke. That this episode is thus framed by acts of obligation to the emperor presents Norikiyo as still bound to that world, even as he rides towards the palace full of the decision to at last bid it farewell.

The reason for the historical Saigyō's shukke has been (and continues to be) a source of much excited speculation.⁷⁶ The invention of the death of a close friend is, however, a device peculiar to *Saigyō monogatari*. He, like Saigyō's companion Saijū⁷⁷ later in the Tale, is a sort of shadowy version of Norikiyo himself but with a different fate, which by its negative nature guides Norikiyo along the Buddhist Way.⁷⁸ He too is young, an imperial guard, and in the A texts is furthermore not only a close relative of Norikiyo's but, most tellingly, reveals that he has recently been experiencing the same doubts and urges toward shukke as Norikiyo's own unspoken ones. The death of this alter-ego as it were releases Norikiyo from this previous identity into his new identity as Saigyō.⁷⁹

3) The three poems are to be found grouped loosely together in the Miscellaneous section of *Sankashū*, but the order of their appearance has been

⁷⁵ Saigyō's poems and their kotobagaki show that this was not an invention of the Tale's creators.

⁷⁶ Kuwabara (*Saigyō monogatari*, p. 56) lists the four main theories as: (1) a general religious eloathing of the world, (2) a failure in love, (3) political (as propounded by Fujioka Sakutarō), (4) a combination of the above (now the generally accepted theory).

⁷⁷ Yamazaki Jun 山崎淳 (in *Saigyō monogatari ni egakareta Saigyō-zō — Bunmeibon wo chūshin to shite 「西行物語」に描かれた西行像 — 文明本を中心として*, *Shirin* 11 [April 1991], pp. 31-45) has made an interesting analysis of the role of supporting characters such as Saijū in playing negative to Saigyō's positive throughout the Tale. He does not, however, mention Noriyasu among them.

⁷⁸ The Buddhist concept of *zenchishiki* 善知識, a friend who teaches and guides one in the Buddhist Way, is appropriate for this role. By extension, the expression is often used to refer to an experience that performs a similar function (cf. Norikiyo's welcoming of the bitter lesson of pride and attachment learned from the emperor's gifts in section 4 with the words *kaerite butsudō wo susumuru zenchishiki ka na* 返りて仏道を勧むる善知識かな in the A texts).

⁷⁹ See Yamaguchi Makoto's speculations on the shadow tale of the Norikiyo who remained on as imperial guardsman without having the courage to shukke. (Yamaguchi Makoto 山口真琴, in Taira Yasuyori to kebiishi — *Hōbutsushū jochū* 平康頼と檢非違使 — 宝物集序注, *Tomihisa Takefumi sensei koki kinen ronbunshū, chūsei denshō bungaku to sono shūhen* 友久武文先生古稀記念論文集, 中世伝承文学とその周辺, Keisuisha, 1997, pp. 46-61).

changed, perhaps to create a suggestion of psychological process. Poem 17 acknowledges and laments the fact of death, while poems 18 and 19 move back to the theme of the poems in section 1, his despair at his inability to achieve enlightenment (18) and at his continuing to live in the world when the fact of death is evident all about him (19). With these poems, as with this episode, the private self with its yearnings for the Buddhist Way reasserts itself over the public self/public poetry mode.

Bunmeibon 6

As he was attired particularly splendidly that day, people were astonished at the sight, and the retired emperor too was impressed. While the retired emperor was speaking of his response to the previous day's poems, Norikiyo unexpectedly requested the Secretary Controller to petition on his behalf for permission to retire from the world. The retired emperor was greatly surprised, and did not grant permission. Norikiyo thought this would be the last time he would approach the imperial presence and hear an imperial command. He thought how today would be the last time to gaze upon the Regent and the three closest to him and to appear before their eyes, and to be ceremonially present among the ranks of his fellow Hokumen guards. His thoughts ran on to how until today he had always been among those called to attend the music and poetry sessions in the palace, the ceremonial occasions for the cherries of the southern garden, the autumn leaves at the pond's edge, and the moon viewing, and his tears fell endlessly.

However, he regained control with strength of heart and departed, and as he was returning home he thought to himself, 'Well after all, I had already decided to take the tonsure in the second month, and gave expression to his feelings thus.'⁸⁰

20. Empty as sky / my heart lifts / like spring mist / in its longing / to leave this

⁸⁰ かくすさみしぞかし. This rather untranslatable phrase is repeated below, where it may be a corruption of Emaki's かくぞよみし. The other texts all have versions of Emaki's phrase. It is noteworthy that Hakubyō, which otherwise follows Bunmeibon word for word in this section, here departs from it.

world behind. (SKS 723)

It seemed the time had not yet come, for the second month passed, and in the seventh month he again made his decision. The moon was beautiful, and he gave expression to his feelings thus:

21. *Autumn moon / make my heart firm / which wanders/ homeless / in the world's grief.* (SSS 192)

22. *What shades of sadness / do I know / in the moon's light / gazing at her / without thought?* (SKS 649, SKKS 1269)⁸¹

23. *Autumn's first wind / arouses deep feeling / alike / even in those / who never pause to feel.* (SSS 167, SKKS 299)

6. COMMENTS

(1) Though frequently differing in wording and sometimes also in detail, all the major texts echo each other fairly faithfully through the early part of this section. The only major disruption comes at the point where the retired emperor has failed to give his consent, at which point the narrative shifts to a form of internal monologue.⁸² SIZ, the B2 texts and the A texts all have independent versions of Norikiyo's thoughts, those of the B2 texts being particularly strongly didactic in content. Unemebon follows the main B1 line in concentrating his thoughts solely on the world he is about to leave forever, a theme particularly strongly pursued in Bunmeibon, which more than any other version devotes space to a somewhat incoherent extended string of regrets.⁸³

⁸¹ The original poem reads *mono omoite nagamuru koro no tsuki no iro ni ika bakari naru aware souramu* 物思ひてながむるころの月の色にいかばかりなるあはれそふらむ.

⁸² Textual disruption and didactic content are frequently associated with a shift in narrative point of view to the internal .

⁸³ *Saigyō monogatari* in all its later versions can be said to reveal a somewhat naive,

The A texts, as always, provide the most compelling and coherent version of the scene; in particular, they bring to bear a psychological acuity which both articulates the dilemma and reinforces Norikiyo's Buddhist commitment without the heavy-handed didactic interpolations of B2. The A texts also deftly shift the time of Norikiyo's regret to the point where the decision has already been acted on, and are less concerned with the weak/strong depiction of the B texts.⁸⁴

It is at the end of this scene, where Norikiyo sets out for home, that the texts present a major disruption.⁸⁵ Textual analysis strongly suggests a development from *Nanakashū* through the A texts to the B texts, during the course of which the events leading up to the four poems were placed variously in the past, with the resultant awkwardness seen in Bunmeibon (and other B texts). It is significant that SHS and *Nanakashū* lack the preceding *hosshin* material. More intriguing is Emaki's (the earliest B text's) sudden entry at the kotobagaki for the last three poems. Despite the extraordinary coincidence, however, Emaki's entry here appears to be fortuitous, and unrelated to the section's evolution: there is clear textual evidence⁸⁶ that Emaki's earlier sections (presumably containing much of the content of the other B1 texts) are missing.

(2) In this scene, Norikiyo accomplishes the first of the two breaks with the world which he must achieve before his *shukke* — the breaking of his bonds with the retired emperor whom he has served. That this is at the same time a continuation of the theme articulated in sections 3 and 4, that of attachment to fame and worldly honours, is made clear by the opening words of this section, which all the main texts repeat almost verbatim. Norikiyo's splendid attire, along with the robes heaped on him in section 3, serves symbolically to point up the extent of all he is preparing himself to outsider's adulation of the imperial court and its doings in these early scenes, which suggests that its intended audience was not that of the court itself. Bunmeibon is particularly prone to this tendency.

⁸⁴ See Part III for a discussion of the importance of this dichotomy.

⁸⁵ In *SIZ* and the A texts, this constitutes a separate *section* and is not directly related to his thoughts as he rides.

⁸⁶ Apart from the abruptness of the opening sentence, the words *その期* clearly refer back to missing previous content.

reject by assuming instead the ʼink-black robes of the monk (a theme emphasized by the B1 texts).

With this scene, the mounting tension between public obligations and position and private urgings — a tension whose final moments of intensity are embodied in the various textsʼ various portrayals of his thoughts — is finally released through Norikiyoʼs gesture of leaving the court. The forward narrative trajectory is here suddenly checked to cast a backward glance, not this time at all he has chosen to forego, but at his previous failed attempts to act on his decision. Despite the attempt to integrate the poems and their circumstances into Norikiyoʼs present thoughts, examination of the texts makes it clear that these two small sections with their poems are in the kotobagaki style of introductory material. The poems are made here to represent his thoughts on two previous occasions when his constant urge crystallized into a decision but was not acted on. In narrative terms, these small sections serve as a final, rather heavy-handed reminder of his long-drawn-out struggle to achieve this moment, a theme which figures prominently in the hosshinki literature on which these early sections are loosely modelled.

(3) It is interesting to speculate on why these poems should have demanded inclusion.⁸⁷ Poem 20 needs no justification, since it is one of the very few poems specifically linked to Saigyōʼs shukke in *Sankashū*, where it appears with the kotobagaki ʼComposed at the time I had decided to leave the world, on the occasion when a gathering of people at Higashiyama⁸⁸ were composing on the subject of spring mist .⁸⁹

Among the autumn poems, poem 21 is directly expressive of the state of mind

⁸⁷ Kuwabara (*Saigyō monogatari*, p. 63) considers that the common element in these poems is their consonance with the Taleʼs aim to present Saigyōʼs shukke in fictional terms as being one ʼaccomplished with tears , and points out the lack of inclusion of a poem whose kotobagaki specifies that it was composed on the occasion of begging leave from the retired emperor.

⁸⁸ I.e. at a poetic gathering in the home of a religious recluse in the Higashiyama district of the capital, which is where Saigyō first lived after his shukke.

⁸⁹ *yo ni araji to omoitachikeru koro, higashiyama nite hitobito, kasumi no yosuru jukkai to iu koto wo yomeru* 世にあらじと思ひ立ちける頃、東山にて人々、倚霞述懐という事をよめる。

depicted in the narrative.⁹⁰ The other two poems, which seem less relevant,⁹¹ no doubt found their way in through their inclusion in *Shinkokinshū*.

Bunmeibon 7

øI evaded the decision in autumn too.⁹² Let me accomplish my shukke without hindrance at the end of this year, ⁹³ he prayed to the Three Treasures,⁹⁴ and upon his return to his home, his beloved four-year-old daughter, so difficult to part from,⁹⁵ came out to the verandah to meet him, saying øI'm so happy that Daddy has come , and clinging to his sleeve. She was so incomparably dear to him that he reeled blindly, but regaining control with the thought that it was this very bond that was the øbond of attachment to earthly passions , he kicked her down off the verandah and went inside, ignoring her tears and cries; øthis is but tonight's temporary lodging , he

⁹⁰ The poem's 定めよ is specifically echoed by the text's 思ひ定めて, which I see as further evidence that this phrase forms the original core of this episode. (See discussion of *Nanakashū* for this section in Appendix I).

⁹¹ In fact their original context was, for poem 22, ølove in both *Sankashū* and *Shinkokinshū*, and for poem 23, øautumn wind in *Saigyō Shōninshū* and øtopic unknown in *Shinkokinshū*. Poem 23 is more relevant in the A texts, which mention the autumn wind in the kotobagaki material (as does *Nanakashū*, from whose kotobagaki this passage appears to be derived).

⁹² My division of episodes is somewhat forced here, since the theme of Norikiyo's previous failures to act is run into this scene of his returning home and subsequent actions. Division between narrative voice and internal speech, often hazy in this as in other texts, is here further confused by the shift in time between the past autumn and his present prayer, which is linked by a simple て. Kanzeibon and the A texts avoid this with のがれぬ rather than のがれて.

⁹³ このくれ. This adds further to the rather confusing sense of time in this and the preceding passage, by seeming to put off the shukke until the end of the year. SIZ and the A texts have このたびの, Hakubyō has この秋の (while placing the previous failure earlier in the same autumn by saying はつ秋ものがれて), while Emaki and Unemebon follow Bunmeibon. Kanzeibon and Eishōbon omit this part. The various authors thus differed in their interpretation of this passage, indicating an early textual confusion.

⁹⁴ Sanbō 三宝. The Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood, which together were often considered to form a single entity congruent with the Buddhist Truth. From the Kamakura period onward it became a frequent object of worship and prayer.

⁹⁵ さりがたくいとうしがりける. The other texts which closely follow Bunmeibon at this point (Emaki, Hakubyō, SIZ and Unemebon) all replace this with たへがたくいとうしかりし (øunbearably delightful).

thought, and it was affecting to see him choked with tears.⁹⁶ His wife was a finer person than her husband, and had realized long since that her husband was intending shukke, and it was affecting to see how she was not surprised to witness her daughter's sorrowful tears.

24. *Though the dewdrops vanish / they will come again. / Not so this self. / In this I can place / no faith. (SKS 765)*

Restraining his tears, he thought till the full moon reached its midpoint: All phenomena exist only in the mind, there is no other existence. To be born into the human realm is more difficult than that a thread dangled from Brahma's heaven⁹⁷ should enter a needle on the depths of the ocean floor. To meet with the Buddhist Law is (as unlikely as) that a one-eyed turtle should meet with the hole in a piece of driftwood.⁹⁸ I have now decided to accomplish shukke and enter the Buddhist Way. It is said that humans are not wood or stone.⁹⁹ Mugwort among hemp grows straight without needing to be straightened. The wisteria that clings to the pine climbs for endless ages. Those who enter a forest of sandalwood will find their hearts¹⁰⁰ scented

⁹⁶ This sudden intrusion of narratorial comment drawing attention to a scene of particular pathos is an example of similar comments found throughout the Tale (see, for instance, the following sentence). They are always spoken from the point of view of one viewing the figure as in a picture — an effect which the past tense translation necessarily diminishes — and are an indication of the presence of the emaki style of narration as an influence in the development of such tales.

⁹⁷ Bonten 梵天, a deity in the Buddhist pantheon. The word is here used to denote the heaven ruled over by him.

Takagi draws attention to the fact that the following didactic passage bears a strong relation to several passages (in vols. 7, 2 and 4 respectively) in *Hōbutsushū*. (Takagi Isao, *saigyō monogatari no tenkyō*, p. 32).

⁹⁸ A parable whose origin appears to be a passage in the *Nehangyō*, which describes the unlikelihood of a blind turtle which rises to the surface once every hundred years locating with the one eye which can barely detect light the single hole in a piece of driftwood.

⁹⁹ *Hito bokuseki ni arazu* 人木石にあらず, i.e. humans are not insensible, but are sentient beings (and thus able to feel, and choose the Buddhist Way).

¹⁰⁰ The other texts which follow Bunmeibon for this passage all have *ころも* instead of *ころ*.

by it. The garden of Tōriten¹⁰¹ contains the hues of joy, and the birds of the Lotus World chant the words of the Wondrous Law.¹⁰² Thus, determining to become a Buddha by ceasing all arrogance of the heart, forgetting all avaricious thoughts, free of the sins of cruelty and killing, and keeping the precepts against drunkenness and lying,¹⁰³ while he wept the moon bent low over the western mountains, and telling himself that now was the last time, he made the various vows suitable to a man and his wife, but she never spoke a word in answer. Nevertheless, there was no holding him from his decision, and summoning his strength of heart he cut off his hair, cast the locks into his private worship hall, and went out through the gate; and in the dawn he ran to a hijiri he had long been acquainted with, and to see his shukke was indeed a moving thing.

The next morning the hijiri gathered round, saying to each other, *What can this be about?* , and he composed:

25. *Do I indeed throw away / by cutting worldly ties? / To me it seems / those who throw away nothing / throw all away.* (SSS 534)

26. *Having risen through the worlds / to attain at last / this hard-won human form / who would sink back / no wiser?* (SSS 673, SKKS 1749)

27. *Let me leave to the world / in memory of this worthless self / at least a name / as one who left / that world behind.* (SKS 724, SKKS 1828)¹⁰⁴

7. COMMENTS

¹⁰¹ とう利天 (Trāyastriṃsa). One of the Buddhist heavens, located on the summit of Mt. Sumeru.

¹⁰² These and the previous expressions all connote the salvation spontaneously gained from committing oneself to the Buddhist truth.

¹⁰³ *Mōgo* 妄語, a prohibition which is related to the sin of *kyōgen kigo*, and thus of particular relevance to Saigyō's dilemma as a poet.

¹⁰⁴ The third phrase is *na wo da ni mo mata* 名をだにもまた.

(1) The first part of this section in the version above contains two important moments, that when Norikiyo summons the strength of mind to kick his daughter from the verandah, and the consequent realisation by his wife that the time of his shukke has at last come.

The first of these two scenes is remarkably stable throughout the Tale's many versions.¹⁰⁵ It is among the Tale's best-known episodes, and a powerful dramatic moment, which is quoted in *Shasekishū*.¹⁰⁶ Part of its power, aside from the shock of the action itself, lies in the violent contrast between *apathos* and *a*strength of heart on which the episode hinges, so constant a theme throughout the Tale and nowhere more tellingly depicted than here.¹⁰⁷ As we would expect, the A texts bring out this theme particularly strongly with dramatic detail, but even the usually less descriptive B texts dwell on the daughter's delightfulness, and Norikiyo's aching love for her. Although the strength of heart proper to a religious man wins the day in this scene,¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ The scene of Saigyō kicking his daughter is absent only in the early A text SHS (which omits this section) and *Nanakashū*. It is interesting that the famous focus of this scene, the moment where he kicks his daughter from the verandah, is entirely missing here. This suggests that the weeping daughter of *Nanakashū*, who belongs to a stock *setsuwa* type, was perhaps the early seed from which the famous dramatic scene was later born.

¹⁰⁶ *When Saigyō Hōshi first determined to leave the world, he kicked his most dearly beloved daughter, who was clinging to him, from the verandah and took the tonsure, after which he expressed in this poem his courageous rejection (of her):*

Do I indeed *a*throw away / by cutting worldly ties? / To me it seems / those who *a*throw away nothing / throw all away.

The poem is a slightly different version of poem no. 25, found in this section in most versions of *Saigyō monogatari*. Elsewhere in the work (at the end of vol. 5) Mujū mentions a work called *Saigyō-ga-e* 西行ガ絵, yet another of the early versions of the Tale (in *emaki* form) now lost, from which he presumably took the above material.

¹⁰⁷ Yamazaki (*Saigyō monogatari ni egakareta Saigyō-zō*, p. 32) points out that this episode is not present in the early *Hosshinshū* tale of Saigyō's daughter and her later shukke (HSS 6.5), and that it is an important example of the creating of the *a*strong Saigyō portrait in the Tale.

The only example of a *a*hosshin tale which may have inspired this famous scene is *Hosshinshū* 1.6, in which a man bent on shukke cuts off his hair despite his pleading teenage daughter's clinging to his sleeve. This scene, however, lacks the force of the scene found here.

¹⁰⁸ An intriguing instability in the balance of *a*strong and *a*weak in the depiction of Norikiyo is also evident among the versions. While in the A texts he is distraught at his daughter's tears but makes a show of ignoring them (こころぐるしくはおもへども聞きいれぬさめにて), in the B texts his strength of will does not falter (みみにもききいれずして). See Part III for a further discussion of this question.

some versions of the Tale later put Saigyō through another tearful test of will concerning his daughter (see section 20), and his final reunion with her (section 49) is one of the other great moments of the Tale, a scene also found in *Hosshinshū* (6.5). She is thus an important element in the portrait of the weak/strong Saigyō, a characteristic which this scene powerfully displays.

While the daughter episode is remarkably stable, the depiction of her mother reveals a fascinating instability from version to version.¹⁰⁹ Much critical discussion has focussed on the possible implications of the varying depictions of her. The most striking contrast is between two of the earliest texts, Bunmeibon — which states that she is a finer person than her husband and was quite unsurprised by the turn of events, and which seems to put a strong interpretation on her silence at Norikiyo's farewell — and Emaki, which unfortunately appears to be missing the initial section of text depicting her reaction, but which in the later passage depicts her as silent because of being distraught with resentment and grief. Seikadō makes no mention of either her strength or her distress, but describes her simply as unsurprised at what she had long anticipated, and weeping silently at his farewell. This is a version of her found in SIZ as well (with the exception of her weeping). Hakubyō rather confusedly combines the explicitly strong and weak versions of Emaki and Bunmeibon by claiming superiority for her early in the section, but describing her as filled with resentment and grief in the later scene. The other texts, whose tendency is in general to foreground the Tale's religious content, follow Bunmeibon in making her explicitly stronger than him, and even (in Kanzeibon and Eishōbon and also, surprisingly, Hakubyō) already bent on taking the tonsure herself. Interestingly, her silence is the one consistent element in all the portraits.¹¹⁰

It could be speculated that both the Emaki and the Bunmeibon-type texts arrived at their differing portraits from an originally more neutral description of her,

¹⁰⁹ I discuss this question and its implications in Part III.

¹¹⁰ This silence is maintained into her religious life; when she is later shown as a nun at Amano, she has taken a vow of silence. (See section 56, and Comments, where I discuss its relation to the present section.)

mention of her prior knowledge of her husband's intentions (which is common to all the variants) suggesting to Bunmeibon-type texts a strength of character consistent with later silence, while this same silence prompted Emaki to portray her as weakly distraught. At all events, it is interesting to follow the development from the neutral (in Seikadō) or negative (in Emaki) portrayal of her¹¹¹ to that of a strength which outdoes her husband's, and which is followed through in the later portrait of her as pursuing a vow of silence at Amano while he is still drawn by his ties to his daughter.¹¹² The instability of all the texts at this point, evident in textual additions and variations, once again echoes instability of interpretation of narrative content.

The intrusion of religious material at various points of textual instability such as the above is again a strong feature of the section. The Emaki text has only a short explanatory sentence of Norikiyo's religious intention, which in Bunmeibon and all other B texts blossoms into a lengthy didactic passage whose content in Bunmeibon-related texts largely consists of a string of well-known images illustrating the theme of choosing the Buddhist path. Kanzeibon and Eishōbon typically diverge almost completely from the other B texts to introduce their own (sterner) sermons on the theme at this same point, while the A texts introduce a completely different didactic passage which is dramatically included as Norikiyo's speech to his wife. In general, the Tale's textual disruptions here are as volatile as the narrative is exciting. A similar

¹¹¹ This is consistent with the common portrayal of the weeping wife in hosshinki literature — c.f. Saijū's weeping wife in the later scene in some versions (section 21) where he fails to pass a similar test. In such scenes it is the wife's role to weep; no blame is attached to her since there are no expectations of her behaving otherwise. Norikiyo's wife is remarkable in this literature, leading Sakaguchi (a *Saigyō monogatari* no seiritsu jiki wo megutte , p. 59) to speculate an early influence on the Tale by the female anchorite community at Amano. Okami Masao 岡見正雄 (a *Setsuwa monogatari-jō no Saigyō ni tsuite — hitotsu no kaishaku 説話物語上の西行について — 一つの解釈*, *Shisō tokuhon*, Mezaki Tokue, ed., Hōzōkan, 1984, pp. 134-140) has put forward a slightly different thesis, that the Tale was expanded and disseminated through the agency of the itinerant preacher nuns known as *sōshi bikuni* 草紙びくに. Both speculations are interesting as possible explanations for the relatively strong representation of tonsured women in the Tale.

¹¹² Sakaguchi and Yamazaki (see previous note) interpret this shift in the portrait of the wife as resulting from a rewriting of the scene to bring it into line with the scene of the wife's *ōjō* at the end of the Tale, which was evidently based on the scene of wife and daughter together at Amano, found in *Hosshinshū* 6.5 — a scene which they assume to be a later interpolation in the Tale.

instability is evident in the question of Norikiyo's strength and weakness, with tears repressed in one version (Bunmeibon) flowing freely in others.

(2) In this section the focus turns finally to the second of the ties which Norikiyo must cut in order to achieve his shukke, that of wife and child. This is a theme beloved of hosshinki literature, which contains numerous accounts of weeping wives left in the lurch with their children when their husband throws away his worldly life and becomes a wandering hijiri. Such accounts, however, generally limit themselves to a sentence or two of description of the scene, their primary focus being on the man and his subsequent life. It is noteworthy that the Tale devotes much more space and descriptive detail to this scene than any of its antecedents, in keeping with its characteristic pursuit of the poetry and pathos of the choice of a religious life. The instabilities, both intertextual and intratextual, in the strong/weak depictions of both Norikiyo and his wife point to the underlying dilemma of the Tale's approach, which must both impress through examples of strong-minded commitment while moving the audience with the pathos of the struggle to achieve it.

(3) Poem 24, although expressing a religious despair and understanding consonant with Norikiyo's urge to take the tonsure, is a fairly conventional poem whose relevance to this situation is rather obscure.

Of the three final poems, poem 25 may have been the core of the original episode, judging from its inclusion in the *Shasekishū* passage alluding to this scene, and its popularity with anthologists¹¹³ in connection with Saigyō's shukke.¹¹⁴ Poem 26 echoes both the sentiments and one of the images of Norikiyo's religious musings in many of the B texts, and its presence among the poems in an early version may have prompted the inclusion of these sentiments in these texts. The third poem appears in *Sankashū* immediately after poem 20 above. It shares the kotobagaki

¹¹³ A version of it appears, for instance, as poem 3723 in the anthology *Mandai wakashū* 万代和歌集 (1248), where the kotobagaki states that it was composed in the time of retired emperor Toba, when begging leave from him to leave the world.

¹¹⁴ It is in fact the first poem of Saigyō's to have been anthologized in an imperial collection, *Shikashū* 詞花集 (1151), where it appeared anonymously as a subject unknown .

explicitly linking it with his shukke, and thus is a natural candidate for inclusion here, although it has limited relevance to the immediate situation depicted.

Bunmeibon 8

This man always kept his thoughts on (the words) ato hold in one's heart the moon of the three wisdoms, seated before the window of meditation; to sit in meditation upon the floor, until the brows hang heavy with frost,¹¹⁵ and he always meditated (thus): (knowledge of) the law of transience of all phenomena is the beginning of enlightenment, and the bridge to heaven. The law of the endless changing of phenomena is a boat by which one departs from the black clouds of evil karma and suffering and crosses the sea of attachment and desire. The law of the extinction of life and death is a vehicle by which one crosses the mountains of swords and pools of fire.¹¹⁶ The law of the extinction of suffering and the truth of Nirvana cuts the karmic cycle of life and death and is the path to the Pure Land. And he meditated on transience (thus): Though the voice of the bird¹¹⁷ of transience draws near, we lend our ear to the ways of this world and hear it not. Though the bird on Snow Mountain cries daily, it is held captive by the snows of evil karma, and does not emerge. The sheep's footsteps approach (the slaughterhouse), and there are children who die before their parents. There are men who lose their wives. There are wives who lose their husbands. Elder brothers outliving younger brothers, disciples leaving their masters (through death), all these are due to the indeterminacy of death's coming to young or old.¹¹⁸ The morning's flower is blown away by evening's wind, the bright moon of

¹¹⁵ The version of this sentence in SIZ makes it clear that this is a quotation from a text originally written in Chinese. A version of it appears in the A texts as part of Saigyō's meditation before death (see Appendix 1, section 54). The three wisdoms (*sanmyō* 三明) are the three forms of enlightened wisdom attained by the Buddha and arhats (understanding of the past, of the future, and of the means to overcome suffering).

¹¹⁶ *Tōsen katō* 刀山火湯. Mountains covered in sharp swords and burning pools, which enclose hell.

¹¹⁷ Bunmeibon's *tori* 鳥 becomes *tora* 虎 in Hakubyō, Kanzeibon and Eishōbon.

¹¹⁸ Takagi points out a close echoing of several passages in *Hōbutsushū* in the preceding material of this section. (aSaigyō *monogatari* no tenkyō , p. 32.)

night is hidden by dawn's clouds. Who can remain (and not die)? Evidence of the fact of death's partings is everywhere before our eyes.

Thus he meditated, and he desired only a grass hut dwelling below a mountain. And he composed:

28. *If only there were another / who could bear the loneliness / we would build our huts side by side / in the wintry mountain hamlet. (SKS 513, SKKS 627)¹¹⁹*

29. *I might have lived on / oblivious / to the self's sorrow / were there no teaching / to turn me from the world. (SKS 908, SKKS 1829)¹²⁰*

8. COMMENTS.

(1) Several points are to be noted concerning differences among the various texts. The first is that, here as in a number of other didactic passages in the Tale, it is clear that the text is loosely based on passages from *Hōbutsushū*.¹²¹ Bunmeibon contains more of this material than the other texts examined, but the early Hakubyō, as well as the B2 texts, are remarkably consistent in their use of the same material (with variations and omissions), suggesting that it appeared early in B line's development. It is noteworthy, however, that this section is entirely missing from the Emaki, although there is a strong possibility that some text was lost from the end of the first scroll.

Of more interest is its abbreviated form in SIZ and complete absence in Unemebon, both of which to this point have followed the B1 texts quite closely. Major differences from the main B text line also appear in the A texts at this point. Shōhōbon contains an entirely different didactic section. Furthermore, in Seikadō the didactic material is entirely absent, and only a short kotobagaki and poem 28 are found, while in SHS the section is entirely absent, and *Nanakashū* contains only a short poetic kotobagaki. This strongly suggests that the section originally grew out of

¹¹⁹ The third phrase is originally *mata mo are na* またもあれな.

¹²⁰ The second phrase is here *omoishiraruru* 思ひしらるる.

¹²¹ See note 118.

a brief kotobagaki with poem(s), to which the didactic material was later variously added.

Another point which helps to support this theory is that the only part of this section which is present (with minor variations) in both the A and the B texts is the final sentence and its poems, (which is the entirety of the section as found in Seikadō). This points to the strong likelihood that this core was the precursor of the expanded versions found in the presently existing texts. The awkward nature of the transition from didactic material to this final section, variously patched over in the various versions, further supports the likelihood that the earlier material is an interpolation.

(2) Norikiyo having at last achieved his transformation into Saigyō,¹²² it is fitting to the didactic aspect of the later versions of the Tale that the next passage should dwell further on his religious commitment, in the form of a didactic passage loosely given context as the content of his constant meditation by the beginning¹²³ and the end.¹²⁴ The passage is typical of the Tale's Buddhist passages in consisting largely of a string of well-known phrases and images concerning the more emotive and non-philosophical aspects of the Buddhist teaching, such as preachers to a lay audience might use for rhetorical effect.

This section exemplifies a pattern which we will find repeated with variations from now on throughout the Tale. From this point, the focus of the Tale undergoes a fundamental shift, from the forward drive of Norikiyo's hosshin story to a structure essentially much more closely related to the utamonogatari form, where each small poem-centred section consists of a scene or event which tends to bear little direct narrative relationship to those before or after.¹²⁵ Over this framework the Tale

¹²² The name change is specifically mentioned only in Hakubyō and the A texts.

¹²³ *Kono hito tsune ni . . . to kanjite* この人はつねに ... とくわんじて.

¹²⁴ *To mujō wo kanjite* と無常をくわんじて. In the A texts, the equivalent didactic passage is not put in his own words.

¹²⁵ This shift is interesting in light of the fact that the early Seikadō also departs from the later A texts from here on, becoming much abbreviated. Kuwabara's speculation (discussed in Part I) that this resulted from a sudden realization of space restriction is compelling, but we should not dismiss the possibility that Seikadō is here following an early version of the Tale (such as we see in SHS and

frequently places additional material which imaginatively expands on the kotobagaki-poem situation, and which (as here) can include material of a didactic nature. The tensions between the original poetic material and its focus and the added, frequently overtly Buddhist, material can make for awkward transitions and, more importantly, awkward shifts between varying depictions of the Saigyō figure.

We see the problem exemplified here in the shift between the didactic material and the final poems. Poem 28 relates directly to the previous section's depiction of Saigyō's new life in his mountain hut.¹²⁶ The poem's sentiment¹²⁷ is clearly at odds with this section's image of one determinedly embarking on his new life as a religious recluse. The more religious of the texts thus find the transition to the poem particularly difficult. Bunmeibon and SIZ make no attempt to smoothe the discrepancy between his strong desire for a mountain hut (which by definition is that of a recluse) and his yearning for a companion. Kanzeibon more radically attempts to combine strength with weakness in his response to the hut by making it both gladdening (うれしく) (to the strong Saigyō) and forlornly moving (あはれにて) (to the weak, poetically inclined Saigyō), while Eishōbon more firmly declares it simply to be gladdening. Hakubyō moves the focus firmly towards the weak with forlornly moving.

These textual discrepancies are examples of the disruptions which occur throughout the Tale where the strong Saigyō image, frequently associated with religious (didactic) material which shows evidence of having been interpolated, meets the weak Saigyō the poet.

(3) Poem 28 is the only poem found in the early Seikadō. Poem 29, which is not found in Seikadō (or Kanzeibon), is more directly relevant to the didactic content of the section, and may have been added to enhance the relationship of poems and text. In *Saigyō Shōninshū* it appears with the kotobagaki composed after my shukke (Nanakashū) where the short kotobagaki form was dominant.

¹²⁶ The A texts and the early B text Hakubyō follow the poem's implied situation by having him already living in his mountain hut.

¹²⁷ This poem is often quoted in discussions of Saigyō's struggles with loneliness in his life as

Bunmeibon 9

The year was about to end. Despite himself, he found himself recalling the sundry activities of year's end which he had performed until this year.

30. *Hesitant still / to hope too much / a friend may yet on unspoken impulse / come seeking my company — / I find the year has ended. (SKS 576, SKKS 691)*

31. *Recalling the past / now in my garden, / I stack firewood / for a year's end / unlike those I saw in the world. (SSS 312, SKKS 697)*

32. *The year ends. / How futile / those past activities. / Now my preparations / are of a different order. (SKS 574)¹²⁸*

*His preparations at this end-of-year season were only to turn toward the west and pray: *Bestow a calm heart at death, and lead me hence to Paradise*.¹²⁹ High born and low born, the people of the normal world all celebrate the year's beginning with elation at the joys of this auspicious day; they vie with each other to celebrate the longevity of crane and tortoise, the pine decoration on the Day of the Rat,¹³⁰ and pluck fresh greens from the fields; yet all this is but the dream of a spring night. He focussed his mind on the fact that the desire for rank and office, the laying up of treasures, were but illusion, bubbles on the water, and he prayed to the gods and buddhas that he should attain *ōjō* that spring.*

Seeing a plum tree blossoming before his hut, passersby came in to gaze at it, a recluse, revealing as it does the weak and human Saigyō beloved of his readers today as in the past.

¹²⁸ *Toshi kurete sono itonami wa wasurarete aranu sama naru isogi wo zo suru* 年暮れてその営みは忘られてあらぬさまなるいそぎをぞする。

¹²⁹ A prayer usually made at the time of death, here implying Saigyō's longing for and preparation for *ōjō*.

¹³⁰ The first Day of the Rat after New Year is the festival known as *Ne no hi no asobi* 子の日のあそび, in which people plant young pine trees in the garden and go into the fields to pick fresh spring greens for a banquet to celebrate and pray for a long and prosperous life.

whereupon (he composed): ¹³¹

33. *I have grown aware/ that the plum blossom/ in my humble hedge / halts the
feet / of passing strangers. (SKS 36)*

34. *While the plum blossom still hangs / in my hedge / in this mountain village / I
await those who come seeking / its scent. (SKS 35)*

*Seeing the plum blossom of the hut¹³² next door tossed heartlessly by the wind,
and scattering forlornly:*

35. *How the owner must hate / this wind / which takes the scent of his plums / for
the joy / of others. (SKS 38)¹³³*

*Finding the cherry blossoms enchanting, he quietly sat enjoying them,¹³⁴ when
friends from the past came visiting to view the blossoms, and his quietness of heart
was disturbed.*

36. *The one fault / in the cherry blossom / is that people / come crowding /
to see it. (SKS 87)*

9. COMMENTS

¹³¹ . . . 花のさきたりけるを見て、過ぎける人さしいりてながめければ. Bunmeibon here adds 見て to Emaki's sentence, creating a slight confusion about the subject (since . . . を見て is the common form for a kotobagaki in which the subject composes on a visual theme). Unemeibon follows Bunmeibon, while SIZ and Hakubyō follow Emaki. Kanzeibon, perhaps led by the ambiguity of 見て, shifts the poem to that of a passerby (. . . 花の咲たるを見て、過ぎける人のさし入て詠ければ), while Eishōbon takes the process a creative step further by making this and the following poem an exchange: . . . さきみだれければ、道行人、さしよりにて、かやうにぞ、ながめける (poem). 西行、是をきき、面白くおぼえて、か様にぞ (poem).

¹³² Bunmeibon has 葎, which seems to be a mistranscription of 庵 (a version of which is found in the other B texts).

¹³³ *nushi ika ni kaze wataru tote itouran yoso ni ureshiki ume no nioi wo 主いかに風わたると
ていとふらんよそにうれしき梅の匂ひを.*

¹³⁴ Bunmeibon here uses the verb *asobite* あそびて, while the other B texts have a version of *okonaite* 行なひて, a change which shifts the Saigyō image from that of stern Buddhist practitioner to purely poetic observer.

(1) There is a high level of consistency among the variants for this section, main variations being in ordering and occasional omission of poems. Poem 36 and its material are particularly susceptible to variation, being omitted in Unemebon and Eishōbon, and replaced with different material in Kanzeibon. The passage describing traditional new year celebrations and its accompanying prayer are the only important examples of instability.

While the B texts make much of the celebration descriptions, the A texts maintain the focus more closely on his present altered perspective, concluding with the prayer.¹³⁵ The entire passage is lacking in both SHS and *Nanakashū*, suggesting that it may be a later interpolation.

(2) This section is the first to present a form found in many of the subsequent sections of the Tale, where the narrative is carried forward through small episodic descriptive passages which loosely consist of kotobagaki-like introductions to the poems (which are often, as here, directly drawn from a sequence found in *Sankashū*). After the dramatic narrative thrust of the time leading up to and including Norikiyo's shukke, the story here gives way to a more static form of lyrical description reminiscent of the utamonogatari tradition, where the narrative movement is carried by seasonal progression (here, the progression from year's end through the plum blossoms of early spring to the later cherry blossoms). Into this is inserted a meditation which expands the twin themes of recalling the past and celebrating the new year (both traditional poetic themes), reinforcing the 'leaving the world' aspect of shukke and serving as a bridging section looking both backward and forward,¹³⁶ by emphasising his rejection of his past and his commitment to the goal of attaining *ōjō*.

The strong¹³⁷ Saigyō of this passage is presented in more consistent terms in

¹³⁵ Eishōbon is the only B text to follow this form.

¹³⁶ The Bunmeibon text's prayer that he should attain *ōjō* this spring can be seen as the first echo of the desire which he ultimately accomplishes in dying beneath the cherry blossoms.

¹³⁷ Although depicted as strongly intent on his meditations, the Saigyō of this passage in fact can be seen as a 'poeticized' version of the strong Saigyō of the more didactic sections. Here, he is viewed as the idealized 'poet-monk', seated at his meditation, as in a scroll painting — framed within the context of the poems, as are the figures in section 3's *fusumae*. Other sections, where the focus

the A texts than in the B, where the longing for a friend theme found at the end of the previous section is carried through in the introduction and first poem (in B-line texts). It is interesting to note that poem 30, the only poem in the series to carry this theme, is the most unstable, either appearing in a different order (in Hakubyō, Unemebon and Kanzeibon), or absent (in Eishōbon, the A texts and *Nanakashū*). Since the introductory material here refers specifically to the content of poem 31, it can be surmised that poem 30 was a later addition.¹³⁸

We also meet here for the first time in overt form the other and related destabilising element in the Tale's presentation of Saigyō, his *asukī* aspect. Where the Tale leaves behind its didactic/religious content (unaccompanied by any poem) and reverts to short kotobagaki-like prose form and seasonal theme, we find Saigyō suddenly no longer praying single-mindedly as on his death bed, his back firmly turned on the world, but humorously observing the relationship between the spring blossoms and the people who are suddenly crowding the scene — neighbours, passersby and old friends — which in his previous frame of mind was so bereft of people. Bunmeibon's slip¹³⁹ from the other text's various versions of the stern *okonaite* to the purely *suki asobite* is telling in this regard, revealing neatly the potential instability always present at the points where religion and poetic *suki* meet in this Tale.

(3) As befits a section¹⁴⁰ structured around poetry rather than narrative progression, the number of poems is far larger than hitherto.

Poem 32 appears in *Sankashū* with the kotobagaki on an occasion when people gathered at Higashiyama and composed on the theme of year-end shifts to the didactic monologue, leave behind this essentially poetic figure, and enter the sterner mind of the dedicated monk (who appears in this section only briefly, as we hear his death-bed prayer).

¹³⁸ The fact that these two poems appear close together in *Shinkokinshū* suggests that poem 30 was drawn into the Tale to augment the *Shinkokinshū* poems.

¹³⁹ See note 134.

¹⁴⁰ Section division is of course arbitrary, and it is possible to divide this section into two or even three short sections, as does Kuwabara (*Saigyō monogatari*, pp. 82-86). This would serve to further emphasize the sudden shift into kotobagaki-like structure.

celebrations . Reference to Higashiyama, where Saigyō first lived after his shukke, as well as the poem's content, indicates that this poem was indeed written not long after his shukke, as portrayed in the Tale.

Poems 34 and 35 appear in reverse order among the early (spring) poems in *Sankashū*, and poem 36 follows soon after, with the kotobagaki 言 seeing a plum before my hut . It is clear that these poems and related passages were constructed directly from *Sankashū*, the first instance of a common method of narrative construction in the Tale.

Poem 37 is also directly related to *Sankashū* through its kotobagaki: 言When I wished to be quiet, people came visiting to view the flowers . The implication of 言I wished to be quiet is one of reclusion, though not specifically of religious meditation as the Tale (with the exception of Bunmeibon) states. The poem's inclusion here both moves the season forward and follows through the theme of blossoms and people , while allowing the Tale to reinforce Saigyō's strong reclusive urge. It is, however, somewhat out of place in the seasonal progression, since it precedes the Yoshino section, which commences with pre-blossom poems.¹⁴¹ This may be the reason for its exclusion in Kanzeibon and Eishōbon.

Bunmeibon 10

Now he had accomplished his shukke and was embarked upon the path of bodhisattva precepts. He now wished to repent the sins of his former life:¹⁴² Of a single thought's action¹⁴³ there are few good thoughts of the kind which are bodhisattva karma, but many evil thoughts. Our sins are a rock one thousand feet

¹⁴¹ This is not the case in the A texts, which do not contain the Yoshino section.

¹⁴² As in Section 8, the transition to didactic material implies direct speech, but the transition is not clearly indicated (it uses the neutral connective て).

¹⁴³ 一念なすところのおもひいて、ぼだひのこうとなる善心. . . This is somewhat obscure. Emaki has 常になすところのおもひ、みな三途の業なり。善心は. . . SIZ has 懺悔せんと思ふ一念に、なすところの思ひ皆三途の業なり。善心は. . . Hakubyō is closest to Emaki, with 一念なす所の思みな三通のこうなり善心は. . . It perhaps represents an intermediary text whose additions to the Emaki sentence led to the confusions of Bunmeibon and SIZ.

high, while repentance is a boat. Although the stone is evil karma, if we place it in the boat of repentance, how would we not cross the suffering seas of life and reach the shore of bodhisattvahood? In the repentance of the sins of thought and action, if you prostrate yourself on the ground and single-mindedly chant the Nenbutsu, though the firewood pile (of sin) reach a height of ten thousand miles, applying a single poppy seed's worth of fire will cause it to disappear in no time.¹⁴⁴ Thus, even though our sins committed, not only in this but in past lives, were piled as high as the clouds below the highest heaven and higher, if we blow upon them the merest poppy seed's worth of the fire of virtue, we can depend (on the result). In the Fugen Sutra¹⁴⁵ it states: 'All sins are as frost and dew, wisdom's sun disperses them. To this end we must set our heart, and repent of the six emotions.'¹⁴⁶

With these words to lead him, he determined to perform the austerities of wandering through mountains and forests; and the beginning of his departure¹⁴⁷ was indeed a moving thing.

10. COMMENTS

(1) This section is present only in the B texts (and is not found in *Nanakashū*). It marks the point at which the major text lines diverge, to rejoin each other at section 25, which follows section 9 in the A texts.

Among the B texts,¹⁴⁸ with the exception of *Eishōbon*, there is much minor but little major variation. The main B1 line begins with *Hakubyō* (Emaki omits some

¹⁴⁴ Takagi (*ŌSaigyō monogatari no tenkyō*, p. 32) has pointed out that the passage to this point bears strong evidence of influence from a passage in Chapter 7 of *Hōbutsushū*, particularly in this last sentence..

¹⁴⁵ *Fugenkyō* 普賢經 (or *Kanfugen bosatsu gyōhōgyō* 觀普賢菩薩行法經), a single volume text based on the final chapter of the Lotus Sutra. The name is also sometimes used to refer to this chapter of the Lotus Sutra. *Bunmeibon* is the only text to include the sutra's name at this point.

¹⁴⁶ Not found in either the Lotus or Fugen Sutras.

¹⁴⁷ いでたつ初こそ. This rather unnatural phrase displays more acceptable variations among the texts. Emaki has はじめていでたつこそ, *SIZ* has はじめの出で立ちこそ, while *Hakubyō* and *Kanzēibon* follow Emaki. *Eishōbon* has 思ひはじめけるこそ.

¹⁴⁸ *Unemebon* omits this section.

detail, and seems to be an older form).

This section brings the focus abruptly back to the sternly religious, consisting largely of didactic material with at the end a bridging passage to the next scene. Typically of such didactic passages, it lacks a poem. Also typically, the material is susceptible to minor insertions, omissions, and re-interpretations.¹⁴⁹ Takagi has pointed out the indebtedness of much of this passage to *Hōbutsushū*.¹⁵⁰ It is interesting to note that the instabilities in the text appear most strongly at the points where *Hōbutsushū*'s influence is not evident in any of the versions.

(2) The ostensible purpose of the section in terms of narrative development is to frame Saigyō's future travels in strictly religious terms, as an austerity undertaken for the purification of his sins. As is common with such passages, the structure leaves ambiguous the narrative status of the didactic content. I have chosen to translate it in neutral voice, since there is no specific indication that it is intended to be internal monologue.¹⁵¹

The final sentence, though somewhat confused among the various texts, makes use of the device so frequently seen in the Tale, of stepping back to view with emotion (aware) the figure of Saigyō at a particularly affecting moment in his story (generally, as here, one involving his religious commitment). This moment of aware that ends the section could be said to perform the essential function of the final poem, by reasserting the *apoetic* (moving) view of Saigyō.

Bunmeibon 11

In the old days, even for the least excursion he would take his ease upon ox cart or horse, with a following of many retainers, bows and arrows, lances and spears all of polished silver and gold. His seasonal attire was of patterned silken gauze and

¹⁴⁹ See in particular Eishōbon, and the sentence which is not present in Emaki and which receives such varied rewritings in many of the other texts, including Bunmeibon.

¹⁵⁰ See note 144.

¹⁵¹ Although the didactic passage ends with *と思ひて*, this continues the phrase *山林流浪の行をせん*, and cannot be considered to refer back to the preceding passage.

embroidered brocade and was changed with each new day. Now he wore only an ink-black hempen robe, the underdress of persimmon-dyed paper cloth, with a bark-lined monk's hat, rosary and surplice, (and in this guise) he sought out the Yoshino mountains, where he had long wished to go, in order with all his heart to celebrate in verse the blossoms there. He found no one to accompany him in the same spirit, however, and he therefore composed:

37. *Who else would come/ to Yoshino Mountain / in search of the blossoms /
treading through the moss / and scrambling along rocky paths? (SKS 57)*

11. COMMENTS

(1) Emaki appears to contain the earlier and simpler form of this section, which is considerably elaborated in the other B1 texts. Bunmeibon is the culmination of that elaboration, with its added detail of his pre-tonsured life. The B3 texts contain versions which are indiscriminately related to the B1 texts generally. Details of variations are discussed below.

(2) This bridging section takes the figure of Saigyō, whom we saw so affectingly setting off on his new life of wandering austerities at the end of the previous section, and carries it forward towards his first destination by means of the contrasting effect of a final backward look at all he has given up.¹⁵² Exaggerated descriptions of Norikiyō's worldly wealth and glory have been the Tale's stock method of highlighting the enormous nature of the sacrifice involved in his shukke, and it is possible to trace the development of this theme here, from the relatively brief and austere description of his former glory in Emaki, through the addition of further detail in SIZ, to the yet more detailed passage found in Bunmeibon.¹⁵³

¹⁵² This description of Norikiyō's very different setting forth as Saigyō echoes the image found in the famous poem 115, found in section 35 of Bunmeibon, which mourns the death of retired emperor Toba in terms of the contrast between the worldly pomp and display of his imperial processions and the very different setting forth that death (in Buddhist terms, the final realisation of the transience of such worldly glory) has brought him to.

¹⁵³ Bunmeibon is frequently more prone than other texts to exaggerated and admiring depictions of Norikiyō's glories and attainments. We will meet this figure again seen through the eyes

The contrast between worldly and unworldly in this section is affectingly expressed through the twin aspects of Saigyō's figure — then clothed in glorious garments and accompanied by swarms of retainers, now clad only in the rough travelling clothes of a monk, and alone. Aloneness becomes the theme at the end of the section, in his longing for a alike-minded companion, a commonly recurring theme (in Saigyō's poems as in this Tale) which represents the more endearingly weak Saigyō rather than the man of stern religious commitment who stepped out so bravely at the end of the previous section.¹⁵⁴ This final part of the section, although rather awkwardly syntactically continuous with the previous description, in fact constitutes the *akotobagaki* plus poem core of the section,¹⁵⁵ and is perhaps the earliest form of the section.

It is significant that in the B texts Saigyō, in stepping off into his new commitment to perform the austerity of wandering through mountains and forests, chooses to go first to Yoshino, which is at once a mountain area associated with the austerities of the shugendō sects and a place of strong poetic resonance, one of the most famous and ancient of the *utamakura*. Just as the internal nature of the previous section's religious content here shifts back to the poeticized (aware) external view of Saigyō's solitary figure, the emphasis of this section likewise shifts to Saigyō as poet. It is in order to celebrate the blossoms in poetry that Saigyō sets off for Yoshino, a statement which brings to the fore the *sukimono* aspect of the Saigyō figure even as he makes his first journey into his new life of wandering austerities.

Yoshino, with its double freight of poetic and religious associations, is a fitting first stop on this journey in which the *sukimono* and the *shukkesha* will continue to merge and drift apart again throughout the Tale. Furthermore, these two sections of his lamenting companion, who recalls Saigyō's very different past as he witnesses his beating on the ferry at Tenryū (see section 30).

¹⁵⁴ I investigate this theme and its role in the evolution of the Tale's Saigyō figure in Part III.

¹⁵⁵ As *Nanakashū* makes clear. There, this section consists only of the poem, prefaced by a description of his entering Yoshino, purifying his heart with the blossoms, and yearning for a like-minded companion.

provide a particularly clear example of some of the ways in which this tension is continually reflected in the Tale's structure, where a sermon which borrows the voice of Saigyō's own meditations gives way to a sudden pulling back to view his affecting figure as it moves through a poetic landscape, a man of sensibility amid the delights and sufferings of the phenomenal world, a poet for whom the Buddhist choice is above all difficult and lonely.

It is interesting to note that Kanzeibon and Eishōbon, more intent on emphasizing the religious elements in the Tale and thus seemingly more uncomfortable with a perceived inconsistency of purpose in this section, omit the description of Saigyō as going to Yoshino in order with all his heart to celebrate the blossoms there. In the subsequent Yoshino sections we will see evidence, in such rewritings and shifts of emphasis, of how the ideal unity of poetry and religion sought through the kyōgen kigo philosophy which this Tale aspires to express in fact remained contentious and difficult ground.

(3) The poem appears in *Sankashū* with a kotobagaki in Chinese, 'Searching alone for flowers in the mountains', indicating that the poem was originally a daieika. The Tale has chosen to interpret the poem as one of anticipation of loneliness projected forward onto the difficult path ahead as Saigyō makes his solitary way towards Yoshino.

Bunmeibon 12

Snow lay on the cherry branches, and he looked in surprise, thinking it to be blossoms. The flowers appeared to be late in coming.

38. *Snow flutters / onto the branches / of Yoshino's cherries. / This spring the flowers / seem late.* (SSS 38, SKKS 79)¹⁵⁶

It is said that the blossoms begin to open first on the southern branches, so he thought perhaps the flowers were later as he was in the north, and he changed

¹⁵⁶ The final phrase is としにもあるかな.

direction and went seeking further into the mountain for them.

39. *On Yoshino Mountain / I'll change my path / from last year's marked one /
and search for blossoms / in directions yet unseen. (SSS 41, SKKS 86)*

*His search bore fruit, and when he stood beneath the profuse blossoming, the
sight of the flowering and scattering blossoms was so delightful that he longed to die
in these mountains.*

40. *I have gazed on these blossoms / till they have grown / painfully dear. / How
sad now / the parting of their scattering. (SKS 120, SKKS 126)*

41. *I will not soon leave Mt. Yoshino / but stay on past the blossoms. / Perhaps
people will be waiting / believing that I will come / when the blossoms fall.
(SKS 1036, SKKS 1617)*

12. COMMENTS

(1) While the B1 texts are generally consistent, there is considerable variation in the B2 and, more strongly, the B3 texts. Poems are inserted¹⁵⁷ or dropped, and the B3 texts in particular are at pains to frame this essentially utamonogatari-style section within a Buddhist context (discussed below).

(2) In this section we find a reappearance of the poetic kotobagaki style seen in section 9, which follows the structure and narrative movement typical of a poetic anthology,¹⁵⁸ the progression being seasonal (from pre-blossom snow on the branches to the point where the blossoms are beginning to fall). Saigyō, his vows to perform

¹⁵⁷ Among the texts it is interesting to note that *Nanakashū* alone includes (after poem 41) the poem quoted by Nijō in her *Towazugatari* (see Part I note 175) when she recalls the illustration and poem in *Saigyō ga shugyō no ki* which inspired her at the age of 9. Whatever the date of *Nanakashū* itself, it evidently preserves evidence of an early version of the Tale at this point, since her recollection is of seeing this in 1266.

¹⁵⁸ Compare also the progression found in the fusumae poems of section 3, particularly the aseeking and then finding theme of poems 4 and 5, seen here in poems 39 and 40.

austerities and his loneliness¹⁵⁹ apparently both forgotten, wanders deeper into the mountains with each poem, intent on pursuing the blossoms in true sukimono style. Narrative method (the brief, discrete and seasonally connected poetic moments of the poetic anthology style) reflects content (the poet moved to compose within a poetic landscape).

Only at the end of this section does the religious perspective attempt to assert itself, in the somewhat startling statement that the blossoms were so delightful (おもしろ(き)) that he longed to stay there and die.¹⁶⁰ This is a glancing reference to Saigyō's longing for ōjō, which recurs in similar expressions here and there throughout the Tale,¹⁶¹ but seems here merely a token gesture which attempts to redress the balance of this otherwise (in the B1 texts) purely æpoetic scene. The tension between the religious and the literary in the Tale, seldom overt but everywhere present, in this section reveals itself with particular clarity, and it is interesting to note that the B2 texts acknowledge in a different way the underlying tension of this section by stating that æalthough he believed he had cast off this world, when he saw the flowering branches in full bloom he felt he had again met with (the joys and sorrows of) the transient world.

Indeed these two texts, with their general tendency to focus on the religious aspects of the Tale and their uneasiness with its more purely poetic moments, reveal this dilemma particularly clearly in their ærewriting of this section. Kanzeibon in particular attempts to frame and where possible reinterpret Saigyō's visit to Yoshino in religious terms, as is clear from its opening sentence: æSince he would see the blossoms of this transient world, he (intended to) see all in the spirit of Amida, as the flowers of paradise. This rather forced attempt to assimilate the sukimono Saigyō to

¹⁵⁹ The final poem of this section is explicit in its decision to avoid waiting friends.

¹⁶⁰ There is variation among the B1 texts at this point, with Bunmeibon's version being the strongest Buddhist statement. Emaki expresses it more mildly as æuntil he died (*inochi no tsukinan made* 命のつきなんまで). Hakubyō follows Emaki, while SIZ omits this expression. No equivalent passage occurs in the other B texts.

¹⁶¹ Cf. sections 9 and 16. Its ultimate expression is of course the famous ænegawaku poem (200), of which these references could be said to be anticipatory echoes.

the shukkesha is consonant with attempts to resolve in religious terms the problem of kyōgen kigo which underlies the Tale.¹⁶²

But whatever the symbolic terms by means of which the cherry blossom can be religiously interpreted (it is more usually treated as a symbol of the transient nature of reality), Saigyō's evident love of and consequent pain at parting from the blossoms (clearly present in the poems) is difficult to reconcile with the sterner religious approach typical of a later age which inherited and reinterpreted this Tale, as this section's textual instabilities clearly reveal.

(3) All the poems of this section are found in *Shinkokinshū*, suggesting that one underlying impulse of this section is to build the narrative around a selection of Saigyō's blossom poems from this anthology. The final poem provides a fulcrum which both tilts the somewhat static (poetic) narrative of this section forward in time and at the same time shifts the focus to the theme of the following section through Saigyō's decision to stay on (and, by implication here, perform austerities).

Bunmeibon 13

The reason why these blossoms delighted him so must have been that they were those of this famous mountain. (He stayed there), couched on a mat of moss, head laid upon a rock for pillow, and as sustenance for the life that still continued¹⁶³ he scooped water from the stream, played among the nuts of the trees on the mountain peak,¹⁶⁴ and chanted in the peace of enlightenment there is no human voice. / (Only) chant this sutra,¹⁶⁵ and he practised with increased dedication the religious discipline

¹⁶² Compare, for instance, the story found in *Hosshinshū* (HSS 313-14) of a monk's successful attempts to help a recalcitrant litterateur to attain *ōjō*, by convincing him to envisage the beauty of the landscapes in the poems he loved as the landscape of Amida's paradise.

¹⁶³ A reference to his official commitment to the pursuit of *ōjō*.

¹⁶⁴ 木の実にたはぶれて. Emaki follows Bunmeibon, but SIZ has 木の葉をひろひて, while Hakubyō has 木の葉をかきあつめてころすごきすまひに. Unemeibon has 木の実を拾ひて, which Kanzeibon and Eishōbon echo.

¹⁶⁵ This and the following quotation are from the prefatory chapter of the Lotus Sutra. (Hurvitz, Leon, trans., *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1976, p.8.)

of entering deep into the mountains / and aspiring to the Path of the Buddhas .¹⁶⁶

Although he did not tire of this place, he decided to go in the direction of Kumano on pilgrimage. The way there was most forlorn and moving.

42. I move through the world / relinquishing myself / to the pull of my foolish heart. / But what then should I do / with this transient body? (SSS 672, SKKS 1747¹⁶⁷)

43. Pondering, I find / this world / is all falling blossoms. / Where is the place / for this body of mine? (SSS 105, SKKS 1470)¹⁶⁸

He stopped at Yagami no Ōji Shrine,¹⁶⁹ and the cherry flowering by the shrine fence was particularly delightful to him.

44. The blossoms of Yagami / that I came hoping for/ are all in flower — / wind from the piney peak / do not blow roughly. (SKS 98)¹⁷⁰

13. COMMENTS

(1) The texts display an unusual relationship in this section, with Emaki and Bunmeibon being most closely related among the B1 texts, while Hakubyō appears to retain the earliest form. Differences in the B1 texts hinge around the depiction of Saigyō's life in the mountains. The B2 texts alter the section considerably to create a

¹⁶⁶いよいよ、入於深山思惟仏道とおこない、ここにあかねども... This sentence undergoes some confusion among the texts. Emaki has いよいよ、入於深山思惟仏道とよみて、いよいよおこない、ここにあかねども while SIZ has 入於深山思惟仏道のおこない、心にあかねども、 which Hakubyō repeats with the addition of いよいよ at the beginning. These last two texts make more sense of the sentence, though whether through preservation of its original form or an attempt to straighten out received texts it is difficult to judge.

¹⁶⁷ The last phrase is *tsui no omoi wa* つひの思ひは.

¹⁶⁸ The last phrase is *izuchi ka mo sen* いづちかもせん.

¹⁶⁹ Yagami no Ōji 八上の王子 is the name of one of the 99 wayside shrines (*ōji* 王子) which provided resting and worshipping places on the Kumano pilgrimage route along the sea coast. Its exact location is conjectural.

¹⁷⁰ *machikitsuru yagami no sakura sakinikeri araku orosu na misu no yamaarashi* 待ち来つる八上の桜咲きにけりあらくおろすなみすの山風.

stronger religious focus, and include only the last poem. In all the texts, the transition to Saigyō's journey on to Kumano is somewhat abrupt. *Nanakashū* perhaps holds a clue to the section's original form: here, all description of Saigyō's sojourn in the mountains is absent, and only poems 42 and 44 are present, with short kotobagaki respectively describing his setting off to Kumano, and his pausing at Yagami no Ōji (as per the *Sankashū* kotobagaki). One can speculate that the content of the first half of the section, with its various textual confusions and variations, results from later addition.

(2) This section of the Tale carries the reader from Yoshino onto the pilgrimage route to Kumano,¹⁷¹ after a period of religious seclusion on Yoshino which goes some way to restoring the focus to that of his religious dedication.

In this short passage we catch one of the rare glimpses afforded by the Tale of Saigyō's religious austerities in action (as distinct from the content of his religious musings, which are more or less constituted by the didactic passages occurring throughout the Tale). However, despite the supporting authority lent by the sutra quotations, the primary aim of this description is to affect the reader by religio-romantic vignettes of Saigyō as mountain hermit, as it were *eat* play in the mountains almost in the tradition of the Taoist mountain sages beloved of literature and the visual arts in the Chinese tradition, an implicit image that reveals itself most strongly in the *Bunmeibon* and *Emaki* texts where he *plays* among the nuts of the trees on the mountain peak (see note 13). Whatever the privations he may be assumed to have suffered as a result of this seclusion in the midst of nature, the Tale is more interested in sketching an affecting picture of him than in impressing us with the religious content of his austerities. Sutra quotations aside, this scene is written as it were *by a different hand* from the heavy hand that lays down the Buddhist law in the didactic

¹⁷¹ The direct route from Yoshino to Kumano, an important pilgrimage site in the mountains of present-day Wakayama prefecture, would take Saigyō along the mountain paths which he visits later in the Tale in the company of yamabushi as the culmination of his pilgrimage in this area. Here, he travels the route taken by lay pilgrims, which follows the coastline (see the geographical location of poem 44, and section 14, where he shelters in a fisherman's hut on the beach).

passages.

The speedy transition, which within a single sentence carries him from his meditations onto the route to Kumano, takes up again the affecting michiyuki-style image of the sorrowing traveller glimpsed earlier (sections 11-12), one of the powerful traditional literary images which underlie much of this Tale. Here the aware of his figure itself is implicit, produced by his (poetic) response to the aware of the road he travels, which the two poems make explicit, first as the sorrowing of the homeless (in both the physical and the religiously symbolic sense) traveller, and then through the anticipation of death on the road (a traditional image associated with travel) linked metaphorically to the falling blossoms.

The image of this second poem returns us to the cherry blossoms of the previous section, which in terms of temporal progression is somewhat at odds with the passage describing his religious austerities — presumably after the blossoms had fallen, as the previous poem had implied — which is suddenly reduced to at most a bare few days. This temporal/seasonal progression is further confused by the section's final passage and poem, where we find again a cherry tree in full bloom. Such awkwardness, which would surely not have gone unnoticed by any reader with an awareness of the fundamental importance of seasonal progression in literary tradition, is presumably tolerated here for the sake of the other kinds of progression offered: the michiyuki, which poetically carries Saigyō along his road, and the place name in the final passage, which locates him geographically.

(3) Poems 42 and 43 are both found in *Shinkokinshū*. They express much the same sentiment, but are not directly related to the Tale's content, and serve the purpose of filling out this section through their michiyuki and religious overtones (which, however, are not present in the more suki response to the blossoms in the final poem).

The original kotobagaki to poem 44 and its short introductory material says:
Written on the way to Kumano, on (the pillar of) the shrine at Yagami no Ōji, whose cherry blossoms were delightful. This kotobagaki, along with that which inspired the

content of the following section (SKKS 1844), presumably provided the key to the construction of this part of the Tale, and it may be that it formed the core from which this section was expanded, since the introductory sentence is taken more or less directly from *Sankashū* and (unlike the other poems) specifically locates Saigyō on the Kumano pilgrimage route.

Bunmeibon 14

The priest Tōren¹⁷² approached various people for poems for a hundred-poem collection, but Saigyō declined; he set off for Kumano, and on the way he stopped for the night in a fisherman's hut on the beach of Senri in Ki, and had a dream in which the Sanmi Nyūdō Shunzei¹⁷³ said, 'The Way of waka is not changed since the days of yore. Seeing this as his lament that Saigyō did not compose (as requested), in consternation Saigyō composed and sent a poem, and added the words:¹⁷⁴ 'For the manifestation of the bodhisattvas on earth, and for the gift of their teaching¹⁷⁵ equally to all, for the end¹⁷⁶ of the eight manifestations of Buddha to attain enlightenment, the offering up of the Heart and the Lotus (sutras), for the joys of virtue and reverence of the mysterious truth of Shingon, correct thoughts at one's final hour, and rebirth into

¹⁷² 登蓮法師. A poet of the day, fl. 1178. There is no evidence in *Sankashū* that he and Saigyō knew each other, but a legend recorded by Tonza depicts him as meeting Saigyō on his travels in Tōhoku and discussing poetry with him. The collection for which he would have been soliciting is by implication his *Tōren Hōshi koi hyakushu* 登蓮法師恋百首.

Emaki (and all other B texts) agree with this name, although the kotobagaki from which this episode comes gives the soliciting poet as Jakuren.

¹⁷³ しゅつ恵 or 俊恵. (B. 1113). Poet, whose main claim to fame was the poetic circle Karinzen 歌林苑, of which he was the centre. Only Emaki agrees with Bunmeibon here, the other texts having some version of the original *Sankashū* kotobagaki, which names this person as Fujiwara Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114-1204), the famous contemporary of Saigyō in the realm of poetry.

¹⁷⁴ This version of what Saigyō sent in response is unique to Bunmeibon. Emaki and the other texts quote the poem (SSS 676, SKKS 1844), and the didactic passage found at this point in Bunmeibon is more naturally placed at the beginning of the following episode in the B texts which contain this episode. (See Appendix I for details).

¹⁷⁵ *Hōben* 方便, the *æ*xpedient means whereby the Buddhist message is brought to people in a way which will lead them by indirect means to the truth, where the direct means would prove too difficult for them.

¹⁷⁶ おはり. SIZ has 成果.

paradise.

Thus he prayed and worshipped, and after a period of many days, when he was in retreat at the Senju Waterfall¹⁷⁷ of Nachi Mountain,¹⁷⁸ the resident monk said, *∅Above here are the holy waterfalls Ninotaki and Sannotaki. They are places where one goes to pray after having secluded oneself on this mountain for one hundred days. If your awakened heart and commitment to austerities is deep, seclude yourself for one hundred days and repent past sins, and go to pray there. Saigyō was overjoyed, the hundred days were soon over, and he climbed accompanied by the monk up the steep mountain, clinging from rock to rock. They arrived at the base of the waterfall, whose name was Ninotaki or Nyoirin no Taki. Worshipping it, he saw that it did indeed seem to be bending forward¹⁷⁹ as it flowed, and his tears fell ceaselessly to find it still more holy (than he had imagined), and he prayed there with pure heart.*

Before it was the remains of the hut of (retired emperor) Kazan,¹⁸⁰ and in front of this he saw an old cherry tree on the verge of withering. He thought that this must be where Kazan had composed the poem *∅Having made my home / below this tree / I have become / one who sees the blossoms / effortlessly. Saigyō composed:*¹⁸¹

45. *The flowers of this ancient tree / touch my heart / with a particular sorrow — /
how many more springs / will they see? (SKS 94)*

¹⁷⁷ 千手の滝. The name refers to Senju Kannon 千手観音, a form of Kannon Bodhisattva which is depicted with a thousand arms. The name Nyoirin no Taki 如意輪の滝 below refers to another form of Kannon Bodhisattva.

¹⁷⁸ 那智山. Nachi (in present-day Wakayama prefecture), one of the three main shrines on the Kumano pilgrimage route.

¹⁷⁹ This presumably means that the form of the waterfall resembled that of Kannon Bodhisattva bending forward in a compassionate gesture of salvation.

¹⁸⁰ 花山院, 968-1008. Kazan, who undertook the Kumano pilgrimage (among others), spent time in reclusion at these falls.

¹⁸¹ Other B texts all include at this point a version of the poem for which this kotobagaki was written in *Sankashū* (SKS852): Seeking blossoms / on Nachi's peak / now I have seen / the place he lived / beneath this tree. This is followed by a short description of his discovering a single cluster of blossoms flowering on the withered tree (based on the kotobagaki of SKS 94), and SKS 94 (the only poem given in *Bunmeibon*).

COMMENTS 14

(1) The texts here display a number of confusions and variations which are typical of those found where specifically religious content intrudes. As always, Bunmeibon appears to be at one end of a line of development, with Hakubyō showing evidence of being the earliest version. Emaki (which is missing all but the opening section) here seems closer to Bunmeibon than to the other B1 texts, while SIZ is intermediary. It is notable that Bunmeibon inserts several passages which are unique to this text, including the resident monk's extended speech on the virtues of the waterfalls, and the passage expressing the content of his meditations. Comparison with the other B1 texts reveals that Bunmeibon conflates the end of the passage describing Saigyō's dream and the content of his prayer on reaching Nachi, further confusing an already confused episode.

The B2 and B3 texts also contain disruptions at this section: Unemebon inserts an extended series of small episodes unique to that text before returning to the present content, while the B2 texts interpolate a passage on Kazan's pilgrimage which is found in B1's opening section, to introduce this section.

(2) This section is comprised of two discrete episodes linked¹⁸² syntactically together, in which Saigyō is carried forward to Nachi, the goal of his present pilgrimage, and launched into his period of austerities there. Despite the syntactic link, which in this text takes him with rather disorienting abruptness from the fisherman's hut at Senri¹⁸³ to seclusion at the waterfall of Nachi,¹⁸⁴ it is easiest to consider these two episodes separately.

The first episode, in which Saigyō is indirectly reproved for his refusal to compose a poem on request, is discussed in Part I. It is closely based on the kotobagaki to SSS 676 (also SKKS 1844), which I will repeat here for purposes of

¹⁸² In Bunmeibon, though not in many of the other B texts.

¹⁸³ 千里の浜. This is read variously in the various texts, the most common variation being Chirigahama.

¹⁸⁴ Only *Nanakashū* has him following the Kumano pilgrimage route from this point, to arrive at Nachi via Hongū.

comparison:

The priest Jakuren approached various people for poems for a hundred-poem collection, but I declined; I set off for Kumano, and on the way I had a dream in which the administrator of Kumano Shrine said to the Sanmi Nyūdō Shunzei that all things decline, but only this Way does not change to the world's latter days, and told him this poem¹⁸⁵ should be composed. This opened my eyes, and I therefore composed and sent the poem, and at the end wrote the following: This sensibility alone / holds good / to the world's latter days — / had I not had that dream / I'd not have heard this truth.

Although the Tale follows this kotobagaki closely in both wording and overall content, it contains a number of odd discrepancies. Aside from the added detail of stopping in a fisherman's hut, typical of the Tale's narrative augmentation of kotobagaki sources, noteworthy is the Tale's addition of the geographical name, the confusion and omission of names (and hence of who spoke to whom),¹⁸⁶ and above all, in Bunmeibon the strange omission of the poem itself. Investigation of the other B1 texts gives an added perspective to these confusions.¹⁸⁷

It would seem that the episode's location at Senri occurred early in the Tale's development, since it is also specified in Emaki and Hakubyō, and appears in all the B texts.¹⁸⁸ This name may have been introduced through a kind of backward formation from association with the reference to the tonsured emperor Kazan, whose earlier pilgrimage to Nachi via Senri Saigyō refers to and to which his own pilgrimage thus looks back and alludes.¹⁸⁹ This reference appears in the B1 texts at the end of section 1, but interestingly the B2 texts place it and accompanying poem as an introductory

¹⁸⁵ I.e. the poem Jakuren had requested.

¹⁸⁶ Only SIZ recreates the situation of the kotobagaki correctly, by identifying Tankai as the speaker.

¹⁸⁷ See Appendix 1 section 14 for a detailed comparison.

¹⁸⁸ It is not found, however, in *Nanakashū*.

¹⁸⁹ *Ōkagami* 大鏡 (ca. 1119) book 3 contains an anecdote recording how the emperor Kazan, when on pilgrimage to Kumano, stopped to rest at Senri, pillowing his head on a rock, and there composed a poem.

didactic passage to this Senri-Nachi section.¹⁹⁰ Whether this placement reflects the original position of this passage is unclear — passages of didactic content are particularly volatile among the Tale variants — but it does provide a clear link to explain the location of Saigyō's dream at Senri (a dream which, like the episode itself, is informed by the ghostly presences of admired others).

The confusion of names,¹⁹¹ and (consequently) of who spoke to whom, is present with variations in all the Bunmeibon line of texts, and is followed by a further confusion of what Saigyō wrote and sent as a result of the dream, which all the variants reinterpret in their own sometimes startling ways.¹⁹² Such confusion is further compounded here by Bunmeibon's omission of the poem itself (which is included in the other B texts), and replacement of it with an elaborate and all-embracing prayer; an omission which in fact further extends the tantalising omission in the source anthologies of the poem which Saigyō wrote for Jakuren, to which he attached the poem given there.

Thus in Bunmeibon poem after poem has disappeared from this episode, whose only point now is the message of the dream, a message which, ironically, affirms the supreme importance of poetry.

It is important to remember that Saigyō's rejection of the request to compose a poem for Jakuren's (in the Tale, Tōren's) collection is associated with his religious pilgrimage, with the implication that the one precludes and takes precedence over the other, a moment of Saigyō's biography that encapsulates the dilemmas and choices with which the Tale is fundamentally concerned. However, the terms in which Saigyō is reproved, while strongly affirming the importance of poetry, contain clear religious

¹⁹⁰ There is a further volatility at this point, since the B2 texts mention Kazan in their independent didactic introductory passage to the Tale, which is clearly related to the present section.

¹⁹¹ A confusion which embraces the name of the soliciting poet himself (see note 173).

¹⁹² It is somewhat odd that such confusions (which presumably had their origin in an early text's mistranscriptions or unintelligible rewriting) could continue to appear and proliferate throughout the variants, when a simple reference to the *Shinkokinshū* kotobagaki would have solved the problem. This seems to exemplify the way in which this Tale, like other monogatari and setsuwa literature of the time, was seen as an independent entity which could subsume other texts to its own purposes but was not answerable to the authority of those texts.

overtones through their reference to the latter days (すゑのよ) and use of the concept michi, and we may say that it is at bottom this authoritative affirmation of the place of poetry within the religious life that hastens Saigyō to pick up his brush and compose when he awakes. What Bunmeibon shows him as writing, however, is not the poem but a sweepingly general religious prayer, a prayer which carries him directly to his worship at the waterfall of Nachi, in a single elision¹⁹³ that subsumes the poetic point of the episode to the religious austerities which were his original reason for refusing to compose.

At this point, all the other B texts draw breath and introduce the next scene, at the holy waterfall of Nachi, where they then present Saigyō worshipping with the words which in Bunmeibon he has sent to Tōren with the poem. This prayer takes the form of a dedication of his austerities not to Kannon, who is the specific object of worship at Nachi, but to what seems like the entire manifest powers of Buddhism and ultimately to his own ōjō, and is a particularly resounding example of how indistinguishable in normal practice were the various and apparently competing Buddhist schools of thought. There follows a brief scene of Saigyō's religious seclusion at the waterfall, made more of in Bunmeibon than in the other texts by the insertion of the resident monk's speech, and the added detail that Saigyō fulfilled the requirement of a hundred-day seclusion before being allowed to visit the higher falls.¹⁹⁴

This scene is closely¹⁹⁵ based on the extended kotobagaki found in *Sankashū* (SKS 852), which however includes two important elements not found in any B text. One is a sentence to the effect that Saigyō climbed to the waterfalls with the monk

¹⁹³ That this is an elision is clear from comparison with the other B texts. Although Emaki is missing the subsequent Nachi episode, it finishes with the poem, not the prayer, and the closely related SIZ and Hakubyō likewise include the poem, and place this prayer after an introductory sentence telling of his arrival at Nachi. Bunmeibon is unique in its telling reinterpretation of this episode.

¹⁹⁴ Bunmeibon goes its own way at this point to an unusual extent, the added material serving to emphasize Saigyō's religious attainments.

¹⁹⁵ More closely in the other B texts, which repeat the kotobagaki's words with less variation and added material than does Bunmeibon.

specifically in hopes of finding flowering blossoms there. This stated intention, together with the subsequent moment at Kazan's hut — with its blossoms and backward look to an earlier visitor and his poem, which place it firmly within the suki tradition — serve to orient Saigyō's own presentation of this episode in primarily poetic terms. His worship of the waterfall (which in the kotobagaki is without tears) in fact enhances his emotional participation in Kazan's earlier experience (the point of the poem and kotobagaki) rather than revealing Saigyō in religious mode. The Tale's exclusion of this sentence reinforces the context in which the scene is placed (i.e. as the culmination of a period of austerities), and when he worships the waterfall it is careful to add moving detail to the kotobagaki's perfunctory *ai felt it holy*.¹⁹⁶

This *Sankashū* episode is included, not for its poem, but because the kotobagaki usefully provides a glimpse of Saigyō at his worship at Nachi, and as a further (though here poetic rather than religious) allusion to Kazan.¹⁹⁷

3) Indeed Bunmeibon makes this clear by in fact omitting the poem for which the kotobagaki was written (see note 29), and moving straight to SKS 94 (the following poem in the other B texts), presented here rather awkwardly as Saigyō's response to Kazan's poem. Accidental omission seems unlikely, since the text is also missing the introduction to SKS 94 and there is no sign of textual confusion at this point. One can only speculate that the original poem, with its reference to being there in search of blossoms, was deemed too frivolous for Bunmeibon's solemn version of this visit. SKS 94, with its superficially more appropriate¹⁹⁸ meditation on impending death, is neatly inserted by the B texts after this poem to extend the image of the ancient cherry tree flowering by Kazan's hut. The episode is thus saved from its original suki orientation, and drawn into the religious framework predominating in this part of the

¹⁹⁶ *Tōtoku oboekeri* 尊く覚えけり.

¹⁹⁷ It is quite likely, in fact, that this poem and kotobagaki was already present in the Tale, and led to the inclusion of the previous reference to Kazan by the kind of *æback* formation noted earlier.

¹⁹⁸ In strictly religious terms, of course, this poem's aware at the ancient tree's blossom, and by extension at the few springs remaining before his own death, runs counter to his stated aim of turning his back on the phenomenal world and achieving an early *ōjō*. The poem, evidently that of an old man, is rather inappropriately placed in the Tale at a point where Saigyō can as yet be only young.

Tale.¹⁹⁹

Bunmeibon 15

He secluded himself for years on this mountain, and he prayed:  I bow and pray to relinquish my body and surrender to the Buddha. Oh Dairy  Gongen, greatest in Japan, holy mountain of Nachi, Daihi Daiky shi Sanju Hakuseki, Hiry  Gongen, Hiry  Bosatsu.²⁰⁰ I repent all sins, the sins of the six senses. Thus he prayed, and he was filled with heartfelt yearning for a sendatsu of sensibility.²⁰¹ It²⁰² is a place from which any who gaze upon it even once will attain the treasure trove of enlightenment. Just as he was longing to enter  mine, priest S nanb , at that time a sendatsu of twenty eight circuits, said,  If you wish to enter there, please do so. You should worship at the secret places of  mine. He was overjoyed to enter, and he must indeed have felt that this was the most moving of moments. Quickly he changed his monk's robes for the attire of a yamabushi, and he went into  mine.²⁰³

At the station called Jinzen,²⁰⁴ the moon was beautiful.

46. *Without the sight / of this clear moon / among mountains / I would have had / no memory to hold dear. (SKS 1104)*

Looking out over Owari²⁰⁵ Peak, it may have been his fancy but the moon

¹⁹⁹ Although it should be noted that, as we have seen above, the allusions to Saigy 's austerities are at best somewhat vague, and serve to provide the ground against which the episodes are interpreted, rather than themselves constituting the substance of the episodes.

²⁰⁰ This prayer is addressed to the deities embodied in the various holy waterfalls of Nachi.

²⁰¹ 心あらんせんだち. A *sendatsu* 先達 (one whose achievements in completing numerous circuits of the route and the prescribed austerities associated with it has qualified him to guide others on it) who has the (poetic) sensibility to perceive and appreciate aware.

²⁰² The subject is not given, and could refer either to the Nachi waterfall, where Saigy  is presently in seclusion, or to  mine, which he is aspiring to enter.

²⁰³ This somewhat confused description of his change of clothes and entry into  mine is variously interpreted in the other texts (see Appendix 1 for details).

²⁰⁴ Jinzen or Shinsen 深山 is the thirty-eighth station on the  mine route, a place where initiation rites for practitioners were held.

²⁰⁵ おはり. SIZ etc. have おぼが (see next poem).

appeared particularly bright. It is not Shinano,²⁰⁶ he thought, but yet it seems the beautiful moon is as bright here as this name suggests.

47. Though this Obasute / is not in Shinano / yet everywhere this name /tells of peaks /where the moon shines clear. (SKS 1107)²⁰⁷

At the lodging called Azumaya,²⁰⁸ the moon after an autumn shower was beautiful.

48. A shower lifts / in the tenth month. — More than at other times²⁰⁹ / the moon shines clear / upon the peak of Azumaya. (SKS 1111)

On seeing the autumn leaves scattering over a stupa on which was written the name ㊦Byōdōin,²¹⁰ he was moved to recall the man who had written, ㊦More than the flowers²¹¹ and he composed:

49. He who once / was moved²¹² by the passing flowers / has left his name on this peak / where now the autumn leaves / are my companions. (SKS 1114)²¹³

On Chigusa Peak the trees were particularly luxuriant, and seeing the various colours of the trees:

50. Not only²¹⁴ the colours / as I pushed in here / but these very branch tips / have

²⁰⁶ The original Mt. Obasute is an utamakura found in Shinano province, poetically linked with images of brilliant moonlight.

²⁰⁷ The last phrase is *na ni koso arikere* 名にこそありけれ.

²⁰⁸ An alternative name for the sixteenth station, also known as Shia 四阿.

²⁰⁹ すみとすみける, apparently a mistranscription. SIZ etc. follow *Sankashū* 3 むねと (which my translation follows).

²¹⁰ More commonly known as the priest Gyōson 行尊 (d. 1135), a Tendai abbot renowned for his religious austerities, and a well-known composer of waka. He several times completed the Ōmine circuit.

²¹¹ A reference to a poem by Gyōson which was written at Jinzen.

²¹² あはれとて (this follows *Sankashū*). Eishōbon makes this やさしくも.

²¹³ The last phrase is *tomo ni furikeru* 共にふりける.

²¹⁴ ちらす. I take this to be a mistranscription of *Sankashū* 3 ならず, which SIZ and other

dyed deep / my heart. (SKS 1115)²¹⁵

*At Ari no Watari the trees were luxuriant and the mist hung thick, giving the place a movingly mournful appearance.*²¹⁶

51. *We set off in the morning / over the peak thick with sasa²¹⁷ / and dense with mist / hindered from following our way / on Ari no Watari. (SKS 116)²¹⁸*

*At the most difficult point of the peak, these gyōja turned back.*²¹⁹ *The gyōja turned back at the place where once a youth had been unable to cross, and had lost his life. He could well understand, as he gazed at the place with emotion. Thus of old the yamabushi, hoping to cross Byōbu ga Take²²⁰ without incident, sent up many prayers.*

52. *How they must / have set their hearts / in fear at this byōbu cliff / where gyōja return / and the youth stayed behind. (SKS 1117)*

When he worshipped at Sanjū no Taki²²¹ the difficult austerities proved particularly effective; the sins of his past were purified, and he felt he was fast
texts follow.

²¹⁵ The second phrase reads 色のみちらす.

²¹⁶ In *Sankashū*, 蟻の門渡り. A narrow ridge near the highest point on the route, named for the fact that the practitioners must cling like ants in single file as they pass along it. A steep narrow pass near the summit of Ōmine. SIZ follows *Sankashū*.

²¹⁷ ささふかみ霧こめ峯をあさたちて (SKS: 笹深み霧越す岫を朝立ちて). Kanzeibon has ささの海のりこす船をあさ立て.

²¹⁸ The second phrase reads 霧越す岫を.

²¹⁹ この行者帰るなり. Hakubyō has この行者ハかえるなり. This is evidently a corruption of meaning from *Sankashū*'s kotobagaki, which states that the name is Gyōjagaeri (行者帰り, the fifty-eighth station), a name referring to a legend that the sect's founder (En no Gyōja 役行者) and his followers turned back at this point, owing to a young follower's death. SIZ has この行者帰りなり, whose odd construction may have led to the misunderstanding.

²²⁰ 屏風岳, a difficult pass on the Ōmine route, so named because of its sheer cliff (resembling a *byōbu* screen).

²²¹ Or Mikasane no Taki (三重の滝). A particularly important station on the route, whose austerities cave was said to have been carved out by the legendary En no Gyōja over the period of three reincarnations.

approaching the shores of enlightenment. He steeped his heart deep in meditation by a cave far in the mountains, worshipping the evil-conquering power of Daishō Myōō's steadfast gaze,²²² and causing the figures of the two youths, Kongara²²³ and Seitaka, to appear.

53. Even the sins of words²²⁴ / which lie piled upon me / are washed pure / and my heart is clarified / at Mikasane Falls. (SKS 1118)²²⁵

He passed the cave of the hermit of Tsubotake-ga-hara, and when he visited and prayed at Shō-no-iwaya,²²⁶ he humbly reflected on the many stations of his past one hundred and twenty days, and on the blessings gained through attaining Shaka Peak. He felt he could see before him the scene of Bishop Byōdōin on his thousand day retreat, composing, ǎWhy did I ever think / my grass hut / damp with dew? / Here in this dry cave / my sleeves are soaked , and in tears he felt the evil karma and sufferings of this life burned to nothing in the flames of Fudō Myōō.²²⁷

54. Had I not heard / of how his sleeve was soaked / in this dewless cave / how strange I would have found / these tears I weep. (SKS 917)²²⁸

15. COMMENTS

(1) This section appears to have been lost from Emaki.²²⁹ The other B1 texts are

²²² One of the manifestations of the Buddha.

²²³ Skrt. Kimkara. The youthful attendants of Fudō Myōō 不動明王 (see below note 227), often paired with Seitaka dōji 制多迦童兒, heavenly youths who appear with sustenance and comfort for those engaged in austerities.

²²⁴ Among the three sins (those of body, of mind, and of words), which Mikasane Falls purifies, Saigyō's greatest sin is that of words (i.e. kyōgen kigo).

²²⁵ The fourth phrase is *kokoro suminuru* 心すみぬる.

²²⁶ A cave on Mt. Kunimi in the Ōmine ranges, where Gyōson (among others) practised austerities. This cave is not on the normal pilgrimage route.

²²⁷ A fierce Buddhist deity depicted within an aura of flames, guardian of rocks and waterfalls. He is an important element in the *shugendō* worship in which Saigyō is here participating.

²²⁸ The fourth phrase is *kikazuba ikaga* 聞かずばいかが.

²²⁹ The opening words of the following section, ǎhe spoke of his longing to attain ōjō in this

for the most part consistent, the only major point of disruption being the opening description, where Hakubyō is the simplest form. Bunmeibon contains several unique interpolations of material at this point: the prayer to the Nachi deities (which in other texts is replaced by the prayer found at the end of section 14 in Bunmeibon), and the description of the special powers of Ōmine. The B3 texts omit this section, while in the B2 texts it generally follows that of B1 with considerable abbreviations.

(2) This section follows a previously established pattern in which one or a series of poems and their introductory material (loosely based on or expanded from the original kotobagaki) are preceded by an introductory passage which ties the poetic material into the continuing narrative of Saigyō's travels and experiences. Here, the poetic material comes from *Sankashū*, primarily from the sequence of poems SKS 1104-1118, which provides a sketchy autobiographical framework upon which to hang the narrative of Saigyō's experience as a member of a group of yamabushi undergoing the austerities of the Ōmine circuit (*Ōmine-iri* 大峯入り). This consists of numerous arduous austerities in the shugendō tradition, performed at prescribed places along the route through the Ōmine Mountains between Kumano and Yoshino. Entry into this area was strictly limited to yamabushi, and required a leader or sendatsu — hence Saigyō's joy at the special privilege of being invited in, and the need for him to exchange his monk's robes for those of the yamabushi.

This and the previous Nachi section form the crux of the portrayal of Saigyō as religious practitioner in the Tale.²³⁰ As we saw in the two previous sections, where the original material of the kotobagaki frames the religious elements in terms of a focus on the poetic (the poem and its moment), the Tale in these sections reveals a strong tendency to subsume the poetic to the religious, through exclusion, addition and rewriting. That this process was dynamic among the texts is clear from the cave (the opening words of B1's section 16), indicate that the text originally contained reference to the cave that ends the present section. The abrupt shift in the text at this point is further evidence that section 15 was originally present.

²³⁰ The section leading up to his ōjō is the only other major section to portray Saigyō in purely religious terms, although there are brief scattered references throughout the texts to his seclusions and austerities.

various reworkings of the introductory part of this section, and most particularly from Bunmeibon's inclusion of added religious material, in the form of Saigyō's prayer and the explanatory description of the powers of Nachi/Ōmine.²³¹ Bunmeibon also shows particularly clearly, however, that the religious is in its turn projected in poetic or sentimental terms. The sendatsu that Saigyō yearns for²³² is one with sensibility²³³, and the scene of Saigyō's replacing monk's robes with the yamabushi clothing, a scene which echoes the sentimental different clothing scene of section 11, is likewise here interpreted in terms of aware, although this time it is not the sight of him that we are invited to be moved by, but his own emotion at the rare opportunity to enter Ōmine.²³⁴

When we reach the main body of the poetic material of the section, there is little attempt to shift the focus towards the religious until the culminating scenes. We are once more in the world of the poetic anthology, with the narrative shifts accomplished entirely through a series of place names, signifying Saigyō's progress along the Ōmine route.²³⁵ The season of the poems is autumn (implying that he passed the summer months at Nachi). The poems record a series of poetic moments on the

²³¹ It is of interest to note that both these examples of added material, although not specifically didactic, are put into the quasi-first person voice, as is typical of other religious material throughout the Tale.

²³² With the expression *aware aware* あはれあはれ, not found in other texts.

²³³ *Kokoro aran* 心あらん.

²³⁴ SIZ, the more representative of the B texts for this section, doubles the aware value of this scene: 'No doubt feeling the situation a most moving one (あはれささこそと覚えけめ), he changed from his monk's robes into the persimmon robes (of a yamabushi), and the sight was most affecting (あはれにこそ見えけれ.)

²³⁵ Sakaguchi Hironori (Saigyō Ōmine-iri no uta wo megutte 西行大峰入りの歌をめぐって, *Komazawa kokubun* 15 [March 1978], p. 55) has analyzed these poems in their original order in *Sankashū*, the order which Bunmeibon retains (with omissions), and shown that Saigyō most probably followed this route in the less usual *gyaku* 逆 form, entering from Nachi rather than Yoshino, as the Tale indeed portrays. He points out, however, that the order of the poems reflects thematic considerations rather than a strictly geographical progression, a confusion which the Tale reflects.

Other texts (Unemebon, Kanzeibon and Eishōbon) confuse matters further by altering the order found in *Sankashū*. It is evident that this section of the Tale was never written from a familiarity with the route, nor with an assumption of familiarity among readers. The aim of this section is to create a semblance of progression rather than to identify a route.

journey, and the introductory material consists of only slightly expanded versions of the kotobagaki that accompany the poems in *Sankashū*. Although Saigyō is taking part in a religious exercise renowned for its severity, what most of his poems recorded, and what the Tale here faithfully reproduces, are moments not dissimilar from such as could have been experienced in the course of travel along any mountain route.²³⁶

This is particularly so of the first six poems of the series; the poem which looks back to the priest Gyōson does so only in poetic terms, and it is only with the sixth poem that we begin to move beyond the ostensibly suki response²³⁷ to any sense of the rigours of the journey.²³⁸ From here, however, the Tale builds toward a climactic religious moment, through increasing difficulty (the point where many turn back, poem 52), to Mikasane Falls, whose poem contains for the first time specifically religious content, and finally to a religious apotheosis at the cave of Shō no Iwaya. Significantly, the Tale increasingly departs from *Sankashū* at this stage of the narrative. The original kotobagaki for the Mikasane poem (SKS 1118) is greatly expanded through the addition of religious content: mention of his hard austerities, his sense of approaching enlightenment, his meditation and the appearance of Kongara and Seitaka all serve to portray Saigyō in a manner reminiscent of Buddhist setsuwa depictions of the miracles associated with austerities for Lotus Sutra practitioners.²³⁹

²³⁶ I do not wish to suggest that the poems themselves have no religious content. My point is that for the most part the Tale follows *Sankashū*, which makes little overt reference to religious austerities but focusses on poetically moving moments on the mountain journey.

²³⁷ As I argue in Part I, although Saigyō's moon poems can frequently be read in religious terms, it is nevertheless the case that many of his moon poems belong primarily to the literary rather than the religious symbolic sphere. Despite the context, all three moon poems are here presented specifically in terms of the suki response (おもしろし). Kojima Takayuki (*Saigyō monogatari shōkō*, pp. 317-18) remarks on this, and on the lack of reference to the content of his austerities in this section, to make the point that even here, at the point in the Tale where Saigyō is most actively engaged in austerities, the focus is on the poems/ poetic sensibility. While agreeing with this general evaluation, I see the situation as rather more complex, as explained below.

²³⁸ The Ari no Watari section emphasizes this aspect of the journey. Note, however, that the introductory material couches this experience too in terms of a poetic response, *kokorobosoku aware ni miekereba* 心ぼそくあはれに見えければ, an expression not found in the original kotobagaki.

²³⁹ It is interesting that the B2 texts, which generally emphasize religious content in the Tale,

The final poem (54) breaks the *Sankashū* sequence by returning to SKS 917, whose original kotobagaki, while identifying the place as Ōmine, records only that he visited the spot and was moved to recall Gyōson's poem. The Tale, by its interpretation of the poem's tears as caused by the experience of feeling the evil karma and sufferings of this life burned to nothing in the flames of Myōō, appropriates the poem to its own didactic ends, and manages thereby to provide the narrative with a resoundingly religious finale.²⁴⁰ This together with the introductory material which opens this section, serves yet again to frame the poetic within the religious.

The final poem's reference to the concept of poetry as sin,²⁴¹ discussed in Part I, serves to complicate, while adding further weight to, the shift of balance toward the religious at this culminating point in the section by embodying within a poem a moment in which religious commitment achieves a victory over poetry.

(3) As mentioned above, the poems of this section, with the exception of the final poem, come from a sequence found in *Sankashū*. Other poems of the sequence omitted in the Tale are all moon poems, several with a kotobagaki locating them to one of the stations of the Ōmine route. The poems chosen for inclusion in this Tale are for the most part those which either suggest or already contain in the kotobagaki an episode in Saigyō's progress along the route.

Bunmeibon 16

He spoke of his longing to attain ōjō in this cave, but as the guide would not allow him to stay, he reluctantly came down (from Ōmine); as they went on their way the land of Yamato grew near, and a few villages appeared. By a field a dove sang

in this section uncharacteristically revert to the brief kotobagaki-poem sequence style. Their strongly Amidist leanings would presumably have made them less than sympathetic with the esoteric Buddhist context of this episode.

²⁴⁰ This is true only of Bunmeibon and SIZ. Hakubyō omits any mention of a religious experience, while Kanzeibon and Eishōbon both place this poem and introduction early in the poem sequence, and do not give it a specifically religious reading.

²⁴¹ It is interesting that the Tale should choose to gloss over this content by replacing the kotobagaki's 三業の罪 (the three sins of body, mind and word) with the vaguer むかしのざいしやう (past sins), presumably wishing to soften the negative kyōgen kigo admission of the poem.

desolately for the occasion.²⁴² Looking at Mt. Kazuraki,²⁴³ he noticed unseasonal autumnally coloured leaves, and asked someone what the explanation could be. The person replied, *They are masaki no kazura*²⁴⁴ leaves, always (coloured).

55. On Mt. Kazuraki / the red leaves²⁴⁵ / seem like autumn / while boughs elsewhere/ are green. (SKS 1078)

56. How chilling / the dove's voice at evening / calling to its mate / in the tree that stands / beside the old field.²⁴⁶ (SKS 997, SKKS 1674)

57. When I crossed / Hihara Peak / at evening / the voice of the mountain dove / sounded chill to my ears. (SKS 1052)

16. COMMENTS

(1) The B1 texts echo each other closely for this section, Emaki and Hakubyō being the closest. There is some textual confusion around the description of the dove's call, which reads smoothly only in the *Nanakashū* version (see note 242). The B2 texts either abbreviate or conflate this transition section, and entirely omit the opening depiction of Saigyō's longing to attain *ōjō* in the cave.

(2) This section moves Saigyō and his companions swiftly out of the religious intensities of *Ōmine* and down to the Yamato Plain, where there is a poetic pause which introduces three poems, by way of an interlude before the final restating of the *Ōmine* experience in the following section. Its opening depiction of Saigyō's longing to remain in the cave presents a kind of culmination of his experiences in *Ōmine*

²⁴² をりふしから. Emaki and Hakubyō have をりからにや, while SIZ has 惜しまず. *Nanakashū* makes most sense of this point in the text, with をりしりがおに (as if to fit with the season's mood), which is balanced by the following poem's red leaves *which know no season*.

²⁴³ A range of mountains bordering the Nara plain.

²⁴⁴ まさきの葛. A member of the oleander family (modern name *Teika kazura* 定家葛).

²⁴⁵ もみじのいろは. All other texts follow *Sankashū* in having まさきの色は.

²⁴⁶ ふるはたのそば. *Kanzeibon* and *Eishōbon* identify this as a place name (古畑と云所に).

(restated in the following section) and is a moment where the image of Saigyō as religious practitioner asserts itself to balance the less austere poet figure who has so far accompanied Sōnanbō and his party.²⁴⁷

The core kotobagaki for this section comes from SKS 1078, whose kotobagaki mentions passing Mt. Kazuraki. The association of this mountain range with shugendō austerities, and its location on the Yamato plain, no doubt made it a suitable place name poem to move the journey forward.

(3) Despite poem 55's useful geographical location marker, there is a confusion of seasons with a temporary return to a summer poem.²⁴⁸ The other two poems seem rather more arbitrarily placed here, and their introductory material likewise seems awkwardly inserted into the forward movement of the narrative.²⁴⁹ Poem 56 may have been introduced because of its status as a *Shinkokinshū* poem, one which would suit a situation of travel through a rural landscape. Poem 57 is a restating of the same image. Its place name, however, can be seen as carrying Saigyō forward through the landscape.²⁵⁰ The image of the dove's achilling (*sugoki* すごき) cry indirectly reinforces the forlornness associated with travel. This section is thus best seen as an interval of poetic *michiyuki*, although rather oddly placed before Saigyō's emotional parting from his *yamabushi* companions.²⁵¹

²⁴⁷ It is noteworthy that the more Amidist B2 texts omit this image, as they omit the retrospective depiction of his religious awakening in the following section.

²⁴⁸ Bunmeibon's rewriting of the poem (see note 244) compounds what was originally a poetically elegant confusion.

²⁴⁹ Particularly problematic in SIZ, which also changes the position of the poems, further separating poem from introductory material. It is interesting to note the way in which Kanzeibon and Eishōbon attempt to integrate poem 2 into the *michiyuki* theme by interpreting ふるはた as a place name.

²⁵⁰ ひはらがみね (in *Sankashū* 檜原の峯) is usually interpreted as a place name, though its reference is now lost (a variant of this poem makes this 田原, a mountain in Yamashiro near the capital).

²⁵¹ The poetic theme of travel which is central to this section generally has as its premise aloneness and forlornness, both of which are implied here. However, this implication is undermined in narrative terms by the following section's theme of parting from companions, making it clear that Saigyō is here still travelling with them. Eishōbon smoothes this problem by conflating this and the following section, having Saigyō first part from his companions, then travel on alone towards the capital, pausing on the way to compose one of these poems. It may be, rather, that Eishōbon here preserves an earlier form, which underwent transformation when section 18's Sumiyoshi section was interposed, altering his

Bunmeibon 17

*When they emerged into a village, the companions who had come with him were unable to stop their tears, as each went their separate ways. One companion among them, a man of sensibility, was particularly loath to part, and soaked his sleeve with tears, saying, *əwhere will we ever meet again?* , so (Saigyō composed):*

58. *How can we ever hope / to meet again / unless it be/ on that mountain path /
into death. (SKS 1142, SKKS 8136)²⁵²*

At that time (while in Ōmine) he had looked up to the sendatsu Sōnanbō as if to a deity, had revered him²⁵³ as a master and companion who for the hundred days had been of one mind and purpose with him, had received (from him) the teaching which leads to the extinguishment of sins, had broken the ice of deep valley streams and drawn water, gathered firewood from high peaks and warmed the kettle, and upon returning to their lodgings had washed the sendatsu's feet with timorous care.²⁵⁴ He had received the sacred diamond mysteries²⁵⁵ and (learned) the secret places of meditation, and owing to his humble worship he felt he had already attained the longed-for paradise. Each wept to change his persimmon robes, and in the breaking dawn of their parting, a bird known as the nue²⁵⁶ cried forlornly:

59. *Even without this / I would feel / the transience of this world — / but now the
nue goes crying / across the dawn sky. (SKS 756)*

17. COMMENTS

route.

²⁵² The last phrase reads 越えぬ別れは.

²⁵³ 百日同心合力の同行教主とおがみて. SIZ has . . . の同行を教主と書いて.

²⁵⁴ These images of deep devotion to a teacher originate in the twelfth fascicle of *The Lotus Sutra*, where the Buddha describes a previous incarnation in which he served as a menial to a seer in order to learn from him the truths contained in this sutra. (See Hurvitz, *Lotus Sutra*, p. 195).

²⁵⁵ *Kongō himitsu* 金剛秘密. This probably refers to initiations Saigyō received while on Ōmine.

²⁵⁶ 鶺鴒. A kind of thrush, with a low, muffled cry.

(1) Of the B1 texts, Hakubyō is missing from this point. The remaining B1 texts follow Bunmeibon more or less closely. The B2 texts pass very briefly over this episode.

(2) This scene of parting from beloved companions, a formulaic moment in poetic texts, is here interrupted by the əbackward glance such as we have seen earlier in the Tale that reinforces a key narrative event. In keeping with the nature of religious/didactic material in the Tale, the glance is here əinternalized , as Saigyō’s reminiscence.²⁵⁷ This material is flanked on either side by a continuous scene of tearful (poetic) parting, giving the impression of skilful interpolation.²⁵⁸

Saigyō’s reminiscence comprises a summary of his experiences in Ōmine under the guidance of the sendatsu Sōnanbō, and provides us with the only details of his experience there as Buddhist aspirant rather than as poet. It is interesting at this point to compare another version of the Ōmine episode, that found in *Kokonchomonjū* 2.57. (In summary): The priest Saigyō has a deep desire to go into Ōmine, but as this was not usual for a *nyūdō* 入道,²⁵⁹ his longing is frustrated. Hearing of his desire, priest Shunanbō (sic) tells him that he may enter Ōmine for the sake of *kechien*, əand he joyfully resolves to do so . He speaks of his worry that he will not know the correct procedures, but Shunanbō reassures him that he need only follow the others. However, once in Ōmine, Shunanbō in fact treats him with especial harshness, until Saigyō bursts into tears and says, əI only came for the sake of *kechien*. I had no idea this priest was such a high-handed person. How bitter it is, that he should harm my body and destroy my heart like this. Shunanbō calls him over and tells him that

²⁵⁷ As distinct from the narrator’s proffering of a moving scene from an earlier time or event, such as section 11 presents.

²⁵⁸ *Nanakashū*, which lacks the didactic material and makes only brief mention of the parting, could be seen to epitomize the original form of the section.

Yamaguchi (Yamaguchi Makoto 山口真琴, ə*Saigyō monogatari no kōzōteki saihen to jishū 西行物語の構造的再編と時衆*, *Kōchi Daigaku kokubun* 23 [December 1992], p. 18) also takes this scene to be a later addition to the Tale, for reasons outlined below.

²⁵⁹ An intermediary position between secular and tonsured life, often chosen by those who, for political or other reasons, chose to əretire from the world without committing themselves to full monastic discipline. This version of Saigyō is a more realistic one than the Tale’s.

he allowed him in based on his reputation as one who was firm of heart and performed difficult austerities, and that to obey the sendatsu and endure hardships (such as cutting wood and bringing water, as well as being beaten and starved etc.) is to undergo the torments of the various hells and so attain the benefits of purification of sins and ultimate enlightenment, and he chides Saigyō as a charlatan who has misled him into believing he was sincere in his longing for enlightenment. Whereupon Saigyō weeps tears of joy at coming into contact with Buddhist teaching,²⁶⁰ thereafter undergoes the austerities with alacrity, and even returns later to do the circuit again.²⁶¹

This man is far from the Saigyō of our Tale; he is neither poet nor sternly committed aspiring ōjōsha, and his tears and failings are not the result of the touching aware of the Buddhist aspirant who nevertheless feels . He is a weakling, and exposed as such in much the same terms as Saigyō in the Tale uses to harshly chide the weak Saijū (section 21) and the companion at Tenryū Crossing (section 30), although in this legend he is at least permitted to mend his ways and behave creditably as a result. This setsuwa reminds us that, for all that *Saigyō monogatari* is setting out, in the Ōmine sections, to show us Saigyō the religious practitioner, its version of Saigyō is finally always a poeticised one. It is clear that these two versions of Saigyō's Ōmine visit bear some relation to each other (in occasional coincidences of phrasing and detail), and certainly the *Kokonchomonjū* story would have been known to the writers of the Tale.²⁶² Yet the only shadow that we find of it in the Tale is in the name of the sendatsu (one name being a version of the other) and the general circumstances in which he invites Saigyō to join him, and in a few of the details of his arduous life while there, details which emphasize the poetic hermit life (drawing water and collecting firewood) and exclude the harsher realities (beatings and

²⁶⁰ *Zuiki no namida* 随喜の涙.

²⁶¹ *Ōmine nido no gyōja nari* 大峯二度の行者也.

²⁶² Their familiarity with this work is evidenced in the many points at which the didactic material reveals its influence.

starvation) to which he was subjected in *Kokonchomonjū*.

However, the Tale is not content simply to poeticize Saigyō's Ōmine experience. It here brings Saigyō as close to enlightenment as he will get before his actual ōjō. Yamaguchi Makoto²⁶³ has analysed this section in terms of the ōjōden structure of the Tale, pointing out that the expanded material of the final passages of section 15 introduces strong ōjōden themes.²⁶⁴ Yamaguchi goes on to suggest that the retrospective depiction of Saigyō in the present section claims even more for Saigyō: it contains implicit comparison with the experiences of the Buddha of *The Lotus Sutra*,²⁶⁵ which strongly suggest that Saigyō equivalently achieved enlightenment.

Clearly the section does present Saigyō's experience as close to that of enlightenment, by stating that he felt he had already attained the longed-for paradise.²⁶⁶ However, as Yamaguchi himself mentions, the description of firewood and water collecting under such circumstances, though quite possibly looking back to *The Lotus Sutra*, is common enough in religious literature to be unremarkable.²⁶⁷ It seems more reasonable to assume that a vaguer (because essentially poetic) depth of religious experience is here being suggested through these images. If, as Yamaguchi has suggested, the Tale has undergone rewritings under the influence of an urge to superimpose moments from the Buddha legend (which has its origins in the near coincidence of Saigyō's death date with the Buddha's), it surely nevertheless stops short of thereby claiming an equivalent enlightenment for Saigyō. Rather, such moments in the Tale are an element which, through the kind of allusiveness so prevalent here as elsewhere in literature, serves to enhance the poetic impression of Saigyō as dedicated and admirable Buddhist practitioner, the terms in which these

²⁶³ In *Ōkōzōteki saihen to Jishū*, pp.14-18.

²⁶⁴ Specifically, the miraculous appearance of the heavenly youths, and the culminating moment at Shō no Iwaya where he felt the evil karma and sufferings of this life burned to nothing in the flames of Myōō.

²⁶⁵ See note 254.

²⁶⁶ Although the careful *とおぼへき* stops short of claiming the experience as conclusive fact.

²⁶⁷ Yamaguchi cites a *Ryōjin hishō* 梁塵秘抄 (ca. 1169) song based around the same image, and of course the *Kokon chomonjū* tale itself makes use of it.

parts of the Ōmine sections strive to portray him.

(3) Poem 58 is a parting poem whose *Sankashū* kotobagaki states that it was written on an occasion when he visited Jōsaimonjin²⁶⁸ before leaving on a distant journey for shugyō. Its melancholy tone, and the image of death as a mountain path (a common poetic expression), no doubt made it a suitable poem to introduce here as spoken to the yamabushi (a companion of sensibility). The final scene returns us to the clothes-changing theme, and its poem moves the narrative back into the familiar territory of Saigyō as alone and poetically responding to the moment(s) aware contained in a natural image, which is rather hastily cobbled together with the moment of parting which the poem ostensibly laments.

Bunmeibon 18

The (religious) companions who had undergone the rituals²⁶⁹ with him all went their separate ways, and he alone returned to his monk's robes, and set off on a pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi.²⁷⁰ Seeing (the place), he felt the rightness of Lord Minamoto Yorimasa's²⁷¹ poem, (the moon sinks down), and felt he could see before him (the waves which washed the lower branches).²⁷²

60. *Gazing, I feel wash in my heart / those waves / that washed the lower branches / of Sumiyoshi's pines / of long ago. (SKS 1219)*

61. *The white waves of the bay²⁷³ / pick up the sound / of washing waves / about*

²⁶⁸ 上西門院, daughter of emperor Toba.

²⁶⁹ The rites of passage from hell to heaven (*jikkai* 十界) which this course comprised.

²⁷⁰ In present-day Osaka; a famous shrine and utamakura.

²⁷¹ 源頼政 (104-1180). Bunmeibon here follows Emaki. SIZ quotes the poem as すみよしの松のひまよりながむれば入日をあらふ沖の白波. Kanzeibon has the first 2 phrases of this poem, while Eishōbon quotes this poem in entirety, but has as the last two phrases 月おちかかるあはち嶋山. (This poem is not, in fact, the *honka* for Saigyō's poem. See following note.)

²⁷² Reference to a poem by Minamoto Tsunenobu 源経信 (1016-1097) presented to Gosanjō-in in 1073 on the occasion of an imperial procession to Sumiyoshi. This is the *honka* for Saigyō's poem. The B2 texts drop this reference, making Yorimasa's poem the *honka*.

²⁷³ おきつしらなみ. Emaki follows *Sankashū* in having the more appropriate おきつしほかぜ.

the roots of Sumiyoshi's pines / shifting it to²⁷⁴ the branches. (SKS 1054)²⁷⁵

That year he stayed in reclusion performing austerities at Sumiyoshi, and in the spring of the following year he set off for the capital. On his way he gazed upon Naniwa Watari²⁷⁶ in the land of Tsu, where the spring wind suddenly stirred the dry reeds. All felt forlorn, and he composed.

62. *Is it but dream / the spring of Naniwa / in the land of Tsu? / For now the wind passes / over the dry reeds.*²⁷⁷ (SKS 559, SKKS 625)

18. COMMENTS

(1) As in the previous section, Emaki and SIZ are close versions of the Bunmeibon text, though SIZ has somewhat more variation. The B2 texts severely abbreviate this section.

(2) This section, though based on utamakura poems built up with short kotobagaki-like introductory material, nevertheless manages to move the narrative forward geographically and temporally, while reinforcing in passing the image of Saigyō's religious activities.

The section appears to have its origin in the kotobagaki to SKS 1218,²⁷⁸ which states that in 1171 retired emperor Goshirakawa went on pilgrimage to the shrine of Sumiyoshi after his pilgrimage to Kumano (with Saigyō in attendance). That poem is not included in this Tale, perhaps because it relates to the imperial procession and thus

²⁷⁴ Bunmeibon here has *かはる*, SKS is *かくる*. Emaki and SIZ follow SKS.

²⁷⁵ The fourth phrase reads *kozue ni kakuru* *こずゑに懸くる*.

²⁷⁶ Osaka Bay, an utamakura.

²⁷⁷ A winter poem in *Sankashū* (SKS 559). SIZ and Unemebon (the only other texts to have this section) also make this a spring poem, as does *Nanakashū*.

²⁷⁸ The poem which in *Sankashū* precedes the first poem in this section.

evokes a scene at odds with Saigyō's present lonely journey.²⁷⁹ The Tale may have taken a hint from this kotobagaki's reference to Goshirakawa's two pilgrimages, to swing Saigyō likewise down to Sumiyoshi after the Kumano/Ōmine pilgrimage, although it was not uncommon to combine the two pilgrimages. Certainly, in thus recasting the poem's episode as a solitary journey we see evidence of the careful exclusion of scenes revealing Saigyō's more 'worldly' aspects.

(3) Poem 60 appears in *Sankashū* with the kotobagaki 'thinking that the waves which washed the lower branches had not changed from of old'. Poem 61 appears in *Sankashū* with a kotobagaki stating that it was composed on an occasion when people had gathered at Sumiyoshi under the auspices of the poet Shunze.²⁸⁰ It is thus another example of a poem whose social occasion has been transposed here to a solitary moment of poetic intensity. Although Saigyō is described as secluding himself and performing austerities here until the following year, the poems themselves present him in *suki* mode.

On his way back to the capital, Saigyō pauses to take in another *utamakura*, the bay of Tsu. Poem 62 is one of Saigyō's more famous *Shinkokinshū* poems, whose inclusion in the Tale it was thus no doubt felt to be necessary to engineer. It is interesting that in all the variants this poem is interpreted as a spring poem,²⁸¹ whereas its placement in *Sankashū* clearly shows it to be a winter poem.

Bunmeibon 19

On he wandered,²⁸² since his life had indeed not ended,²⁸³ and he returned to

²⁷⁹ It is, however, included in *Unemebon*, which quotes the *Sankashū* kotobagaki verbatim together with its poem, while omitting the following poem (the one included here).

²⁸⁰ 俊恵 (b. 1113). His grandfather Tsunenobu composed the poem which provides the honka for both the Sumiyoshi poems.

²⁸¹ Presumably led astray by the presence of the word *haru* 春.

²⁸² Bunmeibon's まがよひて seems most likely to be 間かよひて (cf. *SIZ* ままかよひて).

²⁸³ さすが死なれぬ命. A stock phrase indicating regret to have failed as yet to attain *ōjō* (cf. his longing to die in sections 9 and 17). *Unemebon* replaces this with an equally stock expression ,心にまかせぬ命なりければ — these phrases appear interchangeably at points of major transition in the

the capital, where he found his familiar old home changed. He could find nowhere to lay his head, and could not turn (to anyone) to depend on.²⁸⁴ Feeling (the scene) most forlorn —

63. The years lie thick / upon the little pine / in the garden I used to see. / I hear the storm wind sounding now / in its branches. (SKKS 1677)²⁸⁵

64. Since there can be no home / let me not live / in this world, / transient / as the hermit's brushwood hut. (SSS 558, SKKS 1778)²⁸⁶

As it was something he often used to do in the old days, he went to view the flowers of Hosshōji.²⁸⁷ The ladies-in-waiting of Jōtōmonzjin²⁸⁸ were flower-viewing, and he sent to Hyōe no Tsubone²⁸⁹ supposing that she must be remembering the flower-viewing processions of old. Since it was raining that day, he composed:

65. The flowers too / in the presence of those who see them / must recall days of old / with longing, / bent weeping in the rain. (SKS 101)²⁹⁰

In response she wrote:

66. Who would see the rain / as tears / for the past? / — since the flowers / have narrative.

²⁸⁴ いくを宿とさだめざる、たのみてしばらくのたよりとすべしともおぼえず。This sentence appears to be a confusion of SIZ's いくを宿とさだめ、誰をたのみてしばらくの便とも覚えぬ。Unemebon follows SIZ, except that the final phrase is 誰を友とむつぶべしとも覚えぬ, while Kanzeibon and Eishōbon abbreviate: いくを宿と定むべしと覚えぬ。

²⁸⁵ This poem, although found in two imperial collections, is not included in any presently existing collection of Saigyō's works.

²⁸⁶ The second phrase reads *sumarezu wa tada* 住まれずはただ。

²⁸⁷ 法勝寺。A temple to the east of the Kamo River, famous for its blossoms.

²⁸⁸ 上東門院。In this poem's *Sankashū* kotobagaki, this is 上西門院 (see note 268).

²⁸⁹ 兵衛の局, lady-in-waiting to Jōsaimonjin.

²⁹⁰ The *Sankashū* poem reads *Miru hito ni hana mo mukashi wo omoiidete koishikarubeshi ame ni shioruru* 見る人に花も昔を思ひ出でて恋しかるべし雨にしをるる。

19. COMMENTS

- (1) From this section until section until section 43, where Hakubyō rejoins the Tale, the only representatives of the B1 texts are Bunmeibon and SIZ. In this section, these two texts are close echoes of each other. It is indicative of the essentially ad hoc nature of the æreturn to the capital episodes that the B2 and B3 texts all display strong independent variations for this section: Unemebon introduces different poems, while Eishōbon drops two of the poems found here, as well as inserting a unique Amidist section describing Saigyō's visit to Iwashimizu Shrine on Otokoyama.
- (2) With this section the Tale enters the first of the two segments depicting Saigyō's returns to the capital.²⁹³ As variations among the texts also suggest, this æfirst capital segment (as is also true of the second) is made up largely of anthologised material²⁹⁴ strung together as a series of discrete episodes, without any forward narrative impulse. Hence it is particularly susceptible to interpolations and deletions. Coincidentally, the Emaki material is lost from this section onward, so little can be inferred about early versions of the material. However, these æcapital segments exemplify the way in which the Tale was susceptible to continued augmentation and alteration. The fact that this segment is missing entirely from the A texts²⁹⁵ may suggest that this segment, which presents a long narrative pause before Saigyō re-commences his journeying, may not have been originally present in the Tale, but is entirely the result of later augmentation to include more poems.
- (3) The present section well demonstrates this process. The opening æepisode depicts Saigyō's return to his old home, always in literature a cause for poetic

²⁹¹ 花にむかしのともしなければ. *Sankashū* has 花もその世の友しなければ.

²⁹² The fourth phrase is *hana mo sono yo no* 花もその世の.

²⁹³ The A texts contain only the second of the capital sections.

²⁹⁴ Either from *Sankashū* or from *Shinkokinshū*.

²⁹⁵ Seikadō in fact omits both the capital sections.

lamentation over the past, which is here expressed through two *Shinkokinshū* poems. Poem 63, with its images of the passage of time and present desolation, is presented as Saigyō's initial response, which leads into poem 64's decision to give up all thoughts of home.²⁹⁶ This episode thus neatly introduces two *Shinkokinshū* poems in a way which re-introduces Saigyō to the capital.

His return to the capital is not explained, and the next episode shows him at some unspecified time, viewing blossoms at Hosshōji as he used once to do, and recalling a past imperial flower-viewing procession. This episode is a slightly expanded version of the kotobagaki to SKS 101 and 102, which appear here. The presence of this kotobagaki in *Sankashū*, and the continuing theme of weeping for the past, are the only apparent reasons for its inclusion.²⁹⁷

Certainly this episode, even more than the previous one, seems quite divorced from any image of Saigyō as religious practitioner, nor is there even any yearning back to the contrasting splendours of his past life at court, such as the Tale indulges in in other places, and which would be appropriate for this scene.²⁹⁸ The kotobagaki content is introduced without rewriting to impose any of the Tale's themes, and the episode gives us our first, rare glimpse of a more urbane Saigyō, one who exchanges courtly poems with ladies-in-waiting — an aspect of Saigyō which is strongly evident in *Sankashū* — rather than mourning the blossoms alone in the mountains.

Bunmeibon 20

While thus wandering here and there, he wondered what had become of his old home. Despite himself, the daughter he had pitilessly kicked, though with private

²⁹⁶ The poem in fact expresses more determination than Saigyō is shown as having in the introductory material, where he is simply homeless, friendless and forlorn.

²⁹⁷ Indeed it could as easily appear in the second return to the capital segment, where other similar exchanges of poems are included (see, for instance, section 42).

²⁹⁸ Such yearning glances back to former glory, however, are always associated with religious material, specifically with the contrast with his present, movingly wretched state as mere wandering monk. (See, for example, sections 11 and 30.) As he is in poetic rather than religious mode in the present section, such a passage is presumably inappropriate.

sadness,²⁹⁹ weighed on his heart, and passing the gate he stopped to look in. He stood gazing, moved,³⁰⁰ at (the little girl of) seven or eight beneath the upright shutter of the verandah playing among the garden flowers. The child discovered him, and ran inside saying she was afraid of the beggar-monk looking in at the gate. He wanted to explain that it was he, but with strength of heart he passed by, choked with tears. Meditating on the text concerning family, riches and even the throne itself³⁰¹ (he thought that) a dwelling in the deep mountains must be best.

67. Although the heart / flies constantly / to the deep mountains / could any know
this heart/ who do not live there? (SSS 670, SKKS 1630)³⁰²

20. COMMENTS

(1) The texts present this scene with a number of minor variations, particularly so in the case of the B2 texts. Unemebon (B2) omits the poem and limits its narration to a simple description of Saigyō's visit, the moment of seeing, and his recitation of the quotation as he leaves.³⁰³

(2) This brief episode returns Saigyō to his life as Buddhist practitioner, by presenting him with the kind of test commonly seen in Buddhist setsuwa literature, and echoed here also in the section that follows.

It is one of the few instances in which the origin of the episode is clear.

Hosshinshū includes a section (6.5) describing Saigyō's daughter's shukke which opens with a close version of the scene found here. In it, Saigyō leaves his small

²⁹⁹ 我かなしとおもひながら. This phrase is not found in SIZ. The editor's period preceding this phrase seems to me unnatural, and I would like to amend it to 「すみなれし故郷いかなりぬらん、我かなし」とおもひながら.

³⁰⁰ つづくとははれみ見る. Cf SIZ, Unemebon and Kanzeibon あはれに見る.

³⁰¹ See Bunmeibon 1, and note 14.

³⁰² The fourth phrase is *sumade aware wa* すまで哀は.

³⁰³ It is interesting to compare the B texts' version of this section with that found in *Nanakashū*. There, all mention of the daughter is entirely missing, and the section is reduced to the final poem with a single kotobagaki, which states that he grew to long for the mountains more and more. It may be that this version represents the original (kotobagaki-style) form of the section, onto which the daughter episode was later clumsily added.

daughter in the care of his younger brother at his own shukke, but when he happens to return to the capital two or three years later he recalls that she would now be around five years old,³⁰⁴ and as he passes the gate of his brother's house he pauses to look in. He sees her playing with lower-class children in the dirt of the front garden and is deeply moved, but she runs inside in fear at the hijiri. He subsequently tries to keep this event out of mind, but her fate continues to weigh on him, so that he later returns and, finding her employed in a lowly position, urges her to take the tonsure (the scene of section 49).

It is clear that, while drawing directly on the *Hosshinshū* scene,³⁰⁵ the Tale emphasizes the more sentimental and poignant aspects of the episode for its own ends. Here his concern for her is not, as it is in *Hosshinshū*, primarily that of a father worried over the fate of his daughter.³⁰⁶ The scene is drawn purely in terms of the test it puts him through as one who has renounced family and wealth to follow the Buddhist way. Just as his violent act of rejection of his daughter signalled the difficult decisive moment of hosshin in section 7, it is lingering attachment to this daughter which continues to dog him throughout his renunciate's life, as we shall see again in section 49.

This scene echoes the daughter episode in section 7 in a number of ways.³⁰⁷

Here too it is the daughter's youthful³⁰⁸ innocence we are moved by: unlike the more

³⁰⁴ Age is a matter of constant flexibility in setsuwa generally (as also among the various versions of the Tale for this section).

³⁰⁵ Some of the linguistic details are direct echoes of *Hosshinshū*.

³⁰⁶ The detail of her playing in the dirt with low-class children (げすの子ども) brings out the contrast with her own elegance and beauty, which promises well for her future (i.e. will be useful in finding her a position in a good household) (かたちもすぐれ、たのもしき様なる), and it is when Saigyō later discovers that she has not after all achieved a good position that he returns to urge nunhood on her.

³⁰⁷ It could be postulated that the earlier daughter scene of section 7 might have been first conceived with reference to this *Hosshinshū* episode. The description of the charming little girl (though certainly a common figure in literature) is similar, and the other parallels lend credence to the idea. Certainly the *Hosshinshū* daughter predates the Tale's formation, and the existence of Saigyō's daughter is mentioned nowhere else.

³⁰⁸ Her age, which in the Tale provides the one indicator of how long has passed since Saigyō's shukke, is greatest in *Bunmeibon*. It varies among the texts, the youngest age being five or six, in *Kanzeibon*.

realistic *Hosshinshū* version, she plays happily alone with flowers in the garden. Here too she runs when she sees her father — but this time in the opposite direction. We see him here, not returning home from his audience with the retired emperor, resplendent in his courtier’s clothes, but a ragged beggar monk at the gate, whose appearance is enough to terrify a child. He himself is now rejected, and the tears he weeps signal the painful reaffirmation of his original tearful moment of decisive parting from her, as the repetition of the quotation serves to emphasise. Such an extraordinary degree of parallelism between the two episodes strongly suggests that they were conceived with close reference to each other, and both derived (possibly simultaneously) from the *Hosshinshū* tale.

The theme of a daughter as spiritual hindrance is found in the Buddha legend in the form of the Buddha’s daughter Rāhula (whose name itself means a hindrance), and it is evident that, unlike the *Hosshinshū* version, Saigyō’s relationship with his daughter in the Tale looks back to this legend,³⁰⁹ a point to which we shall return when she makes her next appearance near the end of the Tale (sections 49-51).³¹⁰

Sakaguchi³¹¹ believes that this section is an interpolation resulting from the addition of material describing the religious life and *ōjō* of Saigyō’s wife and daughter later in the Tale. Certainly the awkward nature of this section’s insertion into the Tale at this point suggests interpolation. Although in the previous section Saigyō is shown composing sorrowfully on the state of his old home and garden, here he is described as suddenly wondering about the place he used to live, as if for the first time.³¹² This inconsistency is further compounded by the fact that it is later made clear in the Tale that his daughter is no longer in fact living at his old home, but has been taken into the

³⁰⁹ Indeed the Matsuhira-bon/Gakushūin-bon variant, a fragmentary text which contains a large amount of interpolated religious and other material, here inserts a passage explicitly comparing Saigyō’s daughter to Rāhula.

³¹⁰ Equivalent parallels are also found in the daughter’s re-appearance in these later sections, and will be discussed there.

³¹¹ *Seiritsu jiki wo megutte*, p. 59.

³¹² Kanzeibon and Eishōbon omit this passage.

care of one Reisenz̄dono.³¹³ The end of this episode is also rather awkwardly achieved. The poem and its introductory material (his choice of a mountain home) appear rather contrived as a response to the episode, and the many variations on the introductory material among the variant texts suggest continuing difficulties in fitting it to the previous content.³¹⁴

As we shall see in the following section, this episode forms a contrasting pair with an episode in which Saigyōz̄s companion fails a similar test. In this second episode it is suggested that it is in fact strength of heart rather than weakness that would impel Saigyō to submit himself to the sight of his daughter, the kind of test which a renunciate is encouraged to undergo in order to prove his commitment. The episode in this section, however, is presented in rather more ambiguous terms. He pauses to look in at her gate, not in order to test his resolve but because despite himself (his daughter) . . . weighed on his heart,³¹⁵ and his tears make it clear that he is far from being able to maintain the true renunciatez̄s calm when thus tested. Eishōbon makes this point more strongly by adding a short passage in which he bewails the heart which has been thrown into disarray at the sight of her. His strength of heart lies in his *nevertheless* forcing himself to pass by (though in tears), and is premised on the weakness which lies at the heart of this episode. As we shall see, this sympathetic depiction of the dilemmas of one who is both monk and man of sensibility does not extend to his companion Saijū.

(3) The final poem presumably found its way into the Tale through its inclusion in *Shinkokinshū*. It is here an affirmation of Saigyōz̄s commitment to the life of the recluse, though its relevance is somewhat forced, since it is most naturally interpreted

³¹³ See section 49.

³¹⁴ Further evidence that the daughter episode is a later grafting onto an earlier kotobagaki-style section may be adduced from the *Nanakashū* version of this section, which entirely lacks all mention of the daughter (see note 48). Likewise, in section 7 *Nanakashū* merely mentions that his daughter wept, and contains no suggestion that it is related to the *Hosshinshū* episode.

³¹⁵ Words which echo those found in the *Hosshinshū* description, although what weighs on his heart there is his responsibility for how she will make her way in the world, while here it is given in the Buddhist terms of (the impediment of) parental attachment.

as a poem composed by one already living in the mountains. Nor does it lead the narrative in the direction promised, since Saigyō apparently continues to stay in the vicinity of the capital for the duration of several more sections.

Bunmeibon 21

He talked with Saijū³¹⁶, who had accompanied him into shukke, and (they) said, 'In Buddhist teaching, to be a begging monk is the most important religious austerity. It is the first step in overturning the banners and spears of arrogance and entering the path of enlightenment. Let us set in motion the heart of compassion, not despising those still dwelling in the burning house of ignorance,'³¹⁷ receiving kechien³¹⁸ from the unenlightened masses caught in their evil karma, and giving alms to the wicked, poor and crippled east and west who are far from Buddhism, in the faith that all is impartially the one Buddha.

With this thought they went begging, and as they went on their way, they came to Saijū's old home and went to the place where his wife and child were. As he stood there reciting sutras, he heard from within the sound of voices raised in sorrowful weeping. His wife looked out through the reed blinds and wept. And from the house ran out a most refined child of four or five. 'That beggar is like my father!' the child exclaimed, and fell face down on the ground weeping copiously. Nevertheless, he went on chanting unmoved, and as he chanted a maid who had worked there for many years put something white in the lid of a pail and brought it out. He took it into the sleeve of his robe and went out the gate, and from the house

³¹⁶ 西住と申ていわく. SIZ follows this rather odd phrase, while Kanzeibon and Eishōbon both have 西住がいふ.

³¹⁷ *Kataku no zaiko wo kirawazu* 火宅の在家をきはらず. A reference to the famous parable in *The Lotus Sutra*, which likens this world with its suffering to a burning house from which the Buddha lures its ignorant inhabitants.

³¹⁸ 結縁. Aiding one's own salvation by establishing a relationship with the Buddhist law through contact with some person, place or action which embodies it. The use of the term in this context is unusual (since it would normally be the unenlightened masses who would gain the kechien through contact with the begging monk). Presumably, the monk is here seen as receiving in his turn the kechien of contact with the giver, who is performing an act of Buddhist charity.

came the sound of uncontrolled weeping. When he had left the gate, Saijū wept copiously, and Saigyō gazed at him steadily and said, to shame him, *∅This is why I said you should not accompany me.*³¹⁹ *Those who are weak of heart cannot become buddhas. Prince Satta*³²⁰ *gave up his life to help a starving tiger, Prince Sitta (Siddhartha) gave riches wife and children to the companions* 寺 *desired them, and it was because the Hermit of Endurance*³²¹ *did not grudge even having arms and legs cut off that he became enlightened and attained buddhahood. With your (weak) spirit, you are not suited to be my companion.*

That evening, he heard the sound of the temple bell, and composed:

68. *I hear / the long-awaited / bell of evening. / If I still live tomorrow / will I hear it thus again?* (SKS 939, SKKS 1808)

The dawn moon that morning was bright:

69. *How would it feel / not to live among the mountains / in this world / where despite all one's longing / the moon sets?* (SSS 176, SKKS 1631)

21. COMMENTS

(1) This episode appears in all the B texts examined.³²² Unemebon here diverges from the other texts³²³ and the present episode appears in somewhat abbreviated form later in the text. The B2 texts, while modifying the content of the episode, interpose a didactic passage which presents a partial vindication of Saijū (discussed below).

³¹⁹ This apparent reference to an earlier episode is one of the indications that this section probably derived from the later section 30, where these words are also spoken by Saigyō to his companion in some versions, referring to an episode in which Saigyō allowed him on the journey only reluctantly (see section 24 below).

³²⁰ A previous incarnation of Shakyamuni.

³²¹ *Ninniku sennin* 忍にく仙人. A previous incarnation of Shakyamuni.

³²² Except Emaki and Hakubyō, from which this section of the manuscript is missing. The episode is missing from *Nanakashū*, which instead has an exchange of poems with a lady-in-waiting of his acquaintance (SKS 1351-2). The two final poems of this section appear here with simple kotobagaki.

³²³ See Appendix 1 for details.

(2) This episode introduces us to the figure of Saijū, the shadowy companion of numerous *Sankashū* poems³²⁴ who in the Tale is given the invidious role of an unworthy companion³²⁵ and foil to Saigyō. Its importance for the Tale rests on the weak-hearted/strong-hearted dichotomy that it exemplifies, a dichotomy which we have seen to be at the core of so many instabilities in the Tale.³²⁶ Here too, the balancing of this episode with the previous one, which at first glance would seem to be a straightforward matter of using Saijū's weak-heartedness in the face of a similar test to set off Saigyō's laudable strength of heart,³²⁷ proves to be less than straightforward on closer examination.

Yamaguchi³²⁸ has pointed out that this stern-hearted Saigyō who scolds and rejects his weak-hearted companion points back to the many Buddhist legends where a true practitioner has acted similarly. Yamazaki³²⁹ also notes strong similarities between this episode and one found in the third section of *Hōbutsushū*, and similar strength of heart tales in fact abound in Buddhist literature. It is clear that the Saigyō of this section is cast in a purely Buddhist mould. This is the Saigyō who is patterned after the Buddha legend, who can reject his own daughter, who will not be held back by association with the weak-hearted, the Saigyō who (we know) will

³²⁴ Records reveal only that he took the tonsure around the same time as Saigyō, and that he too was a poet. He appears frequently in the kotobagaki of *Sankashū*, generally referred to as an companion in religion (*dōgyō ni haberikeru shōnin* 同行にはべりける上人), and Saigyō exchanges a number of poems with him, some (particularly SKS 1157-1158) suggesting a level of intimacy that has led to speculation on a possible homosexual relationship (see Kuwabara Hiroshi 桑原博士, *ŌFutari no Saijū — Saigyō kenkyū no isshō to shite 二人の西住 — 西行研究の一章として*, *Setsuwa* 6 [1978], p. 82).

³²⁵ It is interesting to note that *Senjūshō* portrays Saijū in a very different light, cf. SJS 6.5, which describes Saigyō rushing to the side of the dying Saijū, their joyful reunion, and how Saigyō later took Saijū's bones back to Mt. Kōya, and was visited by him in a dream. SJS 6.4 shows Saijū accompanying him on a visit to Naniwa no Ura. The intimate relationship portrayed in *Senjūshō* is consonant with the intimacy which the *Sankashū* poems reveal.

³²⁶ This theme, and its relation to the Tale's version of Saijū, are discussed in Part III.

³²⁷ This is the interpretation which Yamazaki Jun (*ŌSaigyō monogatari ni egakareta Saigyō-zō*, p. 37) and others have given to the inclusion of the episode.

³²⁸ *ŌSaigyō monogatari no kōzōteki saihen to Jishū*, p. 13.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

achieve *ōjō* . Yet, just as in the previous episode Saigyō's ostensible strength of heart is in fact presented in ambiguous terms, and premised on a weakness consonant with a man of sensibility , here too the value which the Tale places on sensibility and its inevitable attendant weakness in Buddhist terms destabilises the message which the episode attempts to convey.

Saijū, who here plays the role of one who fails to pass the test of turning his back on wife and child, is in fact depicted as passing the test rather better than Saigyō has just done. The test itself, which exposes him directly to his wife and child as a beggar monk who has cut all ties with them, and forces him to withstand the anguish of hearing their wails of grief, is far more severe a trial than Saigyō's covert peeping at his daughter happily at play. Furthermore, Saijū survives the test dry-eyed; unlike Saigyō, his tears come only after he has left. Saigyō's stern rejection of him as weak-hearted and unfit to be his companion must surely be a disturbing element for an audience so recently encouraged to empathise with one who struggles to maintain composure in such a situation.

Considered in isolation, as a Buddhist *setsuwa* of the type found in *Hōbutsushū* and elsewhere, there is nothing startling about this depiction of the strong-hearted and the one who reveals his weakness. It is only in the context of the Tale, both as a sequence to the previous episode and in terms of the Tale's general inclination to valorize sensibility (weakness barely overcome, in Buddhist terms), that the problem of audience response arises here. Why, if the Tale's intention is here to portray Saigyō as the strong Buddhist practitioner, should its depiction of Saijū's trial so undermine the impact of this message by giving to Saijū the very qualities that we have come to empathise with in Saigyō himself? Saigyō's rejection of this weaker companion serves the opposite purpose to that intended, by damning the qualities that he himself exemplifies throughout most of the Tale.

This *slippage* , which hinges (as is so often the case) on the ambiguities of the strong/weak dichotomy, suggests that this episode was somewhat awkwardly inserted into the Tale, either from a common type of *setsuwa*, taken over to further

illustrate the Buddhist message, with the names altered appropriately, or from an independently existing legend concerning these two. Textual comparison reveals the strong likelihood that it is in fact derived from the Tenryū Crossing episode described in section 30, whose early existence and fame is well attested. That this episode was probably not present in early forms of the text is suggested by the fact that the Seikadō text names Saijū as the companion whom Saigyō discovers to have died at spring at Okabe.³³⁰ It appears that, as Saigyō's only named companion in the anthologies, he is the obvious choice for the companion role in these Buddhist depictions of Saigyō as Strong Practitioner.³³¹

(3) Of the texts examined, only SIZ and Bunmeibon include Saigyō's final two poems.³³² Neither is directly relevant to the previous scene or its spirit. Poem 68 (SKS 939) concerns anticipation of death and perhaps, by implication, longing for ōjō, while poem 69, which confirms the choice of a life spent in the mountains (i.e. the life of a recluse) in the face of life's inevitable transiency, takes up the theme of the poem that concluded the previous section.³³³ The poems comment on this episode only insofar as they serve to reaffirm Saigyō's (Buddhist) sense of transiency and the rightness of his choice. It is not surprising to find that they are not present in other B

³³⁰ Section 31, A texts and Hakubyō only.

³³¹ The changes that this episode undergoes in Kanzeibon and Eishōbon serve to point up the inherent ambiguities discussed above. There, not only is it Saijū alone who speaks the strong opening words, but Saijū's tears are minimized (only brief), and in general an effort is made in this portrayal to exonerate him of undue weakness. Saigyō's stern sermon is replaced by a narrator's voice sermon sympathetically putting the position of those like Saijū who have suffered in the face of such trials, concluding that Saijū had good reason to weep. The final sentence does a hasty about-face by adding that Saigyō's bitter lament that the weeping Saijū was faint-hearted shows us that his own strength of heart was above the ordinary, but the effect of the episode is overwhelmingly sympathetic to Saijū, and the changes make it clear that it is intentionally so. These two texts, generally more sensitive to the ambiguities of the Bunmeibon text line in their reinterpretations, here choose to emphasise rather than smoothe the dilemmas for audience response which the episode contains.

³³² SIZ adds SKS 761 as a poem spoken by Saijū as he turns to leave. The two poems in Bunmeibon both appear in *Shinkokinshū*, another case where inclusion in *Shinkokinshū* is apparently the principle behind a poem's inclusion in the Tale.

³³³ It immediately follows it in *Shinkokinshū*. Yamazaki (Saigyō *monogatari* ni egakareta Saigyō-zō, p. 37) considers that poem 69 may be read as a criticism of Saijū as one of those who choose not to live among the mountains. However, this seems to me a rather strained interpretation, since Saijū's choice of reclusion is not the issue here.

texts.³³⁴

Bunmeibon 22

He was summoned before the abbot of Ninnaji³³⁵, and after the abbot questioned him closely on the matter of loathing and turning from the sullied world, the law of perpetual change and transiency, the karma of the place of practice where enlightenment is achieved, and the law of ōjō into paradise, he said  You, holy man, are the only one³³⁶ who composes Japanese poetry. I wish to compose one hundred moon poems³³⁷ in order to be reborn on the same lotus (as you), and he asked for kechien,³³⁸ so Saigyō composed and presented ten poems.

70. *Each waiting person / must feel / their own delight / when the autumn moon rises / above the mountain's edge. (SKS 38)*

71. *What shall I do / with this body of darkness / left behind / when I have sent my heart / into the moon-dwelling mountains? (SKKS 1779)*

72. *All night / I spend recalling / images of the past / and the moon dwells / in the teardrops on my sleeve. (SKS 351, SKKS 1531)³³⁹*

73. *I grow old, / and as I ponder / this ageing body / in the distance / the moon*

³³⁴ Unemebon, Kanzeibon and Eishōbon.

³³⁵ 仁和寺. Ninnaji was (and is) a Shingon temple attached to the imperial family, and its abbot was a tonsured prince or emperor. This abbot was probably the fourth son of emperor Shirakawa, Hōkaku Hosshinnō 法覚法親王, who was abbot there from 1140-1167.

³³⁶ Probably meaning the only one among the monks.

³³⁷ よまんとおもふなり. The exact meaning is unclear, since it is Saigyō whom he is requesting to compose for him. See Part I for a discussion of the religious symbolism of moon poetry.

³³⁸ I.e. asked Saigyō to compose on his behalf and thus by kechien gain the poem's karmic merits.

³³⁹ The fourth phrase is *mukashi no ato wo* 昔のあとを.

sinks. (SSS 538, SKKS 1534)³⁴⁰

74. *Awaiting the moon / the peak / clears of clouds. / Surely this first autumn
shower / has sensibility.* (SSS 277, SKKS 570)³⁴¹

75. *The moon / is what I gaze upon / in the sky above. / If you recall me, / our
hearts will meet in it.* (SKS 727, SKKS 1267)³⁴²

76. *If I have cast away this world / this must be / the sign of my loathing of it / —
cloud when I see you / autumn moon.* (SSS 196, SKKS 1533)

77. *Though visible / as the unhidden creatures / dwelling in water weed, / the
autumn moon / clouds / from my own tears.*³⁴³ (SSS 642)

78. *In the dawn I recall / other dawns / when like the lingering clouds / I lingered
in the dawning light / unable yet to leave.* (SSS 649, SKKS 1193)

79. *Perhaps this yearning heart / may reach fulfilment — / stay a while yet / and
do not sink below the mountain rim / autumn moon.* (SKS 314)

*It being difficult to refuse such a command, he composed and presented these
ten moon poems, which were received with great emotion.*

22. COMMENTS

³⁴⁰ The first phrase is *fukinikeru* ふけにける.

³⁴¹ The fourth phrase is *kokoro arikeru* ころありける.

³⁴² The third phrase is *katami nite* かたみにて.

³⁴³ This poem's meaning relies on a conventional poetic play on the word *われから*, which is the name of a small crustacean which lives in water weed, and can also be read with the meaning of myself .

(1) Although the two B1 texts are in general agreement for this section (apart from the ordering of the poems), the B2 texts (the only others to contain this section) differ greatly, with Kanzeibon inserting both a separate collection of moon poems and a very different selection of poems, and Eishōbon providing an abbreviation of this which retains no relation to the B1 texts.³⁴⁴

(2) This section presents a rare instance of the unambiguous merging of the twin themes of poetry and Buddhist practice. Saigyō is here portrayed as accomplished Buddhist practitioner — not in the setsuwa-style role of the previous section, but in the more aristocratic setting of an audience with the abbot of Ninnaji (a tonsured member of the imperial family).

The introductory prose section shows him being questioned concerning his views on matters of religious doctrine, as was the custom when men of religion met. It thereby establishes a religious frame for the section, within which the activity of poetry composition is defined. Saigyō's special skills as a poet are here made to serve the higher religious purpose of creating an offering that will enable both himself and the abbot who has requested the poems to be reborn in paradise. Poetry here transcends the more troubled aspects of its kyōgen kigo relationship with Buddhism, and attains a status equivalent to that of religious art which is dedicated in a ceremony for the salvation of the patron who has commissioned it.³⁴⁵

The ritual element in this concept of the value of poetry is clear. The episode's primary framing of the poems is in terms which are not concerned directly with their content — the only stipulation is that they should be on the theme of the moon. Certainly, the moon is a powerful symbol in Shingon Buddhism, and many of Saigyō's moon poems derive specifically from this tradition.³⁴⁶ Given this, it is the more remarkable that in this section the poems themselves are by no means always

³⁴⁴ *Nanakashū* here follows the B1 texts most closely, with a simple kotobagaki and eight of the ten poems found there.

³⁴⁵ It was somewhat unusual, although not unknown, for poetry to be specifically commissioned and used in this way.

³⁴⁶ See Part I, section 2.2 for a discussion of this.

conducive of a religious interpretation, and love is considered a perfectly suitable topic for the occasion. It is noteworthy rather that the majority of the poems included here are not explicitly religious,³⁴⁷ while many that are have been ignored. This serves to underline the implication that it is the fact of the waka per se, rather than their content, which is considered potent here. It is the apparently religious power of waka itself which is the point of the abbot's request.

This episode thus seems to present a version of the answer to the kyōgen kigo dilemma that comes close to that of the daraniron propounded by Mujū.³⁴⁸ However, Mujū's claims for waka's religious status rest on its ability to instill the tranquillity associated with meditation. The use of poetry in the present episode, on the other hand, shifts the emphasis from that of the individual practitioner's meditation practice to a more magico-religious power inherent in waka by its very nature, which makes it a suitable offering to dedicate for furthering the salvation, not only of the composer but (by means of kechien) of the patron whose offering it becomes. In effect, poetry in this context is apparently imbued with the kind of power associated with the ancient concept of *kotodama*,³⁴⁹ a point which the overt reference to the composition of waka as composing/reciting in the Yamato tongue reinforces.³⁵⁰

This somewhat unusual example of poetry used to serve a religious end provides the sole instance in *Saigyō monogatari* of Saigyō playing a role which in

³⁴⁷ This may well reflect the fact that such occasions of composing waka for purposes of dedication (more usually at a shrine) did not normally require that the content of the poems themselves be religious.

³⁴⁸ When we consider waka as a means to religious realization, we see that it has the virtue of serenity and peace, of putting a stop to the distractions and undisciplined movements of the mind. With a few words, it encompasses its sentiment. This is the very nature of mystic verses, or *dhārani*. (translated by Robert Morrell, *Sand and Pebbles*, p.163-4). See Part I, section 2.2 for a discussion of this concept.

³⁴⁹ 言霊 (word spirit), the power of words which is released through reciting them. This ancient belief was closely associated with the development of poetry in the Japanese language (and hence with the origins of *waka*).

³⁵⁰ SIZ further emphasizes this by referring to great poets of old whose tradition Saigyō directly inherits.

other works³⁵¹ he is given to great effect, that of a holy man (*shōnin* 上人) whose poetry embodies the religious power of waka. But while in these works it is common for Saigyō to propound his theories on the relation of Buddhism and poetry, it is remarkable that in this episode neither Saigyō nor the abbot take this opportunity of doing so. This serves to point up yet again the fact that the Tale is not concerned with the higher matters of abstract discussion.³⁵² It is therefore not surprising to discover such disparate versions both of Saigyō and of his poetry and its relation to his religious vocation throughout the Tale. Here too, Saigyō's sudden shift into a new perspective which momentarily manages to unite the religious man and the poet is the inadvertent result of a scene whose primary aim is to provide a suitable situation in which to present the poems. Although given a firmly Buddhist framework, it is finally the poems that matter.

(3) Itō Yoshio³⁵³ has pointed out that of the ten poems in this section of Bunmeibon,³⁵⁴ seven are found in *Shinkokinshū*. As he points out, these *Shinkokinshū* poems appear there without a kotobagaki. It can be speculated that it was this initial lack of context that may have led to their being grouped together in one of the requests for a poem sequence episodes by means of which the Tale manages to give context to groups of *Shinkokinshū* poems left over from other episodes.³⁵⁵ In this case, the group consists of poems composed on the theme of the moon, a theme which is particularly prominent throughout Saigyō's poetry, which thus makes the

³⁵¹ Among the most prominent of these is *Shasekishū*, where Saigyō is portrayed as being recognised by other religious men as one who both deeply comprehends religious truths and embodies them in his poetic practice (see *Sand and Pebbles*, p.179). Various versions of the work generally known as *Saigyō Shōnin danshō* 西行上人談抄 (1225 ~ 229) also present this Saigyō and his teachings of the Way of Poetry (*kadō* 歌道) at length. Although there is some evidence that certain *Saigyō monogatari* texts are influenced by *Shasekishū*, *Saigyō Shōnin danshō* appears to have played no direct part in its formation or development.

³⁵² As can be seen in the didactic passages, which consistently present the emotional rather than the philosophical aspects of Buddhism.

³⁵³ *Tane to shikumi*, p. 869.

³⁵⁴ The same poems are found in SIZ, the only other Bunmeibon-line text to contain this section.

³⁵⁵ Other examples are sections 3, 36 and 43.

choice of *Shinkokinshū* poems here even more remarkable. It is also noteworthy that six of the ten poems are found in the collection *Saigyō shōninshū* rather than in *Sankashū*.

Poem 70 appears among the moon poems of *Sankashū*'s autumn section. Although susceptible of a religious interpretation (the moon rising above the peak as symbol of the manifestation of the Buddhist truth, which all who long for it experience simultaneously within their own heart), it is not overtly religious.

The following six poems are all found in *Shinkokinshū*. Of these, poems 71 and 76 are overtly religious in content. Poem 72 is in the tradition of a love poem with the theme of yearning for the past, while poem 75 is overtly a love poem, and is included in the Love section of *Shinkokinshū*. Poem 73 follows the traditional form of lament for old age, while poem 74 is, overtly at least,³⁵⁶ a conceit on poetic sensibility.

Poem 77 appears neither in *Sankashū* nor in *Shinkokinshū*. Its primary interest lies in its (untranslatable) word play. Its last two phrases are a close echo of those of the previous poem. Poem 78 appears in *Shinkokinshū* as a love poem, and does not lend itself to a religious interpretation. Poem 79 appears not only in *Sankashū* but also *Saigyō shōninshū*, where it immediately follows poem 77 above. Like poem 74, although it is possible to assume a religious meaning for *こころ*, the poem is not overtly religious.

Bunmeibon 23³⁵⁷

*The nyūdō Ninsei was living at the foot of the western mountains,*³⁵⁸ and

³⁵⁶ The question of interpretation in poem 74 hinges on the meanings of *こころ*. Its usual reading in such a poem is the suki-related one of (poetic) sensibility. Interpreters such as Yamada Shōzen, however, argue that it can also be read as the 心 of such religious concepts as 仏心 or 菩提心, the mind which in meditation dwells upon the buddha and is enlightened.

³⁵⁷ In Bunmeibon, this and the previous section flow on in the same sentence with a *て* connector. I have chosen to separate the sections, as is done in all other variants, for ease of reading and discussion.

³⁵⁸ *Sankashū*'s kotobagaki has *yoshinoyama* 吉野山, but in the Sakamoto *Sankashū* it is, as here, *nishiyama* 西山, which is more suitable to the poem's content.

Saigyō sent to him saying he would like to see how beautifully the autumn flowers were blooming there. In reply, he gathered a variety of flowers (and sent them with this poem).

80. *The deer's cry / will not do as my heart desires / but stays behind. / Otherwise I would have shown you all / from these fields.* (SKS 1159)

His reply:

81. *It seems to me / a brocade bag / is hidden / in the scenery of that misty field / where the deer's call rises.*³⁵⁹ (SKS 1160)

23. COMMENTS

(1) This episode is only found in the B1 texts.³⁶⁰ SIZ seems to retain an earlier form.

(2) With this brief episode Saigyō returns to the social world of poetic exchanges such as we saw in section 19. As in the exchange of section 19, poems and kotobagaki are taken almost verbatim from *Sankashū*, and no attempt is made to add material which would embed the episode in the Tale's context. The only linking factor is in the name of the western mountains (*nishiyama* 西山), an area of hills to the west of the capital which was the home of many recluses. The single major change from the original kotobagaki, however, rather undermines this by altering the subject of the first sentence (thereby reversing the authorship of the poems) so that it is here Ninsei who is living in the western mountains, and Saigyō who sends to him enquiring about the flowers.

The inclusion of this episode, relying as it does entirely on the *Sankashū* kotobagaki and bearing no relation to the surrounding episodes, is an example of the way in which material from *Sankashū* could be more or less randomly introduced into

³⁵⁹Repeated in SIZ only. This poem differs greatly from the *Sankashū* poem. The original is: 鹿のたつ野辺の錦の切り端は残り多かる心地こそすれ。

³⁶⁰*Nanakashū* also contains a version of it.

the Tale, particularly in the sections based on Saigyō's sojourns in the capital.

(3) Although this is an exchange with a nyūdō, both context and poems are in the light suki mode.

Bunmeibon 24

Since nowhere could be his fixed abode,³⁶¹ he decided to spend the extent of his life performing wandering austerities from land to land. He chose first to go on pilgrimage to the Grand Shrine of Ise, and as he was setting off, a long-time retainer who had taken the tonsure insisted on accompanying him, so though he was loath to do it he set off with him. Crossing Suzuka Mountain³⁶² made him forlorn.

82. *Having set aside / the transient world, / now crossing Suzuka Mountain / —
what will become / of this self? (SKS 728)*

24. COMMENTS

(1) This short transition section carries Saigyō toward the shrine of Ise, the next important stage in the Tale's progress, and the point at which the content of the A and B texts meet again after B's long excursion to Yoshino, Ōmine and back to the capital. The present section is not found in the A texts examined,³⁶³ which move directly from Bunmeibon 9 to the section below.

It is interesting to note that the B texts, with the exception of SIZ, introduce the decision to go to Ise by the more general statement that he decided to spend the extent of his life performing wandering austerities from land to land. This sentence, rather oddly placed here given that Saigyō had already made and acted on this decision previously, closely echoes that found in section 10 at the point where Saigyō

³⁶¹ A version of the common expression of essential homelessness of one committed to the Way, not a reference to his old home in section 23. (See section 28 also).

³⁶² すずか山. A mountain pass on the road to Ise, where there was a barrier gate.

³⁶³ An abbreviated form appears in another A text, *Saigyō Shōnin hosshinki* (西行上人発心記). This consists of a simple kotobagaki (Now he decided to go on pilgrimage to the Great Shrine of Ise, and at Suzukayama) with poem 82. It is from such kotobagaki-like material, another version of which is found in *Nanakashū*, that this B text episode would probably have evolved.

leaves the capital for the first time, to go to Yoshino. It is precisely this point at which the A and B texts originally parted ways, and here, as he seems (from the B text point of view) to draw breath and start from the capital again as if at the beginning of his religious career, the flow of the A and B texts rejoin. This striking repetition in the B texts suggests that the previous sections might in fact have been interpolated into the shorter (A text) version of his travels at an early date, and thus provides a valuable hint at the possible relationship of A and B texts.

(2) This section is an amplification of *Sankashū*'s kotobagaki of the poem (SKS 728) which concludes it. The kotobagaki reads: ㊦(Composed) at Mt. Suzuka, when I had left the world and was on my way to Ise. This kotobagaki is taken as evidence that Saigyō went to Ise soon after his shukke, and provides further indication that the A texts, in following the known order of events in Saigyō's life, may well preserve the older form of the Tale at this point.

The B1 version of this section also contains the intriguing (re-)appearance of ㊦the companion . ㊦A long-time retainer who had taken the tonsure suggests Saijū, and SIZ goes further by saying that he had ㊦left the world ㊦ with Saigyō. It would, however, be going too far to assume that Saijū was specifically intended by this description. It seems, rather, that the real-life Saijū, a shadowy figure in history and in Saigyō's writing, provides the pattern for the shadowy and ambiguously portrayed ㊦companion ㊦ figure who appears from time to time in the Tale and who is occasionally specifically identified with Saijū.³⁶⁴ It is therefore not as surprising as it would at first seem that ㊦Saijū , so recently and roundly rejected as companion, should reappear here. Saigyō's response to his request to accompany him is also ambivalent among the texts: in Bunmeibon, he agrees only reluctantly, but in SIZ (the only other text to include reference to the companion) the arrangement is presented as

³⁶⁴ In the B texts, he is identified as Saijū only in section 21 above. One A text, *Saigyō Shōnin hosshinki*, names the companion of Tenryū Crossing (see section 30) as Saijū. In the scene of Saigyō's shukke, Seikadō and the other A texts specifically mention that Saijū (㊦a retainer who had long been close to him) followed him in taking the tonsure. Seikadō identifies him with the dead companion at Okabe. He is otherwise not named in the texts examined.

quite acceptable to Saigyō. This ambivalence reflects the larger ambivalence that the Tale's Saigyō reveals toward the presence of a companion, a subject which I examine in Part III.

(3) The poem itself also belongs most naturally at the beginning of his journeys, rather than mid-way as the B texts place it. This incongruity echoes the incongruity of the section's introductory statement that he decided to spend the extent of his life performing wandering austerities from land to land, further reinforcing the likelihood that this section originally introduced Saigyō's first departure from the capital, and was subsequently moved along by the addition of intervening material.

Bunmeibon 25

He went to the Grand Shrine of Ise, and on the bank of the Mimosuso River³⁶⁵ he stood in a thicket of cypress trees and, discovering the first torii gate, he bent low in reverent worship, and thought quietly: 'Ever since the imperial one³⁶⁶ pushed open the cave door, and in the land of Watarai in our country of Japan, at the foot of Mount Kamiji,³⁶⁷ established this most excellent of places, lowering the heavenly spear and descending from heaven, the power of this embodiment³⁶⁸ has lit the three thousand worlds and promoted blessings equally upon all, leaving her trace at the headwaters of the Isuzu River. The two separate Inner and Outer Shrines shine as sun and moon to the four quarters, and are the secrets of the Dainichi Womb World and the holy visage of Amida or the Diamond World.³⁶⁹ The blessings of the vast compassion protect the true and honest, and any who tread this ground will long be far from the agony of the

³⁶⁵ 御裳濯川, also known as Isuzugawa 五十鈴川, the sacred river which flows through Ise Shrine and forms its boundary.

³⁶⁶ Here a reference to the goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami 天照大御神, the tutelary deity of Ise Shrine.

³⁶⁷ 神路山. The sacred mountain that lies behind Ise Shrine.

³⁶⁸ *Sujaku* 垂迹. The Shinto deity form of a member of the Buddhist pantheon. This concept derives from the theory of honji-sujaku, discussed in Part I.

³⁶⁹ The identification with Amida is unusual. It may be derived from the opening passage of *Shasekishū*, which bears a strong similarity to this passage generally.

three worlds³⁷⁰ and will attain *ōjō* in paradise. To safeguard appearances for the sake of those who are lazy and lack faith, it appears to people's eyes that (this shrine) rejects Buddhism, monks, nuns, rosaries and surplices, but when one performs the rites of *The Lotus Sutra*, *Hanya*,³⁷¹ and the *Shingon* mysteries, in truth the stag of miraculous powers will prick up its ears and pay heed, and rejoice and smile the smile of acceptance (of these rites), and will grant your desires for this world and the world hereafter — thus he prayed gratefully in his heart.

83. The pillars of the shrine / stand firm / upon the rock / and the sun's light shines / utterly unclouded. (SSS 600, SKKS 1877)

25. COMMENTS

(1) The texts here display interesting variations. The B1 texts are very similar, but Kanzeibon inserts a separate passage before this one, which appears to be based on the *Sankashū* kotobagaki to poem 625 of *Saigyō Shōninshū*, written at Futamigaura,³⁷² which follows poem 83 in the A texts.

The A texts here rejoin the B text line. They present further strong variations and an intriguing tangle of relationships. *Shōhōbon*³⁷³ contains an entirely independent didactic section on Ise Shrine, which is strongly related to *Shasekishū*. SHS, on the other hand, here departs radically, with no didactic internal monologue passage (i.e. no evidence of influence from *Shasekishū*).

No possible conclusion as to textual relationships can be drawn, but the following may be tentatively suggested: comparison of texts suggests that the core of this episode is the opening description of Saigyō worshipping from within the

³⁷⁰ 欲界, 色界, 無色界, the three worlds of life and death into which unenlightened beings are continually reborn.

³⁷¹ *Daihannyagyō* 大般若經. The *Daihannya* sutra.

³⁷² This poem, and two poems found in section 26 in the B1 texts, conclude this section, which is followed by an abbreviated form of the present section. *Nanakashū* also, though not following the kotobagaki material, gives with its brief introduction the above poem 625 before poem 83.

³⁷³ And, less fully, *Seikadō*.

cedar grove, followed by one or more poems. SHS represents the earliest form of the A texts, onto which was progressively added the *Shasekishū* material which forms the didactic passage.³⁷⁴ The B texts independently reinterpreted this material for their version of the section. The B3 texts and *Nanakashū*, by including SSS 625, are closer to the A texts, so that the B1 texts may represent the end of a line of development for this section.

(2) This introductory passage to the following group of Ise episodes and poems presents an extended justification for Ise Shrine's long-standing policy of barring Buddhist practitioners from entering its precincts, and an interesting example of honji-suijaku thought. Amaterasu, the tutelary deity of Ise Shrine, was usually³⁷⁵ identified as a trace manifestation of Dainichi Nyorai, the head of the esoteric Buddhist pantheon, and the inner and outer shrines were identified with the esoteric Buddhist concepts of Womb and Diamond Worlds. Thus, in terms of this theory Saigyō's urge to worship at the shrine is entirely justifiable as part of his commitment to the Buddhist (and more especially Shingon) practice, and this section goes to some lengths to make sure that this should be understood.

Taniguchi³⁷⁶ points to the extravagantly lengthy and elaborate description of the nature and virtues of Ise Shrine, to support his argument that the author of *Saigyō monogatari* had strong connections with Ise (where a collection of his poems was known to have been held, and where Saigyō himself spent a long and poetically active period). It certainly seems possible that the Tale's development came under the influence of those connected with Ise Shrine at some early point, although the presence of a strong Ise section in the Tale is justifiable in purely poetic terms, and

³⁷⁴ It is also possible to argue that the *Shasekishū* passage was derived from a version of this section of the A texts. Takagi states that this is unlikely, but gives no justification for this assertion, and later argues that in the case of the B texts the influence crossed in the opposite direction. *Shasekishū*'s dates (1279-1283) probably place it later than early A texts such as *Seikadō*, and even if *Shōhōbon* itself was a subsequent development, this does not preclude the possibility of an earlier form of this text being available to Mujū. (See Takagi Isao, *saigyō monogatari no tenkyō*, pp. 22-40.)

³⁷⁵ The identification of kami with members of the Buddhist pantheon was often complex. Amaterasu is also sometimes identified as Kannon.

³⁷⁶ *saigyō monogatari no keisei*, p.36ff.

one could argue that the Tale found it necessary to explain Saigyō's intimate connection with the shrine through reference to and explication of the honji-suijaku belief.³⁷⁷ It is, after all, a common pattern in the fuller versions of the Tale to make a point of giving a religious *ōframe* (generally in the form of an inserted didactic passage) to an episode or group of episodes which portray Saigyō primarily in his role as poet. Whether or not this section can be seen as evidence for a relationship with Ise Shrine in the Tale's formation, the fact that the A text version of this section is present in Seikadō points to its relatively early insertion in the Tale, and is particularly remarkable in that Seikadō otherwise abbreviates or omits vast amounts of other A text material at this stage.

(3) The image of the unclouded sunlight in the poem is a reference to the divine presence of the sun goddess, Amaterasu. It is noteworthy that, despite the honji sui-jaku passage asserting the identity of the deities with their Buddhist counterparts, this interpretation does not appear overtly in the poem.³⁷⁸

Bunmeibon 26

A wild wind blew from Kamiji Mountain, and waves on Mimosuso River washed its banks, so that they reflected the moon's light. He approached the foot of the pines at the shrine fence, drinking in their age-long green, and, awakening,³⁷⁹ he reminded himself that it was the same moon sailing in the sky. He wondered how it was that, although the moon was hidden among the trees' leaves on this bank, it was particularly clear,³⁸⁰ and he wept into his monk's sleeve.

³⁷⁷ This is not to suggest that the honji-suijaku concept was arbitrarily imposed on the description of Saigyō's visit to the shrine. As will be seen below, *Sankashū* poems and kotobagaki several times make specific reference to Shinto deities as sui-jaku, and it is clear that Saigyō subscribed to this belief, as was natural for a man of his time.

³⁷⁸ Unlike SSS 625 (see translation in Appendix II, B 25), whose image of the mountain peak refers by implication to the Buddhist Vulture Peak.

³⁷⁹ ねぶりをさまして. This rather odd statement is found only in Bunmeibon. It could be intended in the religious sense of *ōawakening to the Truth* (the moon's clarity).

³⁸⁰ There is considerable confusion among the texts at this point. I here follow the alternative Bunmeibon version (おなじ空行月ぞかしいかでかこのみぎりにはこの葉がくれ (と見るを))

84. *That vow / to shine with pure light / is why the moon / of Mount Kamiiji / thus
lights this world. (SSS 601, SKKS 1878)*

85. *My heart is with this prayer / hung as the paper strips / on the sakaki³⁸¹
branch— now I understand / the gods and the buddhas are one.*

(SKS 1223)³⁸²

26. COMMENTS

(1) Here, as in the previous section, the A texts seem to represent the more complete version of the text. Of the B texts, Bunmeibon's version of this section is by far the longest. The second part of the introductory section is found in no other B text.³⁸³ SIZ is a version of the first half of the introductory section only, while this section is missing altogether from the other texts. Bunmeibon's text appears to be a somewhat garbled version of the A texts.

(2) This section gives further expression to the honji-suijaku theme, this time in non-didactic and poetic terms. Here Saigyō is depicted as worshipping the moon — its light reflected in the holy waters of Mimosuso River as the light of the Buddhist teaching is reflected and softened in the deities of the shrine — and perceiving in poetic and aware terms the suijaku relationship explained didactically in the ことにさやかなるらんと. . .) The only other B text-related text to include a version of this sentence is *Nanakashū*, which has おなじ空行月なれどなど明らむ、このみぎりは木葉時雨もなく殊にさやかにて. . . (Although it is the same moon sailing in the sky, why does dawn break? On this bank no autumn shower (disturbs) the leaves and (the moon) is particularly clear), which is equally confused.

The A texts have by far the most comprehensible version: 同じみ山の月なれば如何に木の葉がくれもなむと (あらむと in *Seikadō*) (See Appendix II for translation). The moon here is at once the moon (worshipped as a deity at this shrine, see below) rising above holy Kamiiji Mountain, and the Buddha of Vulture Peak (see section 22 note 10). This sentence appears to be derived from a reference to a poem, which in the B texts has become tangled.

³⁸¹ 榊, a small evergreen tree which is grown in shrine precincts and sacred in Shinto rituals.

³⁸² The third phrase is *yufushidete* 木綿垂でて. In SSS, however, where it follows the previous poem, it has the same form as found here.

³⁸³ *Nanakashū*, generally not considered among the B texts proper, is the only exception.

previous section. Presumably, the reference intended in the description of the moon hidden yet clear is also of this order.

(3) Poem 84 is a *Shinkokinshū* poem. While not containing any overt suggestion of honji-suijaku thought, the context in this Tale suggests that the moon's glow be understood as that of the Buddha on Vulture Peak. The *Sankashū* kotobagaki to poem 85 states that it was composed when I visited the Grand Shrine on a visit to Ise. It is one of the poems in which Saigyō gives direct expression to the honji-suijaku concept, and thus is entirely appropriate for this section.

Bunmeibon 27

Since nowhere is finally home, I will depart, he thought mournfully. He decided to send up his prayers for the next world from close by the goddess Amaterasu (Ise shrine), and on his way through Futamigaura³⁸⁴ he recited³⁸⁵ the poem by the high priest Sukechika,³⁸⁶ So many / pearly shells / on the beach at Futami — / the dark stands of pine / seem like a lacquered ground for them ; and since the moon was particularly bright and clear,

86. *Did I ever think / I would spend my days and nights / sleeves soaked/ with the salt waves of Futami / gazing at the moon? (SSS 603)*

87. *It seems Futami's waves / surging over the pines/ but at a second look / it is waves of mist washing in / to cling in the treetops. (SKS 13)*

27. COMMENTS

(1) As in the previous section, Bunmeibon is unusually close to the A texts, while

³⁸⁴ 二見が浦. A bay near Ise which was an utamakura. Saigyō lived here from 1180 to 1186, when he set off to travel to eastern Japan.

³⁸⁵ をながめて. Another possible translation is gazing at the stand of pines of Sukechika's poem SIZ has とうちながめて. The A texts have と詠じしことども思ひ出て, while *Nanakashū* has を詠じてぞ.

³⁸⁶ 輔親 (954-1038), poet and in later years high priest at Ise Shrine.

the section is lacking in all other B texts but SIZ.³⁸⁷ The relationship between the A and B texts is discussed below.

(2) This section, which introduces Saigyō's connection with Futami, is interesting for several reasons.

In terms of narrative flow it is oddly placed. Subsequent sections revert to episodes and poems at Ise Shrine and make no further mention of Futami. Bunmeibon makes this shift in flow the more puzzling by seeming to launch him off on further journeys at this point, with its opening words³⁸⁸ and its mention of Futami as simply a place he passed through (a phrase generally used to introduce poems composed while travelling). The A texts clarify these peculiarities, and it seems highly likely that the confusion of the B texts is related to a corruption of the A text line. In particular, it is noteworthy that Saigyō in the A texts³⁸⁹ builds his hut and lives at Futami, which follows known biographical facts,³⁹⁰ and also makes more natural his continued visits to nearby Ise Shrine in the following sections. Here, as in section 26, the A texts contain strong evidence that they preserve the earlier form.

It is also noteworthy that this episode does not appear even in summary in the other B texts examined. This omission, and the fact that the B1 texts reduce Futami to a place which is merely passed through, is the more striking given that Saigyō's long residence at Futami is well documented by both himself and others,³⁹¹ and his intense poetic activity during this residence is particularly famous.³⁹² Here

³⁸⁷ *Nanakashū* includes a version of this section which is also closer to that of the A texts in having Saigyō live at Futami, as well as in its mention of trailing mists.

³⁸⁸ いくもつるのすみ家ならねば, a phrase which signals a new departure, as we saw in section 24.

³⁸⁹ And in *Nanakashū*.

³⁹⁰ See note 387.

³⁹¹ *Saigyō Shōnin danshō* 西行上人談抄, a collection of conversations on poetry with Saigyō written not long after his death by a disciple, begins by depicting Saigyō in the hut he built and lived in at Futami. Kamo no Chōmei in *Mumyōshō* 無名抄 (1211-1216) mentions visiting Saigyō's hut at Futami some time later.

³⁹² Among the more famous events were the gatherings of poets which he held there, out of which came the collection *Futamigaura hyakushū* (二見浦百首, 1186). *Saigyō Shōnin danshō* also

again, the Tale seems intentionally to veer away from too close an identification of the more mundane aspect of Saigyō as professional poet, and a possible evolution can be traced from the A texts' acknowledgement (passing though it is) of his residence at Futami, to the B1 texts' rather awkward reduction of Futami to merely an utamakura he passed through, or omission of all reference to Futami (in the B3 texts).

Also noteworthy is the fact that one of the poems of this section is found only in the late collection *Saigyō Shōninshū*. Taniguchi,³⁹³ pointing to the fact that the Ise sections contain a preponderance of such poems, speculates that they may have belonged to a late selection of poetry which Saigyō made and left at Ise, and sees their presence in the Tale as further evidence of the likelihood that the Tale's formation was closely connected with Ise shrine. If this is so, the A texts could be said to retain the connection more closely (as Taniguchi suggests).

(3) *Sankashū*'s kotobagaki to poem 87 states that it was written at Futami on the theme of 'mist on the beach'. It appears as SSS 15, with the kotobagaki 'Composed on the theme 'mist on the beach', at a poetic gathering of shrine priests at Ise'.

Bunmeibon 28

The cherry blossoms had passed their peak.³⁹⁴ Kamiji's cherries were finer even than those of Yoshino, and (the blossoms of) the southern hall beside the torii were better than (those of) Shirakawa.³⁹⁵ The shrine priests (gathered) at the edge of Mimosuso River and composed beneath the blossoms.

88. *In that distant age³⁹⁶ / when Amaterasu / threw open the cave door / who
planted / the first cherry tree? (SSS 604)*

portrays Saigyō as holding discussions on poetry with his disciples while living at Futami.

³⁹³ *Saigyō monogatari no keisei*, p.36f.

³⁹⁴ ふりぬれば。SIZ and the A texts have になりぬれば, which sits better with the subsequent depictions of the blossoms in full flower.

³⁹⁵ 鳥居のほとりの南殿、白河にもまさりたり。SIZ seems to retain the original sense of this passage: 鳥居のほとりの花は南殿白河の花にもまさりて見えければ。It is not found in the A texts.

³⁹⁶ I take Bunmeibon's その神に to be an *ateji* for the original そのかみ(上)に.

89. *How the gods / must delight / in the cherry trees of Mount Kamiji / whose blossoms seclude themselves / deep within their shrine.* (SSS 609)³⁹⁷

*Seeing how beautiful were the blossoms of the Wind Shrine.*³⁹⁸

90. *This spring I will not grieve / over the fallen blossoms / but relinquish them / together with this heart / to the Wind God's care.* (SSS 606)

Paying his respects at Tsukiyomi Shrine, the branches of blossom³⁹⁹ were beautiful.

91. *Seen through these branches / it is as worthy of fame / as the moon of autumn — / the moon of Tuskiyomi Shrine / among beautiful blossoms.* (SSS 607)

*The cherry branches before the shrine⁴⁰⁰ frolicked in the breeze from off the bay.*⁴⁰¹

Seeing how the snow (of fallen blossoms) piled beneath the tree, in joyful gratitude he composed.

92. *Calmly my heart has surrendered / these flowers / of Cherry Blossom Shrine / for the divine wind / of the gods has taken them.* (SSS 608)⁴⁰²

28. COMMENTS

(1) As in the two previous Ise sections, comparison of texts reveals interesting relationships. As is generally the case, the B1 texts form a close pair, and there is

³⁹⁷ The last phrase is *ureshikaramashi* うれしからまし.

³⁹⁸ *Kaze no miya* 風の宮. Like Tsukiyomi Shrine (*Tsukiyomi no miya* 月よみの宮) below, a small sub-shrine in the grounds of Ise Shrine.

³⁹⁹ Kubota *Zenshū* has 花の本、木ず糸, which I take to be a copyist's error. I here follow the version of Bunmeibon found in the Itō *Zenshū*, as well as in SIZ, (花の梢).

⁴⁰⁰ さくらの御ま糸. The Itō *Zenshū* text has 御前, as does SIZ. Takahashi Kenzichi in his edition of SIZ glosses this as ごぜん. The meaning is unclear, but I take it to refer to the cherry blossoms in front of the sacred shrine. (Takahashi Teizichi 高橋貞一, ed., *Saigyō monogatari* 西行物語, Nihon koten bungaku 日本古典文学 vol. 8, Bungei bunko, Benseisha, 1983.)

⁴⁰¹ こず糸のはま風にたはぶれて. SIZ's 梢の花風にたはぶれて seems the earlier form.

⁴⁰² The second phrase is *kokoroyasuku zo* こころやすくぞ.

continuing strong evidence that they are variations of an earlier version preserved in the A texts. The B2 texts, which severely abbreviate the Ise sections generally, here include only the Tsukiyomi Shrine subsection, without poem 91 but with the A texts' two added poems not found in Bunmeibon.⁴⁰³ These poems both contain specifically Buddhist content, which the B2 texts make explicit in their introductory passage. It is clear, both from the prose section and the choice of poems, that these B texts are here drawing directly on the A text content, and bear no relation to Bunmeibon. All the evidence thus points to the A texts as the earlier version, which the two lines of B text variously reworked without reference to each other. The relationship can be represented diagrammatically as:

B1

A Text line

B2

This section in the A texts contains a reference that seems to contradict this relationship, and that is often cited as one of the textual details that prove the A line to be a later abbreviation of the B line. This is the reference to the blossoms of Mt. Kamiji as *afar finer even than those of Yoshino*, considered problematic because the A texts omit the Yoshino episodes found in the B texts. There is nothing peculiar, however, in making general reference to the beauty of Yoshino's blossoms, which were (and are) particularly famous. Bunmeibon in fact makes it clear that the reference here is not to previous episodes but to places famed for their blossoms, by adding to Yoshino a reference to Shirakawa, another famous blossom site and one which does not appear among the places Saigyō visited in the Tale.

(2) This section comprises a selection of poems written at Ise Shrine on the topic of blossoms. It contains no narrative line, but follows the poetic anthology pattern of seasonal shift, here from the cherries' full bloom to the scattering of their blossoms.

⁴⁰³ These two poems are also found here in *Nanakashū*, which also bears a close relationship with the A texts in its Tsukinomiya section.

In Bunmeibon, overt Buddhist content is entirely lacking in this section,⁴⁰⁴ which presents Saigyō in his poet's pose of praising the blossoms and mourning their passing.

(3) The poems of this section, too, continue the unusual trend seen in the previous Ise sections. None is found in either *Sankashū* or *Shinkokinshū*, and of the five poems, three cannot be positively confirmed as being by Saigyō.⁴⁰⁵ The remaining two are found in *Mimosusogawa utaawase* (MU), compiled while he was living at Futami. The poems of this section thus support Taniguchi's theory that the Ise sections were compiled around poems from a lost collection held at Ise.

Poem 88 is MU 1, left. Poem 89 is not found in Saigyō's collections. Its reference is to the practice of worshippers secluding themselves at a shrine in order to pray and receive guidance from the deity. Poem 90 is also not found in the collections. Its sentiment, of not sorrowing over the scattering of the blossoms since they are here in the care of the gods, echoes that of poem 92. Poem 91 is likewise untraceable in the collections. Its A text version differs from that found here. It is the only poem that contains no overt reference to Ise. Poem 92 is MU 3, left. Its reference to Cherry Blossom Shrine suggests that Bunmeibon's somewhat odd introductory passage is a corruption of that found in the A texts, which makes reference to this shrine.

Bunmeibon 29

He had set off from the capital thinking to perform austerities in the East, but the shrine had held his heart and the days had mounted up, until more than three years had fruitlessly passed. Now he was about to leave. Many were the companions who were loath to see him go, and since at that time the moon was beautiful (he composed),

⁴⁰⁴ The two poems found in the A and other B texts are specifically Buddhist in content.

⁴⁰⁵ Their presence in the collection *Saigyō Shōninshū* is by itself no guarantee of their authenticity.

93. *Even if we do not meet again / but end in some far place / beyond the clouds /
do not forget the friendship / we made with this moon.* (SSS 448)⁴⁰⁶

94.. *You must do thus for me / and I will hold your memory dear / whoever first
departs this earth / remembering / with the moon as keepsake.* (SSS
734)⁴⁰⁷

29. COMMENTS

(1) As in the previous Ise sections, the B texts appear to be a variation of the A texts, although here the textual differences are more marked than previously.⁴⁰⁸ One interesting detail not found in the A texts is the apparent denigration of the (religious) worth of Saigyō's three years at Ise, with the expression *yoshi nashi* 由なし (əpointless or əfruitless). With the reassertion of his original intention to wander and perform austerities, here stated to have been linked with a desire to travel to the East, the sterner Buddhist voice re-emerges to judge this time spent at Ise composing poetry in less accommodating terms than those of the honji suijaku justification which introduced the Ise sections. The A texts state only that he now embarked on the journey to the East which he had originally intended to make, while Seikadō does not mention that it had been his original intention, thus removing the last suggestion that the Ise years had been a side-track. We can thus detect possible evidence of a later re-interpretation⁴⁰⁹ in more critical Buddhist terms of this period of Saigyō's life which, for all the apologies of the honji suijaku theory, was essentially devoted to poetic rather than Buddhist activity.

Eishōbon, which as in the previous Ise sections seems here to derive

⁴⁰⁶ The second and third phrases are *kumo no yoso ni wa narinu tomo* 雲のよそにはなりぬとも.

⁴⁰⁷ The first phrase is *kimi mo toe* 君もとへ. The other texts follow this.

⁴⁰⁸ Once again, *Nanakashū* is a close version of the A texts in this section.

⁴⁰⁹ This is echoed in the shift from the A texts' depiction here of Saigyō as parting from his friends with a night of poetry and music (*suki*) to the B texts' omission of all such reference.

independently from the A texts, introduces Buddhist material in a less subtle and quite different way, by using one of the ʼVulture Peak poems found in the A texts to console the religious companion(s) who are lamenting the passing of the age of the Buddha along with the departure of Saigyō. Here too we find the textual shifts pivoting on the presence or absence of overtly religious material.

(2) This section provides the transition to the next stage in the Tale, Saigyō's travels in the East. The narrative and poems conform to the common pattern of ʼscenes of parting before a journey',⁴¹⁰ and this section derives its content from kotobagaki-like expansion of the sentiments of the poems. The sentimental and ʼpoetic portrayal of separation from companions found here is in sharp contrast to the Buddhist ʼrejection of the undeserving companion of the following section.

(3) Neither of these poems is found in any collection of Saigyō's poetry except *Saigyō Shōninshū*. Poem 93 appears only in the B1 texts. In *Saigyō Shōninshū* it is accompanied by the kotobagaki ʼAt Ise, composing on the moon with Bodaisan Shōnin . The link with Ise, along with the absence from other collections, tends to add further support to Taniguchi's theory concerning the poems of the Ise sections. Poem 94 has no accompanying kotobagaki. Like the previous poem, it is a quintessential ʼparting poem.

Bunmeibon 30

Composing thus, he went towards the East. At Tenryū Crossing in the land of Tōtōmi,⁴¹¹ when he boarded a ferry, a samurai came along and said, ʼThere's no room on the boat. Get off, priest! and he beat him mercilessly with a whip. Saigyō's head was cut and the blood flowed copiously. When his companion saw this he shed bitter tears of sorrow. Seeing this, Saigyō said, ʼHow weak of heart to weep so. This is the reason I was loath to bring you with me. In performing austerities, there must be much that is far worse than this. He showed not the least sign of anger, but wiping

⁴¹⁰ This pattern appears elsewhere in the Tale in section 47.

⁴¹¹ 遠江. In present-day Shizuoka prefecture.

the blood from his face he recited:

95. *He who strikes / and I who am struck / both / are but the play / of a moment's
dream.*⁴¹²

*əFugyō Bodhisattva,*⁴¹³ *as he was being beaten in the five thousand hells with fearful
staves of wood and stone, proclaimed that the enemy who struck and the self who was
struck would together become buddhas, and ran about escaping,*⁴¹⁴ *as he intoned: 'I do
not hold you in contempt! / You are all treading the Path, / And shall all become
buddhas!'*⁴¹⁵ *He worshipped those who beat him, and this became kechien for him,
and in this way he became a buddha. Thus saint Kūya's*⁴¹⁶ *frequent saying, 'Make the
room of the compassion deep and you do not hear the voices of slander and abuse,
make the cloak of fortitude thick, and sticks and stones do not hurt you.' If you have a
true desire for the Buddhist truth and austerities, what suffering is there in being
abused and beaten? You are not suited to be my friend.*

*When he said this, the nyūdō replied, 'It was weak-hearted of me to weep,
but when you were still in the world, you were among those close to the throne, one
of the hokumen guards, and because you held this (high) place, everyone would
watch your every expression, in fear and trembling lest they should gainsay your
command; and as you were careful not to be spoken ill of on any point, those who
lived there never raised their voices against you.'*⁴¹⁷ *I wept from astonishment at the*

⁴¹² This poem is found otherwise only in Eishōbon. It is a rare example of a poem inserted into the Tale as if by Saigyō (a more frequent device in other utamonogatari and in setsuwa).

⁴¹³ 不輕菩薩(常不輕菩薩). The bodhisattva who appears in the fascicle bearing his name in *The Lotus Sutra* (fascicle 20). The words from this fascicle which Saigyō quotes below were those spoken by people undergoing the austerity known as əFugyō no gyō, in which the practitioner would follow the bodhisattva's practice of bowing to and worshipping all he met.

⁴¹⁴ にげにげはしる. This odd description is only found in Bunmeibon.

⁴¹⁵ A quotation from the twentieth fascicle of the Lotus Sutra. (See Hurvitz, *Lotus Sutra*, p. 283.)

⁴¹⁶ 空也, 903-972. A wandering hijiri and saintly practitioner of the nenbutsu faith.

⁴¹⁷ This description of Saigyō's exemplary and exalted life as a guard appears to be considerably garbled in Bunmeibon. SIZ has a different, but equally tangled, description at this point.

fact that now, though you are beaten cruelly, you make no fuss — yet Saigyō bade him take his leave, and parted from him, a moving act indeed.

30. COMMENTS

(1) The variations among all the texts are unusually pervasive in this section, and the relationships difficult to untangle.

Only the basic outline of the story, and a few key phrases, are retained in all versions. All are agreed that Saigyō was travelling toward the East, came to the crossing at Tenryū (or Tenchū), attempted to board the boat, and was ordered off and beaten. His companion wept, he chastised him, and they parted. Although the details of the incident itself are variously described, the strongest differences emerge in the conversation between Saigyō and his companion. Most texts follow Bunmeibon in giving to Saigyō a substantial sermon on the subject of the importance of undergoing physical hardships, although the content of this sermon varies widely, even among closely related texts such as Bunmeibon and SIZ. The companion receives much more varied treatment. The B texts generally give him space to expound his point of view, often with details of Saigyō's former glories, as in Bunmeibon. The A texts, and Eishōbon, omit his response. However, they present him in a much more forgiving light than Bunmeibon, as also does Unemeibon. Here too, then, it is in the didactic material, and in the implicit conflict of values in the portrayal of a strong and a weak, that the major variations occur.

It is of interest to note that Kanzeibon's version of this episode shows clear evidence of its original close textual relationship both to the earlier Saijū episode (21) and to section 24, where Saigyō is reluctant to allow his companion (the Saijū figure) to accompany him to Ise. Not coincidentally, perhaps, neither of these episodes is found in the A texts. One could speculate that Kanzeibon here preserves an early form of the transition from A to B text versions, from which these two episodes were later elaborated and split off in the B texts. Certainly Kanzeibon's introduction of the Saigyō is here being described in terms otherwise used for the relationship between the emperor and

companion here as one who had earlier begged to accompany Saigyō, which is textually closely related to section 24, makes more sense of Saigyō's reference to having warned him of the journey's probable hardships.⁴¹⁸

If we can see here shadowy evidence of this episode's development from the A texts,⁴¹⁹ we might turn to Seikadō's simple and nondidactic version of the episode as its likely early form, rather than see the Seikadō version as an abbreviation, as has been assumed by scholars.⁴²⁰

(2) This is one of the more famous episodes of the Tale, found in almost every version, and referred to by both Bashō⁴²¹ and Abutsu, whose reference to it⁴²² in her travel account *Izayoi nikki* constitutes important evidence of the early and presumably widespread existence of the legend if not of the Tale itself. It is also one of the few episodes which, in most versions (although not in Bunmeibon), does not contain a poem, placing it at the setsuwa end of the spectrum of episode types found in the Tale.

Sakaguchi⁴²³ speculates that it is typical of the legends that would have existed independently and been incorporated into the Tale at an early stage of its development, thus affecting the subsequent shift in image of Saigyō. Certainly its presence in Seikadō indicates its early incorporation into the Tale, and the strong those who served him.

⁴¹⁸ Also, the strongly derivative nature of section 21, its isolated and abrupt occurrence in the narrative, and its absence in the A texts, all point to the likelihood that of the two the Tenryū episode was the earlier.

⁴¹⁹ Akitani (Kanzeibon *Saigyō monogatari kō*, *Hitotsubashi Ronsō* 86:5 [1981], p. 637.) concludes that the Kanzeibon version here represents an early form from which both A and B texts were subsequently derived. However, given that the A text version does not, as Kanzeibon does, specifically contain the textual seeds of the other two B text episodes (21 and 24), I consider it to be intermediary between A and B, rather than the origin of both.

⁴²⁰ *Nanakashū* entirely omits this episode, a clear indication of its purely setsuwa status.

⁴²¹ In his travel account *Oi no kobumi* 笈の小文 (1687), where he recalls Saigyō at Tenryū in relation to the pains of travel.

⁴²² *Nijūsannichi, tenryū no watari to iu. Fune ni noru ni, Saigyō ga mukashi mo omiiderarete, ito kokorobososhi.* 廿三日、てんりうのわたりといふ。船にのるに、西行がむかしもおもひ出でられて、いと心ぼそし。(On the twenty-third day (we reached) the Tenry Crossing. When I boarded the boat, I felt most forlorn to recall Saigyō ('s experience) of long ago.)

Saigyō depicted here comes from a very different tradition from that of the poetic anthologies whose Saigyō forms the basis of the Tale. It is tempting to speculate that the early incorporation of this legend may have played its part in superimposing the strong Saigyō and his accompanying didactic material onto an earlier and less stern poetic version of him. Certainly the variations found in this episode among the texts reveal the typical ambivalences elsewhere associated with this double image of Saigyō.

This episode's textual relation to section 21, referred to in discussing Kanzeibon above, is reflected in the strong resemblance in content between the two: Saigyō and his companion in religion on the road together to perform austerities (there, specifically to beg), the companion proving himself unable to withstand the rigours of their undertaking, Saigyō's sermon and final rejection of the companion, leaving him to travel on alone.

Both episodes also set off the companion's failings against Saigyō's own strength of heart (specifically mentioned here in the A texts) in the same situation. By reserving the final moment of aware for poor Saigyō, privately mourning the loss of the companion he has been forced to turn away, the A texts likewise bring out the ambivalence in the strong Saigyō image, seen also in the earlier episode's portrayal of him.⁴²⁴ Indeed, the elaborations on Saigyō's former glory which are put into the weak companion's mouth in this episode echo the fawning descriptions of Saigyō's worldly glories found elsewhere in the Tale itself. Here, as in section 21, we are implicitly (and in the B2 and A texts explicitly) invited to take the part of the weak companion, while being didactically instructed to do the opposite.

This episode thus incorporates the essential elements of Saigyō's relation to the companion found in both sections 21 and 24, as well as being obviously related to both these sections on the textual level. The link between this section, where Saigyō is beginning his journey East, and section 24, where he is setting off from the capital but

⁴²³ Seiritsu jiki wo megutte , p. 58.

⁴²⁴ This ambivalence is echoed in the B2 and B3 texts, which reveal a strong inclination to

towards Ise, is also intriguing, since it adds weight to the likelihood that section 24 is an interpolation to smoothe the B text transition as it rejoins the A texts with the Ise sections.

It is finally impossible to do more than guess at the complex inter-relations between the texts hinted at here. It is evident, however, that the figure of *the unworthy companion* is a volatile one, and his role in the Tale seems to have grown with the growth of the image of Saigyō as stern religious practitioner, accompanied by the accretion of didactic material. He is the foil, not only to Saigyō in his *strong* manifestation in the Tale, but to the longed-for but unrealized companion of the *weak* poet Saigyō's lonely poems. The fact that narratorial sympathy so often relents towards him despite the moral force of the episode, and tends to reveal ambivalence towards Saigyō's laudable *strength of heart*, reflects yet again the dilemmas that underlie so much of the Tale and its depictions.

(3) The poem is a neat though trite poetic restatement of the lesson of this episode, that found in the twentieth fascicle of the Lotus Sutra, on which Saigyō's sermon is based (see note (33)). It is otherwise found only in Eishōbon, and its absence in all other texts, together with the fact that it is not by Saigyō, clearly mark it as an interpolation into what is essentially a purely *setsuwa*-style section.

Bunmeibon 31

All alone he set off to cross Sayo no Nakayama Pass,⁴²⁵ and he composed:

96 *Did I ever think / grown old / I would cross this pass once more? / But my long life has brought me back / to Sayo no Nakayama. (SSS 475, SKKS 987)*

As he wandered on, the first winds of autumn pierced him, the scenery of the plains changed before he knew it, the wild geese cried aloft, and with the traveller's forlornness (he composed):

sympathize with the foolish companion's point of view.

⁴²⁵ 佐夜の中山. Also known as *Saya no Nakayama*. A *nansho* 難所, or particularly difficult

- 97 *No one announces / the coming of autumn / yet we know it / from the scene of
the wind passing / across the mountain foothills. (SKS 255)*
- 98 *Ungraspable / the reason / for autumn's / overwhelming / sadness. (SKS 290)*
- 99 *The wild goose flying aloft / wings spread with the white clouds / cries to its
friend / grounded / in the household field. (SKS 422)⁴²⁶*

31. COMMENTS

(1) The different texts display a great variety both in inclusion of poems and in abbreviation or addition of descriptive material. The A texts, typically, are more poetically expansive in their descriptions.⁴²⁷

It is noteworthy that all A texts contain an additional episode at Okabe in Suruga, describing Saigyō's discovery of the travelling hat of his dear companion from whom he had parted that spring in the capital, through which he learns that the companion has died here. This episode is also present in the B2 texts (adding further weight to the theory that they are intermediary between A and B). There is no discernible reason for the omission of this episode in the B1 and B3 texts, except the possibility that the sympathetic depiction of this companion was perceived as contradicting the terms in which Saigyō's companion in religion is generally portrayed. There is also the dilemma posed by Seikadō's identification of the companion as Saijū, and it is possible that the addition of the Saijū episode of section 21 caused this section to be dropped.

(2) This section is the beginning of the series of small *michiyuki* 道行き⁴²⁸ scenes place, along the Tōkaidō in Tōtōmi.

⁴²⁶ The *Sankashū* poem is *shiragumo wo tsubasa ni kakete yuku kari no kadota no omo no tomo shitaui nari*. 白雲をつばさにかけてゆく雁のかど田の面の友慕ふなり。

⁴²⁷ Although Seikadō at this point for the first time severely abbreviates details, and omits poems 97-99 and their introductory material.

⁴²⁸ A literary set piece which carries the action forward by means of a description of journeying (generally forlornly), typically focussing on names of famous places traversed.

which comprise the description of Saigyō's journey east. We are returned to the world of poetry, both in style — short introductory passage followed by poem(s) — and in content — poeticized descriptions of landscape and the sorrows of journeying.⁴²⁹

(3) In typical utamonogatari fashion, the introductory material of this and the following sections is constructed to augment the poems, which either situate him geographically on his journey (poem 96) or seasonally (poems 97-99). The autumn season, whose poetic emotion is sorrow (as poem 98 expresses), is a fitting one for the depiction of a journey, also poetically associated with sorrow and loneliness. Saigyō's parting from his companion allows him to conform more nearly to the poetic Traveller, as the opening of this section emphasizes.⁴³⁰

Three of the four poems are from *Shinkokinshū*. The content of poem 96 makes it clear that it is a poem written in old age, and it was in fact composed when Saigyō was sixty-nine years old, on his second journey east in 1186. By conflating these two journeys,⁴³¹ the Tale contradicts the poem's content. Poem 97 depicts the beginning of autumn and thus is suitable for this position at the head of an autumn series. Poem 98 is a quintessentially autumn poem, and in poem 99 the wild geese define the poem as that of autumn, while the call to the stranded companion from whom they must part evokes the traveller's loneliness.⁴³²

Bunmeibon 32

Mount Utsu,⁴³³ where Captain Narihira lost his way among the ivy and

⁴²⁹ Since each episode is quite short, I have chosen to divide the sections into this, which introduces the theme of his travel eastward, and the following, which continues the *michiyuki* until the first break in the *epoetry* anthology structure.

⁴³⁰ *ただひとり*. It is noteworthy that this phrase is repeated in every text's version of the episode.

⁴³¹ The first appears to have occurred when he was quite young.

⁴³² This echo, of parting from companions, resonates more fully in the A texts, where the poem follows closely on the Okabe episode.

⁴³³ *宇津*. In present-day Shizuoka prefecture. A *nansho* on the Tōkaidō, with strong poetic associations with an episode in *Ise monogatari*, as exemplified here.

maples, and composed *əI do not meet her even in my dreams* ,⁴³⁴ was forlorn. Passing *Kiyomi Barrier*⁴³⁵ he saw the white waves of the bay washing the beach, and how the moonlight's reflection followed the (receding) waves, and at the movingness and forlornness of this urge to return, (he composed):

100 *The autumn moon / adds its light / to the white waves / which cross the rocks / of Kiyomigata.* (SKS 324)⁴³⁶

As he was passing, weary of living, over *Ukihashi*,⁴³⁷ the smoke from *Fuji Peak* moved him.

101 *Fuji's smoke / trails lingering in the wind / skyward and is gone / as my thoughts too disappear / I know not where.* (SSS 346, SKKS 1613)

Thus with difficulty he crossed *Ashigara*,⁴³⁸ and he felt the truth of the poet's words,⁴³⁹ *əThe mountain's name is Ashigara, so I know how much I love* , and the autumn wind pierced him through. Feeling forlornly moved, (he composed):

102 *The end of autumn / comes home to me / in this mountain village — / how sad / the rough late autumn wind.* (SKS 487)

*In the place called Ōba in the land of Sagami, crossing Togami Plain.*⁴⁴⁰

103 *His wife / hidden safe / in clumps of pine / on Togami Plain, / the wild deer*

⁴³⁴ A reference to a poem in the 9th dan of *Ise monogatari*, composed and sent to a woman in the capital by Narihira when he had lost his way on Mt. Utsu, and met a wandering ascetic.

⁴³⁵ *Kiyomi ga seki* 清見が関. A barrier gate at Kiyomi bay, not far from Mt. Utsu.

⁴³⁶ The fourth phrase is *hikari wo kawasu* 光をかわす.

⁴³⁷ Other texts have *əUkishima* 浮島, the name of a plain lying to the east of Mt. Fuji. The importance of the name rests on the pivotal *əuki* , which means both *əto float* and *ədowncast and weary of the world* .

⁴³⁸ 足柄山. A mountain in present-day Shinagawa prefecture.

⁴³⁹ A text names the poet as Fujiwara Sanekata (d. 998, governor of Mutsu in Michinoku, see section 35). The poem is unknown. SIZ quotes it as *きびしきほども*, which makes the quote more relevant to this passage.

⁴⁴⁰ 研上原. In present-day Shinagawa prefecture.

*bells.*⁴⁴¹

All was melancholy in that land, and the sight of a curlew rising from a marsh was unusually (moving):

104 *A curlew lifts from the marsh / in autumn twilight, / and even I / who have no heart to feel / am moved.* (SKS 470, SKKS 362)

Accompanied by the traveller's moon and the cry of the first geese of autumn, he felt the feelings of one who crosses mountains. Tears fell upon his sleeve, and, moved at the light reflected there (he composed):

105 *I never thought / that I should hold / in my tear-soaked sleeve / the light of that moon I saw / so distant in the heavens.* (SKS 617)

106 *The voices of the wild geese sound / as they fly over the mountains / while the wind lifts / daybreak's trailing clouds / from the mountain rim.*⁴⁴² (SKS 420)

32. COMMENTS

(1) Compared with the other variants, Bunmeibon is less rich in descriptive detail in this essentially poetic section. SIZ, which follows Bunmeibon's content, adds poetic descriptions, while both the B2 and B3 texts independently elaborate the only scene that they contain (the Mt. Fuji scene). The A texts are even more fulsome in their poetic embellishments. The exception is Seikadō, which for the first time contains significant omission of material — the only part of this section present is the problematic poem 103 and its brief introductory material. From this point, Seikadō

⁴⁴¹ This poem is not found among the poems of Saigyō except in the appended section of the late collection *Saigyō Shōninshū*, where the opening section is しかまつのかずのしげみに. In the A texts the opening section is えはまどふ葛のしげみに. The poem is generally not considered to be by Saigyō.

⁴⁴² Bunmeibon miswrites かげ for かぜ. I have chosen to translate the poem as it appears in the anthologies, and in the other variants of the Tale.

omits all subsequent material until near the end of section 54.

(2) This long section, composed of a series of short descriptions and accompanying poems, carries Saigyō through a highly poeticised landscape on his route eastward. Like the section before it (of which it is essentially a continuation), it is built around the poems, chosen here not primarily for their inclusion in *Shinkokinshū*⁴⁴³ but for their suitability for depicting the journey and its poetic places (utamakura).

The purely poetic intent of this section is evidenced further in the many poetic references running through it. Specific references to the ninth dan of *Ise monogatari*, which relates Narihira's journey east along this same route, occur several times,⁴⁴⁴ and indeed much of this whole passage is to some extent premised on that famous earlier literary journey, which makes specific reference to Mt. Utsu and Mt. Fuji before arriving at Musashino (Saigyō's next stop in his journey). Other poets are also referred to in the various versions of the Tale.⁴⁴⁵

The variously elaborated descriptions in all the texts rest entirely on the poetic themes of travel, the sorrows of the journey, and the movingness of the landscape, and most of the episodes are based on utamakura.⁴⁴⁶ Tonami Miwako⁴⁴⁷ has suggested (as I also argue in this study) that the earliest forms of the Tale can be glimpsed in such sections as these, where the content and form are entirely poetic, and that later accretion of religious material has come to largely obscure this simpler early form. It is certainly the case that in these travel sections we find an aspect of the Tale

⁴⁴³ Only three of the seven poems are found in *Shinkokinshū*.

⁴⁴⁴ In the Mt. Fuji description, B2 and B3 texts, as well as A texts, all add a reference to a poem in this section of *Ise monogatari*.

⁴⁴⁵ SIZ makes reference to a poem by Tōren Hōshi 登蓮法師, while the A texts mention Tachibana Naomoto 橘直幹 and Fujiwara Sanekata 藤原実方, a poet who was governor of the northern province of Mutsu.

⁴⁴⁶ The exception is the introductory material of the final two poems in the B1 texts and *Nanakashū*, which continues the general sorrows of the journey theme (although poem 106 is in fact a love poem).

⁴⁴⁷ Saigyō *Hōshi shūka* ni tsuite, p. 17.

which appears elsewhere from time to time but here reveals itself particularly strongly, the pure utamonogatari form where episodes are built around poems in a style based on the kotobagaki found in poetic anthologies, and all religious considerations are laid aside.

(3) Poem 100 was originally composed as a daieika on the theme of the moon at a famous place. Poem 101 appears in *Shinkokinshū* with the kotobagaki 'On the theme of Mt. Fuji, when I was travelling east for shugyō. It is susceptible of interpretation as a love poem, and is treated as such in *Saigyō Shōninshū*. Poem 102 was originally composed at Mt. Ogura in the western hills of Kyoto.

Poem 103 is one of the few poems which seem not to have been composed by Saigyō. It is present in Seikadō, and it appears in a variety of readings among the variant texts. It seems oddly out of place in this section, and there is the added puzzle that it is the only poem of this section to be found in the early Seikadō.

The interpretation of poem 104, among Saigyō's most famous, is a matter of scholarly debate, hinging on the meaning of the expression *kokoro naki mi*, which is interpreted either as a humble statement of lack of poetic sensibility or, in the religious interpretation, as the statement of one who has ostensibly renounced such sensibility by taking the tonsure. With either interpretation, it remains a famous celebration of this sensibility.

Poem 105 is a love poem whose natural imagery was evidently read literally by the Tale's creators. Poem 106 was originally a daieika on the topic 'Hearing the cry of the wild geese in the morning. Although not ostensibly a travel poem, its images of crossing mountains and of autumn make it a suitable poem to carry the journey forward.

Bunmeibon 33

As he had nowhere he need aim for, he was drawn once more by the moon to push on, deeper into the distances of Musashino. Where dew lay upon the bush clover in the fields, it looked like jewels of polished moonlight, and he was amazed to hear

how the many voices of the insects sounded (as beautiful as) the music of the koto, the biwa or the wagon. Feeling that the night's moon⁴⁴⁸ accompanied him as he passed along the path through deep mountains, he choked with tears as he made his way in, and when he had gone five or six chō in from the road, he heard the faint sound of a voice chanting sutras. *ǎI heard that human habitation is (far from here),⁴⁴⁹ so what can this be? he wondered.*

When he searched and found (the place) he saw a frail hut about one ken in size, with a fence of bush clover, miscanthus reed and valerian, and the roof thatched with susuki and karukaya grasses. In it an ancient monk of some ninety years was chanting *ǎI do not covet bodily life, I do but regret the Unexcelled Path*,⁴⁵⁰ until he reached the final phrase of the sutra.⁴⁵¹ It was the middle of the eighth month,⁴⁵² so it was (as bright as) day. They were amazed to hear each other, and after a while (Saigyō) said, *ǎWhat manner of person are you, to be here thus?*

ǎI was once the head⁴⁵³ of the samurai who served Yūhōmon'in,⁴⁵⁴ but when she passed away, my sorrow soon brought me to leave the world. I went from land to land in search of a place where those from the capital would not know of me, in order to pray for her soul and for my own salvation. My heart was taken by the flowers of this plain, and there is no season when my heart is not purified by the sight. I left the world at the age of twenty nine, and have lived in this thatched hut for sixty-odd

⁴⁴⁸ ほうくわうちしやうの夜の月. Itō *Zenshū*'s version has ほうくわう知證の夜の月. SIZ, the only other text to contain this sentence, has ほうわうちしやうの夜の月. The context suggests that this is a reference to a poem in Chinese. However, I have been unable to trace its origin or determine its meaning.

⁴⁴⁹ 日なかちのほど. I assume this is a corruption of the text. An equivalent phrase is not found in other variants. Shōhōbon has 人里はこの末に、遙かに隔たりたうとこそ聞きしに, and I have chosen to assume a similar meaning for Bunmeibon's text.

⁴⁵⁰ From *The Lotus Sutra* fascicle 13. (See Hurvitz p. 206).

⁴⁵¹ *Sa rai ni ko* 作礼而去, *ǎI make obeisance and depart*, the phrase with which a sutra is concluded.

⁴⁵² I.e. the night of the harvest moon.

⁴⁵³ Itō *Zenshū* has 長なりし, which I follow.

⁴⁵⁴ 郁芳門院 (1076-1096), daughter of emperor Shirakawa, sister of emperor Horikawa. She died at the age of 21.

years, and recited the ten scrolls of *The Lotus Sutra* more than seventy eight thousand six hundred times. As for my morning and evening meals, people have heard and sometimes come (with food), which keeps me alive, and sometimes I have ten days or more with nothing, but from time to time a beautiful child places a substance like snow in my mouth, so I am rich in heart and want nothing. Though I burn no light on dark nights, I see light.

Hearing his tale, (Saigyō) choked with tears, thinking how enviable was his strength of heart.

107 How might I / become pure / and unclouded / to see the moon's light / in my heart? (SKS 904)⁴⁵⁵

108 What should I do? / Were I still in the world / I would leave it / in fresh despair / at its griefs.⁴⁵⁶ (SKKS 1830)

109 Let me long / once more for the past, / deciphering it / grassy mound by mound / in the luxuriant field. (SKS 796)

33. COMMENTS

(1) This section is unusual in containing clear evidence of the B1 texts' direct relationship to an external text, *Hosshinshū*, where a close version of this episode appears as Tale 12 in Book 6, a Yūhōmonjin's samurai, who dwelt on the Plain of Musashi. Textual comparison of SIZ and Bunmeibon (the only B1 texts available for this episode) suggests that SIZ is a less elaborated and thus closer version of the *Hosshinshū* text. The B1 texts' clear relationship with the *Hosshinshū* version of the Tale strongly suggests that for this section, unusually, they contain the earliest form. However, the poems (which differ greatly among the texts) suggest that the B1 text

⁴⁵⁵ The last phrase is *kage wo migakan* 影を磨かん.

⁴⁵⁶ This poem is anomalous in that, although it is included in *Shinkokinshū* as being by Saigyō, it does not appear in any collection of Saigyō's, and is found otherwise only in this Tale.

poems were derived from a version of the episode more closely reflecting the A text content. It is possible that the B1 texts went back to *Hosshinshū* and rewrote an earlier looser version of the episode.⁴⁵⁷

The various texts contain a great variety of rewritings of this episode, with only Seikadō entirely omitting it. The greatest point of variation appears in the opening section, where most versions freely elaborate on the poetic descriptions of Musashino's landscape.⁴⁵⁸ The treatment of the hermit also varies among the texts, with the B1 texts most intent on presenting him in the more extreme setsuwa tradition, emphasizing his miraculous powers.

Shōhōbon departs from the B texts in interesting ways in its depiction of this episode. Typically, it weaves in references to poems as Saigyō makes his way across the plain, and his encounter with the hermit, though making no reference to his love of flowers, is also poeticized by being re-focussed onto their mutual connection with Yūhōmonjin, leading to a night-long conversation of reminiscences of the past and a tear-soaked dawn parting which is in the tradition of poetic rather than religious conversations and partings. Since Seikadō peters out at this point, and SHS contains only a kotobagaki-like introduction to the poems for this section, there is no indication of how early this version of the episode might be. It is, however, a good example of how the A texts display a particularly strong poeticizing impulse, which here shifts the B texts' religious refocussing of the original tale back towards the poetic (while including some of the B texts' added religious details, as well as independent evidence of a relationship to *Senjūshō*).

(2) With this section we move from the realm of the utamonogatari to that of the

⁴⁵⁷ Another possibility emerges if we allow that *Nanakashū* might retain an early form. Here, Musashino is introduced simply as the next utamakura Saigyō passed through, an extension of his following in the literary steps of Narihira. The hermit and his tale are not present. It is possible that the hermit was inserted later, borrowing from *Hosshinshū*. *Nanakashū*'s material bears no obvious relationship to the *Hosshinshū* material (the mention of moonlight and insects being common poetic descriptions for an autumn landscape). It does, intriguingly, strongly echo the opening section of the A text Shōhōbon.

⁴⁵⁸ The point at which Bunmeibon also departs most radically from *Hosshinshū*, and also the only section to be found in *Nanakashū* (see previous note).

setsuwa, with Saigyō here playing the role of witnessing *waki* 脇⁴⁵⁹ to another's story, the structuring role he is given in *Senjūshō*, and a role which he assumes in *Nō* plays⁴⁶⁰ and many later legends.

As this section bears a strong relation to the *Hosshinshū* version, it is worth quoting that version in full (comparing it with *Bunmeibon* through underlining⁴⁶¹), in order to examine the shifts that occur.

When the priest Saigyō was going toward the East, he passed through Musashino on a moonlit night. As it was past the tenth day of the eighth month, it was bright as day; dew lay on the many and various flowers, the voices of insects mingled with the wind, and as he pushed on deeper into distances unfathomed by the heart, his hemp sleeves were wrung (with tears and the dew). In this plain, where none would be living, he heard a voice chanting sutras. He heard it with wonder, and when in surprise he searched and found the place he saw a frail hut about one ken in size, with a fence of bush clover and valerian, and susuki and karukaya grasses and miscanthus reeds mixed together for roof thatch. Within, an old man was chanting the Lotus Sutra in a hoarse voice. Feeling this most strange, (Saigyō) asked ʻWhat manner of person are you, to be here thus?ʼ

ʻI was once the head of the samurai who served Yūhōmonʼin, but when she passed away, I soon took Buddhist robes, and with a deep urge to find a place where none would know of me I wandered aimlessly, until, no doubt because it was meant to be, I was drawn by the many and various flowers of this place, and settled down here. I have ended up passing many years here, and since I am one who from of old has dyed my heart deep with the autumn flowers, when there are no flowers I think of them nostalgically, and now my heart is comforted by their colours, and I have no sorrows,ʼ he said.

Hearing this, (Saigyō) was moved with joy and aware, and shedding tears he talked with him on various matters. ʻWell then, how do you spend the passing time?ʼ he asked. ʻI never go wandering into the villages. I wait for people's spontaneous pity (in bringing me food), and sometimes there are four or five days when I do not eat. For the most part, I have no wish to make a fire among these flowers, and I don't have proper meals. How enviably pure of heart!

⁴⁵⁹ The supporting role in a *Nō* play, most commonly a travelling priest who elicits the central story told by the *shite* して.

⁴⁶⁰ Examples are *Saigyōzakura* 西行桜, *Sanekata* 実方, and *Hase Saigyō* 初瀬西行.

⁴⁶¹ Underlined parts coincide exactly, dotted underline indicates close similarity.

It is clear that Bunmeibon is closely based on this text, and it is instructive to note the points at which differences occur.

The primary examples of inserted material are, first, the sutra quotation, and second, the added material in the hermit's speech — his impressive chanting record, and the miraculous visitations by the beautiful youth,⁴⁶² as well as the light he sees.⁴⁶³ Missing are the details of the hermit's delight in the flowers, which in *Hosshinshū* is the main focus of his portrait. Other elements, such as his advanced age, and the increase in the number of days he goes without food, are evidently added to increase the impressiveness of the depiction. In general, these changes serve to re-enforce the purely religious aspects of the hermit's life, and thus de-emphasize the original point of the portrait, which in the *Hosshinshū* version is presented as an example of Chōmei's particular preoccupation, the possibilities of combining religious practice with the sensibilities of a sukimono.

The interesting exception to these changes is in the opening section, in which Bunmeibon fills out with poetic description the scenery of Musashino through which Saigyō is travelling. The reason for this elaboration,⁴⁶⁴ however, lies outside questions of the treatment of the hermit and his life. Bunmeibon and the other variants are here functioning within the michiyukibun tradition of poeticised depictions of travel, which as it were superimposes itself on the Tale's structure at this point.⁴⁶⁵ Musashino, being an utamakura, automatically elicits a poetic response from the Tale's narrator, which is in fact more in keeping with the poetry-centred style of the previous section than with the setsuwa -style emphasis of the subsequent content of

⁴⁶² This is one of the heavenly children who appear to give sustenance to those undergoing rigorous austerities in the Lotus tradition (see note 223).

⁴⁶³ A detail present only in Bunmeibon.

⁴⁶⁴ It is present to an even greater degree in many of the other variants.

⁴⁶⁵ As it does at other points in the Tale, most notably in Shōhōbon's description of Saigyō's daughter's journey to Amano (section 51).

the section.⁴⁶⁶ Where the traditional poetic landscape associations of Musashino provided Chōmei with his portrait of the hermit who drew his spiritual sustenance from the flowers, in the present tale these associations merely prompt a michiyukibun-like elaboration of Saigyō's journey, while the original point of the hermit's aesthetic life is blurred by overlayings of images of a more typical religious ascetic.

It is interesting to speculate on the possible relationship of this section of the Tale with the other example of it in setsuwa literature, that found in *Senjūshō* (SJS 6.12). Although *Senjūshō* is notable for its rich responsiveness to landscape and the often powerful role it plays in the hermits' religious lives, its depiction of Saigyō's journey into Musashino is highly abbreviated, and mentions only the flowers. Its depiction of the hermit's life, furthermore, is purely in terms of the power of his practice of chanting *The Lotus Sutra*, which has led directly to his lack of need of bodily sustenance. We see here a more realized version of the hermit whom the Tale (particularly the B texts) superimposes on that of *Hosshinshū*, and several details confirm the fact that this is the same hermit — he is heard chanting a quotation from *The Lotus Sutra* (although not the same one),⁴⁶⁷ and he too is visited by a heavenly youth who feeds him with a white substance, so that he wants for nothing.

It is impossible to ascertain in which direction the influence flows: on the level of textual detail, *Senjūshō* bears almost no relation to either *Hosshinshū* or *Saigyō monogatari*, although dating and general content make it clear that it too derived from Chōmei's tale. Granted that they both alter the original episode in the same direction but in differing degrees, and that one drew on the other in the process, it is perhaps wisest to see the two versions simply as characteristic examples of the way in which these two later texts re-cast Saigyō and the view of the world that he embodies, each in its own way.

⁴⁶⁶ See also note (32) for *Nanakashū*'s affirmation of the essentially kotobagaki style of this passage.

⁴⁶⁷ It is interesting to note that each of the variants chooses a different quotation from *The Lotus Sutra* for the hermit to chant. All are different from that found in *Senjūshō*.

Senjūshō, although elsewhere interested in the question of kyōgen kigo, and not unsympathetic to Chōmei's desire to allow a role for the aesthetic sensibility within the ascetic's practice, nevertheless is fundamentally intent on portraying the more extreme examples of asceticism, from which it draws lengthy didactic conclusions at the end of each section. Its hermit is allowed to pluck flowers, but must otherwise devote himself to constant chanting, and his choice of place and peace of mind have nothing to do with Musashino's flowery pleasures. *Saigyō monogatari*, while also impelled to make Chōmei's hermit a much sterner religious practitioner in *Senjūshō*'s tradition, nevertheless allows the flower-loving sukimono to remain as the basis of the portrait. It is not that the two contradict each other, but rather that, in the evolution of the portrayal, the Tale is prepared to allow more ambiguity than we find in *Senjūshō*'s clearcut re-drawing of the hermit.

This is neatly displayed in the varying descriptions of the hermit's achievements. *Hosshinshū* makes specific mention only of the exceptional peace of mind which his contemplation of the flowers has produced.⁴⁶⁸ *Senjūshō* makes no mention of his response to the flowers, but concludes with the statement that, thanks to the power of *The Lotus Sutra*, he can live on heavenly sustenance and wants nothing.⁴⁶⁹ The Tale has it both ways: like the *Senjūshō* hermit, he wants nothing,⁴⁷⁰ and he is praised by Saigyō with the much-loved phrase 'strong-hearted', but he also merges with Chōmei's sukimono in his statement that 'my heart was taken by the flowers of this plain, and there is no season when my heart is not purified by the sight, and he is described as 'rich of heart', which echoes *Hosshinshū*'s portrait.

(3) Poem 107 is a religious poem, presented here as a yearning response to the hermit's superior religious attainments, in the waki tradition of the response of the visitor who witnesses the holy man's life and story.

⁴⁶⁸ *Iro ni kokoro wo nagusametsutsu, urewashiki koto haberazu* 色に心をなぐさめつつ、愁はしき事侍らず.

⁴⁶⁹ *Mono no hoshiku mo naku haberu* 物のほしくもなく侍る.

⁴⁷⁰ *Mono hoshiki koto mo nashi* 物ほしき事もなし.

Poem 108 is a *Shinkokinshū* poem which is not found in any existing collection of Saigyō's work. It too, though religious, is not a response to the hermit's religious attainments but rather a lamentation on the theme of the world's griefs, which in this context can only refer to the early death of Yūhōmon'in which caused the hermit to devote himself to the Buddhist way.⁴⁷¹

Poem 109 was originally composed on the theme of longing for one's old home. This poem too can only refer in context to their mutual past, and its lack of religious content makes it oddly unsuitable to the content of this section. It is, however, entirely suitable as a poem to accompany the content of Shōhōbon's version of this episode, where their conversation is on the theme of their shared past. Shōhōbon contains poems 107 and 108, but replaces this poem with SKS 334 (a non-religious poem on the topic of the full moon). It is possible to speculate that an earlier version contained poem 109, and that it and poem 108 were subsequently rather inappropriately taken over into the B texts. Certainly, of the three B text poems, two of them are more appropriate to the A text content.

Bunmeibon 34

Planning to go in the direction of Michinoku,⁴⁷² he stopped (on the way) at the barrier house of Shirakawa.⁴⁷³ He was most intrigued by the bright moonlight, and the matters⁴⁷⁴ pertaining to the barrier gate. He thought with awe of the nyūdō Nōin's⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷¹ Mezaki (Saigyō no kyojitsu ni tsuite, p. 14) draws attention to the parallels between this hermit's shukke and Saigyō's own at a similar age, and suggests that Chōmei's Musashino hermit is based on a possible actual encounter that Saigyō might have had with a man who was the child of Yūhōmon'in's wetnurse, whose shukke in 1097 at the age of 21 as a response to her death caused a stir similar to that of Saigyō several decades later.

⁴⁷² 陸奥. An area north-east of present-day Tokyo, considered the part of the country farthest and most inaccessible from the capital.

⁴⁷³ 白河の関. The barrier gate on the road leading into Michinoku, an utamakura. By Saigyō's day, it had ceased to function, and fallen into disrepair.

⁴⁷⁴ Its history, and more especially its presence in old poems, most famously that of Nōin (below).

⁴⁷⁵ 能因法師 (988?-1058). His poem on the barrier gate at Shirakawa (*Goshūishū* 後拾遺集 518) is famous, and provides the honka for Saigyō's (equally famous) poem quoted here.

poem, *Though it was with / the mists of spring / that I left⁴⁷⁶ the capital / the autumn winds blow / at Shirakawa barrier gate, and he wrote on a pillar,*

110 *The moonlight / which dwells so pure / in Shirakawa's barrier house / halts the heart / of the passerby. (SKS 1126)⁴⁷⁷*

The next day he passed on far beyond the barrier gate, and from time to time there was a downpour of rain, a cloud seven times and eight times brighten as the poem⁴⁷⁸ says. He felt forlornly moved.

111 *Who lives / in such a village / and thus knows the pathos / of this rain pouring / from the evening sky? (SSS 271, SKKS 1640)*

On the fifth or sixth day since he had left the barrier gate of Shirakawa, in a distant field he came upon a small dwelling. There, perhaps because of the beauty of the bright moonlight, he felt that the times he had gazed at the moon in the capital did not stand comparison with this, and he recalled with pathos the person with whom he had exchanged vows to recall each other whenever they saw the moon.

112 *It was in fact / mere play / when in the capital / we found such pathos / in the moon. (SKS 418, SKKS 937)⁴⁷⁹*

113 *Does that person / with whom I vowed / to remember each other when we saw the moon / tonight like me / have tear-soaked sleeves?*

(SSS 186, SKKS 938)

⁴⁷⁶ いでしかど. The original poem has たちしかど, which contains a poetic consonance with the arising of the spring mist.

⁴⁷⁷ The first three phrases are *shirakawa no sekiya wo tsuki no moru kage wa* 白川の関屋を月のもる影は.

⁴⁷⁸ Evidently a reference to a poem which is now untraceable.

⁴⁷⁹ The last two phrases are *kazu yori hoka no susabi narikeri* 数よりほかのすさびなりけり.

34. COMMENTS

(1) Of the B1 texts, SIZ appears to contain the earlier version, at least of the introductory material to poems 112 and 113, where Bunmeibon's brief mention of the small dwelling becomes a fuller description of how Saigyō borrowed for the night a simple hut belonging to poor people, and composed the poems on the beautiful moonlight which filled it. Similar material is found in the A texts at this point.

The greatest variety is found with the B2 texts,⁴⁸⁰ which replace all but poem 111 with different material. The other poems are culled from a wide variety of sources, among them poems found in very different contexts in other versions of the Tale. Several of these are from the final sections of Saigyō's second return to the capital in the B line of texts, as is the reference to Sutoku's fall, suggesting some connection with this area of the Tale.⁴⁸¹ Here, they are made to perform the essential function of carrying Saigyō eastward, in this case through several more important place names. The A texts are closely related to the B1 texts in this section, but the B2 texts exemplify the essentially fluid nature of such poetic narrative sections.

(2) After the excursion into setsuwa-style narrative, this section returns us to the poetic anthology style to depict Saigyō's continuing journey eastward. The section opens with Saigyō's entry into the Michinoku region through the now-derelict old barrier gate at Shirakawa, an utamakura made famous by Nōin's poem. The introductory material is a summary of the kotobagaki to the poem in *Sankashū*.⁴⁸² The remaining poems are all found in *Shinkokinshū*, and their introductory material is a more freely imaginative construction of context, evoking the pathos of the journey as well as its hardship — the heavy rain, and the borrowing of a peasants' hut, which other texts make clearer than does Bunmeibon — at the same time as moving Saigyō

⁴⁸⁰ Intriguingly, *Nanakashū* closely follows the B3 text Kanzeibon for this section.

⁴⁸¹ It is interesting to note that Bunmeibon in the following section inserts a poem (113) belonging to the episode at the grave of Sutoku. It could be speculated that the Sanuki sections originally followed the present Eastern travel sections without the intervening return to the capital, which would allow for material to be accidentally or purposely transferred in the ways seen here. (See Part III for speculations on the possible role of the Sanuki sections in the earliest versions of the Tale.)

⁴⁸² It is the two B2 texts that echo the kotobagaki most closely.

rapidly forward through such expressions as はるばる and はるかなる. The Saigyō of this section belongs well and truly to the poet of pathos – traveller image of the utamonogatari tradition.

(3) Poem 111 is one of Saigyō's most famous utamakura poems, and it is not surprising that it is the only poem found in all extant versions of the Tale. This is the only one among this section's poems to geographically locate Saigyō at this point in his travels, and one may assume that it formed the core of this section, with the other poems added to fill out the travel theme, as we see the B2 text variations.

Poem 112 is used here to emphasize the pathos of the journey. The remaining two poems appear together in *Shinkokinshū* in the Travel section. Poem 113 would normally be read as a love poem — here, the person is presumably a friend such as those Saigyō is depicted as parting from in various other episodes in the Tale.

Bunmeibon 35

He was moved to see here and there (as he went)⁴⁸³ such places as Tsubo no Ishibumi,⁴⁸⁴ Nusanotake⁴⁸⁵ and Yūsenfuku.⁴⁸⁶ As he was passing through a field, he noticed a grave mound that looked somehow significant, and asked someone he met on the road, 'What is the name of that mound?' 'That is Captain Sanekata's⁴⁸⁷ grave, the person replied. A great sadness rose in him, and he recalled how, long ago

⁴⁸³ あはれに見まはして. This rather odd expression is probably a mistranscription of the SIZ version, あはれに見まはりて.

⁴⁸⁴ 壺の碑. A stone inscribed with the history of the local castle, in present-day north-east Miyagi prefecture.

⁴⁸⁵ ぬさのたけ. The reference is unknown. SIZ has ぬまの(はながつみ), a presumed reference to *Kokinshū* 677 (みちのくの浅香のぬまのはながつみ). The A texts have ぬまたち, which Kuwabara (*Saigyō monogatari*, p. 155) speculates may be a version of ぬまだて, a plain in present-day Akita prefecture. The B2 and B3 texts omit this list of place names.

⁴⁸⁶ ゆふせんふく. The reference is unknown. Bunmeibon is the only text to include this name.

⁴⁸⁷ 藤原実方(d. 998), a poet whose work appears in *Shūi wakashū* 集遺和歌集(1005-7) and other imperial collections. After a fall from grace, he was unofficially exiled by being made governor of Mutsu in distant Michinoku, where he died.

at the subsidiary Kamo festival,⁴⁸⁸ (Sanekata) had said of his reflection in Mitarashi River⁴⁸⁹ *∅I cannot think it is myself.* ⁴⁹⁰ He recalled (also) how the young gentlewomen of the retired emperor's court had sworn to be loathed by Captain Sanekata⁴⁹¹. He was touched at the pathos of how this man, who had in the capital long ago been most excellent and splendid, had come to this land, and was now marked by a mere grave mound in this field where even the name of Buddhism went unheard.

114 Those jewelled palaces / of old — / what has become of that / now in the afterlife, /my lord? (SKS 1355)

115 He left a name / that time does not decay. / Now I find / as his keepsake / the dry susuki of this withered field. (SKS 800, SKKS 793)

35. COMMENTS

(1) This section is based on an episode described in the lengthy kotobagaki accompanying poem 115 in both *Sankashū* and *Shinkokinshū*., which tells how while travelling in Michinoku Saigyō chanced upon a remarkable-looking grave mound, and upon asking someone about it was informed that it was the grave of Sanekata.⁴⁹² The kotobagaki goes on to say that even if he had not heard this, the sight of the frost-withered susuki plain would have moved him, a detail which is included in the

⁴⁸⁸ かもりんじのまつり. A festival held towards the end of the eleventh month, subsidiary to the main Kamo festival (held on the day of the cock in the fourth month). Both festivals were an important part of court observances.

⁴⁸⁹ 御手洗河. A stream flowing through the two Kamo shrines.

⁴⁹⁰ Presumably a quotation. This is most probably a confused version of *Shinkokinshū* poem 1796, whose kotobagaki says it was composed by Sanekata at the subsidiary festival (here, judging from the poem's spring reference, the festival held in the middle of the third month at Iwashimizu Hachimangū), which recalls the past through the image of his reflection seen in the water of a well. This poem does not contain the words quoted here, however.

⁴⁹¹ I have been unable to trace this reference.

⁴⁹² Who had been governor of Mutsu. This kotobagaki and poem provide the seed for the Nō play *Sanekata*.

B2 and B3 texts,⁴⁹³ although not present in the B1 or the A texts.

The section is thus typical of the use of poem and associated kotobagaki material from the original anthology.⁴⁹⁴ It retains this form most closely in Unemebon, which reduces the introductory material to an even more abbreviated version, and includes only its associated poem (115), and in SIZ, which also includes only this poem. All the other texts examined add a second poem. In the B3 and A texts this is SKS 764 (a lament on the subject of the inevitability of burial in just such a field). Bunmeibon's added poem⁴⁹⁵ is one which, as its *Sankashū* kotobagaki makes clear, was composed at the grave of retired emperor Sutoku in Sanuki, and which appears at that point in the narrative later in the Tale.⁴⁹⁶ This textual confusion probably arose from the similarity of the immediately preceding sentence to that found before this poem in section 48.

There is further confusion, both in the opening michiyukibun-style list of names which carries Saigyō forward on his journey, and in the references to Sanekata's life in the capital,⁴⁹⁷ both of which are dropped in other variants, and the section generally shows evidence of a rather confused evolution. The essential elements of the poem and Saigyō's moving discovery of Sanekata's grave mound, however, are present in every version.⁴⁹⁸

(2) This episode serves both to provide a scene redolent of poetic emotion, in the style of lamenting the fall of past glory, and to emphasize further the moving nature of Saigyō's journey eastward by bringing him to the place of the distant exile and

⁴⁹³ *Nanakashū* also includes it.

⁴⁹⁴ Although containing the same narrative material, the two original kotobagaki differ substantially on the textual level. Each variant of the Tale also contains considerable variation, making it difficult to determine which of the kotobagaki formed the basis for this section.

⁴⁹⁵ Although a note added to some Bunmeibon texts after this poem acknowledges that the poem's inclusion here is a mistake, it is replicated in all known versions of Bunmeibon.

⁴⁹⁶ See Section 48. It is repeated there in one version (Tenri Library), but otherwise omitted in that section in Bunmeibon.

⁴⁹⁷ See note (50) and also Kanzeibon's section 35.

⁴⁹⁸ Except Eishōbon, where textual confusion and omission is particularly evident.

death of a previous poet. Although not directly allusive to a previous poet's work through the geographical connection of an utamakura, as is the Shirakawa episode above, this section shares the same poetic frame of place-association with past poet, and thus serves further to bind Saigyō's journey into the world of poetic tradition in utamonogatari style.

(3) As mentioned above, poem 114 is an anomaly in this section. It is difficult to justify its inclusion here, since it is so clearly addressed to a former emperor (who, however, also died in exile in a distant land).

Poem 115 is the core of this section. It is found as a poem of Lament in *Shinkokinshū*. Its season is winter, marking the end of the string of autumn poems which have carried Saigyō eastward.

Bunmeibon 36

He went on, past Akuru and Tsugaro no Hisukashima⁴⁹⁹ with their stories, the Shinobu area⁵⁰⁰ and Koromogawa,⁵⁰¹ not knowing which among them to gaze his fill upon the most. At Hiraizumi,⁵⁰² where a sukimono was compiling a collection of one hundred poems on the subject of Love, he was prevailed upon to compose (the

⁴⁹⁹ The list of place names is various among the texts. Neither of these place names in this version of Bunmeibon is identifiable. Itō *Zenshū*'s version of the text lists these as ʼAguro, Tsugaro, Ebisugashima, while SIZ has ʼAkuro, Tsugaro no Shima. Shōhōbon has ʼAkuro ya Tsugaru, Ebisugashima. Akuro may have been a place associated with the legendary King Akuro 悪路王, tales of whom are found in the Iwate prefecture area. Tsugaro appears to be a version of Tsugaru 津軽 and probably names the western part of present-day Aomori prefecture. Kuwabara (*Saigyō monogatari*, p. 159) speculates that Ebisugashima 夷が島 may be present-day Hokkaidō. It is most likely that the Tale's creators used the names to evoke the sense of travel in the far reaches of Michinoku, rather than intending to specify geographical points passed through on Saigyō's journey.

⁵⁰⁰ 信夫の郡. The old name for the area of present-day Fukushima city, in Fukushima prefecture.

⁵⁰¹ 衣川. A river which flows through the south-west area of Iwate prefecture. It has associations with military battles, most famously the defeat of Yoshitsune 源義経 (1159-1189) on its banks in 1189. This, however, would have occurred subsequent to Saigyō's present journey.

⁵⁰² 平泉. In present-day Iwate prefecture. Site of a castle established in 1094 by a branch of the Fujiwara family, and occupied by the following three generations, until it was destroyed in 1189. The incumbent when Saigyō visited, Hidehira 秀衡 (1122-1187), is mentioned in most other versions of the Tale, where he is the person here identified simply as ʼsukimono.

following).

116 *Going home / the night I first left / the rainbow wand⁵⁰³ / I felt that I must wait
/ the thousand days.⁵⁰⁴ (SKS 579)*

117 *Knowing my lowly lot / I know the blame / lies nowhere else / yet bitter
thoughts of her / still wet these sleeves. (SKS 680, SKKS 1231)*

118 *If I recall her / when the moon / shines clear / my thoughts cloud / the moon.
(SKS 644, SKKS 1268)⁵⁰⁵*

119 *I would that she / could have the heart / to pity me / for love's grief / strikes
high and low alike. (SKS 1276, SKKS 1230)*

120 *I longed / to live / only till we could meet / but now my aching heart / repents
its vow. (SKS 1269, SKKS 1155)*

121 *He⁵⁰⁶ did not give me cause to hope / yet I wait out the night / believing that he
may come. / If only the dawn were here / and not this deepening night.
(SSS 653, SKKS 1205)⁵⁰⁷*

36. COMMENTS

⁵⁰³ 錦木. This poem refers to an old tradition whereby a young man would leave a five-coloured wand at the door of the girl of his choice. If she accepted him, she took in the wand. If she rejected him, he might persevere for a thousand days, and then she must finally accept him.

I have chosen to consider Bunmeibon's あへる as a corruption of the original かへる.

⁵⁰⁴ The fifth phrase is *kokochi koso sene* こちこそせね.

⁵⁰⁵ The first phrase is *kumamo naki* くまもなき.

⁵⁰⁶ As this poem is written from the position of the one who waits to be visited, the speaker is assumed to be female.

⁵⁰⁷ *Tanomenu ni kimi kuyato matsu yoi no ma wa fukeyukade tada akenamashi mono wo* たのめぬに君くやとまつよひのまはふけゆかてただ明けなまし物を.

(1) This section is only present in full form in the B1 texts and Shōhōbon.⁵⁰⁸ It is possible that it was a later insertion into the Tale, and that the poems found in Bunmeibon and Shōhōbon (which contain the greatest number of poems) represent the fruits of augmentation of an originally smaller selection. Kanzeibon contains only poems 117 and 119, and to these two SIZ adds poem 116; the coincidence of the two poems in these texts may represent the core from which the longer versions developed,⁵⁰⁹ rather than the result of abbreviation.

Bunmeibon, content not to explore the implications of the episode, retains the short introduction found in the other B texts, but Shōhōbon provides a much more detailed description of Saigyō's visit. Here, Hidehira is not identified as a sukimono, but the tenor of the episode is that of the world of the sukimono. It is in the tradition of depictions of the meeting and dialogue of like-minded men, but this meeting is of a different order from previous examples such as that with the abbot of Ninnaji (section 22) or with the hermit of Musashino (section 33), which in their different ways focus Saigyō firmly within the religious frame. Here he is in fully secular mode, poet guest of a powerful man, and their talk is all of mutual family connections. This depiction is in fact a far more realistic representation of the strongly secular aspects of Saigyō's life, those aspects which the Tale (and particularly the B texts) is generally at pains to avoid presenting.

(2) This episode is apparently derived from the need to include Saigyō's *Shinkokinshū* love poems.⁵¹⁰ *Sankashū* and the other personal anthologies make no mention of Saigyō's having met Hidehira,⁵¹¹ although several kotobagaki in *Sankashū* (SKS 1131 and 1442) make it clear that he visited Hiraizumi. With this section,

⁵⁰⁸ It is entirely missing from Unemebon and Eishōbon, and from SHS, which seems to preserve an earlier form of the A texts than Shōhōbon.

⁵⁰⁹ They are immediately adjacent in *Shinkokinshū*.

⁵¹⁰ All but one of the poems are found there.

⁵¹¹ Kuwabara (*Saigyō monogatari*, p. 162) speculates that he may well have had an audience with Hidehira on his second journey to the East, which was officially undertaken to solicit funds to help rebuild the Daibutsuden in Nara.

Saigyō has neared the end of his wanderings in the East, and pauses at his journey's most northerly point, Hiraizumi, breaking the chain of small episodes in which he has been the poetic wanderer moving through the deepening autumn scenery.

It is noteworthy that this culmination of Saigyō's wanderings, which were introduced in strictly religious terms as the performance of shugyō, should be a visit to a sukimono and participation in the composition of a collection of poems on Love. This section is essentially in keeping with the poetic mode of depiction of Saigyō's travels in the East, which make no mention of shugyō or indeed of religious themes in general (with the exception of the anomalous Musashino section), but depict Saigyō through the purely poetic conventions of a weary and heartsick traveller who nevertheless delights in gazing his fill upon places whose names resonate with poetic or historical associations. It is the poems, and the episodes that introduce them, that have carried him to Hiraizumi, so his sojourn with the sukimono Hidehira and participation in composition on this aprofane subject is entirely in keeping with the tenor of his travels.

It is, however, particularly awkward for Saigyō, dedicated religious practitioner, to be composing poems on Love, and the Tale consequently has to deviate from its general method of providing the poems with directly contextualising experiences, and set up the a safe context of poetry written formally upon request.⁵¹² Saigyō's necessary unwillingness, mentioned in the B1 texts, is made more of in Kanzeibon and the A texts, which seem more aware of the fundamental tensions inherent in the situation. In Kanzeibon it is suggested that his family connection with Hidehira finally induces him to participate, while in the A texts he is given more compelling reason by being reminded of his dream at Senri (see section 14) which gave as it were divine sanction to the composition of waka.

(3) All but the first poem are found in *Shinkokinshū*. Poem 116 was presumably added to the selection in order to more nearly approximate the traditional aprogress of

⁵¹² The other group of love poems in the Tale, that found in section 43, is similarly given the context of a request difficult to refuse .

love form of love poetry collections, since the lover here is depicted at the beginning of the process of wooing the beloved.

In poem 117 the rejected lover recognizes the cause to be his lower status.⁵¹³ Poem 118 is a version of a poem which the B2 texts include among the moon poems of section 22. It continues the theme of lamenting a lost (or, in this case, rejecting) lover. Poem 119 laments her cold-heartedness, and his low status is again referred to. In poem 120 she has relented and granted him a single meeting, and poem 121, anomalous in that it is written from the woman's point of view, depicts the lover waiting hopelessly. The order of these last two poems is reversed in Shōhōbon, creating a more natural progression.

Bunmeibon 37

At the end of the ninth month he stayed (somewhere)⁵¹⁴, and in a little earth hut, he heard the voice of the cricket receding, (and composed).

122 *The cricket's voice / recedes / as if it weakens / with each night / of growing autumn chill.* (SSS 270, SKKS 472)

On the topic of waiting for someone in the snow.

123 *Would that there were / some other path to my hut / than through this garden / so that he who waits for a companion / could see (this snow) without disturbing it.* (SKS 532)⁵¹⁵

He was moved to witness how the people here (too) bustled about at the end

⁵¹³ It is poems such as these which have led to the widespread speculation that Saigyō had suffered in his youth from unrequited love for a woman in a socially superior position.

⁵¹⁴ 九月のすゑにとどまりたれば、はにふのこやに. . . Cf. Shōhōbon: 秋の末つ方になりて出でにけり。ある片山陰のはにふの小屋にとどまりたりけるに. . . , of which Bunmeibon seems a somewhat confused summary.

⁵¹⁵ The original is *waga yado ni niwa yori hoka no michi mo ga na toikon hito no ato tsukede min* わが宿に庭よりほかの道もがな訪ひこん人の跡つけで見ん. Bunmeibon's poem is a less comprehensible version of the original, in which it is the speaker who awaits a visitor with whom to share the snowy scene, yet is loath to have the visitor disturb the snow in his garden.

of the year, although this was not the capital.

124 All the more forlorn / to see on a journey / this far sky / darkened / with the
year's end. (SKS 572)

125 For all my loathing / of this suffering self / I am moved / to gaze at the moon /
as the year ends. (SSS 191)⁵¹⁶

The year had ended, and all about the mountains had turned green. Yet more
forlornly moved, with the rising mists (of spring) he made his way toward the capital.
In a field (he came upon) a house surrounded by⁵¹⁷ willows planted to mark the
boundaries. Lying face down beneath the beautifully flowering plum in the hedge, he
composed.

126 The scent that drifts / to this traveller's pillow / where I sleep alone / is the
scent / of the plum in the hedge. (SKS 43)

127 As marker for their boundary / on the long slope / the poor mountain folk /
have planted / the jewels / of these little willows. (SKS 52, SKKS
1675)⁵¹⁸

Finding himself still alive, unwilling though he was, by the fourth month he
had wandered as far as the land of Mino.⁵¹⁹ On his homeward path he heard the voice
of the hototogisu, telling of the forlornness of travel.

128 Hototogisu / if you fly to the capital / let me send a message / telling of the
sorrows / of one who crosses the mountains / late behind you. (SSS

⁵¹⁶ The final phrase is *toshi wo henureba* 年をへぬれば.

⁵¹⁷ I here follow the more comprehensible うえ渡して of the Itō Zenshū version.

⁵¹⁸ The original is *yamagatsu no kataoka kakete shimuru io no sakai ni miyuru tama no oyanagi* 山賤の片岡かけてしむる庵のさかひに見ゆる玉の小柳.

⁵¹⁹ 美濃の国. Present-day Gifu prefecture.

129 *The twisting grasses / of the field / grow dark / beneath the coolly clouding
sky / which holds an evening downpour.* (SSS 622, SKKS 263)

37. COMMENTS

(1) Here too, only the B1 and A texts contain a full version of the section.⁵²¹ The A texts are the more comprehensible, and in several instances contain material which makes sense of confusions or vagueness in the B texts (particularly SIZ), suggesting that they are the earlier version. They lack several poems present in the B1 texts, including the anomalous 123.

(2) This section turns Saigyō back on his homeward journey toward the capital. Like his travel eastward, the description of this journey consists of a series of short episodes built around poems, so I have again chosen to include them in a single section. The episodes and their poems again follow a seasonal progression, here from late autumn to spring and summer, anthology-style. It is presumably for this reason that poem 123, a winter poem, is included in Bunmeibon (though not in other variants), despite its irrelevance to the forward progression of Saigyō's journey.

As in the travelling sections of 34 and 35, the Saigyō figure is here viewed within the poetic mode of a lonely sojourner in distant lands.⁵²² Here, however, he is no longer a wandering here and there taking in famous places on his journey, but being drawn back toward the capital, intent on return. Several of the short episodes depict him, as in section 35, spending the night in a poor hut (the Hardships of

⁵²⁰ The last two phrases are *koekurashitaru yama no aware wo* こえくらしたる山の哀を.

⁵²¹ *Nanakashū's* version is in fact the fullest, containing nine poems.

⁵²² Only in the A texts and Kanzeibon do we find a hint of the religious purpose of his travel, in the expression *as he made his way from mountain to mountain and temple to temple*, although Bunmeibon's *afinding himself alive, unwilling though he was* makes use of a familiar cliché to nod to the fact that Saigyō's real business is the pursuit of *ōjā*.

Travel),⁵²³ and the remaining episodes, with the exception of that of the odd poem 123, depict his sorrowful yearning for the capital — a sentiment which, though unbecoming for a strict Buddhist aspirant, is entirely suitable and in fact *de rigueur* for a travelling poet and man of sensibility.

(3) Of the eight poems in this section, only three (poems 122, 127 and 129) are found in *Shinkokinshū*, and of these one (poem 129) is included only in Bunmeibon. This section is reminiscent of the Ise sections in that the poems are taken from several sources besides *Sankashū*, and one (poem 128) is not found in any presently-existing collection of Saigyō's poetry. Taken together with the fact that, as in the Ise sections, it is the A texts which appear to be the earlier form of this section, one could speculate that here too we find evidence of a possible connection through the A texts to an early link with Ise.⁵²⁴

Poem 122 signals the end of autumn. Poem 123 (found only in Bunmeibon) is originally a daieika on the topic awaiting for someone on a snowy morning . As a winter poem, it carries the season through to the early spring of the following episode, which apparently justified its insertion for the Bunmeibon creator, despite the otherwise incongruent nature of its content.

Poem 124 originally appears with the kotobagaki composed in Michinoku at the year's end . Presumably this kotobagaki's reference to Michinoku prompted the poem's inclusion, and thereby the creation of the introductory material which links it to his yearning for the capital. Poem 125, although not directly related to the journey, follows the theme of the previous poem while introducing a more religious sentiment.

Poem 126 originally had the kotobagaki Plum at a lodging on a journey . Its image contrasts the loneliness of the traveller's pillow , with its drifts of plum scent, with the drift of scent from a lover when sleeping together. The inclusion of this poem points up the fact that the Saigyō of this section is very much in suki rather than shugyō mode. The inclusion of poem 127 is presumably based on the mention of the poor mountain folk, which allows the Tale to combine it with the previous poem as a

⁵²³ Bunmeibon does not make it clear that he stayed in these places, but one can infer that the

single episode of a night spent at such a lodging.⁵²⁵

The original kotobagaki to poem 128 reads 𐀀In the land of Mino . It is generally considered to be included in *Saigyō Shōninshū* (the only anthology in which it is found) as a direct result of its presence in *Saigyō monogatari*, and its authenticity as a Saigyō poem is questioned. As mentioned above, it is possible that this poem, like the poems of unknown origin found in the Ise section, are from a lost collection of Saigyō's poetry which *Saigyō Shōninshū* also drew on. Poem 129 too is otherwise only found in *Saigyō Shōninshū*, where it appears as poem 622.⁵²⁶ Its presence here carries the season forward to midsummer, thereby lengthening the time of Saigyō's journey back to the capital.

Bunmeibon 38

Since (he could not end) his life as his heart desired, he thus returned to his old home a second time, and as he went about looking at the state of things in the capital (he found) proof that all die 𐀀before or after , 𐀀dew on leaf tip or the fallen drop ,⁵²⁷ the truth that age or youth does not determine death, (which) though everyone knows it (was brought home to him afresh),⁵²⁸ for now, after more than ten years of travelling about, when he called on friends he used to know, they had long ago crossed the mountain path into death, and though it might be they who were the smoke he saw rising from Mt. Toribe⁵²⁹ it was not clear; though the wormwood's dew lies upon every leaf, when the autumn wind blows it disappears on the slopes of the
episode is built on this assumption from comparison with the A texts.

⁵²⁴ See the discussion of this possibility in the Comments section of sections 27 and 28.

⁵²⁵ Although Bunmeibon loses this essential fact, and SIZ solves its consequent confusion by dropping all reference to the hut.

⁵²⁶ Taniguchi (𐀀Saigyō Monogatari no Keisei , p.35) believes that *Shinkokinshū*'s selection of Saigyō's poems, of which nine poems are not found in presently existing collections of his work, also made use of this missing collection.

⁵²⁷ A quotation from the well-known poem by Sōjō Henjō 僧正遍昭 (816-890): *sue no tsuyu moto no shizuku ya yo no naka no okure sakidatsu tameshi naruramu* 末の露本の雫や世の中の遅れ先立つ例なるらむ (SKKS 757).

⁵²⁸ The syntax of this long sentence is clearer in SIZ.

grass-tangled plain;⁵³⁰ and though he called at their houses (he found) more than sixty places which had become a tale of past times, their ruins⁵³¹ bound tight with creepers. And among people in general this was even more the case, the dead too numerous to be counted. *ə*In this world, tiny as a snail's horn, what point is there to quarrelling? Life is only a huddling close to the warmth of but a passing spark.⁵³² All that is born must die. Sakyamuni has not yet escaped the smoke of the funeral pyre. Pleasure will end and sorrow will follow. Those in the realm of heaven too will meet their end.⁵³³ *ə*What heartache⁵³⁴ have I returned to? Saigyō asked himself, ashamed. *ə*(But) such a return as this to one's old home is not something the heart does not urge, for *ə*the north-bred horse neighs at the north wind, the south-born bird nests on a southern branch.⁵³⁵ For this reason, though Kōbō Daishi⁵³⁶ was a bodhisattva of the third realm, yet he left the Buddhist (scriptures) of the holy mountains of T'zien-t'ai shan, Wu-t'ai shan and Vulture Peak⁵³⁷ and returned home to Japan. Sugawara no

⁵²⁹ 鳥辺山. A mountain graveyard on the eastern outskirts of the capital, where corpses were burned.

⁵³⁰ すこしかたおかのあさちが原, an expression more poetic than strictly meaningful. It is found only in Bunmeibon.

⁵³¹ あと. This would seem to be a miswriting of SIZ etc. かのど, which gives the more poetically conventional image of a door locked by vines.

⁵³² A quotation from poem 791 of *Wakan rōeishū*: 蝸牛角上争何事 石火光中寄此身 (無上 白居易).

⁵³³ 五衰の日にあふ. This refers to the five forms of debility believed to be manifested by those inhabiting the realm of heaven (one of the six worlds of reincarnation) when they are about to die.

The above sentences are also quotations from a *Wakan rōeishū* poem: *ə*生者必滅 釈尊未免 栴檀之煙 楽尽哀来 天人猶逢五衰之日 (無常 江相公). Takagi (*ə*Saigyō monogatari no tenkyō, p. 34) points out that similar quotes are found in *Hōbutsushū*. It is not clear, however, whether the Tale was directly indebted to this text, and their presence there may be evidence rather of a widespread use of these quotations.

⁵³⁴ おぼつかなさ. SIZ has いさましさ.

⁵³⁵ A quotation from poem 19 in the ancient Chinese collection *Monzen* 文選 (early sixth century) which was widely read in Japan at this time.

⁵³⁶ 弘法大師, the popular name given to Kūkai 空海 (774-835), founder of the Shingon sect of Buddhism, with which Saigyō was affiliated.

⁵³⁷ 天台五台りゃうせん(靈山). All are key mountains in Buddhist scripture and history, and here constitute a general reference to the lands in which Mahāyāna Buddhism originated.

*Michizane*⁵³⁸ *called himself a Celestial Statesman of Great Majesty*⁵³⁹ *and was master of ten billion worlds, yet he left his traces in the capital that had been his home and spreads his divine favours (here), he thought.*⁵⁴⁰

130 *As though it owned / this worthless body / my heart / has brought it back /
after all my wanderings. (SSS 671, SKKS 1746)*

131 *What shades of sadness / do I bring / to the moon's light / gazing at her / deep
in thought? (SKS 649, SKKS 1269)*⁵⁴¹

132 *Can this be / the ruins / of the house where I once lived? / In the wormwood's
dew / the moon hangs reflected. (SSS 439, SKKS 1680)*⁵⁴²

133 *It is indeed a mournful thing / to part / at the next world / and mournful too to
see / the ruined landscape of tangled grass. (SKS 821)*⁵⁴³

Within the capital, it was somehow full of noise and disturbance.

134 *I long to be / alone / in some far cave / and dwell on my thoughts / without
thought for the eyes of others. (SSS 647, SKKS 1099)*⁵⁴⁴

135 *Why is there no pitying friend / who visits me / sunk here in thought? / Over
the reeds / only the wind comes calling to this hut. (SKS 705, SKKS 1307)*

⁵³⁸ 菅道真 (845-903). A powerful scholar and member of the court, who lost favour with the emperor and was exiled to Tsukushi, where he died. Calamities in the capital following his death led to his being hastily reinstated, as the deity of Kitano shrine (alluded to here as his return to the capital).

⁵³⁹ 大政威徳天. This is the title claimed by Tenjin-san (天神さん, the reincarnation of Michizane as deity).

⁵⁴⁰ It is not clear where the narrator's words end and Saigyō's thoughts begin.

⁵⁴¹ This follows the *Shinkokinshū* version. In *Sankashū*, the last phrase is aware *somuran* あわれ染むらん. This poem is a close version of poem 22, which appears in section 6 in varied form among many of the texts. Its repetition here is found in the B1 texts, and in SHS.

⁵⁴² The original form of the poem is *kore ya mishi mukashi sumiken ato naran yomogi ga tsuyu ni tsuki no yadoreru* これや見し昔すみけん跡ならんよもぎが露に月のやどれる.

136 *I will push on / still deeper into the mountains / leaving no marker to return by
— / seeking some place / where sad news cannot find me.*

(SKS 1121, SKKS 1641)⁵⁴⁵

38. COMMENTS

(1) Comparison of the variants is instructive. All the variants contain some version of the opening section, the ruined houses and the missing friends. Only the B1 texts follow this with the Buddhist material which follows here. The B2 texts have only an abbreviated version of the opening description, and a single poem (130). Of particular interest is the relatively close relationship of SIZ to the A texts, both textually and in the inclusion of a subsection omitted in Bunmeibon, which describes, kotobagaki-style, Saigyō's visit to the grieving widow of a friend and composition of a poem on the subject (SKKS 837).

Bunmeibon seems in this section to be a further development from SIZ (with augmentations which echo parts of Kanzeibon), with removal of this subsection and addition of fresh layers of Buddhist and other references which creates a rather tangled text. The A texts' lack of specifically Buddhist material points to a development whereby what was originally a passage in a poetic mode (albeit on the theme of transience) was reworked by the B texts to bring out its Buddhist implications. Bunmeibon appears to exemplify a particularly late text in this line of development.

Another intriguing light on the question of the Tale's development is cast by the A text variant *Saigyō Hōshi shūka*. This text faithfully follows Shōhōbon in this section to the end of poem 133, whereupon it makes a smooth transition to the Tale's final scenes (sections 54-56), picking up at exactly the point in the text where that other early text, Seikadō, also rejoins the Tale after a long hiatus (since the middle of

⁵⁴³ The second phrase is *wakare wa kyō mo* 別れは今日も.

⁵⁴⁴ The fourth phrase is *hitome tsutsumade* 人目つつまで.

section 32). While Seikadō's transition to these final scenes is abrupt and suggestive of omission of intervening sections, SHS presents no such problems. Here, Saigyō chooses to retire to Sōrinji (on the eastern outskirts of the capital) having witnessed the devastation and loss described in this section, and after meditating on his life, attains the longed-for ōjō.

It is possible that we have here a very early form of the Tale, which (though it omits Saigyō's travel to Sanuki) presents a version closer to known biographical fact; Saigyō's second return from Michinoku to the capital⁵⁴⁶ came near the end of his life, in or around 1187 (when he was seventy), and his death occurred two or three years later, much as depicted here. It was, moreover, on this return that he would have witnessed the destruction wrought on the capital by the Genpei Wars, making the description in this section particularly telling. It is interesting that the B3 texts (Unemebon), though in general a rather free re-interpretation of the Tale, rearrange the order of events to place the journey to Sanuki much earlier, and (as in these earliest A texts) follow Saigyō's Michinoku journey directly with the final sections leading up to his ōjō. It seems entirely possible that this narrative structure, found in both Seikadō and Unemebon, was the original form of the Tale, which is most nearly preserved in SHS, and that the intervening sections found in other variants represent a process of augmentation such as so frequently took place throughout the Tale's development.⁵⁴⁷

(2) With this section, the Tale introduces the second of Saigyō's returns to the capital. Its description of the ruined state in which he found it is no mere poetic exercise, but derives from historical events, the destruction of much of the city in the course of the Heiji Rebellion of 1159 (when Saigyō was forty-two), caused by an unsuccessful revolt against the ruling Taira by Minamoto Yoshitomo and Fujiwara

⁵⁴⁵ This version follows that found in *Shinkokinshū*. In *Sankashū*, the first phrase is *shiori seji* 枝折せじ.

⁵⁴⁶ His first visit occurred not long after his shukke, and all versions of the Tale conflate the two.

⁵⁴⁷ *Nanakashū*, although containing the present Capital sections, is lacking the Sanuki

Nobuyori. If the Tale did indeed originally intend Saigyō's return to belong to a much later period in his life, the city would have been further devastated by the battles between the Taira and the Minamoto which occurred there in the period between 1177 and 1185.

This is, of course, fertile ground for a work which sets out to teach the truth of Buddhist transience, and the Tale (particularly in the B1 texts) here follows a well-established tradition of descriptions of devastation and its sorrows and lessons, most notably exemplified by *Hōjōki* and *Heike monogatari* and other martial tales of the time. As is common in such a tradition, particularly that of the martial tales, the prose is heightened through use of poetic reference and metaphor.⁵⁴⁸ This is particularly evident in the Bunmeibon version of the Tale, which presents the reader with a thicket of intertextual references of this sort to bring home its point.

This poetic descriptiveness gives way in the B1 texts to a timely sermon on the lesson of transience to be learned from such a scene of death and destruction, which likewise is composed largely of well-known images and quotations, this time from poetry in Chinese, as befits the Buddhist style of content. The B1 texts then add a further subsection, yet again relying on references to make its point, which justifies Saigyō's weak return to the capital (for which he chides himself) with examples of great men from the past. Takagi⁵⁴⁹ suggests that this subsection also serves the purpose of establishing Saigyō as being of the same religious stature as Kōbō Daishi and Michizane, whose return to the land of their birth is respectively in the role of great religious teacher and of deity. While this interpretation seems rather forced — it was, after all, common to draw on examples of famous figures from the past to explain or justify a present action, without necessarily thereby asserting an identity with these figures — it does seem true to say that the passage is attempting to set sections, reinforcing the impression that they may have been a later incorporation into the Tale. (See discussion of *Nanakashū* in Part I.)

⁵⁴⁸ The quotation of Henjō's well-known poem, the reference to the poetic tropes of the mountain path into death (死出の山路) and the grass-tangled plain (あさぢが原) etc.).

⁵⁴⁹ *Saigyō monogatari no shōdōsei*, p. 98.

Saigyō's return to the capital within a religiously acceptable frame.⁵⁵⁰ This section thus moves Saigyō from his long sojourn in the realm of poetic travel back to an at least temporary reassertion of his religious mode, by means of a salutary confrontation with the truth of transience and the pain of attachment.

(3) All but one of the poems (133, a poem included only in *Bunmeibon*) are found in *Shinkokinshū*.

Poem 130 is the only poem present in all the texts examined, and it can be supposed from this fact and from its content that it was the original core poem around which this section was constructed. Its lament is the Buddhist's despair at the foolishness of his wilful heart, rather than despair at what he witnesses around him, and it sits rather oddly with the justifications for his return which the B1 texts place before it.⁵⁵¹

Poem 131 is particularly problematic. It is a repetition of a poem found also in section 6, where it forms part of Norikiyo's meditations before his shukke. Its variant forms between *Sankashū* and *Shinkokinshū* may perhaps have encouraged its double appearance in the Tale — the version in section 6 differs from that given here.⁵⁵² As was the case also in section 6, this poem, originally a love poem, is here made to carry religious overtones (what clouds the moon is not an unhappy lover's tears but those of the sorrowing/deluded religious aspirant).

As an expression of sorrow at the ruins of one's former home, poem 132 is entirely suitable to this section. Poem 133 appears in *Sankashū* as one of ten poems composed on the death of Kii no Tsubone 紀伊局 (? - 1166), who was in the service of Taikenmon'in. It is found only in the B1 texts, and presumably was added here to

⁵⁵⁰ This is made clear, too, by the use of the word 観じて (a word with the specifically Buddhist meaning of ㊦to meditate on a truth), instead of the more common おぼへて.

⁵⁵¹ Takagi's claim (*㊦Saigyō monogatari no shōdōsei*, p.98) that the poem is here being given a didactic role in support of the implication that Saigyō is returning as Buddhist teacher and saviour seems entirely unjustified by its sentiment. Its presence in other variants which do not contain the introductory passage referred to also makes this intention unlikely.

⁵⁵² It is interesting that this textual disruption occurs at the point at which the early A texts split off from the later texts.

balance the previous poem (sorrow over place) with sorrow over people.

Poem 134 appears in *Sankashū* as a love poem. Here *ものおもふ* is reinterpreted from the original meaning to a more general melancholy. Poem 135 is likewise originally a love poem. Its presence here is unrelated to the prose content of the section, since it presents the speaker as living in a house, and expresses the common theme of awaiting for a lover/friend to visit. Its presence can only be explained by its continuation of the theme of the previous poem. Poem 136 is in *Sankashū* accompanied by a kotobagaki which states that it was composed while Saigyō was at Mt. Kōya, upon hearing bad news. Its sentiment, of desire for retreat from the world, echoes that of poem 135.

Bunmeibon 39

*Horikawa no Tsubone*⁵⁵³ sent for priest Saigyō, wishing to talk with him about the next life, and he sent word that he was coming, but, who knows what he was thinking of, he saw the people⁵⁵⁴ and went on past the gate, gazing at the moon and walking towards the mountains in the west. The servant who was sent to fetch him reported that he had passed the gate in this way, and she sent this poem to him.

137 *The moonlight / which I trusted / to lead me to the west*⁵⁵⁵ / has proved / an empty promise. (SKS 854,⁵⁵⁶ SKKS 1976)

His reply:

138 *The moonlight / did not come to your door / but pushed on through the clouds*

⁵⁵³ 堀川局. A woman in the service of Taikenimonjin, who took the tonsure when she died in 1142. Saigyō exchanged poems with her on a number of occasions.

⁵⁵⁴ ひとのけしきをみて. This is more comprehensible in SIZ, which has 人なきをみて. It may be derived from the presence of the word けしき in poem 139.

⁵⁵⁵ i.e. to paradise after death.

⁵⁵⁶ The second phrase is *shirube to tanomu* するべとたのむ.

/ because in the sky it saw / that you were not waiting.

(SKS 855,⁵⁵⁷ SKKS 1977)

Saying this, he purified his heart in the bright moonlight.

139 *The darkness has brightened / and the clear moon / that dwells now in my
heart / may mean that for me too / the western mountain's rim is near at hand.*

(SKS 876, SKKS 1979)

*Passing in the vicinity of the imperial palace, he was moved to see how things
had changed since the time of the deceased Toba-in.⁵⁵⁸ That night, he stayed in a
house whose master had died, and was moved at how his widow grieved and wept the
whole night through.*

140 *Only grieving / for that past / so rich with sentiment / reluctantly I live on / in
this sad world.* (SKS 713, SKKS 1842)

141 *This truly / must be love — / to keep beside you / only the shadow / of one
now dead.* (SSS 634, SKKS 837)⁵⁵⁹

39. COMMENTS

(1) The only variants to contain versions of this episode are the B1 texts and the A texts (along with *Nanakashū*). Of these, *Bunmeibon* contains the fullest version. *SIZ*

⁵⁵⁷ The original poem is *sashiirade kumoji wo yogishi tsukikage wa matanu kokoro zo sora ni miekeru*. さしいらで雲路をよぎし月かげはまたぬ心ぞ空に見えける。The version of the poem found here is an amalgam of the two versions found in *Sankashū* and *Shinkokinshū*. *SIZ*, the only other variant to include this poem here (it appears among the moon poems of section 22 in the B2 texts), contains yet another version of it.

⁵⁵⁸ Toba-in died in 1156.

⁵⁵⁹ This poem is also found in the Saigyō collection *Kikigakishū* 聞書集 (date unknown), where it is poem 113.

here follows the A texts in placing poem 141 and its introductory text in section 37. For this present section, the A texts (Shōhōbon) contain only poem 140 and a version of its introductory material.

The several awkwardnesses in narrative continuity in Bunmeibon—the inclusion of poem 141 and episode, the interposing of the Horikawa no Tsubone exchange in a section which then reverts to the previous theme, and the depiction of Saigyō as remaining in the capital — are solved in the simpler version found in the A texts. It would seem that the B1 texts may represent a further stage in the addition of material, which blurs the earlier intention of the passage (whereby, in Shōhōbon, Saigyō passes the imperial palace grounds on his way to fulfil his intention of retiring to the mountains). It is interesting that this section, and indeed the subsequent acapital episodes, are entirely absent from the B2 and B3 texts, possible further evidence that these sections are the result of later additions.⁵⁶⁰

(2) Despite the determination in the previous poems to turn his back on the capital, Saigyō is here shown continuing to live there.⁵⁶¹

The first episode, taken from the kotobagaki to SKS 854 and 855 (poems 137 and 138), depicts him calling on — or rather, failing to call on — a nun who had been known to him since their time at court. Such episodes⁵⁶² are frequently recorded in *Sankashū*, and bear witness to Saigyō's continued close contact with friends from his former life, and particularly with former ladies-in-waiting. Here, the original kotobagaki, which simply mentions that he informed her that he would call on her, but became confused and passed by her house on a moonlit night, is given a suitably pious touch by stating that she specifically requested him to visit in order to discuss religious matters. The exchange, although dependent on the religious associations of

⁵⁶⁰ The B1 text version of the section is also found in *Nanakashū*, however.

⁵⁶¹ I have combined the two episodes, otherwise unrelated, because of their single location in the capital.

⁵⁶² Similar exchanges with a former lady-in-waiting appear in section 19, and below.

the moon and the west,⁵⁶³ is essentially in light *suki* mode, but the addition of poem 139 neatly draws the two images into an overtly religious statement.

The second episode reverts to the theme of the previous section, in being a lament for times past, here a recollection of his time spent serving Toba-in. Bunmeibon is alone in rather awkwardly combining this episode and its poem (140) with the separate episode of visiting the grieving widow and its accompanying poem (141).⁵⁶⁴

(3) Poems 137 and 138 appear in *Shinkokinshū* with a modified version of their *Sankashū* kotobagaki, an expanded version of which is found here. Poem 139 follows them closely and is the final poem in *Shinkokinshū*.

Poem 140 appears as a love poem in *Sankashū*, the richly emotional past being that of the time before parting from the beloved. In *Shinkokinshū*, however, it is a miscellaneous poem whose context in the collection implies that the mourned past is that of a previous age. Poem 141 appears in *Shinkokinshū* as a poem of lament, with the kotobagaki sent to a person mourning the loss of someone .

Bunmeibon 40

Composing thus, he made for himself a hut deep in the northern mountains and pursued his practice; yet he nevertheless felt sorrowfully moved that there was no one who came to ask after him.

142 *I wish there were / a friend in this mountain village / who had turned from the hateful world. / Together we would talk, / regretful of the past.*

(SSS 546,⁵⁶⁵ SKKS 1657)

143 *I do not intend / that others should not come / in this mountain village, / yet it*

⁵⁶³ The realm of Amida's paradise.

⁵⁶⁴ This episode appears as part of the previous section in SIZ and the A texts, and it is not clear why Bunmeibon should have shifted it to this place.

⁵⁶⁵ The third phrase is *tomo mo ga na* 友もがな.

grows rarer / to be visited.

(SSS 597, SKKS 1658)

*Gazing at a distant mountain path, it seemed a stormy wind was blowing the red leaves of the masaki.*⁵⁶⁶

144 *The leaves of the masaki vine / which twines around the pine / are scattered — / does the autumn wind / rage over the foothills?* (SSS 618,⁵⁶⁷ SKKS 538)

40. COMMENTS

(1) Of the variants which contain this section,⁵⁶⁸ Shōhōbon is briefest, with only poem 143 and its introductory material. SIZ here introduces a number of the poems and their episodes found in the following section of Bunmeibon. Its aim seems to be to gather in this section the poems which are composed alone, placing the poems composed socially in the following section.⁵⁶⁹ Once again, one can guess at a process of augmentation from the simpler A text version to the B1 texts, with the poems and their episodes in a fluid order.

(2) The previous section began a long passage consisting of short introductory sections and their poems, which do not follow any narrative trajectory but generally depict Saigyō in and around the capital. I have chosen to divide off this section somewhat arbitrarily, based on the temporary change of focus to a hermit's hut in a mountain village in the northern mountains. It should be emphasized, however, that this division is merely for convenience of discussion, and is not supported by the

⁵⁶⁶ まさき(柎), now the name of a small evergreen shrub of the Nishikigi family. As its leaves do not turn in autumn, it must be assumed that another plant is intended. A note to this poem in *Shinkokinshū* (Shinchō Nihon Koten Shūsei, p. 186) suggests that *amasaki no kazura* (an evergreen vine of the same family) may be intended in the poem. It too, however, retains green leaves throughout the year. Cf. poem 55 (section 16).

⁵⁶⁷ The third ku is ちりぬなり.

⁵⁶⁸ Only SIZ and the later A texts, represented by Shōhōbon in this discussion. It is also present in *Nanakashū*.

⁵⁶⁹ Bumeibon's version of this section does not make this distinction in its ordering of the poems.

omissions and alternative orderings of this passage's material in the other variants.

Since all the subsequent episodes in this long passage depict Saigyō in the capital, this section serves to place him at best at one remove from life in the capital, to which he continues to return. In content it returns to the stock theme of the lonely recluse longing for a friend. The B1 text's addition of poem 145 is somewhat forced, since the poem is in the *Kokinshū* elegant inference mode, and its only connection with the present narrative is the mountain setting.⁵⁷⁰

(3) Again, the poems are all to be found in *Shinkokinshū*, and it seems possible that this series of 'capital' episodes is built up with the B texts adding to the original A text material, primarily with the intention of including added *Shinkokinshū* poems.

Poems 142 and 143 are adjacent in *Shinkokinshū*, where they appear among the miscellaneous poems.

Poem 144 is in *Shinkokinshū* an autumn poem, without assigned topic. It also appears in *Mimosugogawa utaawase* as poem 42. In the Tale, it sets the autumn season of the following poems.

Bunmeibon 41

He went into the capital. A person he knew said he wanted to meet Saigyō, but he left on a summons from his lord, saying he would return. As (Saigyō) was waiting, expecting him at any moment, he heard wild geese crying as they flew above him in the distant sky.

145 *He does not come / and as the wind blows/ and the night deepens/ in pity the wild geese / call as they pass.* (SSS 652, SKKS 1200)

Composed when he went to see where Ryōzen⁵⁷¹ had lived in Ōhara, when

⁵⁷⁰ It is, however, a poem premised on a point of view from the plain, viewing the distant mountains. SIZ's re-ordering of episodes at this point is perhaps related to this fact.

⁵⁷¹ 良ぜん (or Ryōsen, dates unknown). A poet roughly contemporaneous with Nōin, who lived in a retreat in Ōhara (a village north of the capital which had a community of religious recluses) in his later years.

people were composing on their feelings (at visiting this place).

146 *Here in Ōhara / I have not yet learned / to fire a charcoal kiln* ⁵⁷² — / would
that the man who said this / were here now. (SKS 1047)⁵⁷³

*In the tenth month, when he went to Hōkongōin⁵⁷⁴ to view the autumn leaves,
and could think only of the time of (past visits there by) Taikenmonzōin,⁵⁷⁵ he
composed this for Hyōe no Tsubone⁵⁷⁶ (alone).⁵⁷⁷*

147 *Your sleeves must now be soaked / in a soft rain of tears / to see the autumn
leaves, / recalling in bitter sorrow / colours of autumns past.* (SKS
797)⁵⁷⁸

Her reply:

148 *The rain of tears / falls even as I gaze / upon the deeply coloured leaves / and
there is not a day / I do not recall the past.* (SKS 798)⁵⁷⁹

*Composed on the night of the fifteenth day of the seventh month, when the
full moon was bright, while he was saying sutras for the countless dead at a place*

⁵⁷² This alludes to a poem by Ryōsen: *Ōhara ya mada sumigama mo narawaneba waga yado
nomi zo kemuri taikeru* 大原やまだ炭窯もならばねばわが宿のみぞ煙絶えける (Here in Ōhara /
since I have not yet learned / to fire a charcoal kiln / the smoke from my hut alone / comes to its end.)

⁵⁷³ The original poem is *Ōhara ya mada sumigama mo narawazu to iiken hito wo ima
arasebaya* 大原やまだ炭竈もならずと言いけん人を今あらせばや.

⁵⁷⁴ 宝金剛院, a temple in the north of the capital. It was razed by fire in 1181 (when Saigyō
was 64).

⁵⁷⁵ 待賢門院 (1101-1145), empress of Tobain. She rebuilt the temple and made it her
detached palace.

⁵⁷⁶ 近衛のつぼね (dates unknown), a lady-in-waiting to Taikenmonzōin.

⁵⁷⁷ 近衛のつぼねばかりへ. The odd use of ばかり (許) must surely come from a misreading
of the SIZ version: 近衛のつぼねの許 (もと) へ.

⁵⁷⁸ The original poem is *momiji mite kimi ga tame to ya shigururan mukashi no aki no iro wo
shitaite* 紅葉見て君がためとや時雨るらん昔の秋の色をしたひて.

⁵⁷⁹ The final phrase is *kakenu hi zo naki* かけぬ日ぞなき.

called *Funaoka*.⁵⁸⁰

149 *Would that I could / somehow hold close to me / the moonlight of this night /
to light them / on their mountain path into death.* (SKS 774)

When all felt forlorn to him, he heard close to his pillow the voice of a cricket.

150 *I hope that in that wood / by my pillow under the wormwood / I hear / this
dear familiar voice / of crickets.* (SKS 775)⁵⁸¹

*(Composed) when he was moved by the moon appearing late at night through
the smoke of Mt. Toribe⁵⁸² as corpses were being burned.*

151 *Mt. Toribe must be / the final embodiment / of Vulture Peak — / for the light
of Buddha's moon / appears through its smoke.* (SKS 776)⁵⁸³

41. COMMENTS

(1) Only the B1 texts and Shōhōbon contain a version of this section.⁵⁸⁴ Of the B1 texts, SIZ appears to be the earlier. Shōhōbon contains only poems 147-150 and their related material, with an added poem. Thus, the fluidity of content seen in previous sections continues here.

(2) This section continues the series of poems plus short introductory passages which depict Saigyō in the capital. The opening sentence brings him down from his mountain retreat, which is not subsequently mentioned. Once again, my division into sections is perforce arbitrary; it is here based on a dividing off from the subsequent poems, which consist entirely of poetic exchanges (although this section contains the

⁵⁸⁰ 船岡, a graveyard on the northern outskirts of the city.

⁵⁸¹ The first phrase is *sono ori no* その折りの (i.e. at the time of his death). SIZ and the A texts follow *Sankashū*.

⁵⁸² See note 529.

⁵⁸³ The first phrase is *toribeno ya* 鳥辺野や.

⁵⁸⁴ *Nanakashū* also contains an abbreviated version, with only poems 145 and 146 and their introductory material. These are the poems not found in the A texts, and it could be speculated that the B texts are comprised of the combination of A text and *Nanakashū* material.

exchange with Hyōe no Tsubone). The compilers of the Tale, however, would have had little or no sense of major disjunction among sections 39 to 42.

Narrative structure here gives way entirely to isolated episodes. Even seasonality is sacrificed, with the late autumn season of poems 145 and 147-8 moving backward to poem 149's beginning of autumn. Shōhōbon inserts the words *the following year*, to solve this dilemma, while SIZ's solution is to move these early autumn poems back to the previous section. The first three episodes depict Saigyō in *suki mode*, composing socially, through a poem composed on the occasion of a visit (145), at a poetic gathering (146), or as part of a poetic exchange (147-8). The balance is redressed with poems 149 and 151, which are overtly religious in content, and recall Saigyō briefly to the themes of transience and mortality of section 38 — a vision of the capital that has otherwise disappeared in these subsequent more urbane and poetic sections.

(3) All but the first poem derive from *Sankashū*, and appear to have been chosen because their original *kotobagaki* material refers in some way to Saigyō's presence in the capital. It is this material that forms the core of the introductory sections, which (particularly in the B texts) generally echo the *kotobagaki* quite closely.

Poem 145 is the only exception, as it originally has no *kotobagaki*. Hence, the introductory passage here is a free interpretation of the circumstances of composition, which arbitrarily reinterprets what was originally a love poem (from the woman's point of view)⁵⁸⁵ to fit the loose narrative situation. This poem and episode are not present in the A texts.

The *Sankashū* *kotobagaki* to poem 14 is more or less as found here. The reference to Ōhara is presumed to be the reason for its inclusion here. It is also not present in the A texts.

The introductory material for poems 147-8 is a slightly expanded version of the *Sankashū* *kotobagaki* found there, but in all variants it omits the reference to

⁵⁸⁵ The image draws on the conventional poetic association of wild geese as bearers of messages between lovers.

Saigyō's learning that Jōsaimon'in (Taikenmon'in's daughter) was visiting the temple, which prompted him to recall the past.

Poem 149's brief kotobagaki is mentioned above. It is immediately followed in *Sankashū* by the next two poems, which appear to be included here largely for that reason. Poem 150, a meditation on his own death (though not, as would normally be the case, in religious mode), has a kotobagaki which is closely echoed here. Poem 151 is likewise accompanied in *Sankashū* by a kotobagaki which appears more or less verbatim here. It is not present in the A texts.

Thus the entire section, apart from its opening episode, is composed of *Sankashū* material with only minor alterations and additions, a structure which is commonly found in such variants as Unemebon where material has been freely added to pad out the existing narrative. The A texts' relative paucity of material for these sections again suggests that the B texts represent a later accretion of material, although in this section the A texts appear also to be a late development. It seems reasonable to assume that in all the variants where it is found this section, like those before and after it, is entirely the result of the addition of extra material to a barer early structure. Certainly, its content adds little to the narrative of Saigyō's life, and its only intention seems to be the inclusion of vaguely relevant poetic material from *Sankashū*.

Bunmeibon 42

Hearing that a certain person had left the world and was living in the western mountains, he went to visit (her), but finding the thatched hut in ruins, and no one in sight, he told the nearby people that he had called, and returned. The nun, hearing of this later, sent the following.

152 *Did you not know / that I am like a fisher girl / swept helplessly / upon the rough waves of sorrow / in this rough dwelling?* (SKS 744)⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸⁶ The first phrase is *shio nareshi* 潮なれし.

His reply

153 *I saw indeed / how sorry was your nun's life / from your rough hut / which
bore no sign / that waves had visited. (SKS 745)⁵⁸⁷*

*Minister of the Right Nakanoin⁵⁸⁸ spoke to him of his decision to leave the
world. The moon was clear and bright that night, and he spent the night moved, and
returned at dawn. Later, (Nakanoin) sent to him saying he had had many waverings,⁵⁸⁹
and added:*

154 *All night / we made our vows / gazing at the moon / and with those dear
words / the darkness cleared from my heart. (SKS 732)⁵⁹⁰*

155 *How could / the darkness of this world / not clear for you / since your heart's
moon / has now appeared. (SKS 733)⁵⁹¹*

*Lord Tamenari⁵⁹² built a worship hall at (his residence in) Tokiwa⁵⁹³ and held a
dedication ceremony. People who had left the world and now lived in mountain
temples came to hear the ceremony's sermons, and hearing of this, (Saigyō) sent the
following:*

156 *You who still remain / as you have been / and do not change to monk's robes*

⁵⁸⁷ The fourth and fifth phrases are *amari sumiuki hodo wa mieniki* あまり住み憂きほどは見えにき.

⁵⁸⁸ Minamoto Masasada 源雅定 (1094-1162), who took the tonsure in 1154.

⁵⁸⁹ そのまよひおほかるよし. The original kotobagaki (which SIZ follows) has その夜の名残り多かりしよし.

⁵⁹⁰ The last phrase is *yami wa hareniki* 闇は晴れにき.

⁵⁹¹ The original version is *sumu to ijishi kokoro no tsuki shi arawareba kono yo mo yami no harezaremayu wa* 澄むといひし心の月し現わればこの世も闇の晴れざらめやは.

⁵⁹² Fujiwara Tamenari 藤原為業 (dates unknown), who took the name Jakunen 寂念 when he took the tonsure. He was the last among his brothers to do so, and Saigyō uses his poem to gently chide him on his tardiness.

⁵⁹³ 常槃, in the west of the capital. The name means 'changeless' .

/ today must vouch / for the meaning of unchanging *ə*Tokiwa . (SKS734)⁵⁹⁴

His reply:

157 People must watch / wondering what it waits for, / the evergreen tree / which
stays on thus / alone and unchanging. (SKS 735)

Hearing that a certain person had taken the tonsure and secluded himself in
Ninnaji, (Saigyō) went to call on him, but hearing that he had returned for a while to
the capital, he went back with his visit unfulfilled. Later, he sent someone with the
message that he had gone there. The reply:

158 What did you think / of the pitiful smoke / from my brushwood fire / when
you came visiting / this winter mountain village? (SKS 736)

His reply:

159 Though your heart / lives in the mountain village / yet like the backward-
drifting smoke / you rose and drifted back / to your former home.

(SKS 737)⁵⁹⁵

This poem was also sent to him together with the other:

160 Not turning / from the self I cannot repent / in my old home / I wander yet / in
the long night of darkness. (SKS 738)⁵⁹⁶

His reply:

161 It is not you alone / who wander thus / in the inner darkness / of a heart /
which does not turn from the world. (SKS 739)

⁵⁹⁴ The final phrase is *katami narurame* 形見なるらめ.

⁵⁹⁵ The original poem is *yamazato ni kokoro wa fukaku irinagara shiba no keburu no tachikaerinishi* 山里に心は深く入ながら柴のけぶりの立ちかへりにし

⁵⁹⁶ The third phrase is *heru hodo ni* 経るほどに.

42. COMMENTS

(1) Only the B1 texts contain the full version of this section as seen here. The A texts (Shōhōbon) contain only the introductory material and exchange of poems 154-5. One could speculate that it may have set the tone for a later accretion of similar poetic exchanges in the B1 texts.⁵⁹⁷ The lack in the B2 and B3 texts of this, as of the previous, a capital sections, together with the direct relation they bear to *Sankashū* material, encourages the assumption that these sections are later augmentations.

(2) This section consists of episodes producing poetic exchanges with people who had (152-3), were about to (154-5), or should have (156-7, 158-161) left the world . Such episodes provide another rare moment when the religious and poetic modes sit entirely comfortably together. Saigyō is using the convention of poetic exchange to encourage others in the Buddhist Way, and although the setting is the social one of calling on a friend , the thrust of these episodes is essentially religious.⁵⁹⁸ In this, these exchanges differ from the previous section's exchange with Hyōe no Tsubone, which is entirely in the *suki* mode, for all that they were both tonsured.

The episode which most clearly depicts this role of Saigyō's is that of poems 154-5. Here, Saigyō is mentor for this important man's decision to take the tonsure, able to fulfil the role he longed for in poem 149 and was humorously chided for failing at by Horikawa no Tsubone in poem 137 — that of being the (moon)light which guides others on the Way.⁵⁹⁹

The following exchanges present the other aspect of this Saigyō, who chides those who have failed to make the commitment. The exchange with Tamenari, based though it is on clever playing with the name a Tokiwa , is nevertheless to be read here

⁵⁹⁷ *Nanakashū* again follows the B1 texts for this section, with the exclusion of poems 154-5.

⁵⁹⁸ Although this is less so in the opening episode, which may be the product of later B1 augmentation, since it is not present in *Hakubyō*.

⁵⁹⁹ This role is known as *zenchishiki* 善知識, the true friend/friend of truth, whose wisdom and compassion lend their virtues and empower one to follow the Buddhist path.

as serious in intent, as are the two exchanges with the person who had attempted and apparently failed to commit himself to a life of reclusion.

It is interesting, however, to observe the differences between this chiding Saigyō and the Saigyō who chides his companion in sections 21 and 30. The difference is not merely one of degree of harshness — they belong to entirely different modes of existence, which can be expressed as the world of Buddhist *setsuwa*, and the world of poetic anthologies. Although Saigyō is here in a religious mode, he is nevertheless essentially framed within the world of the anthologies, with their elegant exchanges. No didactic passage intervenes to shift the balance. While in the capital, Saigyō remains the urbane poet-monk.

(3) This section follows the previous section in being composed entirely of *Sankashū* material, all of which is found close together in the Miscellaneous section.

The kotobagaki for poems 152-3 is much as found here, although in *Sankashū* the a certain person is identified as a the lady-in-waiting (女房) of a certain place.⁶⁰⁰ The poems play on the double meaning of *ama* あま (nun, and also fisher girl) and associated imagery.

With poems 154-5, again, the *Sankashū* kotobagaki is followed almost verbatim.⁶⁰¹ Poem 154's language plays with the suggestion that the night tryst and its avow is like the vows of lovers.

Poems 156-7 appear directly following the previous exchange in *Sankashū*, and here again the original kotobagaki is repeated almost verbatim, with the addition of the mention of the sermons. The poems play on the concept of a changelessness implicit in the name of Tamenari's residence.

Poems 158-59 and 161-2 continue the immediate *Sankashū* sequence and again the kotobagaki is used with scarcely any alteration. They provide variations on

⁶⁰⁰ *Kashū*'s kotobagaki identifies her as Horikawa no Tsubone. The a certain place is likewise identified there as that of Taikenmon'in, where Horikawa served until she became a nun with the death of her mistress in 1142.

⁶⁰¹ Although Bunmeibon's substitution of *mayoi* まよひ for *yoru no nagori* 夜の名残り creates a rather awkward shift of meaning.

common themes already seen: visiting a friend who is not there (cf 145-6), poverty of dwelling as a sign of religious commitment (cf 152-3), and encouraging another to commit him/herself to the Way (cf 156-7).

Bunmeibon 43

As he thus went about practising devotions, the newly retired emperor⁶⁰² requested Chūin Minister of the Right⁶⁰³ to collect a one-hundred poem series on Love. Since it was a request difficult to refuse, (Saigyō) composed and presented six poems.

162 *And yet somehow / I would not wish to lose / this worthless life —/ if only she could learn / to know its pain.* (SKS 658, SKKS 1147)

163 *Let me not simply blame⁶⁰⁴ / my own worthless heart — / my bitterness / against myself grows strongest / when I have told her of my love.*
(SKS 653, SKKS 1100)

164 *If only one who knew were here / to bring dawn to my heart / I would not be thus / in this endless night / of bitter thoughts.*

⁶⁰² The term *shin’in* 新院 in the Tale elsewhere refers to Sutoku-in 宗徳院 (1119-1164), who was exiled to Sanuki after his defeat in the Hōgen Rebellion, and whose death in Sanuki prompts Saigyō's subsequent visit there (sections 44-48). Since Saigyō was 38 at the time of his exile, however, this would make the present episode problematically early. See for instance section 38, which contains an episode recalling the time of Toba-in, who died in 1156. To be more historically correct, this newly retired emperor would have been Goshirakawa 後白河 (1127-1192), who retired in 1158. The A texts (and the B2 texts) do not specify this person as 新院, and Kuwabara (*Saigyō monogatari*, p. 186) speculates that the imperial request would have come from emperor Takakura 高倉天皇 (1161-1181), assuming Saigyō's sojourn in the capital to have occurred during his reign (1168-1180). It seems unwise, however, to carry too far any quibble about dates in the Tale, which in general shows scant regard for historical accuracy.

⁶⁰³ Or Nakanoin (中ゐんの右大臣), see note 18. Note a further historical confusion here, in the placement of this episode after Nakanoin's shukke above (poems 154-5), which moreover occurred in 1154.

⁶⁰⁴ なしはてて(or なしはてで). The *Sankashū* version has なし果てじ. All versions of the Tale follow Bunmeibon. The version found in *Saigyō Shōninshū* (poem 317) is that of the Tale.

165 *I will not forget / the face / of her I parted from / for my longing has printed it
/ on the moon.* (SKS 621, SKKS 1185)

166 *Why should I resent her, / who is grown distant now? / There was a time / she
did not know of me / nor I of her.* (SSS 376, SKKS 1297)⁶⁰⁶

167 *Now I realize / that her æremember me / was out of pity — / she said this
knowing / she herself would forget.* (SSS 338, SKKS 1298)

43. COMMENTS

(1) The three B1 texts and the A text (Shōhōbon) are very similar for this section. In the B2 texts, a version of it appears later (K 48).⁶⁰⁷

(2) This episode, inserted at the end of the æsojourn in the capital miscellany, is a means to include the remaining love poems found in *Shinkokinshū*, and its pretext echoes that of the other love poem section, section 36.⁶⁰⁸ Here too Saigyō composes the love poems as it were æunder duress.⁶⁰⁹ The fact that this episode appears in a very different place in the B2 texts underlines the fluid nature of the text at this point. Narrative has given way entirely to the impulse to add further poems and provide a brief integrating context.

⁶⁰⁵ The final two phrases are *tsuki sezu mi wo ba urami zaramashi* つきせず身をば恨みざらまし.

⁶⁰⁶ The final two phrases are *shirarezu shiranu ori mo arishi wo* しられずしらぬ折も有しを.

⁶⁰⁷ In *Nanakashū* this section is likewise placed after Saigyō has left the capital on unspecified travel.

⁶⁰⁸ The B2 texts, which largely abbreviate section 36, include many of those poems in their version of this section, which, however, is found near the end of the Tale. *Nanakashū* similarly incorporates many of those poems into its version of the present section.

⁶⁰⁹ In *Kanzeibon* he considers it an æextraordinary request, to point up the unsuitability of such compositions for one in his position.

(3) All the poems are found in *Shinkokinshū* among the poems on Love. Their order loosely⁶¹⁰ follows the theme of unrequited love, parting, and increasing distance.

The final two poems are not found in *Sankashū* but in *Saigyō Shōninshū*. The final poem (poem 167) is not included in the A texts.

Bunmeibon 44

He sent (this poem) to someone with whom he had a relationship of mutual trust,⁶¹¹ who was leaving for the East.

168 *When you are gone / I will fix my eyes on the east / watching the evening sky
/ waiting / for the returning moon. (SKS 1046)*

Deciding to go to Shikoku for austerities, he went to take leave of the Kamo Shrine, where he had worshipped of old. Making offerings of gohei,⁶¹² he was moved to wonder whether he would ever return there. It was the night of the tenth day of the tenth month in the second year of Ninnan.⁶¹³ As he was of a status to prevent him entering the shrine,⁶¹⁴ and that night the moon was clear, he was moved, and his tears did not cease to flow at the thought that this (might be) his last time (to visit the shrine).

169 *My tears / fall / on this offering branch / to think / I may not come again.*

(SKS 1095)

That autumn,⁶¹⁵ he sent (this poem) from a distant place where he was

⁶¹⁰ The order of the first four poems in fact reverses their order as found in *Sankashū*.

⁶¹¹ あいたのみたりし人. The A texts here follow the *Sankashū* kotobagaki in having 相知りたる.

⁶¹² 御幣. Sacred paper strips offered at Shinto shrines.

⁶¹³ 1167.

⁶¹⁴ See section 25.

⁶¹⁵ This time is inconsistent with the earlier tenth month. Hakubyō makes it winter, SIZ merely says around that time, while the A texts solve the problem by omitting any seasonal reference and making poem 171 the poem which Narimichi sends upon hearing that Saigyō is about to depart.

performing austerities, to Jijū no Dainagon.⁶¹⁶

170 Blown / with the autumn leaves / by the peak's stormy winds / where will my
heart / be carried? (SKS 1082)

His reply:

171 Do they tell⁶¹⁷ / whither they are scattered, / those leaves which fall / so
casually / and are blown away? (SKS 1083)⁶¹⁸

44. COMMENTS

(1) Again, the B1 texts and the A texts are close for this section. A version of it is present in the B2 texts (K 50), with added material and largely independent description. Poems 170-1 are missing here.⁶¹⁹

(2) This section consists of three independent episodes which for convenience I have placed in the same section, since they all perform the function of preparing Saigyō for his journey to Shikoku.

The first episode and its poem provides a foretaste of the theme of departure for austerities in distant places. The introductory material is a restatement of that found in the kotobagaki of *Sankashū* 1046, the A texts retaining the original wording more closely.

The decision to travel to Shikoku initiates a series of poems on parting and travel. The introductory material to poem 169 is based on the kotobagaki to SKS 1095. Although this kotobagaki does not mention that the visit to Kamo Shrine was

⁶¹⁶ Fujiwara Narimichi 藤原成通 (1097-1163). He held this post from 1149 to 1156 (thus causing further inconsistencies of dating).

⁶¹⁷ しらせやはする. SIZ follows this, while Hakubyō follows *Sankashū*'s しられやはせぬ. The A texts amend this to しられやはせむ.

⁶¹⁸ The final two phrases are *chiriyuku kata wa shirare ya wa senu* 散りゆく方は知られやはせぬ.

⁶¹⁹ *Nanakashū* contains only poem 168 and kotobagaki. Material found in Bunmeibon section 41 then rather abruptly concludes this text.

made before he went to Shikoku, the date given there⁶²⁰ has led scholars to believe that it was indeed made on this occasion. The kotobagaki mentions that he was a man of advanced years,⁶²¹ which was the reason for his fears that he might not return.

The following exchange with Fujiwara Narimichi is confused among the texts. The *Sankashū* kotobagaki states that poem 170 was sent to Narimichi while Saigyō was travelling in distant parts for austerities one autumn. Bunmeibon follows this more or less exactly, despite the narrative inconsistency involved (since Saigyō is here poised to depart, rather than travelling in distant lands). The A texts solve this by reversing the composers, making Narimichi the person who sends poem 170 upon hearing that Saigyō was about to embark on travel to distant lands.

That autumn also creates an inconsistency with the previous tenth month. This inconsistency in time is solved in various ways among the variants. Yamaguchi Makoto⁶²² believes that the inconsistencies found here in Bunmeibon indicate that these two episodes were added to the text at different times, providing possible evidence that even Bunmeibon (which he considers the oldest of the texts) underwent rewritings to reach its present form. It is certainly true that the inconsistencies found here arise from a verbatim use of the original kotobagaki material, which other variants alter in various ways to achieve consistency, although Bunmeibon's close adherence to original material here is the exception rather than the rule.⁶²³ Carelessness with time and place consistency, on the other hand, is common in Bunmeibon. It is probably safe to say that here, unusually, Bunmeibon represents an earlier form than that found in the other variants.⁶²⁴

(3) Poem 168 is the only poem found in *Shinkokinshū*, where it appears among

⁶²⁰ Repeated in Bunmeibon, though confused in some other versions.

⁶²¹ He was in fact fifty years old.

⁶²² *kyōju to saihen*, p. 45.

⁶²³ The material immediately preceding this, for instance, is closer to the original in the A texts and the B2 texts than in Bunmeibon, and other such examples abound.

⁶²⁴ Further support from Yamaguchi's theory might be found in the fact that the episode and poems of 170 and 171 are not present in the B2 texts.

the poems of parting. It belongs to a genre which is also represented in the Tale by poems 58 and 81, and indeed these two poems are found in the equivalent section of Kanzeibon (K 50) instead of poem 168.

The inclusion of poem 169 here arises from the context of its accompanying kotobagaki, which provides the episode found in the Tale.

The final phrase of poem 171 varies among the texts. The original poem's wording implies that the leaves (and hence Saigyō) surely know the direction in which they are blown (i.e. towards the Pure Land of their rebirth).

Bunmeibon 45

Chūnagon no Tsubone,⁶²⁵ lady-in-waiting to Taikenmonjin, had taken the tonsure and was living at the foot of Mt. Ogura. He visited her, and found her appearance most elegantly moving. The windswept landscape was deserted,⁶²⁶ and the sound of the waterpipe was forlorn, so that (his) tears flowed on and on. When this person had been in the world, people had given their hearts to her. Yet now, on the contrary, the black hair was snowed, and her brows⁶²⁷ were all folded with the waves of wrinkles; she had changed completely, and he was greatly moved at her deep-dyed nun's robes. He wrote thus:

172 *When did you learn / to live here / with the ferocity / of the sound of this wind
/ from the mountain? (SKS 746)*

Hyōe no Tsubone, lady-in-waiting in the same establishment, saw this and replied: _____

⁶²⁵ 中納言局 (dates unknown.) She took the tonsure with Taikenmonjin, and after her death Chūnagon moved to the foot of Mt. Ogura, in the western mountains outside the capital.

⁶²⁶ 風のけしきさえ帰り. This seems a somewhat garbled version of what in other variants is a more natural sentence. Cf. SIZ 風の音さへものあはれにおぼへて. A texts have 風の音もあはれに. Hakubyō follows the original kotobagaki: 風のけしきさへことに悲しかりければ.

⁶²⁷ まゆ. It is highly unusual for this word to be used, as here, to indicate the forehead. This phrase may have arisen from a conflation of the meaning of the two phrases found in SIZ: まゆにかか
る霜、面にたたむ波.

173 *I see this as the dwelling / of one who left her home / drawn by the stormy
wind / to stay no longer / in the sad world.* (SKS 747)⁶²⁸

*When he looked out over Mt. Ogura, the mists rose thick to the tree tops, and
he felt forlorn.*

174 *Now that it is autumn/ in the distant / cloud-wreathed mountain village/ even
to think of their sadness / brings sadness.* (SSS 272, SKKS 1560)⁶²⁹

45. COMMENTS

(1) Relationship both to the kotobagaki material on which this episode is based, and among the variants themselves, is tangled. With the exception of Unemebon, each variant is remarkably independent in textual detail, though their essential relationship to each other is clear. Typically, the B2 texts present the greatest degree of independence, with suggestions of a relationship to the A texts, while Hakubyō seems to represent the earliest extant version of the episode. Bunmeibon contains evidence of additions to and mistranscriptions of earlier B1 texts,⁶³⁰ and is the least textually satisfactory of the variants. It is interesting that poem 174 and its introductory material, which seem rather awkwardly tacked on to the end of the previous episode, are found only in the B1 texts.⁶³¹ It could be speculated that the A and B2 texts represent an earlier version, to which this episode was later attached.

(2) This section returns us briefly to the style of episode found in the *acapital* sections above (sections 38-42), typically consisting of a poem or exchange of poems composed on a visit to someone of his acquaintance, and based closely on poems and kotobagaki found in *Sankashū*. The narrative, which has at this point poised Saigyō to

⁶²⁸ The first phrase is *uki yo wo ba* うき世をば.

⁶²⁹ The second phrase is *tōyamabata no* 遠山ばたの.

⁶³⁰ See note 608.

⁶³¹ Unemebon adds a separate poem and episode at this point.

set off for Shikoku, pauses rather awkwardly⁶³² to record another visit within the vicinity of the capital. The displacement of this episode in the B2 and B3 texts underlines the looseness of its connection to the surrounding text. Its primary purpose appears to be simply to include this well-known episode and its poems.

Comparison with the original kotobagaki reveals that the Tale's variants⁶³³ pad out the description with moving depictions of the changed appearance of this former beauty, a detail which neither the poem itself nor the kotobagaki elicits.⁶³⁴ Though exemplifying the theme of transience, these depictions are in the poetic rather than religious mode, with the word *aware* much in evidence.⁶³⁵

Kuwabara Hiroshi⁶³⁶ points out that the poetic exchange of this episode is atypical of Saigyō's exchanges in the Tale in that he is here in the (weak) role of perplexed admirer of another's perseverance in the Way, rather than admonisher and encourager of a weaker other. Hyōe's response (which speaks on behalf of Chūnagon herself), on the other hand, represents the strong voice of commitment to the rigorous life of the Buddhist follower. Saigyō's role here is in fact that of the Saigyō found in *Senjūshō* (and many later legends), the weaker Buddhist aspirant who bears witness, waki-like, to the strengths and achievements of others. It is noteworthy that this Saigyō so seldom appears in the Tale, and that when he does (as here, and in the

⁶³² The likely reason for the presence of this episode after the previous poetic exchange is the continuity of poetic image. Both exchanges make use of the image of stormy winds and blown leaves to refer to the life of the Buddhist aspirant.

⁶³³ Except in the case of Unemebon which, here as so often elsewhere, reproduces the kotobagaki more or less verbatim.

⁶³⁴ It is possible that the kotobagaki's *い*うにあはれなりけり (where *い*う could be either 優 or 幽) led an early version of the Tale to extrapolate from the implications of 優 to a description of former beauty and elegance.

⁶³⁵ It is interesting to note that *Senjūshō* also contains a section (SJS 5.6) describing Chūnagon no Tsubone's life after taking the tonsure and her *ōjō*; the description consists of details of the moving nature of the surrounding scenery, and makes no mention of her former beauty or present appearance. There is an echo of this description (possibly fortuitous) in the details found in the B2 texts, but otherwise this episode bears no apparent relation to that found in the Tale, although it too is surely inspired by the *Sankashū* kotobagaki. The autumn scenery, and depiction of the howling wind, form the basis of the description, although the poems are not present here.

⁶³⁶ *Saigyō monogatari*, p. 197.

following exchange with the courtesan of Eguchi) it should so often be women who take the role of the æstrong other.⁶³⁷

(3) Poems 172's image of the stormy wind associated with the area of Mt. Ogura (Arashiyama) is played with in Hyōe's response through the pun on *arashi* あらし (stormy wind) and *yo ni araji* 世にあらし (not to be in the world). Hyōe's poem thus not only forms a strong Buddhist riposte to Saigyō's (weak) wondering, but caps his poem with poetic neatness.

The presence of poem 174 here in the B1 texts is presumably an example of working in a *Shinkokinshū* poem, with the contextualizing factor here being the image of late autumn in a mountain village. The original poem's image is not that of a village but of a field.

Bunmeibon 46

Rain fell as he was on the road to Tennōji,⁶³⁸ and he (attempted to) borrow lodgings from Eguchi no Kimi,⁶³⁹ but she would not give him a room. He felt the justice of⁶⁴⁰ the courtesan's custom of lending a room to people in general but not to a monk who came wandering by alone.

175 *Hard though it must be / for you to turn / from this passing world, / yet you turn me away / from your passing lodging. (SKS 752, SKKS 978)*

⁶³⁷ The other instance of this role in the Tale is section 33, where he meets and admires the hermit of Musashino. His admiration for all three people is depicted at much greater length in *Senjūshō*.

⁶³⁸ Shitennōji 四天王寺, a large Buddhist temple in present-day Ōsaka, which was an important pilgrimage temple.

⁶³⁹ 江口の君, or the lady of Eguchi. Eguchi was a thriving trading town at the junction of the Yodo and Shinagawa Rivers on the route between the capital and present-day Ōsaka, which had a large prostitute quarters. The name of the woman with whom Saigyō made this famous poetic exchange is not recorded in *Sankashū*, but it is clear that she was a prostitute (or courtesan).

⁶⁴⁰ かさぬはことはりとおぼえて. This seems confused. Hakubyō has 貸さぬと見ゆればことはりと思ひながらかくぞ聞こへける (while or although he saw the justice of . . .), from which this would seem to be derived. SIZ has 貸さぬも理なりと恥じしめて, making these her admonishing words to him. An equivalent sentence is not found in the other variants.

She was nevertheless⁶⁴¹ a person of sensibility, and seeing this poem, she shamed him by composing:

176 *Hearing that you were one / who had turned from the passing world / I only thought / your heart must not be held / by this passing lodging.*

(SKS 753, SKKS 979)

46. COMMENTS

(1) This section is present in all the major texts examined.⁶⁴² It is closely textually based on the *Sankashū* kotobagaki of these two poems (also found in *Shinkokinshū*), but the Tale's version elaborates on the reason why Saigyō is turned away. The relationship among the texts is at this point somewhat unusual, with Hakubyō and the A texts bearing the closest relation, Hakubyō apparently being again the earliest version among the B texts.

(2) This episode, among the most famous of the Saigyō legends,⁶⁴³ is based on the kotobagaki and exchange found in *Sankashū* 752-3. This states that he met with rain on his way to Tennōji, attempted to temporarily take shelter at a place called Eguchi, and was rejected. Eguchi's reputation as a gay quarter allows the assumption that the other voice was that of a courtesan. In both *Kashū* and *Shinkokinshū* the reply is

⁶⁴¹ I.e. despite her lowly station.

⁶⁴² It is lacking in the earlier A texts (both of which lack this part of the Tale), but is present in *Nanakashū*, although at a slightly earlier point in the narrative .

⁶⁴³ A version of it appears in *Senjūshō*, *Jikkunshō* and *Kojidan* 古事談 (1212-1215?), and it is treated in the Nō play ㊦Eguchi , as well as in the *nagauta* ㊦Shigure Saigyō . References to and echoes of this episode abound in later literature, among the most famous being the echo of it found in Bashō's *Oku no hosomichi* 奥の細道 (1703), in the episode at Niigata where Bashō shares an inn with travelling prostitutes.

While one would expect a reasonable congruence of the Tale's version with that found in *Senjūshō* (5-11), it is interesting to note that there the story undergoes considerable modification: Saigyō and a companion, passing through Eguchi, discuss the deep sinfulness of such an existence and the strange instances where even one in such a situation gains paradise. A sudden downpour forces them to beg shelter from a woman (*ama* 尼 — this word, although strictly used to refer to a nun, was commonly used more widely at this period with a meaning that included *yūjo* 遊女, prostitute or courtesan), who pleases Saigyō by capping a poem, and they stay there the night, engaged in *renga* with her, and praise her sensibility.

stated as being by the courtesan Tae .

This episode restates more forcefully an element seen in the previous section, where Saigyō is rebested in a poetic exchange with a woman.⁶⁴⁴ Where the earlier woman was an elderly and tonsured aristocratic nun,⁶⁴⁵ here the exchange is with a common courtesan, a far more unusual and intriguing situation, which is no doubt the reason for its fame. Denigrated by Saigyō in his poem for being one who could not be expected to return from the world and follow a Buddhist calling, she turns the accusation around to condemn Saigyō's own apparent weakness in making the request. She is, in terms of Buddhist setsuwa tradition, an example such as is spoken of in the *Senjūshō* version of this episode, of one sunk in sin who yet is miraculously far advanced along the Buddhist path.⁶⁴⁶ This aspect of the story, however, is made nothing of in the Tale, which limits narratorial comment to her unusually developed poetic sensibility. The exchange, though dependent on Saigyō's status as a tonsured monk, and on the religious meaning of the expression *kari no yado* 仮の宿,⁶⁴⁷ is nevertheless contained within an essentially poetic mode, unlike its general treatment in the setsuwa-shū.

(3) The exchange is found as SKS 752-3, with the kotobagaki as described above. It also appears in *Shinkokinshū* with the same kotobagaki.

⁶⁴⁴ Kuwabara Hiroshi (Waka Bungakkai 和歌文学会 ed., *Ronshū Saigyō 論集西行*, Waka bungaku no sekai 和歌文学の世界 vol. 14, Kasama Shoin, 1990, p. 152) notes that, although it is traditional for the rejoinder poem to take the stronger stance, such an exchange is typical of Saigyō, in that he typically takes a gentle and empathetic position in the initial poem of an exchange, to draw the other out (an instance, Kuwabara suggests, of his tendency to the waki role.)

⁶⁴⁵ Or, more precisely, two nuns, since Hyōe responded on behalf of Chūnagon. It is interesting to note that similarly in the present section, in the A texts the response comes, not from Eguchi no Kimi but from the courtesans (*yūjodomo* 遊女ども).

⁶⁴⁶ A typical example occurs in *Senjūshō* 6-10, which tells of a recluse who yearned to see Fugen Bosatsu, and after long prayer receives the revelation that a woman who runs a brothel in Muro is in fact the bodhisattva he longs to behold. It is legends such as these that merged later to produce the version of the courtesan of Eguchi found in the Nō play of that name, in which she is gradually revealed as being none other than Fugen Bosatsu.

⁶⁴⁷ As discussed by William LaFleur in *The Karma of Words*, p.71. As LaFleur points out, the common Buddhist symbol for impermanence, the temporary dwelling (*kari no yado* 仮の宿), here bears the extra meaning of borrowed lodging (*kari no yado* 借りの宿), along with the implication that a courtesan's lodging is the most temporary one of all.

Bunmeibon 47

The circumstances of the new retired emperor changed,⁶⁴⁸ he shaved his head, and retired to Ninnaji. The moon was clear.

177 *In such a world / the changeless / unblemished moon / and even the self who sees it / are hateful to me. (SKS 1227)⁶⁴⁹*

When he had unprecedentedly gone to the land of Sanuki, the composing of poetry in the world ceased and poems were no longer heard. (Saigyō) sent this to Jakunen.⁶⁵⁰

178 *How sad / to be one / who has met with such times / now, when the spirit of poetry / has ceased. (SKS 1228)⁶⁵¹*

In reply:

179 *With you alone / I bewail/ in tears / the abandoned path / of poetry. (SKS 1229)⁶⁵²*

He secluded himself in Tennōji, and to an old travelling companion who greatly mourned his being about to go down to Sanuki, he composed:

180 *For your heart's comfort / have faith / that I will return / although that day / may never come. (SSS 474)⁶⁵³*

⁶⁴⁸ Sutokuin 崇徳院 (1119-1164), who became In in 1141. In 1156 his side was defeated in the Hōgen Rebellion. He spent ten days in Ninnaji in the seventh month of that year, before his exile to Sanuki, where he died eight years later.

⁶⁴⁹ The fourth phrase is *miru waga mi sae* 見る我身さへ, (not 見る我身さへに), a meaning which I have chosen to translate here.

⁶⁵⁰ 寂然, often written as 寂念, the version of his name found in the other B1 texts. See section 42 note 15. I here follow the usual pronunciation of his name.

⁶⁵¹ The second phrase is *nasake taenishi* 情絶えにし.

⁶⁵² The final phrase *ato wo shinobame* 跡をしのばめ. The other B1 texts (the only variants to include this poem) follow *Sankashū*.

⁶⁵³ The final phrase is *itsu to nakeredo* いつとなけれど.

The moon around the capital was bright.

181 *Could I have dyed my heart / with the pure colour / of the moon / if I had not
left the capital / behind me? (SSS 658, SKKS 1532)*

*Hearing that in Sanuki (Sutoku), after having undergone a change of heart,⁶⁵⁴
ceaselessly chanted sutras and performing austerities, he sent this to a lady of his
acquaintance:  If others do not strike us in anger, how shall we learn fortitude?⁶⁵⁵ and
(added)*

182 *Were it not / for the unhappy times / you met with in the world / you would
have missed the chance / to turn your back on it. (SKS 1230)⁶⁵⁶*

47. COMMENTS

(1) Comparison of the B1 and A texts suggests that the A texts here retain the earlier form, their closest relative among the B1 texts being Hakubyō, which appears to be the earliest of those texts. Assuming a process of accretion, the B1 texts display a late stage of development, resulting in a blurring of the narrative clarity found in the A texts. This is particularly so in the first half of this section, where the B1 texts have added material related to Sutoku’s downfall and banishment from the capital which, while pertinent in that it relates to Saigyō’s journey to Shikoku, disturbs the forward movement of the narrative, in which Saigyō is presently on his way to Tennōji having paused at Eguchi. The B2 texts have an abbreviated version of this section. More detailed comparisons among the texts will be found below.

(2) This section returns to the form of a series of poems with brief introductory

⁶⁵⁴ 御心引かへて後、御つとめ. . . This is evidently a corruption of the kotobagaki’s 御心引かへて後世の御つとめ. . .

⁶⁵⁵ The origin of this quotation is unknown. It is consistent with the sentiments embodied by the story of Fugyō Bosatsu in fascicle 20 of *The Lotus Sutra*, referred to in section 30.

⁶⁵⁶ The final phrase in the Yōmei *Sankashū* is *kimi awazushite* 君あはずして. All the B1 texts have *kimi ni awazu wa* 君にあはずは, which is the form found in a variant of *Sankashū*.

material, which I have included together since they form a loose collection of episodes and poems leading up to Saigyō's journey to Shikoku. The decision to make this journey, first mentioned in section 44, only now resurfaces in the narrative, and this adds to the likelihood that some at least of the intervening material was placed there at some later stage of the Tale's formation.⁶⁵⁷

The introductory material to poem 177 is taken directly from the accompanying kotobagaki to that poem in *Sankashū*, which states that, owing to events in the world,⁶⁵⁸ Sutoku-in had taken the tonsure and retired to the northern hall of Ninnaji. When Saigyō called there, one of the priests came out to meet him, and he composed the following poem on the bright moonlight. Only the first half of this material is retained in the Tale, presumably because Saigyō's visit to Ninnaji would have placed him inexplicably back in the capital.

However, the placement of this episode, in which Saigyō responds to the news of the Sutoku-in's situation, at this point in the Tale cannot avoid the difficulty of its relationship to Saigyō's visit to Shikoku, which is depicted as resulting from his desire to pay his respects to Sutoku-in in exile. Indeed, in the following section the time is explicitly four or five years after Sutoku-in's banishment to Shikoku, and indeed is after his death. We see here a particularly clear example of the easy sacrifice of time and place consistency in the B1 texts, for the sake of squeezing in another somehow relevant poem.

The exchange of poems 178-79 immediately follows the previous poem and kotobagaki in *Sankashū*, and its introductory material is a restatement of the kotobagaki to this exchange. Its lament, that the banishment of Sutoku-in has led to the demise of poetry, reflects the fact that Sutoku-in played an important role in promoting poetry in the capital during his time as retired emperor. This episode, like the previous one included largely for the relevance of its kotobagaki material to

⁶⁵⁷ It is worth noting that the B2 texts, which re-order the major sequence of events in this part of the Tale, move from Saigyō's farewell to Kamo Shrine directly to Shikoku.

⁶⁵⁸ The Hōgen Rebellion.

Saigyō's present journey, moves the time forward to some unspecified time after Sutoku-in's banishment to Shikoku.

The following episode and poem, present also in the B2 and A texts, returns us to Saigyō's journey, at the moment when he is poised to leave for Shikoku after a period of seclusion in Tennōji. Here, the introductory material is not derived from a kotobagaki,⁶⁵⁹ but is constructed for the purposes of the narrative, to send Saigyō off on his journey in traditional fashion, with a poem of parting. The reference to Tennōji is derived from the Eguchi episode, whose original kotobagaki stated that the encounter occurred when he was on his way to Tennōji. Its geographical position makes it a suitable place from which to embark on a journey to Shikoku,⁶⁶⁰ and mention of seclusion there allows Saigyō to briefly recoup his religious practice in the midst of a long series of sections whose poetic and social focus has sidelined the religious aspects of his life.

The following poem's brief introduction is in Bunmeibon quite anomalous, since it returns Saigyō suddenly to the capital. The other B1 texts make somewhat more sense of the statement,⁶⁶¹ and it seems that Bunmeibon here contains a mistranscription. The presence of this poem and episode, however, is itself somewhat anomalous at this point in the Tale. It is only when we turn to the A texts, which omit the introductory prose entirely, that the poem fits entirely naturally into the narrative, as the second of two poems which Saigyō composes for his grieving friend, a poem which explains his need to leave the world of the capital behind him. It would seem that the poem was originally introduced into the Tale to fulfil this role, and the B1 texts confused the point by inventing a separate impulse for its

⁶⁵⁹ The poem's kotobagaki merely states that it was composed when people had gathered to send him off when he was setting off on a journey for shugyō in a distant place.

⁶⁶⁰ The A texts, which move directly from Eguchi to Tennōji and on to Sanuki, maintain a much smoother and more consistent flow.

⁶⁶¹ SIZ (都のほかも月は隈なかりけりとて) makes it most comprehensible. Hakubyō, which is unusually independent in this section, less satisfactorily has 都の外あわれにおぼへて.

composition.⁶⁶²

The final poem and introductory material are taken from *Sankashū* 1230 and kotobagaki, and thus return to the run of poems found there which the earlier episodes (poems 177 to 179) follow. The B1 texts retain a fairly close version of the original kotobagaki.⁶⁶³ All place this episode before Saigyō's arrival in Sanuki, while in the A texts the news is learned after Saigyō's arrival, and the poem and its text become an offering to the dead Sutoku-in (whose death he learns of along with this news).

(3) The poems are for the most part taken from the *Sankashū* run of poems on Sutoku-in's banishment and exile (SKS 1227-1230), with poems from other sources interspersed. Only poem 181 is found in *Shinkokinshū*.

Poem 177 bewails Sutoku-in's fall, while the following exchange bewails the state of poetry since that fall.

Poem 180 is in the traditional mode of comforting friends who lament the parting from one embarking on a journey. Its sentiment, that he may in fact die during the journey, is that seen also in his poem of parting from the Kamo deity (poem 169).

Poem 181 is a poem extolling the life of the wandering recluse, the moon here signifying the Buddhist truth.

The amoral of poem 182, that Sutoku-in could not have committed himself to the Buddhist path had he not been forced to leave the capital, reflects the idea expressed also in the previous poem.

Bunmeibon 48

Four or five years after the retired emperor passed away in Sanuki,⁶⁶⁴ (Saigyō) visited the place called Matsuyama Harbour where he had lived, but could not find

⁶⁶² If this is the case, it is an example of evidence for the A text prototype's predating of Hakubyō, which in general retains the earliest form of the B1 texts.

⁶⁶³ SIZ omits the Buddhist quote. Hakubyō retains the original most closely. The textual confusion found in Bunmeibon (see note 12 above) can be traced through Hakubyō's 後世の御つとめ (the kotobagaki version) to SIZ's 後の御つとめ and thence to Bunmeibon's 後御つとめ.

⁶⁶⁴ He died in 1164.

(any trace of him). Moved, (he composed):

183 That exiled boat / washed on the waves / to Matsuyama / is now / empty and
gone. (SKS 1353)⁶⁶⁵

He went to the place called Shiromine⁶⁶⁶ where (Sutoku-in's) grave was, but when he looked he could find no trace of it; creepers grew in profusion, and it seemed no one had passed that way since who knew when. Once, when he reigned, he had controlled the four seas under heaven, surrounded by a hundred officials, the regent and ministers feared to go against his imperial command in the smallest way, and those attendant on him prayed and recited sutras in hopes of being the recipient of his august words. Now, in these mountains where the name of the Buddhist Law went unheard, with tiger and wolf for companions, (the sight of) his bare dwelling was a moving thing, and Saigyō could not hold back his tears.⁶⁶⁷

184 No longer will I loathe / this life / since life has given me / to know the
movingness / of this dwelling.⁶⁶⁸ (SKS 1357)

By Saigyō's hut there was a pine tree, and he was moved to wonder what ancient vows⁶⁶⁹ the pine might pledge with him if it could speak.

185 When I am weary of life / in this place / and go drifting on again / this pine
will stay on / alone. (SKS 1359)⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁶⁵ The third phrase is *koshi fune no* 来し舟の.

⁶⁶⁶ 白峯. Modern pronunciation *Shiramine*. Site of Sutoku's grave, in Matsuyama.

⁶⁶⁷ In the Kubota *Zenshū*, a note by a later hand states here that the poem *ayoshi ya kimi* (SKS 1355) is mistakenly placed in a different part of the text (i.e. in section 35). The poem appears in the present section in all other variants. The introductory material to poem 185 as found in other variants is also missing here.

⁶⁶⁸ This poem was originally composed at Saigyō's hut by Zentsūji, and is so described in the other variants. The meaning of *かかすまひ* thus takes on a different meaning here.

⁶⁶⁹ *いかにふるきちぎり*. This somewhat odd expression seems likely to be a mistranscription from *SIZ's* *いかばかりなるちぎり* or *Hakubyō's* *いかばかりちぎりを*.

⁶⁷⁰ The second phrase is *ware sumiukute* われ住み憂くて.

When he was already setting off at daybreak, he wrote this pledge to the pine.

186 *Pray for me, pine, / in my next life / for all the years to come — / for I have no
person / to mourn me. (SKS 1358)*

48. COMMENTS

(1) All the major texts contain versions of this section, with numerous variations, and relationships among the texts are difficult to ascertain.

Bunmeibon drops not only the famous poem which was the point of the Shiramine scene (and which is found there in all other variants), but with it the ensuing introductory material for the following poem in the B1 texts, poem 184, which consequently becomes in Bunmeibon a poem composed at Sutoku's grave.⁶⁷¹ This disruption, which causes an omission of the information that he built his hut at Zentsūji, may be related to the fact that poem 185 is found only in the B1 texts, suggesting that it may be a relatively late addition, which would account for its volatility.⁶⁷² In general, it appears once again that the B1 texts may represent a later development, with Hakubyō containing some intriguing echoes of the A texts.

(2) The Tale's version of Saigyō's journey to Sanuki is based on *Sankashū* kotobagaki to the poems found here, which appear in the anthology as part of a series of poems on his visit to Shikoku. The section falls naturally into two parts, (a) his visit to Sutoku's grave, and (b) his sojourn in a hut beside Zentsūji.⁶⁷³

The scene at Sutoku's grave at Shiramine is one famous in Saigyō legend. Versions of it are found in many setsuwa collections,⁶⁷⁴ and it is the subject of the Nō

⁶⁷¹ This is one of the clearest examples of the fact that Bunmeibon is a later text derived from earlier B1 texts, represented by Hakubyō and SIZ.

⁶⁷² It is interesting to note that the B2 and B3 texts, which follow the original order of poems and the content of headnotes most closely for this section, omit poem 185.

⁶⁷³ 善通寺, a Shingon temple in present-day Kagawa prefecture, built at the birth place of Kūkai, and an important pilgrimage site. Although the location of Saigyō's hut at this temple is not mentioned in Bunmeibon, the other variants all follow *Sankashū* in specifying the place.

⁶⁷⁴ *Senjūshō* devotes a lengthy section to this scene (SJS 1.7), and it is also described in *Kojidan*, *Jikkinshō*, *Kokon chomonjū* and *Shasekishū*.

play *Matsuyama tengu* 松山天狗, as well as one of Ueda Akinari's famous *Ugetsu monogatari* 雨月物語 tales (1768). It is a moment in Saigyō's life which embodies the oft-repeated theme of mourning over the fall of the great, the ruins of their grave or former dwelling serving to bring home the Buddhist truth of transience. The other great example of this in the Tale is the scene at Sanekata's grave (section 35), and indeed the formulaic (*kata* 形) elements of these scenes are so strong that Bunmeibon (apparently unintentionally) confuses them by introducing the poem at Sutoku's grave (SKS 1355) into the Sanekata episode.⁶⁷⁵

Comparison with the original kotobagaki to this poem reveals that, where *Sankashū* states simply that he visited the grave at Shiromine, all variants of the Tale expand the scene freely (and with considerable variations) with details of the overgrown ruin of the grave and contemplation of the moral which informs the poem: that he who was once so powerful in the world should have come to this sad end in a distant land. This lament and its evocation of former glory is a counterpoint to the theme which Saigyō's own life embodies in the Tale, that of the man who perceives the truth of transience and willingly relinquishes power and riches to pursue his salvation by wandering in distant lands; the close relationship of the two is evident in the remarkably similar depictions of Saigyō's former life found scattered through the Tale at poignant moments when (like a Kabuki *mie*) Saigyō's present strength of heart in the face of adversity is held up for display.⁶⁷⁶

It is noteworthy that the Tale ignores the Shikoku material that occurs soon after the present series of poems in *Sankashū* (that of SKS 1369-1371), although the elaborately lengthy headnotes to this run of poems is among the sections of *Sankashū* that are generally considered to be prime examples of the way in which that anthology approaches the autobiographical prose or diary form to an unusual degree, (thus inspiring the formation of the monogatari version of his life). The kotobagaki tell the

⁶⁷⁵ See section 35, Comments.

⁶⁷⁶ This occurs most movingly in the companion's lament when Saigyō is beaten at Tenryū Crossing, in section 30.

story of Saigyō's difficult climb up several mountain peaks associated with the Daishi. The personal voice of their almost casual, diary entry form, and details such as the touchingly human depiction of his arriving at the top on all fours, would no doubt have seemed inimical to the tone which the Tale adopts to tell his story. The rejection of this material provides a clear example of what the Tale chose to leave out of its careful construction of the Saigyō image.⁶⁷⁷

Saigyō's long sojourn in Shikoku is reduced here to two moments of pathos, one at the emperor's grave, the other as he is about to depart.⁶⁷⁸ These moments, although both are religiously framed — the first by the Buddhist philosophy of transience, the second by the close presence of Zentsūji and its founder (although this is not mentioned in *Bunmeibon*) — are essentially poetic in their pathos. Saigyō the religious practitioner is, as so often, the unstated background which at best sets off the poetically moving moments that are the section's focus.

(3) Poem 183's image of the boat is both a reference to the boat which carried Sutoku to Sanuki, and to Sutoku himself.⁶⁷⁹

The original kotobagaki to poem 184 states that it was composed when he was moved by the pathos (aware) of the hut where he was living (beside Zentsūji), a pathos which in this instance springs from being moved to live thus in the vicinity of Kūkai's birthplace, rather than from the meanness of his dwelling.

Poem 185 is the second of two poems which the kotobagaki states were

⁶⁷⁷ Kuwabara (*Saigyō monogatari*, pp. 210-11) notes that the particularly human and approachable Saigyō that comes through the Shikoku poems, such as those depicting with warm affection scenes of fisherfolk on the shore near his dwelling, is directly related to the many local and folk legends that sprang up around him after his death. The poems to the pine tree, which in the Tale appear as expressions of poetic pathos, are generally taken to embody a humorous tenderness which has given rise to the persistent legend at Zentsūji of Saigyō's pine, recorded by Dōhan 道範 (dates unknown) in his record of his exile to Sanuki in 1242 (*Nankai rurōki* 南海流浪記), as well as in other parts of Japan, and other such legends (such as Saigyō migaeri no matsu 西行見返りの松). With this object of folk legend affection, our Tale has no truck.

⁶⁷⁸ The suggestion, explicit in the A texts, is that he is returning to the capital, although the B2 and B3 texts follow *Sankashū* in sending him from Sanuki to Tosa.

⁶⁷⁹ In poetic language the emperor is referred to as *munashiki fune* 空しき船 (an empty boat), an expression which Saigyō here turns around through the use of 空し to mean ʼfutile' (the futility of the emperor's former glory), and, by suggestion, 空しくなる (to die).

composed on the pine tree which stood before his hut. Like the following poem, it rests on the traditional image of the pine as æternal and unchanging (here in contrast to his own æfloating life of wandering). The personification of the pine expresses the deep affection which gives the poem its force.

In poem 186, too, the pine is directly addressed and personified as a companion who will long outlive Saigyō and can thus pray for him after his death. This poem is a poignant version of the many poems which long for a companion and express the loneliness of one who has cast off family to follow the Buddhist way. The theme of mourning for him after his death is an echo of the poem he will compose as he is dying, poem 201, which also requests that a tree (there, the cherry) be the medium for prayers.

Bunmeibon 49

He stayed in the capital at a place with which he had long been connected, and they wrung the tears from their sleeves over talk of whence they had come and to where they would go.⁶⁸⁰ The master of the house said, æYes, how moving to think of your poor dear (daughter).⁶⁸¹ After your shukke, your wife⁶⁸² also took the tonsure on the same day; for one or two years she stayed in the capital with your daughter, but (then) a lady named Reizeidono,⁶⁸³ daughter of the Kujō Lord of Civil Affairs, took her as her own child, so her mother went to perform austerities in a place called Amano⁶⁸⁴ at (the foot of) Mt. Kōya, and for these seventeen years⁶⁸⁵ she has not allowed anyone to visit. Recently, Reizeidono's daughter by her husband's principal

⁶⁸⁰ I.e. the next world.

⁶⁸¹ いとおしがり給しことのあはれさよ. Apparently a reduction of SIZ's いとおしがり給し姫君のことのあはれさよ, which in turn appears to be a later evolution from Hakubyō's いとおしがり給し姫君のあはれさよ.

⁶⁸² 御うえ. SIZ and Hakubyō have 御前.

⁶⁸³ 冷泉殿. This name is variously pronounced æReiseidono, æReisendonno and æRenzeidon in the texts. I here follow the Bunmeibon pronunciation.

⁶⁸⁴ 天野. A large community (bessho) of recluse nuns located below Kōyasan.

⁶⁸⁵ By this calculation, Saigyō is here approximately 42.

wife brought in as her husband a man called Harima no Sanmi. This lady has made your daughter her lady-in-waiting. (But) she only devotes herself to her Buddhist practice day and night, and prays to the gods and buddhas to reveal to her her father's whereabouts in this life, and does nothing but weep.

When he heard this, Saigyō tearfully pretended to take no notice. Who knows what he had in mind, but the following day he went to the house next to Reizeidono's house and discussed things with the master there, then called over his daughter. She came, thinking, *‘I had indeed heard that my father had committed himself to the Way, and when she saw his unfamiliar emaciated form in its black robes, her tears flowed as she wondered, ‘Can this be my honourable father?’ As she looked and wept, Saigyō gazed at her, astonished at how she had changed from that child who had played in the dirt,⁶⁸⁶ and grown⁶⁸⁷ tall.⁶⁸⁸*

Saigyō said to his daughter, *‘For many years I have not known your whereabouts, and (at last) today I see you (again). To be parent and child is (the result of) a karmic bond from a previous life. Will you listen to what I have to say? ‘You are my parent, so how should I gainsay you?’ she replied. Pleased, he continued: ‘From when you were a child, I worried how to take care of you and bring you up to have a good station in life, and thought to somehow have you sent to the retired emperor's court,⁶⁸⁹ but though I have become thus,⁶⁹⁰ yet it is by reason of you that my heart is disarrayed. There is no point in worthless court service. You will be despised by others. This world is (fleeting as) a dream or illusion. Those here today are gone tomorrow. Your present prime of life⁶⁹¹ will age and weaken in no time. Only become*

⁶⁸⁶ See his earlier glimpse of her in Section 20. Hakubyō more generally contrasts her present refinement with her appearance as a young child.

⁶⁸⁷ おひすけて (Itō's *Zenshū* has おひすげて). Probably a form of the verb およすぐ, *ato* grow up. This is only found in Bunmeibon.

⁶⁸⁸ たけたかく. Both SIZ and Hakubyō more convincingly have けだかく.

⁶⁸⁹ 院うち. Or possibly *‘retired emperor's court or imperial palace (dairi 内裏)*. Itō's *Zenshū* has 院内, as does SIZ and also the A texts. Hakubyō has 院宮.

⁶⁹⁰ I.e. though I have taken the tonsure and thereby cast off worldly attachments.

⁶⁹¹ さはりなるかたち. Itō's *Zenshū* follows SIZ in having さかり, which I follow.

a nun, and join your mother and gain⁶⁹² the next life. If I go first to paradise, I will greet you there. Or if, since age or youth is no guarantee of the time of death, you go there first, greet me there (when I arrive), he said.

His daughter thought for a little, and was glad.⁶⁹³ **When I was a child, after my father disappeared, that same day my mother immediately took the tonsure, so my childish heart was moved with sorrow. Though sun and moon were in the sky, the light had vanished from my heart, and three years passed while I wandered in darkness. Then, when my child's heart was (still) as if asleep, she disappeared in the middle of the tenth month. Astonished, I searched the house fruitlessly, crying *oMama!* , but as she had already wandered off and disappeared none knew where, my search was in vain. Well when the dawn broke, people gathered from all around and made a great clamour.⁶⁹⁴ Renzeidono cast aside shame and picked me up and comforted me, saying, 'Sorrow for one's parents is not for this life only, for they are as hard to part from as you know them to be; but now that there is no help for it, I am your father and mother. I will comfort you. If this were not so, I too would disappear who knew where,' she said. She took me on her knee, and wrung her sleeves with tears, and my childish heart pitied her and wondered who it was who should cause her to weep so; and from that year I joined her little girl attendants and have been brought up by her these seventeen years. All this time, unbeknownst to others, deep in my heart *I have longed for an opportunity to take the tonsure since I cannot meet my parents, so this is indeed a moving and happy thing for me. So saying, she promised to come on such and such a day to the home of her wetnurse, and returned home.*

49. COMMENTS

(1) The considerable variations among the texts point to an evolution of this section, with Hakubyō and perhaps the A texts apparently preserving the earliest

⁶⁹² とりたまへて. SIZ's とひたまへて is more natural.

⁶⁹³ From this point to the following asterisk, the text is unique to Bunmeibon.

⁶⁹⁴ I here follow Itō Zenshū's 騒ぐる.

extant versions. Evolution is particularly clear from Hakubyō to SIZ to Bunmeibon, with Bunmeibon containing extended versions of Saigyō's initial instructions to his daughter, and her final reply, and an entirely new interpolated section describing her childhood sorrows and Renzeidono's comforting of her. The B2 texts, particularly Eishōbon, provide a good illustration of the extent to which Buddhist didactic content can be reworked among the variants.

Although this and the following section are present in all the B text variants, their absence in both Seikadō and SHS, the earliest of the A texts, should be noted. As discussed previously, while Seikadō could be considered to abbreviate previously existing material, SHS presents no evidence of this, and thus the total lack of any reference to the daughter's existence there carries the strong suggestion that this and related sections are a later interpolation.

(2) This and the following sections, which bring Saigyō face to face once more with the daughter by means of whom he so spectacularly severed his bonds with the world at the time of his shukke, appear to be based on the detailed description of this meeting found in *Hosshinshū* 6.5. There the present scene is introduced with a description of how Saigyō could not after all forget his daughter, and was compelled to glance in when he was passing the house where she now lived.⁶⁹⁵ *Hosshinshū* continues by describing how a relative of his wife's, Reisendono, takes the girl over from Saigyō's younger brother who had been looking after her, and takes her into her service. Saigyō is pleased with this development, and ceases to worry about her, but then learns (from someone not specified) that when she was fifteen or sixteen she was put in the service of Reisendono's half sister's household, which displeases him.

The narrative proceeds more or less as here. He goes to a nearby house and has her secretly called over. They are moved to see each other. He tells her he had always wanted to place her in the empress's service, and is distressed that she is in this second-rate employment. Since the world is a fickle place at best, she should

⁶⁹⁵ The B texts include this scene earlier in the Tale (Bunmeibon section 20), while it is omitted in the A texts.

become a nun and serve the Buddha with her mother. She replies simply that she will obey his will, and he is pleased at this wisdom which her youth belies. They fix a time and place, and return home.

Comparison of the two versions reveals once more what was found in section 20, a rewriting of the scene to emphasize its more poignant and sentimental aspects. There has been a careful editing out of many of the references to the *Hosshinshū* Saigyō's motives in visiting his daughter and urging her to take the tonsure — his lingering guilt that, being a monk, he is not in a position to secure her a good station in life. This thoroughly worldly concern, however, though it is muted in the Tale is still present in his explanation of why she should relinquish her present position and join her mother. Though he ends his lecture with the Buddhist teaching on transience, he describes his earlier unrealised hope that she should serve in the imperial household, and it is the humiliating nature of her present position that he points to first in urging shukke. It is interesting to note the apparent development and refinement of this aspect of the episodes among the variants.

The key to the half-achieved shift in emphasis lies in his statement that although I have become thus, yet it is by reason of you that my heart is disarrayed,⁶⁹⁶ implying only that it is lingering attachment to and concern for his daughter, who still (deludedly) remains in the world, that disturbs his mind and thus impedes his religious progress. This sentence is not present in the *Hosshinshū* episode, which presents Saigyō as distressed only at not being able to provide properly for his daughter because of his powerlessness. Clear evidence that this shift in emphasis was a process of evolution in the Tale can be seen in *Hakubyō*, where the above sentence reads, “Since I have become thus, I am powerless (to help you). Therefore, my heart has always been disarrayed because of you,⁶⁹⁷ a statement which combines the pragmatism of *Hosshinshū* with the Buddhist focus of *Bunmeibon* and the later

⁶⁹⁶ 我身かくなりてあれども、心のみだるる事とては、御ゆへなり。

⁶⁹⁷ 我かく成ぬる上ハちからなし。それに付てハやくもそれハ御身ゆゑ心みたるるなり

variants.⁶⁹⁸

But it is not just the dilemma of the lingering ambiguity of motive that makes this episode less than straightforward. Saigyō's disarrayed heart, although here more acceptably implied as resulting from a religious concern over his daughter's fate, nevertheless is an admission of failure (weakness) in the man who so courageously cut his ties with the world by kicking his infant daughter from the verandah. Saigyō in this episode teeters on the edge of weakness⁶⁹⁹ and redeems himself, in a display of strength overcoming weakness which we have witnessed many times before, where it is the poignancy and danger of the initial weakness that makes the strength impressive.

It is interesting to note, however, that it is not so much Saigyō who redeems himself (since it is, after all, no difficult thing to preach the necessity of the Way to others) as his daughter who redeems him, by joyfully accepting his advice and thus removing the obstacle to the Buddhist serenity of heart that he craves. As the Tale evolved, this episode became increasingly her story. In *Hosshinshū* she meekly does as told. Hakubyō has her respond more energetically with 'How glad I am! I had always wanted to take the tonsure, but (was unable to do so until now)'. SIZ (and Unemebon) add to this a reference to the fact that the reason for this desire was her separation from her parents. The A texts more or less follow this content, while in Bunmeibon and the B2 texts we find extended speeches (which bear no textual relation to each other) detailing her long unhappiness and her constant urge to take the tonsure.

⁶⁹⁸ A further evolution of this Buddhist emphasis can be found in *Eishōbon*, where an extended didactic passage on transience is added at this point.

⁶⁹⁹ Most clearly in his reaction to hearing of his daughter's present situation. He teeters with varying degrees of weakness among the texts. While in Bunmeibon and SIZ he 'tearfully pretended to take no notice (涙ぐみてききいれぬさまにて), in the A texts he is without tears (聞き入れぬさまにもてなして), which appears to be derived from Hakubyō's much more ambivalent聞き入れぬさまにもてなせとも涙ハ色にあらわれて墨染の袖もしほる斗. The B2 and B3 texts have versions close to Bunmeibon.

It is worth noting that this display of (forced) indifference to his daughter's plight precisely echoes the earlier moment when he turns from his weeping daughter, having kicked her off the verandah (section 7). There too, the texts have variations on the phrase 聞き入れぬさまにて.

While in *Hosshinshū* it is Saigyō we follow throughout, in what can only be seen as the evolution of this story through the Tale's variants it is the daughter with whom we increasingly come to identify, and her sorrows and strength carry greater emotional force than the image of the strong Saigyō (who, furthermore, is as concerned with his own serenity of mind as with his daughter's fate). The Tale thus develops the depiction of the daughter's own hosshin, which remained only latent in the original *Hosshinshū* story (despite the fact that the story is ostensibly included as a hosshin tale), and in the process subtly destabilises the image of Saigyō himself, much as in section 21 Saijū's trials and fortitude undermine our response to the strength which Saigyō displays.

(3) The lack of any poem in this section points to the fact that it belongs firmly in the setsuwa tradition, as do all the episodes concerned with his wife and daughter.

Bunmeibon 50

When the day had come, and a carriage had been brought and she was about to leave, she asked them to wait for a moment, and gazed deeply at Renzeidono, then departed tearfully. Renzeidono was perturbed, (although) she did not know that this was their final meeting; after waiting impatiently for quite a long time, she sent someone to inquire, and hearing that (the daughter) had already taken the tonsure, Renzeidon said bitterly, 'How could she do this, when she has never left my side for these seventeen years, since she was six years old?'⁷⁰⁰ and her sorrow knew no bounds. 'Ah, I can never forget how when she left she gazed deeply at me and her eyes filled with tears. How pitiful!' she said sorrowfully.

187 We mourn those / who like the fallen dewdrop / have already gone — / but
who is not the drop at leaf's edge / awaiting its fall? (SSS 406)⁷⁰¹

⁷⁰⁰ This makes her 23 years old, the age at which Saigyō is said to have taken the tonsure. It is this coincidence in age which must surely be the point here, since by this calculation Saigyō himself is only in his middle forties. The length of time the daughter spent with Renzeidono is mentioned only in Bunmeibon.

⁷⁰¹ I follow Itō's *Zenshū* version, where the second phrase follows that found in Saigyō

50. COMMENTS

(1) As with the previous section, a development among the B1 texts from Hakubyō to Bunmeibon is clear. Here, the B2 texts (particularly Kanzeibon) seem closest to the original *Hosshinshū* version on which this section too is based. The A texts once again bear some relation to Hakubyō in textual detail.

The poem, an apparent clumsy insertion into the Tale's version of this episode, caused the Tale's various creators some difficulty. SIZ and Unemebon abruptly introduce it as by Saigyō, presumably as a comment on Renzeidono's unenlightened sorrowing. Kanzeibon shifts the scene to the waiting Saigyō, who composes this poem because he is 'obscurely moved'. In a rare example of an apparently direct relationship with Bunmeibon, Shōhōbon also makes this a poem composed by Renzeidono, but *Hosshinki* (another A text) states that Saigyō composed it. None of these solutions is satisfactory, although Kanzeibon's version is the most acceptable among them.

(2) This scene follows the previous one in *Hosshinshū*. There, the episode opens with a description of the daughter insisting that she wash her hair, which puzzles Renzeidono.⁷⁰² The next day she calls a carriage, saying that she must go to her wetnurse's house. The scene proceeds much as in the Tale from this point. Renzeidono is surprised when the daughter pauses to gaze at her before leaving. When she later grows uneasy and asks where she is, she is at first not told, and upon finally learning the truth she says bitterly, 'What hateful strength of heart! So even the women in a line of soldierly men turn out to be disgustingly unpleasant'⁷⁰³ (a reference to Saigyō being of military stock). The lament at her long-standing affection for the girl is here narratorial statement. Renzeidono adds that the only thing that somewhat absolves the daughter's crime is the moment when she paused and looked *Shōninshū, moto no shizuku もとのしづく*, on the assumption that *ものとしづく* is an accidental corruption of this.

⁷⁰² Her name in *Hosshinshū* is 'Reisendono'.

⁷⁰³ 武者のすぢと云ふ者、女子までうたてゆゆしきものなりけり。

back, which she finds a little moving .⁷⁰⁴

This realistic description is distilled for maximum emotional effect in the Tale. Where the *Hosshinshū* episode is written primarily from Renzeidono's point of view, and her response is a thoroughly unsentimental one, the Tale draws back to view the scene simply as a heart-wrenching moment of parting, with Renzeidono's lament serving to point up the moving nature of her final farewell gesture and of her long relationship with the girl. Even Hakubyō, which textual analysis suggests is closest to the *Hosshinshū* original, displays this shift in focus. The Renzeidono of the Tale is little more than a foil to the daughter's strength of heart , and it is no surprise to find that the Tale drops all reference to her later *ōjō*.⁷⁰⁵

This role is pointed out by Yamazaki,⁷⁰⁶ who goes on to suggest that Renzeidono is portrayed in similar terms to other foils to strength of heart in the Tale (such as Saijū and the companion at Tenryū Crossing). Certainly her tears and bitterness are an unenlightened response to the situation, yet this response to the girl's departure surely provokes far more sympathy in the reader than does her outburst in *Hosshinshū*. The Tale does not seem interested here in playing off strength against weakness, but simply presents the episode as a moving scene, albeit one which involves a strong religious decision. Indeed it drops Renzeidono's original reference to the daughter's strength of heart — a reference which is fascinating for its glimpse of a quite different view of this quality. In the world of the original Renzeidono, it would seem, religious strength of heart is merely a highly disagreeable absence of the feelings appropriate to a person of culture and sensibility, and the daughter is revealing her base origins as a child of the military classes by displaying it. This view, which sets off the cultured sensibility which feels (i.e. knows aware) against the mere strength of the truly religious, reveals clearly the great gulf separating these

⁷⁰⁴ いささかあはれなる.

⁷⁰⁵ The *Hosshinshū* episode ends with the statement that Renzeidono later became very devout, and pursued her practice by painting Amida pictures, and that when she died the figure of Amida appeared in the sky (signifying her *ōjō*).

⁷⁰⁶ *ŌSaigyō monogatari ni egakareta Saigyō-zō* , p. 41.

two qualities which the Tale strives to bring together in the figure of Saigyō. One can see why the Tale should rigorously exclude this comment of Renzeidono's, and recast her response to the daughter's departure in a simpler mould.

(3) The poem, which is not present in *Hosshinshū*, is also not found in Hakubyō⁷⁰⁷ (and is also missing from Eishōbon), suggesting that it is a later insertion. It is both trite and largely irrelevant to the scene, and the fact that it is found only in *Saigyō Shōninshū*, a later collection which includes several poems which otherwise appear only in the Tale, suggests that it may not be by Saigyō. Its insertion can only be explained by the urge to break up the lengthy prose of these sections and reinforce the utamonogatari aspect of the work.

Bunmeibon 51

Saigyō greeted his daughter, and divided and bound up the hair that hung the length of her body. Having accomplished her shukke he said, 'Long ago when I was in the world, I ran in headlong pursuit of all its ways, seeking a dwelling place in hell; I bore upon me the lance of pride in my service at court, and did not perceive the jewel in the robe.'⁷⁰⁸ My heart was drawn by my bond with wife and child and the accumulation of wealth, and I did not leave the burning house of delusion.⁷⁰⁹ (But) the blossoms are carried off by the wind, the moon appears only to be hidden again by dawn's clouds. Those whom we loved yesterday are gone today. (All is) as a flame before the wind, or lightning or ephemera. The outward breath does not await the indrawn breath.⁷¹⁰ I saw that this world is but dream and illusion. Though I threw

⁷⁰⁷ In Hakubyō it appears as one of the poems Saigyō composes after his daughter leaves, at the end of the following section. It is much more suitable to this point in the Tale (when Saigyō is reflecting on the folly of ignoring the path of Buddhism). It thus seems likely that, since Hakubyō in other ways consistently suggests itself to be the oldest version of these sections, the poem was later moved back from here, with confusing results.

⁷⁰⁸ A reference to the parable found in *The Lotus Sutra*, fascicle 8, which likens the Buddha to a jewel sewn into a robe, of which the unenlightened wearer is unaware.

⁷⁰⁹ A reference to the famous parable found *The Lotus Sutra*, fascicle 3, which likens the world of illusion to a burning house.

⁷¹⁰ Takagi (Saigyō monogatari no tenkyō , p. 34) has drawn attention to the fact that these

away earthly passions and left the world, and dwelt⁷¹¹ in the commitment to wandering austerities, begging and alms-giving, yet since an unenlightened person is one who suffers,⁷¹² my feeling of attachment to you never left me. For this reason I will fall to the bottom of the eight hells.⁷¹³ My prayer is that,⁷¹⁴ now that I have seen you take the tonsure, my hopes in this life should be fulfilled. To the eyes of others you are a woman, but in the future you will certainly be a child of the Buddha. Keep these words always in your mind:

*For humankind, deep in sin, / there is no other way to salvation. / Only repeat the name of Amida / and you will gain rebirth in paradise. / Though your karmic burden is heavy / and you have no virtues to bring you to the pure land / the power of Amida / will be sure to lead you to paradise.*⁷¹⁵

Mount Kōya is a sacred place, where Kōbō Daishi is laid to rest, the land of the Buddha where Miroku⁷¹⁶ will return to save all sentient beings. It seems that those who in this life take themselves to tread that land will long escape the agonies of the three hells, and will be reborn in Tosotsu paradise.⁷¹⁷ At the foot of this mountain, in the *bessho* called Amano, your mother lives, so you should gain the next world in the same place. This will be the last time we see each other in this world. Consider this to be the teaching of the last ten thoughts before death,⁷¹⁸ he said, weeping.

common images signifying transience and the inevitability of death are closely echoed in *Hōbutsushū*.

⁷¹¹ I here follow the Itō *Zenshū* おもひに住す (also found in SIZ.).

⁷¹² I take 八苦 to be は苦 (as in Itō *Zenshū*).

⁷¹³ *Tōkatsu kokujo* 等活黒繩, the lowest two of the eight hells (八大地獄).

⁷¹⁴ ねがはくは. This phrase, which renders the sentence construction rather awkward, is found in SIZ but not in Hakubyō and the A texts (which otherwise reproduce the sentence as found here).

⁷¹⁵ A loose quotation from *Ōjō yōshū* 往生要集 (985), based in turn on the *Kanmuryōju-kyō* 觀無量壽經.

⁷¹⁶ Maitreya, the buddha of the future.

⁷¹⁷ Where Miroku dwells.

⁷¹⁸ *Jūnen* 十念, reciting the nenbutsu ten times as one dies. Saigyō's parting words have the equivalent power, since they here *adie* to each other. SIZ makes this sentence Saigyō's internal monologue.

The nun his daughter shed tears and said, *Parted from my father when I was five, from my mother when I was seven, I have been lost in the darkness between this world and the next, following people's orders, spending my days and nights in fear of others. Since the age of twelve or thirteen I understood my position in life, and my desire for shukke was deep. Now, since happily I have been able to fulfil that wish, my hopes for this and the next world have been met. This is the obligation I bear to my parents. Even if I stored up treasures in the store-house of Mount Sumeru,⁷¹⁹ it would be but a moment's dream, (for) could it follow me to the afterlife? I will take your words of the sutra and your teaching as my signpost along the way to the pure land, and we will certainly all three be reborn on the same lotus. Both shedding tears, they parted east and west, and moving it is to picture with pity their parting.⁷²⁰*

Unaccustomed as this nun was, as she went seeking for Mt. Kōya, there were none who did not weep to see her. She finally made her way to the place where her mother was, and the sight of them pursuing their devotions with but a single mind is a scene to move the heart.

Meanwhile Saigyō, relieved of all his worries, composed thus:

188 How could we pass our life / not knowing / the final /inescapable path / into death? (SKS 905)

189 The heart of one / who does not know / of the next life / is lowlier than a branchless tree / upon a plain. (SKS 907)⁷²¹

190 Long ago, seeing the moon, / my heart was disarrayed — / and I have met again / with such an autumn. (SKS 349)⁷²²

⁷¹⁹ 須弥の倉に宝を積みて。SIZ has 須弥の如く倉に宝を積みて, which makes more sense.

⁷²⁰ 心のうち思ひやられてあはれにおぼゆれ。SIZ has the more usual あはれに見へけれ.

⁷²¹ The third phrase is *otorikeri* おとりけり.

⁷²² The original poem is *tsuki wo mite kokoro ukareshi inishie no aki no mo sara ni meguriainuru* 月を見て心うかれしいにしへの秋にもさらにめぐりあひぬる.

51. COMMENTS

(1) The texts continue to display the strong variations noted for the previous sections. The A texts are here remarkably closely related to Bunmeibon, while both the B2 and B3 texts vary greatly from the B1 line, with Eishōbon once again displaying particularly strong independence of content. The A texts insert at the end of this section an extended and highly poetic michiyukibun passage, depicting the daughter's frightened and tearful figure struggling alone through the unfamiliar landscape as she makes her way to her mother's side. This is a fine example of the A texts' strong tendency to poeticize, on the level both of narrative and of text.

Saigyō's speech in particular reflects the volatile nature of didactic material in the Tale. The A texts follow the text of Bunmeibon and SIZ, but in all other variants the speech develops independently. Hakubyō and Eishōbon each have a unique extended passage at this point, while Unemebon and Kanzeibon have versions of yet another passage, composed largely of a repetition of the didactic material found in section 2.

(2) The Tale here parts ways with the *Hosshinshū* episode on which the previous two sections have been based. In *Hosshinshū*, there is simply a short statement that the daughter became a nun, went to Amano, and practised austerities there with her mother in a laudable fashion. The Tale, on the other hand, takes this opportunity to give both Saigyō and his daughter extended hosshin speeches, as well as to develop the more moving aspects of the scene.⁷²³ This section is thus a particularly clear example of the characteristic ways in which the Tale develops and refines its material, with on the one hand an accretion of didactic material, and on the other a drawing out of the (often sentimental) aware aspects of a scene.

The various versions of Saigyō's speech among the texts all begin with a description of Saigyō's deluded pre-shukke life, a version severely at odds with the

⁷²³ This is seen very clearly in the A texts' insertion of the daughter's moving michiyuki, mentioned above.

glowing depiction of him at the beginning of the Tale, and proceed to present the realizations which led to his shukke. In this, the passage prefigures that found in section 54, in which Saigyō looks back on his life (there, to enumerate its virtues). The proximity of the present episode to his own death⁷²⁴ adds a poignancy to his words, and makes the more comprehensible his urgent desire to achieve peace of mind by securing his daughter's salvation.

The daughter's response develops the theme found in the previous sections, emphasizing that the unhappiness of her orphaned existence and her consequent lowly social position have long inclined her to set her heart on shukke. Here, aware and religious commitment merge, and the parting scene achieves that rare effect most valued in the Tale, a moment in which depth of (sorrowing) feeling is intimately linked with a gesture of religious strength. The tears that both shed in all variants of the Tale, however, are the tears of human parting, not of religious joy (*zuiki no namida* 随喜の涙); they signify the fact that it is aware rather than the strictly religious aspects of the episode that the Tale is primarily concerned to portray.

The final scene sets Saigyō on his way again with easy heart, having satisfactorily disposed of his final bond with the world. Only the A texts portray him wistfully watching his daughter's departing figure, and proceed to borrow his pity, as it were, to watch her struggling alone on her poetic way to Amano. For the B texts, Saigyō has achieved his goal, and it is with a certain smugness that he composes his poems on those who remain deluded.

(3) Aside from Unemebon, which has no poem, all the variants include poem 188. This appears in *Sankashū* as one among a series of poems on the persistence of (his own) delusion. Poem 189 is part of the same series. It is absent in the A texts.

Unlike the other two poems, the theme of poem 190 is a return of past emotions, here apparently referring to the attachment to his daughter which had risen again in his heart. As a poem composed by one who has just attained peace of mind

⁷²⁴ At least in the B1 and A texts. These sections appear at an earlier point in the B2 and B3 texts, thus diminishing this effect.

on this score, and composed two poems on the delusions of such bonds, it seems rather inappropriately placed. It is not found in Eishōbon, which replaces it more appropriately with poem 26.⁷²⁵

It is interesting to note that Hakubyō includes among these poems the problematic poem 187 of the previous section, which is appropriate to the tenor of these poems.

Bunmeibon 52

After this, Saigyō secluded himself in the depths of Ōhara and pursued his practice; but his water pipe froze, and he could not draw water for the altar until spring came. Spring soon arrived, but still there was no sign of when the ice would melt.

191 *The mountain of Ōhara / is close / to Hiraḥs peaks / so I well know / how deep those snows must be. (SKS 1155, SKKS 415)⁷²⁶*

192 *Ridiculous — / the frozen water / in the water pipe / has made me wait with longing / for the spring I had freed my mind of. (SKS 571)*

193 *On the mountain paths / the melt has not begun / beneath the snow, / but the skies of the capital / must already hold a sense of spring. (SKS 1064)*

Thinking to see the blossoms of Shirakawa,⁷²⁷ he came down (from the mountains); although it was raining, people had stopped their carriages and were gazing at the blossoms, and finding this an elegant sight, he sent (this poem).

194 *(Today too) / people follow / the poet of old / who came seeking the blossoms*

⁷²⁵ Found in Bunmeibon 7, where he composes it after having kicked his daughter off the verandah and taken the tonsure.

⁷²⁶ The original poem is *Ōhara wa hira no takane no chikakereba yuki furu hodo wo omoi koso yare* 大原は比良の高嶺の近ければ雪降るほどを思ひこそやれ.

⁷²⁷ 白河, an area in the eastern foothills of the capital renowned for its blossoms.

/ for all that the rain would soak him. (SKS 103)⁷²⁸

When a hototogisu seemed to be calling its companion,⁷²⁹ *Kentaimon*’s
lady-in-waiting Horikawa no Tsubone sent this poem.

195 Let me pledge / in this world / with the hototogisu / to (one day) lead me /
over death’s mountain path. (SKS 750)

His reply:

196 The hototogisu’s / crying and weeping / must surely be a pledge / for that time
when you / set off on death’s mountain path. (SKS 751)

52. COMMENTS

(1) SIZ continues to show evidence of being intermediary between the other two B1 texts for this section. The A texts, which contain only the first half of the section, are related in textual detail to Hakubyō, suggesting that Hakubyō may be a development from them. It is perhaps significant that the final two episodes are not found in the A texts; they seem interpolated into the A texts’ more natural depiction of Saigyō retiring to Ōhara, and moving from there to Mt. Kōya.

(2) These three short episodes belong together only insofar as they are concerned with Saigyō’s life in Ōhara (with excursions to the nearby capital). The opening episode, in which he retires to Ōhara for austerities, follows naturally on his parting from his daughter. The subsequent two short episodes revert to the earlier capital section’s themes of excursions in the capital and exchanges with former ladies-in-

⁷²⁸The original poem is *nuru to mo to kage wo tanomite omoiken hito no ato fumu kyō ni mo aru kana* 濡るともとかげをたのみておもひけん人のあとふむ今日にもあるかな. Bunmeibon’s version of the poem is considerably garbled. It is possible to trace the changes through the B1 texts. SIZ has 花をたのみて. In Hakubyō it becomes 花をたずねて (as here). Itō *Zenshū*’s Bunmeibon further alters the original by making the final phrase あとにもあるなり, a confusion which the present text further confuses. To preserve some meaning, I refer to the other B1 texts in my translation. (The poem does not appear in any other variant of the Tale).

⁷²⁹我ともよびけるに. This rather odd expression appears to be derived from the phrase found here in SIZ and Hakubyō, 歌どもよみけるに.

waiting, and would in fact have been more suitably included there. The Tale's tenor at this point in all variants is, apart from these two small episodes, increasingly religious, in preparation for Saigyō's death.

The first episode, on the other hand, while its religious rather than suki context makes it more suitable for this moment in the Tale, is highly unusual in allowing Saigyō to briefly appear as endearingly and humorously weak within the religious context. The introductory material is directly related to poem 192, which appears as the first poem in all the other texts except SIZ. The original kotobagaki to this poem states that it was written when he had left the world and was living in the *bessho* at Kurama,⁷³⁰ when the water pipes froze and someone told him they would not melt until the spring. The detail that the water was needed for the altar is an invention of the Tale, which also explicitly frames the episode by reference to his austerities.

The conversation is retained in the other variants, but *Bunmeibon* implies that Saigyō is (as always) alone in his mountain retreat. While poem 192 allows Saigyō to humorously admit to religious backsliding, however, the other two poems function to depict the rigours of winter in his retreat.⁷³¹ Despite the admission of human frailty in poem 192 itself, the general tenor of the Tale's version of the episode (and particularly in *Bunmeibon*) is that of the laudable endurance of harsh winter conditions in a religious retreat.

Seasonality is the only connecting factor for the poems and episodes. Poems 191-3 move the season from winter to the first suggestions of spring. Poem 194 and its episode are in the suki mode,⁷³² with Saigyō visiting a place on the edge of the capital famous for its blossoms, while the exchange of poems 195-6 follows through the spring theme with the cry of the *hototogisu*. The insertion of this exchange at this point in the Tale, however, carries more weight owing to its sombre theme of the

⁷³⁰ A hijiri community at the base of Mt. Kurama, north of the capital and beyond Ōhara. The reference to having left the world implies that this poem was composed soon after Saigyō's *shukke*.

⁷³¹ Indeed poem 191 is rather unsuccessfully reinterpreted from its original context to serve this end, see (3) below.

⁷³² This poem and introductory material are omitted in both the B2 and A texts.

anticipation of death, and stands as an introit for the subsequent sections depicting first the death of retired emperor Toba, and then the culmination of the theme in Saigyō's own death.

(3) Of the poems in this section, only poem 191 is found in *Shinkokinshū*. It is a mid-winter poem sent by Saigyō to Jakunen, sympathetically imagining the snows of Ōhara, where Jakunen was living. Its original meaning is thus rather different from the interpretation given it in the Tale, and it is presumably the presence of the name Ōhara⁷³³ that led to its rather awkward inclusion here.

Poem 192 is one of the last poems in the winter section of *Sankashū*. Poem 193 appears in *Sankashū* with the kotobagaki 'Hearing that spring had arrived, while I was living deep in the mountains'.

Poem 194 is considerably garbled in Bunmeibon, as well as in the other B1 texts (the only variants in which it appears). Its honka is an anonymous poem found in the Spring section of *Shūishō* 拾遺抄 (ca. 968-1008),⁷³⁴ and Saigyō's poem expresses the conceit that the present-day flower viewer(s) in the rain are acting out this ancient poet's sentiments.

Poems 195-196 appear as a pair in *Sankashū*, whose kotobagaki states that the first poem was sent by Horikawa no Tsubone. The hototogisu was traditionally considered a kind of psychopomp, guiding the soul beyond death.

Bunmeibon 53

The retired emperor passed away,⁷³⁵ and Saigyō unwittingly came (to the capital) from Mt. Kōya⁷³⁶ just at the time of the night funeral procession to the burial

⁷³³ In Bunmeibon's version in its alternative reading of Ohara.

⁷³⁴ *Sakuragari ame wa furikinu onajiku wa nuru to mo hana no kage ni kakuren* 桜狩雨は降り来ぬおなじくは濡るとも花の陰にかくれん。

⁷³⁵ Retired emperor Toba died in 1156, when Saigyō was 39. There is thus a clear discrepancy in dates here.

⁷³⁶ This constitutes a rare reference to Saigyō's residence on Mt. Kōya, which plays no part in the Tale. This reference is derived directly from the *Sankashū* kotobagaki to poem 782 (which follows here). Its appearance is somewhat inconsistent, since the previous section had Saigyō retiring to Ōhara.

ground. Seeing that Commander of the Right Saneyoshi,⁷³⁷ who had accompanied the imperial procession to view Toba's future residence⁷³⁸ when he was Grand Counsellor, was again accompanying his (funeral) procession on this night, moved (he composed).

197 This of all nights / teaches me / that I am bound / by vows most deep / to you,
my lord. (SKS 782)

Overcome with sorrow at seeing him laid to rest (he composed),

198 How sad this night / to see your procession / now on a different road; / and sad
too to know / that it is your final journey. (SKS 783)

After he had been buried, those who had accompanied him, though their grief was incomparable, finally had to return home, and Saigyō remained alone in order to spend the night in mourning, and chanted sutras until the sun rose.

199 Had I been / as I once was / I would have simply mourned / with no thought /
to pray thus for you. (SKS 784)⁷³⁹

53. COMMENTS

(1) This section is only found in the B1 and A texts, and all contain similar versions.⁷⁴⁰ It is somewhat surprising that this section is absent in the B2 and B3 texts. This suggests the possibility that it may not have been present in the earliest forms of

⁷³⁷ Tokudaiji Saneyoshi 徳大寺実能, brother of Kentaimon'in. He was in fact minister of the Left (as found in the other B1 texts, but not in *Sankashū*). He was *dainagon* 大納言 from 1137 to 1141.

⁷³⁸ In 1140 the Toba Detached Palace (鳥羽離宮) was completed, and Toba made an official visit to view it.

The Bunmeibon text is somewhat garbled at this point, and I have supplemented my translation by reference to the other B1 texts, which make it clear that this passage is based on the kotobagaki to poem 782 in *Sankashū*.

⁷³⁹ The third phrase is *nagekamashi* 歎かまし (preserved in all other variants of the Tale).

⁷⁴⁰ The A texts add a slightly disjointed description of difficulties over the carriage used for the funeral procession.

the Tale⁷⁴¹ but may be an early interpolation in a line of texts not directly inherited by B2 and B3, since there is no apparent reason for it to have been excluded in these texts.

(2) This section is composed of a *Sankashū* cluster of three poems and their kotobagaki which concern Saigyō's chance meeting with Toba's funeral procession and his subsequent night-long attendance at his grave-side. These kotobagaki, the first and third of which are examples of the lengthy narrative-style kotobagaki characteristic of *Sankashū*, are reproduced with relatively minor variations in the Tale.⁷⁴²

At the simplest level, the presence of the episode can thus be explained as the incorporation of a ready-made three-poem episode from *Sankashū*, which is suitable for the Tale on several counts. It shows Saigyō in religious mode (a point which Bunmeibon emphasizes by adding mention of his sutra chanting), as well as performing the function of drawing to a satisfying close the theme of Norikiyo's devotion to Toba, which plays such a strong role in the early sections of the Tale. The (weak) Norikiyo whose religious impulses were for so long undermined by the conflicting loyalty to his emperor has here, at the far end of the story of his life, become the (strong) man of religion who, owing to his status, has the privilege of attending on the emperor in death as his religious guide to the next world. The episode echoes section 48, the lament at Sutoku's tomb in Sanuki, while its theme of Saigyō as religious guide to weaker others returns to the theme of such episodes as those found in section 42, where the poetic exchanges cast him in this role, as well as looking back to Saigyō's strong role as religious guide and mentor in his daughter's shukke.

Certain questions arise from the position of this text at this point in the Tale.

⁷⁴¹ It is of course also absent from the early Seikadō and SHS.

⁷⁴² The A texts provide a rather puzzling variation to the second kotobagaki, describing (with historical correctness but little apparent relevance) a problem with the carriage used to transport the body to the burial ground (see Appendix II). They also omit the kotobagaki material to poem 198 which describes the presence in the funeral procession of Saneyoshi.

Kuwabara⁷⁴³ points out the incongruity of Saigyō's arriving from Mt. Kōya (as per kotobagaki) when he was last depicted as living in Ōhara. There is also the more glaring problem of dating.⁷⁴⁴ Vagueness and inconsistency in relation to both place and time are of course no uncommon thing in the Tale, but the incongruity of dates here (a slippage of some thirty years) is striking, particularly in view of the fact that readers would no doubt have been aware that Toba's death was considerably earlier than depicted here.

Placement at this point in the Tale (assuming that it was intentionally made and not random addition) can only be explained by the reference in the content of this episode to what follows — Saigyō's own death. Yamaguchi's theory⁷⁴⁵ provides a possible explanation of its role. He sees the subsequent description of Saigyō's meditation on his life (section 54) and his culminating *ōjō* (section 55) as modelled on the *ganmon* 願文, a prayer for the newly dead composed in the form of a petition, which sets forth the virtues of the deceased in life and his or her consequent claims to the attainment of Paradise. Saigyō's prayers at Toba's grave are here given the weight of a kind of *gyakushu ganmon* 逆修願文 in which one recites prayers in advance for one's own impending death. Yamaguchi thus sees a natural progression from this section to those depicting Saigyō's own death.

This interesting reading of these sections, which is certainly compelling in relation to the B1 text's version of section 54, may well help explain what lies behind the inclusion of this present episode at this point, although it would be more convincing if the *Sankashū* kotobagaki content were amended or extended by more specifically religious interpolated material at the point where Saigyō prays for the retired emperor's soul. As the section stands, the most that can safely be stated is that Toba's death, and Saigyō's strong religious role, both foreshadow Saigyō's own (strong religious) death, and that poem 199 leads into the following section's

⁷⁴³ *Saigyō monogatari*, p. 239.

⁷⁴⁴ See note 735.

⁷⁴⁵ *Saigyō monogatari* no 'ganmon', pp. 1-16.

reminscence through its reference to Saigyō's (weak) past compared to the (strong) religious attainments which have put him in his present position.⁷⁴⁶

(3) The first two poems (197 and 198) are private rather than religious responses to Toba's death.

Poem 199 contains an implicit contrast to the episode of the first poem, which describes Saneyoshi's presence at Toba's early processions as now at his funeral procession. This continuity, set against the sad irony of the difference in the two processions (the explicit subject of the second poem), contrasts with Saigyō's own situation past and present, as described above. Thus this episode, which is as found in *Sankashū*, not only leads into the final scene through its strong theme of deaths and endings, but also neatly performs an implicit recapitulation of Saigyō's life through his changed relationship to Toba, a theme taken up in the following section.

Bunmeibon 54

Pondering quietly⁷⁴⁷ (on his life) — how he had at the age of twenty-five left the imperial guards of the imperial palace, abruptly turned his back on wife and child, put from him the flowered robes (of worldly glory) and changed them for (the monk's) hempen robe; how he had turned to face the Buddhist altar to finally cut his hair, and had left the transient world, and lived in caves in distant mountains, had purified his meditative heart in the pool of the Eight Virtues,⁷⁴⁸ constantly praying for the pure land of peace; how he had later performed the austerities of begging and

⁷⁴⁶ As Yamaguchi remarks (ibid., p. 16).

⁷⁴⁷ I discuss below the difficulties of determining voice for this passage. Yamaguchi (ibid., p. 3) has pointed out that the opening expression (しづかにおもひみれば) is a version of expressions commonly used to introduce the didactic reflections found at the end of many Buddhist *setsuwa* episodes. Even if this is the usage intended here, it is debatable whether it would preclude the suggestion of internal monologue, since the content consists of a review of Saigyō's own life. I have therefore chosen to use a neutral tone in my translation, to preserve some of the ambiguity of the original text.

⁷⁴⁸ 八功德池, a pool in Amida's paradise which holds water containing eight virtues (coolness, sweetness etc.). Here presumably a metaphoric reference to attaining Buddhist virtues in life.

wandering throughout the land, practised in mountain and forest, had promoted the Lotus and the Hannya⁷⁴⁹ (sutras), Shingon and the nenbutsu according to (the needs of) people's hearts, meditated on the lack of distinction of all things and the single pure land of the buddhas; had wrung the sleeve of compassion and dyed the robe of perseverance,⁷⁵⁰ yearning to go to the west⁷⁵¹ — fifty-odd years had passed in a dream, year after year the same flowers bloom, but with the passing years the people change.⁷⁵² With the passage of one day and night, a person has a myriad (delusive) thoughts.⁷⁵³ In repentance for these sins, he had composed (poems of) thirty-one syllables, using them as the practice of the Buddhist Way; as he saw water⁷⁵⁴ coming from the east and flowing to the west he took it as a signpost on the road to the Pure Land, and the blossoms of spring and autumn's leaves, alike carried off by the wind, the cicada shells of summer and the winter snows, wordlessly taught him the transience of life and death, so that there was no time when his heart was not pure. Now he had reached the age of eighty,⁷⁵⁵ snow lay piled upon his head, deep wrinkles like the sea's waves furrowed his brow, and though he could no longer walk as he wished,⁷⁵⁶ *he built a hut at Sōrinji⁷⁵⁷ in the eastern foothills (of the capital), and there

⁷⁴⁹ Probably a reference to the *Daihannyagyō* 大般若經.

⁷⁵⁰ An expression common in religious writings of the time, having its origins in a phrase from *The Lotus Sutra*, fascicle 10 (see Hurvitz p.181)

⁷⁵¹ I.e. to Amida's western paradise, as the name *əSaigyō* implies.

⁷⁵² A quotation from poem 790 of *Wakan rōeishū*.

⁷⁵³ Takagi (*əSaigyō monogatari no tenkyō*, p. 35) traces the origins of this phrase to *Hōbutsushū* book 7.

⁷⁵⁴ In all other variants which contain a version of this description (the B1 texts and *Kanzeibon*) it is the moon which goes from east to west.

⁷⁵⁵ He was in fact seventy three at his death. Eighty was the age at which the Buddha is believed to have died. This is a clear example of the conflating of *Saigyō* with the Buddha which this passage suggests.

⁷⁵⁶ From this point, *Seikadō* and *Saigyō Hōshi shūka* rejoin the text. *Unemebon* also takes up the tale again at this point.

⁷⁵⁷ 双林寺, close by present-day Maruyama Park. Originally a Tendai temple, it became a temple of the Ji sect in the Muromachi period. See the Comments to the following section for a discussion of the debate concerning the veracity of the Tale's claim that this temple was the place where *Saigyō* died.

without sleeping he burned always before the window of his meditations the light of the Three Understandings.⁷⁵⁸ Waiting for the cherry tree by the temple to break into full flower, he composed this, praying that he might attain ōjō during the fifteenth night of the second month, the day when the Buddha had died.

200 *I pray / that I may die / beneath the blossoms of spring / at that special time, / the second month's full moon.* (SKS 77, SKKS 1932).

54. COMMENTS

(1) This section falls naturally into two parts, the first being the long review of Saigyō's life in Buddhist terms, the second the return to forward narrative movement with the description of his move to Sōrinji and composition of poem 200. As one would expect from previous similar examples, the didactic material of the first half shows evidence of being awkwardly interpolated onto the headnote and poem core of the section which composes the second half.

This impression is strongly reinforced by the striking fact that both Seikadō and SHS take up the story again at precisely this junction, with a sentence (indicated by a star in the above translation) that is closely echoed by all the other texts, strongly suggesting that it is a trace of the original bones of the section. These two early texts, which display the typical pattern of kotobagaki-style introductory scene-setting followed by poem, can surely be assumed to contain the section's earliest remaining form.

Seikadō is the simpler version of the two; where it states only that he lived in his hut spending his days and nights awaiting the coming of the heavenly host, SHS adds the short rhetorical description of his meditations, a version of which is found in all the variants which include this section. While Seikadō's brevity may spring from an abbreviation of text,⁷⁵⁹ and it may be that these later A texts inherited the B text

⁷⁵⁸ *Sanmyō* 三明, the three supernatural understandings possessed by the Buddha. They are: knowledge of past worlds, of future worlds, and the power to destroy delusive suffering with the vision of the truth. Other texts (Hakubyō, SIZ and the A texts) have 三明の月の光.

⁷⁵⁹ The following section's quotation from *The Lotus Sutra*, present in all other variants, is

version and for some reason chose to exclude this passage,⁷⁶⁰ it seems entirely reasonable to assume that the B texts, generally more concerned with religious justifications, added the extra passage to earlier material.⁷⁶¹

On this reasoning, the line of development would run: early A texts (which lack all religious material) → later A texts → B texts. Comparison of the B texts reveals yet again that Bunmeibon is surely an outlying development among them — both the other B1 texts and Kanzeibon are much more closely related, both to each other and to the A texts, in textual detail.

This interpretation is very different from that of Yamaguchi Makoto's complex and intriguing article *əSaigyō monogatari no 'Ganmon*, in which he asserts that the A texts (represented by Kubokebon, but including the early Seikadō) are a *ərewriting* of the Bunmeibon text which blurs the intention of the Bunmeibon passage, which he takes to represent the original version. As explained in the comments to the previous section, Yamaguchi considers the Bunmeibon text to be structured around the *əganmon*, evidence for which he finds in the presentation of the religious content, and he sees the shift in the A texts (including the use of the *き* verb ending) as an attempt to dramatize and give a sense of immediacy of time and place to a text whose original intention was very different.

Much of his argument rests on the awkward junction between the religious material and the narrative material to be found in the later A texts.⁷⁶² The B texts, however, in fact achieve little better — the vague *といへども* essentially here serves only as a syntactic connector. What seems clear is that this is the transition point at which the interpolated religious material had somehow to be made to flow into the (pre-existing) narrative which was the section's original focus, and neither the A nor likewise missing in Seikadō.

⁷⁶⁰ Although its *əpoetic* content is thoroughly in line with the A texts's poetic orientation throughout the Tale.

⁷⁶¹ Most strikingly, in the B1 texts, the *ədidactic* material is further developed by the addition of an expansion of the *kyōgen kigo* description, present in embryo form in Shōhōbon etc.

⁷⁶² See note 5, Appendix II, section B 54.

the B texts achieve this satisfactorily, although the B texts' added material allows the transition to appear somewhat more natural. It seems equally possible to assert, in fact, that from the core scene plus poem as we find it in the early A texts, which follows the typical form of actual (dramatic) scene and consequent poem, later writers expanded the religious content to draw out the implications of Saigyō's choice of death date, resulting finally in B1 texts such as *Bunmeibon*, in which the *ganmon* style⁷⁶³ has come to heavily influence the text, thereby blurring the immediacy of the original scene.⁷⁶⁴

There are, in the end, too many gaps in the complex web of developments among the texts for any assertions to be made, and it may well be that influences between the A and B texts went both ways. However, both the earliest existing text (*Seikadō*), and general evidence as to the earliest forms of episode from which the Tale developed, as well as the strong and disruptive tendency to interpolate religious material onto this, surely point to the conclusion that the B1 version of this episode as translated above is a late, rather than the original, version of this scene.

(2) This section provides the penultimate scene of the Tale, in which Saigyō reviews his life and prepares for his death. The textual disruptions and problems described above are typical of the upheaval so often found associated with the presence of religious (didactic) material in the Tale. Typical also is the question of voice associated with such material. The bulk of this section⁷⁶⁵ is in a form commonly found in the Tale, in which religious material is expressed in ambiguous voice which

⁷⁶³ While this section does echo the *ganmon* in both details and overall structure, such writing is also commonly to be found in the *ōjōden* literature at the point where the saint is preparing for death. It may be safer to say, then, that this section's religious content is modelled on that of relevant religious writing of the time generally.

⁷⁶⁴ The question of immediacy hinges on the ambiguity of precisely when Saigyō wrote his poem. While the B1 texts have him composing it at some unspecified time as he awaits the blossoms (*桜の花を待ちへて*), the A texts move from *Seikadō*'s immediacy of scene (*このはなざかり*) to the slightly more distancing though still immediate *おなじくこのはなざかり* of SHS and the later A texts.

⁷⁶⁵ From the beginning until the asterisk, where all the texts merge, at which point narrative description takes over.

sometimes seems to take the form of an inner monologue,⁷⁶⁶ but in general seems more a disembodied narratorial presentation or sermon concerning understandings he has reached, which for dramatic purposes is presented as if spoken by Saigyō, rather than truly dramatized.⁷⁶⁷ Owing to this ambiguity of voice, I have generally chosen (as here) to translate this content not in direct first person speech, which produces an awkward translation, but in loose reporting style. An exception is my translation of this passage in *Shōhōbon*, where the consistent use of き verb endings more strongly suggests direct reminiscence.⁷⁶⁸

The present passage differs from other such passages in the Tale, however, in that it comprises not didactic material as such, but an overview of his life from a religious perspective. It is, however, the religious perspective that is its motivation, a fact which is clear from the extent to which it diverges from the depiction of his life which the Tale has actually presented. After a recapitulation of the early scenes of his *hosshin*, this passage presents Saigyō as one who singlemindedly pursued a life of austerity and preaching, the ideal *shōnin* of Buddhist *setsuwa* literature, a man who bears very little resemblance to the Saigyō who has inhabited the episodes of this Tale. The Saigyō of this passage is that austere Buddhist practitioner who spurned his weak companion, the monk who gratefully accepted the blows on the ferry at Tenryū Crossing, the grim emaciated figure who reappeared in his rejected daughter's life to cut off her hair. That other Saigyō with his tears and aware might never have been, as Saigyō now prepares for the ōjō which is the indubitable reward for this saintly life.⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶⁶ With such indicators as と観ずる or an initial 思ひみれば.

⁷⁶⁷ This attempt to dramatize religious content by giving it a voice and context is closely echoed in the technique found in *Senjūshō*, in which the authenticity which Saigyō's witnessing presence lends to the illustrative stories spills over into the ensuing didactic sections, which in varying degrees appear to be his meditations on the lessons learned.

⁷⁶⁸ It seems to me, however, that the lack of き verb endings in the B texts does not indicate any important difference in voice. As is typical of the B texts, their version of this passage consists of very long sentences with loose internal connections, whose final verb endings happen not to be voice-specific.

⁷⁶⁹ It is clear, as LaFleur (≠The Death and Lives of the Poet-monk Saigyō, p. 356) has pointed out and as Yamaguchi (≠Saigyō monogatari no ganmon, p. 16) has documented, that this passage contains clearly intended parallels with the life of Buddha. This is a device commonly found in

While the first part of this revised version of Saigyō's life in the B1 texts depicts him as typical Buddhist saint, the B texts then proceed to take up the theme which lies at the heart of the Tale's underlying dilemmas, that of his lifelong dedication to poetry. The religious perspective here provides its answer, the kyōgen kigo response that poetry is a means to purify the heart, an offering made as repentance for sins, and its pursuit a means by which to meditate on the lessons of transience that nature teaches. This kyōgen kigo theme receives only a passing reference in the A texts, and the augmentation of this theme in the B texts perhaps implies an anxiety to ensure that the utamonogatari aspects of the Tale finally be contained firmly within the Buddhist framework which the B texts are particularly bent on imposing.

(3) Poem 200 is, as it were, the lynchpin in the underlying assumption of the Tale as we have it today — that Saigyō forewilled his own death, which was to be on the Buddha's death day. This most famous of Saigyō's poems, which in *Sankashū* appears among a string of poems on the cherry blossom with the unexciting kotobagaki composed among a number of poems on the theme of 'Flowers', achieved its fame only later,⁷⁷⁰ with the news of Saigyō's death as the poem predicted.

Bunmeibon 55

With this poem constantly on his lips, at last on the fifteenth day of the second month, dwelling in a clear mind, beneath those blossoms he turned to the west and with a smile of bliss recited:

If anyone, even with distracted thought,

And with so much as a single flower,

Makes offering to a painted image

setsuwa literature describing the ōjō of saintly Buddhist practitioners.

⁷⁷⁰ In fact, this poem's inclusion in the collection *Sanka shinjūshū* 山家心中集, compiled some time between 1171 and 1175, indicates that the poem belongs at latest to Saigyō's early 50s.

He shall at length see innumerable Buddhas.

If he end his life in this way,

He will go to paradise.

Surround me now,

Amida Bosatsu

And the hosts of bodhisattvas.⁷⁷¹

Thus he chanted, and he composed a poem.

201 *If any would pray for me / in the next life / let them / make offering of / the
cherry blossom. (SKS 78)*

*Finally, he recited one hundred nenbutsu, and when he turned to the west, the rim of the western hills shone, a scented breeze blew, his heart brimmed with joy and with the deepening understanding of the Teaching that leads to paradise, his ears heard in the heavens the loud voices of heavenly instruments, a purple cloud gently descended, and he saw about him twenty five bodhisattvas. Kannon lowered a lotus throne, whereupon he mounted it and attained *ōjō*. He died in the evening of the fifteenth day of the second month, just as, in a past age, Sakyamuni likewise died in Crane Forest.*

55. COMMENTS

(1) This section again displays a clear development from Hakubyō through to Bunmeibon in the B1 line, while the A texts echo these (particularly the non-Bunmeibon texts) more closely in the first half of the section than in the independent second half. Here it is Amida and his retinue who come to gather Saigyō up. Once again, a likely line of augmentation can be discerned in relation to Buddhist material. The early Seikadō does not contain the sutra quotation, while at the other extreme

⁷⁷¹ This is a quotation from the second fascicle of *The Lotus Sutra* (Hurvitz, p. 40), which concludes with an invocation based on words found in *Yakuō Bosatsu-bon* 藥王菩薩本.

Bunmeibon is most explicit in its religious references, with its unique addition of the reference to Sakyamuni's death.

Of the other B texts, Unemebon contains an interesting variation in including a version of the meditations of the previous section here, specifically, a passage on the theme of nature reflecting Buddhist truth, as a reflection of paradise.⁷⁷² The B3 texts here interpolate an extended discussion of descriptions of Saigyō's death found in other texts, ending with a discussion of the discrepancy in death dates between that recorded in these works and that found in the Tale.

(2) This section, present in all the variants, contains the single most important scene of the Tale, the final affirmation of Saigyō's saintliness through his ōjō which the narrative trajectory has from the beginning contained as its implicit end. As the early sections depicting Saigyō's shukke are patterned on the shukkedan of Buddhist literature, so here the scene of Saigyō's religious apotheosis is such a scene as is found in countless ōjōdan, where the saint composes himself with a suitable prayer on his lips, and is welcomed by members of the Buddhist pantheon who sweep him heavenward on a purple cloud, while celestial music and incense sweeten the air. To the extent that it conforms to this pattern, this scene is unremarkable. Its only innovation is in the inclusion of poetry, and it is revealing to consider the role that poetry is made to play in this scene where Saigyō's religious aspect asserts itself so fully and finally.

In this regard, the early A text Seikadō is particularly interesting. The sutra quotation which plays the role of Saigyō's final prayer in all other variants is missing here, and the words that are on his lips when he turns to face the west and await his end are those of his own poem 201. It is possible that the sutra quotation was dropped⁷⁷³ but as it stands the implication is clear — the poem is itself Saigyō's final prayer. Although the more radical version of the kyōgen kigo theory would have it that poetry can perform the role of an offering to the Buddha, it is rare if not unique to

⁷⁷² This passage and its implications are discussed in Appendix 1, section 55 (Unemebon).

⁷⁷³ It is present in SHS.

find poetry used thus at this crucial moment, when the practitioner's final energies are bent on evoking the power that will save him.⁷⁷⁴ The Seikadō version thus provides an unequivocal example of precisely what the Tale has on one level purported to present, poetry as a means to Buddhist salvation.

The prayer which all the other variants include has the effect of shifting the role of this poem to the more usual one of personal lyrical expression of the moment's experience.⁷⁷⁵ It is interesting, however, to note that the B1 and B2 texts achieve much the same effect with the section's opening words,⁷⁷⁶ which strongly suggest that poem 200 was continuously chanted as Saigyō's prayer as he prepared himself for death.⁷⁷⁷ In both A and B texts, then, poetry here achieves at last the role claimed for it in the Tale's occasional kyōgen kigo statements but so rarely achieved in the episodes of the Tale itself; with the achievement of Saigyō's own *ōjō*, poetry too at last truly makes its peace with religion.

Among the variants, Bunmeibon is as usual by far the most fulsome in its Buddhist-related detail. The texts variously elaborate on the *ōjō* scene, but it is only Bunmeibon that adds the final sentence making explicit comparison with the Buddha's death. This comparison is, of course, implied in the shift (found in all variants) of the date from the sixteenth to the fifteenth, to coincide more neatly with Buddha's death date.⁷⁷⁸ Less explicable is the shift of year, from 1190 to 1198. The

⁷⁷⁴ The content of the poem too, although it is certainly relevant to Saigyō's imminent death, can scarcely be construed as a prayer for his own salvation. However, when poetry becomes in itself a religious offering, its content is no longer its point.

⁷⁷⁵ Unemebon moves the poem to the end of the section, where it is spoken by Saigyō as he is carried off.

⁷⁷⁶ つねにこのうたをながめて.

⁷⁷⁷ The A texts here have the more explanatory 既にこの歌の如く.

⁷⁷⁸ His death on the following day was in fact close enough to make those who heard of it feel that he had achieved the wish expressed in his famous poem (Teika's poem quoted in section 57 is one example among many). From here it would have been an easy matter to shift the date back a day in the public imagination, and the date found in the Tale may not have been a creation of the Tale itself. However, the more educated were always aware that the real date was the sixteenth, as is clear from the numerous references down the centuries to poetry gatherings held on that day to commemorate his death.

only likely explanation that has been offered is Kojima's suggestion that this 建久九年 is a misreading in which the character 元 was misread as 九.⁷⁷⁹ Together with the Tale's shifting back of Saigyō's year of birth,⁷⁸⁰ this makes him ninety six years old at death, a venerable age such as is often achieved by the sages who fill the Buddhist ōjōden,⁷⁸¹ though whether the authors of the Tale had such strict calculations or comparisons in mind in their choice of dates is debatable.⁷⁸²

The third anomaly contained in this account of Saigyō's death, and one that has received the greatest scholarly attention, is the naming of Sōrinji as the place where he died.⁷⁸³ The great poet Fujiwara Shunzei, a contemporary of Saigyō's who knew him well, gives an account of his death and events leading up to it in his collection *Chōshū eisō* 長秋詠藻 (1198), where he states that Saigyō was stricken by his final illness at Hirokawa Temple, and it is here that he is generally understood to have died. Other legends of his death place also sprang up,⁷⁸⁴ but it is at Sōrinji that all versions of the Tale have him die. It is now generally agreed that the Sōrinji legend most probably originated with the large and active group of nenbutsu hijiri associated with that temple, and some scholars go so far as to see the Tale as a creation by these hijiri for didactic purposes.⁷⁸⁵ Whatever may be the case, the legend was present in the

⁷⁷⁹ In fact, this explanation of the mistaken date is also found in the interpolated section K57 in the Kanzeibon texts, where the anomaly is discussed in detail.

⁷⁸⁰ The Tale states that his shukke occurred in 1127, at the age of twenty five, thus making his year of birth 1102 instead of 1118.

⁷⁸¹ An example in the Tale is the hermit of Musashino (see section 33), who is over ninety years old (九十有余なる) when Saigyō comes upon him. The venerable age of legendary Buddhist saints sits rather oddly with the aim of attaining one's ōjō at the earliest opportunity (exemplified in the Tale in a number of references), and presumably is the result of the influence of Taoism, whose immortals form the pattern for a great many of the aspects of the Sage image in Chinese and Japanese Buddhism.

⁷⁸² Hakubyō is the only text to mention his age in this section, which it states to be ninety four.

⁷⁸³ This appears towards the end of the previous section.

⁷⁸⁴ Sakaguchi (a *Saigyō monogatari* kō, p. 38) quotes several, including one which has him die at Mt. Kōya and another at Zentsūji in Shikoku.

⁷⁸⁵ The idea of the connection with nenbutsu hijiri was first put forward by Fukuda Noboru in his *aGunki monogatari to minkan denshō* (quoted in Sakaguchi, op. cit., p. 39), and later given more detailed examination and corroborated by Sakaguchi (op.cit.), who believes the hijiri were the Tale's

Tale from very early.

While the shift in year is most probably the result of simple error, the changes to both day and place of death are in their different ways related to religious considerations, as is fitting in this section in which religion lays final and absolute claim to Saigyō and his story. It is also fitting that, as Saigyō literally rises at last above the merely human realm and its attendant weaknesses, his story is so obviously drawn into the realm of religious legend. This moment, when he attains legendary status, contains the seed from which so much of the Tale grew.

(3) Poem 201 is found as the poem following poem 200 in *Sankashū*. In that collection, it is placed to follow through the theme of cherry blossom associated with his own death. It is given added poignancy in the Tale by becoming a last fond glance at Saigyō's beloved blossoms, beneath which he lies as he dies. As a poem associated with his *ōjō*, however, it is less than convincing, since its tone is more endearingly humble than exultant or supplicatory.

Bunmeibon 56

*Now Saigyō's wife was a person of greater strength of heart than her husband. In her twenty-third year she took the tonsure, went into seclusion at Amano near Mount Kōya, and although those close to her sent letters she made no reply, but continued her practice in silence. With the nun her daughter as companion in the Way, she knew in advance the time of her death, chanted one thousand nenbutsu, the room was flooded with a strange scent, and she achieved the *ōjō* her heart had intended.*

*Her daughter the nun was also strong of heart, and neither words nor mind can encompass the excellence of her *ōjō*. She died on the fifteenth day of the second*

creators. Taniguchi Kōichi (a *Saigyō Monogatari* no *kōsō* , 1979) was led to similar conclusions by his painstaking review of the numerous passages in the Tale which echo those found in *Hōbutsushū*, a work which is believed to have been written at Sōrinji. For a more detailed discussion of the implications of this theory, see Part I.

month of *Shōji* 2,⁷⁸⁶ at Amano near Mount Kōya. How wonderful to know that the three are thus together on the one lotus.

56. COMMENTS

(1) There is considerable variation among the texts, with Bunmeibon again being the most elaborate version. An important point of instability revolves around the descriptions of wife and daughter, and this will be examined in detail below. There seems to be a line of development from the A texts, where the description is fairly perfunctory, to the B texts.⁷⁸⁷ The absence of this section from both Seikadō and SHS is discussed below.

(2) This short section tidies the story by suitably disposing of the wife and daughter through appropriate *ōjō* of their own. The lack of poem, and the religious focus, mark this section as belonging to the *setsuwa* genre, and the high degree of variation to its details among the texts likewise accords with the tendency seen in other passages of religious intent throughout the Tale. All this points to the likelihood that this section was a later addition, a conclusion which has been reached, on internal evidence (discussed below), by both Sakaguchi Hironori and Yamaguchi Makoto.⁷⁸⁸

It is no surprise, then, to find that it is missing in the early A texts. Seikadō ends the Tale with the section depicting Saigyō's death. Seikadō is usually dismissed as evidence owing to its abridgement of the central sections of the Tale, but, as Chino⁷⁸⁹ points out, to end with Saigyō's *ōjō* is both more satisfying and more natural than to weaken this with a final tidying up of secondary characters. It seems perfectly possible to consider Seikadō, here as elsewhere, to retain the earlier form. This hypothesis is further strengthened by the fact that this section (although not section 57

⁷⁸⁶ 1201. The month and day, here an obviously intended parallel with her father, varies considerably among the texts.

⁷⁸⁷ The B3 texts here bear the closest relation to the A texts.

⁷⁸⁸ Sakaguchi, *saigyō monogatari no seiritsu jiki wo megutte* , and Yamaguchi, *akyōju to saihen* .

⁷⁸⁹ Chino Kaori, *saigyō monogatari emaki no fukugen* , p. 155.

following) is also missing from SHS.

Unlike the other episodes dealing with Saigyō's wife and daughter, this section does not derive from *Hosshinki*, which merely states (at the end of 6.5) that Saigyō's daughter joined her mother at Amano after she became a nun. Sakaguchi⁷⁹⁰ postulates that it was incorporated into the Tale through the agency of Amano *bikuni* 天野比丘尼, nuns of the Amano community who, like their more famous counterparts the Kumano *bikuni*, played an important role in spreading legends which glorified their community while encouraging women to dedicate themselves to the Way by means of simple sermons and tales. Whether this is true or not, it is certainly the case that this degree of concern with the fates of the female family members of the Buddhist protagonist is unusual among Buddhist *setsuwa*, as is the depiction of the women as stronger of heart, and of greater strength of heart than the man.

The question of the relationship among the texts in this depiction is a vexed one, and one considered to hold a key to unravelling how the Tale may have developed. It hinges on the varying depictions of the wife, and how these may relate to her depiction in other parts of the Tale.⁷⁹¹

In the B1 texts,⁷⁹² and in the A texts, as well as in *Eishōbon*,⁷⁹³ the wife is stated in this section to be stronger than / superior to her husband. In *Unemebon*, she is not weaker than him (nevertheless high praise). Thus, in the texts in which she appears, she is unfailingly praised for her strength of heart. Her ability to foretell her own death, on the other hand, that sign of superior powers which presumably she acquired in the Tale as a response to Saigyō's own famous foretelling, is only unambiguously present in Bunmeibon and (interestingly) *Hakubyō*. Comparison of

⁷⁹⁰ *saigyō monogatari no seiritsu jiki wo megutte*, p. 58.

⁷⁹¹ For a fuller discussion of this, see Part III.

⁷⁹² Except, interestingly, the earliest *Hakubyō*. However, her first introduction in section 7 makes her stronger than her husband in *Hakubyō*, a detail which is not present in the earlier *Emaki*.

⁷⁹³ But not in *Kanzeibon*, which oddly mentions only the daughter.

texts⁷⁹⁴ reveals considerable instability in the phrasing at this point in the text, the complexity of which makes tracing of development impossible. It can be said, however, that its presence in Hakubyō indicates that this special power belonged to the wife early in one line of development (which only Bunmeibon inherits). The ambiguity of the word かねて, which can have either the strong implication of foreknowledge, or the weaker and more general one of *since before*, suggests itself as a possible hinge around which the ambiguity of the description developed, and it is possible that the weak use found in Shōhōbon was given a stronger interpretation in some of the B texts by omission of より.

Another interesting point brought to light by textual comparison is the strong interrelationship between this section's description and that found in section 7, which describes Saigyō's shukke, the only other section in which the wife directly appears. There, most B text variants make three brief statements about her. The first is that she is superior to her husband.⁷⁹⁵ The second is that she was aware that he intended shukke from beforehand.⁷⁹⁶ The third, which appears at the end of his speech to her before he cuts off his hair, is that she received the news in silence.⁷⁹⁷

All three are present, and with remarkable similarity and sometimes identity of phrase, in the description of her in the present section. The second statement is here transformed into the claim of her foreknowledge of her own death, while the third (that lack of response which in Emaki is portrayed as a weakness, in Seikadō as a simple fact, and in later texts as a strength) here becomes both her practice of the austerity of silence, and more specifically her lack of response to communications

⁷⁹⁴ This description is not present in the B3 texts. The following shows the complex nature of variations and interrelations among the other texts:

Bunmeibon: おはりの時日をかねてさとり

SIZ and Unemebon: 終の時覚えて

Hakubyō: 兼死するありさま時日を覚えて

Shōhōbon: 終を予てより (多くの念仏止むことなく)

⁷⁹⁵ Found in Bunmeibon, Hakubyō and Unemebon.

⁷⁹⁶ Found in all texts except the early Emaki. かねてより (Bunmeibon, SIZ, and Unemebon), かねて (Hakubyō). This description is also found in the A texts, where it reads かねてより、ちち

from those at home.⁷⁹⁸ The remarkable identity of characteristics, and consistency in phrasing, make it clear that one section's description was composed with close reference to the other.

Which of these descriptions was the earlier is a matter for debate, but taking into account the lack of any reference to the wife and daughter's *ōjō* in the early *Seikadō*, and other evidence pointing to its being a later insertion as described above, it is possible to attempt a reconstruction of the development as follows: 1) in early versions the wife was described briefly in section 7, as saying nothing in response to Saigyō's speech to her.⁷⁹⁹ 2) With the addition of religious material, and possibly under the influence of the Amano bikuni, the wife of section 7 (weak in *Emaki*, neutral in *Seikadō*) is transformed into the strongly silent wife of the later versions, adding the earlier sentence which describes her superiority to her husband. This interpretation extends *Seikadō*'s depiction of her as having foreknowledge of his *shukke* (which is incorporated from *Hakubyō* onward). 3) Probably concurrently with this, and as a result of the same impulse, section 57 came to be inserted, borrowing the concept of the wife's silence, which now became the Buddhist practice of silence (*mugon* 無言), and otherwise weaving the two descriptions together. Sections 49-51, (the daughter's *shukke*) may also have been added at this time,⁸⁰⁰ and it is possible that its addition (borrowed from *Hosshinshū*) inspired the addition of section 57, to complete the story. All this, however, must necessarily remain on the level of speculation, for the tangle of textual cross-fertilization makes it finally impossible to しゅっけのころあることをしりたりければ (*Seikadō* version).

⁷⁹⁷ This appears in all texts.

⁷⁹⁸ In section 7, all the B texts have a close variation on the phrase さらに返事もせず, and in the present section we find 返事もせずして (*Bunmeibon*), or 返事することもなくて (*SIZ* and *Hakubyō*). *Shōhōbon* simply states that she hated to receive word from those at home.

⁷⁹⁹ As she is in all texts, though with differing interpretations, but most briefly in *Seikadō* — note also that this is the only description of the wife found in *Emaki*.

⁸⁰⁰ Section 49 has oddly close parallels with the description of the daughter in section 7 (as explained in the Commentary on that section), while the friend in section 49 makes reference to the wife's retreat to Amano and refusal to communicate with the outside world.

trace any clear developments.⁸⁰¹

The daughter's *ōjō* is generally the afterthought to the wife's (although in *Kanzeibon*, surprisingly, it is the only one mentioned).⁸⁰² Her strength of heart in *Bunmeibon* elsewhere becomes superiority to both parents,⁸⁰³ and indeed her strength has been amply demonstrated through the rough treatment life has afforded her in the Tale. Though the wife is a figure whose silent strength justifiably earns her a fine *ōjō*, her own *ōjō* is indeed a happy ending for the poor daughter, whose sufferings have after all been of a much more pitiable nature than Saigyō's sufferings of the poetic sensibility.

Bunmeibon 57

Afterwards, the news was told in the capital, and everyone was choked with tears, and their desire for ōjō was deepened, so that on account of these people there were many who attained ōjō .

Among them, Commander of the palace guards of the right, Lord Sadaie,⁸⁰⁴ sent word of Saigyō's ōjō to Fujiwara Kinpira at Bodai Temple,⁸⁰⁵ with this poem.

(202) *That time / of full moon / is indeed the same⁸⁰⁶ / yet how sad / the evening sky
/ where he disappeared to emptiness.⁸⁰⁷*

⁸⁰¹ My reconstruction agrees overall with that of Sakaguchi and Yamaguchi (see note 788), who believe that the later insertion of section 57 rewrote the earlier version of the wife. However, they ignore the evidence of *Seikadō*. Yamaguchi also emphasises the role played here by the concept of *kechien* (as seen in *Bunmeibon*'s final section), and sees the *ōjō* of wife and daughter as an example of the power of the *kechien* gained by association with Saigyō's *ōjō*.

⁸⁰² *Eishōbon* seems the earlier of the two B2 texts for this section.

⁸⁰³ Although these superior qualities are not mentioned in *Hakubyō* or the A texts.

⁸⁰⁴ Fujiwara Teika.

⁸⁰⁵ 藤原公衡, ?-1193.

⁸⁰⁶ i.e. the same as the Buddha's death.

⁸⁰⁷ A version of the poem found in *Teika's Shūi gusō*.

(203) *Hearing / of that purple⁸⁰⁸ / my heart is comforted / though the passing of his
cloud / fills me with sorrow.⁸⁰⁹*

*In the following year on the fifteenth day of the second month, the priest
Jakuen⁸¹⁰ sent this poem to Gyōson,⁸¹¹ when he was flower-viewing in Ise at the place
where Saigyō had lived and pursued his practice.*

(204) *These blossoms make me feel / how dear is he / who once gazed on them, /
and moving too to know / it was this time of the second month.*

(205) *The full moon / of the second month / also goes westward — / that moon on
which the friend we loved / pledged himself to the blossoms.⁸¹²*

*I have laid humble brush to ink in reverence for Saigyō's hosshin of long ago.
In trustful gratitude I consider how the merit that I have attained hereby will remain
forever. Wiping my blurred eyes:*

(206) *This transient self of dew / whose sleeves are soaked / with the writing of this
Tale — / when will this self be called / a remnant of the past?*

Written in Bunmei 12, in the middle of the second month.

(207) *Life has its limit / and thus I have gazed / at the moon over my thatched
roof's eave — / we cannot know that sky, / man's final destination.*

⁸⁰⁸ A reference to the purple cloud whose appearance at someone's death traditionally indicated *ōjō*.

⁸⁰⁹ This poem follows Teika's poem in *Shūi gusō* 拾遺愚草 (1216), as Kinhira's reply. It is given as such in all other versions of the Tale in which it appears.

⁸¹⁰ じゃくゑん. Probably a variant of Jakunen 寂念, which is how the name appears in other versions of Bunmeibon and in SIZ. (Hakubyō, the only other text to contain this episode, has 寂延). However, if Kubota Jun is right in assuming Jakunen's death as around 1183, this reference becomes problematic. (See discussion in Taniguchi, *saigyō monogatari no keisei*, p. 45).

⁸¹¹ 行尊, a late Heian priest and poet. His dates (1057-1135) make this impossible.

⁸¹² In the other B1 texts this poem is also given as the reply.

57. COMMENTS

(1) There is considerable variation among the texts, with Bunmeibon displaying several unique additions. Neither the opening description of the many in the capital who attained or determined to attain *ōjō* on hearing the news, nor the final personal statements and poems of the writer/copyist, are found in any other variant.

The B1 texts are the only variants to contain the second exchange, of Jakuen and Gyōson, an exchange patently impossible since Gyōson had died sixty-four years earlier. Hakubyō is alone among the B1 texts in adding a description of the poets in the capital mourning Saigyō by copying sutras, a detail which is taken up by the B2 and B3 texts. The A texts follow Unemebon and Eishōbon in containing a brief description of the poets of the capital mourning at the news, and are otherwise the most succinct in giving only the Teika-Kinhira exchange. The B3 texts contain an added and rather startling description of Saigyō's head being exposed after death, in order to be bathed in the light of the moon he had loved. They also describe people piling his coffin high with branches of cherry blossom.⁸¹³

From all this it can be seen that this section exemplifies the tendencies of the variants displayed throughout the Tale: the B1 texts are closely related, with Bunmeibon containing added material (of a religious nature), and Hakubyō apparently displaying the oldest form (which influenced the other B texts). The B3 texts add religious material to the B1 texts, but bear no relation to Bunmeibon, and contain echoes of the A texts. The A texts, as is often the case, seem to be closest to the original form of the section, which is based around the poems. Once again, although no conclusions can be drawn, the same overall set of relationships is suggested.

(2) This section, found in all but Seikadō, carries the story out into the world after Saigyō's death,⁸¹⁴ to show its repercussions, both literary and religious.

⁸¹³ A reference to poem 201.

⁸¹⁴ Bunmeibon is the only text which extends the news to cover the *ōjō* of the wife and daughter as well.

Textual comparison reveals that the single stable element among the variants for this section is the Teika-Kinhira exchange of poems.⁸¹⁵ The rest of the section's content displays considerable variation among the texts, so it seems clear that this poem exchange forms the core earliest form, on which later texts elaborated. It is found in Fujiwara Teika's personal anthology *Shūi gusō*, and is repeated in *Kokon chomonjū* 13.21; here it is preceded by Saigyō's famous poem (200) and the statement that he attained *ōjō*.⁸¹⁶ This version bears a slightly closer relation to the Tale than does Teika's, and it has been assumed that the Tale was based on it,⁸¹⁷ which provides a key piece of evidence for dating the Tale to later than 1254.⁸¹⁸ However, no easy conclusion can be reached on this matter, since it is quite likely that this section was not in the earliest versions of the Tale, and also unclear which of the two texts influenced the other. Yamaguchi Makoto⁸¹⁹ suggests that the simple *Kokon chomonjū* version probably reflects that of the Tale's earliest form.

Kanzeibon is alone among the other texts examined⁸²⁰ in finishing, like Bunmeibon, with a personal afterword by the author/copyist — there, an obviously later copyist gives his considered opinion on the truthfulness and worth of the Tale. Bunmeibon's afterword is not interested in such questions, but makes it clear that this work was undertaken for purposes of *kechien*. Yamaguchi⁸²¹ uses this as key evidence for his idea that the Tale was considered by its (re)writers and copyists as a form of *ōjōden*, the copying of which gives merit much as does the copying of a sutra. He

⁸¹⁵ In Bunmeibon only, the fact that it is an exchange is not made clear.

⁸¹⁶ On the date given in the Tale, rather than the correct date found in *Shūi gusō*.

⁸¹⁷ Kojima (in *Saigyō monogatari shōkō*, pp. 311-312) believes that the changed date first appears in *Kokon chomonjū*. If this is so, it would mean that the Seikadō text postdates *Kokon chomonjū* since the error is found there too. Sakaguchi (in *Saigyō monogatari kō*, p. 37), on the other hand, thinks that *Kokon chomonjū* is relaying legend, rather than altering its direct source's date. Any final decision is made more difficult by the fact that some versions of *Kokon chomonjū* preserve the correct date.

⁸¹⁸ This is argued, for instance, by Sakaguchi in *Saigyō monogatari kō*, p. 38.

⁸¹⁹ *Kyōju to saihen*, p. 47 f.

⁸²⁰ The A text *Saigyō hosshinki* also contains a copyist's afterword.

⁸²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

argues that the earliest form of this section was probably similar to the brief account in *Kokon chomonjū*, and that Bunmeibon's additions, and particularly its unique final section, are evidence that the Tale's development moved it into the realm of extended *ōjōden*,⁸²² the copying (and, in the Tale's case, rewriting) of which gives *kechien*.

Bunmeibon's final passage certainly places the Tale in this perspective, and is the final act of subsuming all that came before under the rubric of religious text.

Yamaguchi, like almost all other scholars of the Tale, starts from the assumption that Bunmeibon is, if not the earliest form, at least the representative version of the Tale, which I show to be anything but the case when the variants are examined in detail.

Indeed this section provides a clear example of just how much Bunmeibon often branches off from the complex interrelationships of the other texts. Hence, the *ōjōden* status which Yamaguchi claims for the Tale based on this final passage can at best only be asserted for Bunmeibon.

Certainly, however, the proliferation of copies of the Tale, and its religious reworkings, could in part be ascribed to the *kechien* belief, and Yamaguchi is right in claiming for the Tale a role as an *open* text which reader/copiers could embellish and add to in order to further enhance its religious value.

(3) The Teika-Kinhira exchange, which the Tale chose from among a number written on the occasion of Saigyō's death, illustrates well the origins of the *ōjō* legend with its reference to *purple clouds*. It is from such early references to Saigyō's death that the later legends flowered.

Poems 204 and 205 are apparently the creation of this line of texts. Poem 205 is attributed to Gyōson in other B1 texts.

⁸²² Here Yamaguchi seems to be inclining to the view that the Tale's development took it in the direction of religious rewriting and amplification, the results of which are best exemplified by Bunmeibon. This view would seem to be at odds with his belief that Bunmeibon's highly Buddhist *aganmon* version of the retrospective passage in section 54 was its early form, which was later overwritten and misunderstood by the urge toward a simpler narrative immediacy in the A texts (see the discussion in section 54's Comments section).

PART III

Final Discussion

SECTION 1: The Texts

1.1 The texts: general conclusions

Close textual comparison of the eleven variants has revealed a truly formidable tangle of interrelations. A few clear facts emerge.

Firstly, the assumption made by most scholars that Bunmeibon is the earliest and/or most representative text is clearly unfounded. In fact, Bunmeibon appears to post-date the other B1 texts, and is *representative* only insofar as it was clearly a popular variant form, whose influence is implied in the textual traces of it to be found in the B2 and B3 texts, and *Nanakashū*.

Secondly, it is clear that there is no *earliest text* to which we can refer the presently existing variants as a final authority. All the variants contain indications of cross-influence, and strong suggestions of a process of evolution (usually in the form of accretion of material) from some earlier version. What does emerge clearly is that behind the presently existing texts lie a considerable number of lost variants,¹ some of which predate our earliest texts and others of which bridge them in ways too complex to do more than guess at.

All this attests to a remarkable popularity, from the time of the Tale's beginnings in the first half of the thirteenth century until the Genroku period² (1688-1704) and very possibly beyond. What we have inherited may be considered the remains of a large and complex intertextual web, and too many of the links are missing to make possible any final statements about textual relations. Furthermore, it is apparent that from its inception the Tale invited and was subject to copious rewriting, both on the level of minor and major textual alterations and through addition and omission of material on a larger scale.

All this is ignored if Bunmeibon is taken as the predominant or representative text, and the B1 line is assumed to represent the original (and thus the important)

¹ This impression is reinforced by the fact, noted in Part I, that the several early references to the Tale all refer to versions which are no longer in existence.

² Kubota's *Saigyō zenshū* includes a late and considerably rewritten version of the Tale entitled *Komatsu no sōshi* 小松のさうし, which dates from the Genroku period.

form. In fact, textual comparison suggests that the origins of the Tale lie rather in the A line of texts, with the B line resulting from an early branching off through a text similar to Emaki. The resultant B line spawned a great many variants, and proved by far the more volatile of the two lines.³ This proliferation of B line variants, their textual volatility, and the complexity of interrelations which suggests many more variants now lost, all point to a treatment typical of that of setsuwa collections and other popular religious tracts,⁴ suggesting that the Tale underwent a shift in reception which we may see reflected in the contrast between the A line's more literary qualities and the often didactic and religious tone and content of the B line texts.

Studies of Bunmeibon and the B texts have led several scholars to propose that the Tale's early development is strongly linked with hijiri groups, specifically the nenbutsu hijiri community of Sōrinji, where the Tale (erroneously) places Saigyō's death.⁵ Such speculation certainly seems justified in relation to the B texts, and their proliferation of didactic and religious material is consonant with an increasing use of the Tale for didactic purposes. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the earliest forms of the Tale were conceived with such a purpose in mind.

If we assume that it is in fact the A texts that carry the clues to the early

³ One of the characteristics of the A line texts is their strong textual consistency. Considerable material was apparently added over time, much of it taken from the B line, but where content coincides, textual consistency between the early Seikadō and *Saigyō Hōshi shūka* and the late Shōhōbon-type texts is remarkable.

⁴ Marian Ury describes such works as being even more than most ancient texts, . . . vulnerable to emendation and supplementation. (Marian Ury, *Recluses and Eccentric Monks: Tales from the Hosshinshū* by Kamo no Chōmei, *Monumenta Nipponica* 27:2 [1972], p. 150.)

⁵ Prominent among these are Sakaguchi Hironori, who elaborated on the earlier theory by Fukuda Noboru that the Sōrinji nenbutsu hijiri were behind the conception of the Tale. (Sakaguchi Hironori, *Saigyō monogatari kō*, pp. 32-46.) Takagi Isao takes this speculation further by pointing to the strong textual relationship between the Tale (the B texts) and *Hōbutsushū*, which is strongly linked to the Sōrinji community. (Takagi Isao, *Saigyō monogatari no tenkyō*, pp. 22-40.) (See my discussion in Part I for details.)

Others, such as Itō Yoshio and Kojima Takayuki, see the origins more generally in an assembling of early legends such as the Tenryū episode and those found in *Hosshinshū*. As mentioned in Part I, Kuwabara Hiroshi is one of the very few to point to the basic poem-centred organization of the Tale and suggest that it grew out of the kotobagaki style. He too, however, sees the B texts as the earlier line. (Kuwabara Hiroshi, *Saigyō to sono shūhen*, p. 260.)

impulses behind the Tale, much falls into place. Although the later Shōhōbon line contains considerable didactic and religious material, this is nevertheless far less prominent than in the B texts.⁶ It is overall more literary in tone and more coherent as a text, and textual comparison strongly suggests that this is not the result of a tidying of B text material. Another argument against the idea that the A texts have inherited and tidied the B texts is the high degree of textual consistency between the early Seikadō and the late Shōhōbon line (see note 3). It must be remembered that Seikadō is considered to be at least as early as the early B text Emaki. Furthermore, if we accept the general view that the material missing after section 32 was omitted in Seikadō, perhaps due to lack of space,⁷ rather than added later to form the Shōhōbon line, we must accept that an even earlier A text existed, from which Shōhōbon is probably directly descended (with some further addition of material, but otherwise little or no alteration of the text).⁸ By this reasoning, it is clearly impossible that the A texts would be merely a tidied version of B texts such as Bunmeibon, as is so often implied or assumed.

All the characteristics of the A texts mentioned above are more clearly present in Seikadō than in Shōhōbon, but among all the existing A texts it is the largely ignored *Saigyō Hōshi shūka* (SHS) that exhibits them most strongly. As explained in Section I, I follow Tonami in considering this text an early one, a belief largely confirmed by textual comparison, which consistently suggests that its textual abbreviations may well represent an earlier form which underwent subsequent

⁶ This lack of religious material is particularly the case with the early Seikadō, as Taniguchi points out. (Taniguchi Kōichi, *saigyō monogatari no keisei*, p. 31.) It is also the most important distinguishing feature of *Saigyō Hōshi shūka*, which I consider a key early A text, as argued below.

⁷ Kuwabara Hiroshi's persuasive argument (see Section I, *The Texts*). Taniguchi (*ibid.*) suggests the omission may be related to the fact that Seikadō's putative copier, the nun Abutsu, herself journeyed only as far as Kamakura (geographically approximately where Seikadō's account of Saigyō's journey breaks off).

⁸ Kojima Takayuki's argument, that because Seikadō is obviously an abbreviated text it is a secondary work and should be discounted in the quest for the earliest text, typifies the odd logic that has resulted in the common dismissal of Seikadō from serious consideration. (Kojima Takayuki, *saigyō monogatari shōkō*, p. 305.)

expansion. Most tellingly, it includes none of the didactic material on which scholars have frequently based their arguments concerning the origins and aims of the Tale, and in this it represents the tendencies of the A texts in their purest form. As Tonami also points out,⁹ it does not contain the *Shasekishū*-influenced passage in section 25 from which Takagi has argued for the A text's later dating,¹⁰ nor material directly related to *Hosshinshū* in the Musashino section (33).¹¹ Even more noteworthy is the lack of all mention of Saigyō's daughter and wife, episodes apparently derived from *Hosshinshū*. SHS thus lacks the main features of the Tale which have been the focus through which scholars have reached conclusions concerning its origins, aims and authorship.

If SHS is granted the status I believe it deserves, as preserving a form of the Tale that antedates both Emaki and Seikadō,¹² a very different portrait of the Tale's beginnings emerges, one which sees the utamonogatari form as central, and the religious and legendary material as largely the result of continual subsequent accretion.¹³

1.2 The texts: key textual problems

As well as close textual analysis and comparison, it is also possible to trace

⁹ Tonami Miwako, *ŌTenri toshokan-zō Saigyō Hōshi shūka ni tsuite*, p. 14.

¹⁰ Takagi Isao, *Saigyō monogatari no tenkyō*, p. 27. Takagi also exemplifies the general tendency to discount Seikadō as an abbreviated text in his discussion of early forms of the Tale (see his discussion of Seikadō's simpler version of the Ise passage on p. 29).

¹¹ Tonami (*ŌTenri toshokan-zō*, p. 14) suggests that in both these sections the short passages which first formed around poems, as seen in SHS, later drew existing legends to accrete to the episode through associated place name.

¹² The characteristics of SHS which Tonami (p. 17) points to in support of this theory are: there are no lengthy passages with sources in *Hosshinshū* or *Shasekishū*, there is no mention of wife and daughter, all borrowings from *Hōbustushū* are lacking, and the emphasis on inclusion of *Shinkokinshū* poems is also less evident. She also points out that the subsequent expansions and rewritings of the Tale have tended to obscure the literary characteristics which are more evident in SHS, such as the strong awareness of the literary past and utamakura in the journey east.

¹³ This is not to claim that SHS is entirely free of such material. In particular, it contains a lengthy version of the Tenryū Crossing episode (section 30), which may be considered to be the seed from which much of the later strong Saigyō image developed.

shifts among the texts through the intertextual dynamics of certain key episodes. I have discussed these questions in some detail as they arose in Part II. I will here summarize the most important points, and examine what light they shed on the conclusions I have drawn above.

Saigyō's wife Textual comparison to date has been primarily focussed on the several episodes which depict Saigyō's wife and daughter. It is generally assumed that these derive from HSS 6.5 and 6.12, and their presence in all variants¹⁴ points to their early inclusion in the Tale. There is, however, considerable instability particularly in the depiction of the wife, and several scholars have made intertextual comparisons at this point to determine textual relations.¹⁵

Although the intertextual tangle of section 7, where the wife makes her primary appearance, makes final conclusions impossible, it should be kept in mind that the episode in which Saigyō kicks his daughter and talks to his wife before his shukke is clearly related to the hosshinki tradition, where equivalent depictions are common fare. The episode ends, however, with a brief description of Saigyō's flight to a hijiri of his acquaintance, where he officially takes the tonsure, and the poem(s) with which he responds to the astonished questioning of the other hijiri. This simple, kotobagaki-like description is echoed in all texts, and a version of it is all that is found in SHS, which here as elsewhere retains the simple utamonogatari form. It is thus

¹⁴ As discussed above, the absence of these sections in SHS is one of its defining features. There is no evidence of unnatural omission at these points in the text: after the waverings of section 6, Saigyō is simply described as having taken the tonsure in a brief section which consists of the final sentence of the A texts' section 7 content. It is reasonable to assume that the long intervening description of his confrontations with wife and daughter are a later interpolation into this straightforward sequence. The later daughter episodes are likewise seamlessly omitted.

¹⁵ Sakaguchi Hironori (『Seiritsu jiki wo megutte』, pp. 48-62) examines the relationship between Bunmeibon and Emaki to point out the shift from weak to strong depiction. Chino Kaori (『Saigyō monogatari emaki no fukugen』, p. 155) points out that textual relations are more complex, but draws no conclusion except to allow that Seikadō may be the older form. Yamaguchi Makoto (『Kyōju to saihen』, p. 42) also draws Seikadō into the analysis, concluding that it may represent an intermediary stage between Emaki and Bunmeibon. No scholar examines *Saigyō Hōshi shūka* or the other B texts, and they largely limit their examination to the wife's depiction in section 7, hence their analysis must be considered partial.

reasonable to assume that, as is so often the case in the Tale, the poem-nexus is the core from which the larger episode developed.¹⁶

It developed early, for both parts of the full episode (Saigyō's kicking of his daughter, and his subsequent talk to his wife) are present in both Seikadō and Emaki.¹⁷ Key instabilities in the description occur around the depiction of the wife as strong, a strength which is most compromised in the A and early B texts.

Bunmeibon's description of her as *æfiner than her husband* can be seen as a development of her calm (*æstrong*) reaction to her daughter's distress, and it does not appear in the earlier B1 texts or A texts.¹⁸ Her response to her husband's speech (a didactic and volatile section in many of the texts) shows her silent and weeping in the A texts, to which the early B texts add the detail that she was distraught, while she is merely silent (hence *æstrong*) in Bunmeibon. We here witness a development which clearly places Bunmeibon at the end of the line,¹⁹ with a volatile depiction of her that swings between strong (in the first scene) and weak (in the second scene) in the early B texts, and is more neutral in the A texts.²⁰

¹⁶ A key may perhaps lie in the version found in *Nanakashū* which, despite its clear relation to the B1 texts, nevertheless also intriguingly contains a number of hints at the Tale's early development, including its strong *utamogatari* form. Here the episode begins with the words *æWhen he was about to leave his house, he heard his daughter weeping, and his sense of pathos (aware) grew the stronger*. Following poem 24 is a sentence which is a close echo of that found at this point in all other texts, stating that he went to a *hijiri* of his acquaintance in Saga and took the tonsure, and others wondered at it. This is followed by the three poems, in the order found in the A texts. The simple statement of poem 24's *kotobagaki*, which is considerably different from the famous daughter-kicking scene, may well have been the kind of seed from which the famous scene developed under the influence of *hosshinki* tales.

¹⁷ Emaki is anomalous in its omission of the description of the wife's witnessing her daughter's distress. This may be explained by the evidence in the manuscript of textual disruption. (See Appendix I section 7).

¹⁸ It may be a development of the earlier *Hakubyō*'s unique insertion of a description of her as already determined to take the tonsure herself. *Hakubyō* goes on to confuse matters by echoing Emaki's description of her as distraught with resentment and grief at her husband's speech, suggesting that *Hakubyō* is (here as elsewhere) intermediary between Emaki and the later Bunmeibon.

¹⁹ The B2 and B3 texts both inherit Bunmeibon's strong and laudable wife.

²⁰ The strength of her response to her daughter's tears in the A texts is borrowed by *Hakubyō*, but *Hakubyō* chooses to follow Emaki's weak depiction in the later scene (see note 18 above), embodying the cross-textual confusions. It is only with *SIZ* that she no longer weeps but is merely silent at her husband's speech.

While no conclusions can be drawn, it is clear that the introduction of the wife is a development which drew the Tale away from the simple utamonogatari form into the world of the setsuwa, one which continued to play itself out through the Tale's early evolution, and which was very probably not present in its earliest form (exemplified in the SHS version of the section). In this, the presence of the wife in the Tale precisely echoes the form of development that I argue for in my analysis of the Tale's beginnings and evolution.²¹

Both wife and daughter appear again later in the Tale, and once again the text relating to them contains the kind of volatility associated with later interpolation and didactic content, and is devoid of poetic core. It also displays a similar evolution to that detailed above, with a clear line of development from the early A texts, which lack all mention of wife and daughter, to the B texts, where these later sections contain striking evidence of having developed out of the earlier section 7.

The daughter appears again, in the B texts only, in section 20, where Saigyō catches a glimpse of her playing in the garden and struggles with his grief (in disturbing contrast to the previous scene, in which he sternly castigates Saijū for his grief at seeing wife and daughter again). This scene, unlike that of section 7, is clearly based on *Hosshinshū* 6.5, although it is a more sentimentalized version of the episode. As I discuss in my Comments to this section, the parallels with section 7 are intriguing: here too it is his attachment to his daughter which tests him, as the repetition of the quotation from Daijitsukyō makes clear; the description of his ragged appearance is in implicit contrast to his finery in section 7, and it is now the daughter who rejects him. It seems clear that the two episodes are closely related, and that both are didactic in intention. Here too, the daughter episode bears only a strained relation to the section's final poem core, suggesting later interpolation.²²

Precisely the same pattern can be seen in section 56, which depicts the ōjō of

²¹ Her development from weak to strong also offers a fascinating variation on the anxiety that surrounds weak/strong depictions in the Tale as a whole, which I discuss below.

²² Again, it is *Nanakashū* that may suggest the section's early form: there, only the final poem and short kotobagaki are present, and there is no mention of the daughter.

wife and daughter after Saigyō's death. It is significant that both SHS and Seikadō end with Saigyō's ōjō, and thus lack this ōtidying episode.²³ Furthermore, the details of this episode too reveal a strong patterning, particularly in relation to section 7.²⁴ Of most interest is the clear echoing to be found in the description of the wife. Here, her silence of section 7 (there at first ambivalent, later strong) has transformed itself naturally into the vow of silence she so sternly keeps, despite all attempts by the outside world to communicate with her — an implicit contrast both to Saigyō's asin of words and his weakness in his longings for a companion (discussed below). Her strength of heart grows in importance as the B1 texts evolve, with no mention of it in Hakubyō, while in SIZ (as in the B2 texts) the daughter is superior to her parents. This scene, which bears no relation to *Hosshinshū*, is thus also clearly constructed with reference to the earlier episode, and evolved together with it.

In these scenes we see convincing evidence of an evolution which carries the Tale from the early A text form²⁵ to the more complex and volatile B texts, and away from the utamonogatari form in the direction of the setsuwa, with didactic intention driving the changes.

The companion theme

One of the other important setsuwa-like strands in the Tale, the theme of Saigyō's shadowy companion, is likewise associated not only with similar intra- and inter-textual cross-influences and tangles, but also with a high level of instability in relation to strong/weak portrayal.

In sections 21, 24 and 30 of the B texts, we find a repetition with variations on the theme of the companion who accompanies Saigyō on his travels but is found unworthy and sternly rejected by him. Section 30, the episode where Saigyō is beaten at Tenryū Crossing, is the fullest of these scenes, and the only one to be found across

²³ These later episodes are not found in Emaki, owing to loss of the relevant scroll. It would be fascinating to know if, and in what form, they may have been present in that early text.

²⁴ See my Comments to section 56 for details of this.

²⁵ The presence of later episodes such as 56 in Shōhōbon and the later A texts reveals that these texts came under the influence of the B texts, either in their B1 or B2 form (or possibly both).

all the existing variants.²⁶ The mention of it in *Izayoi nikki*²⁷ suggests that this legend was early incorporated into the Tale. Its origins are unknown, although Akitani²⁸ speculates that it may have derived from a poetic exchange in *Kikigakishū* (KGS 21-24).²⁹ It is present with almost no alteration from the early A texts through to the later ones, and is one of the very few setsuwa-like episodes found in *Saigyō Hōshi shūka*. It could thus be considered to be an unusually early example of the strong Saigyō who later came to be so important for the Tale's development.

As I discuss in my Comments to section 30, however, this strong depiction results in an uncomfortable disturbance of reader sympathy, which to this point has been presented with a Saigyō figure more akin to the tender-hearted companion whose tears he here roughly scorns. The variants struggle variously with this clash of sympathies, and cross-textual comparison reveals that it is in the B1 texts, and particularly in Bunmeibon, that Saigyō and his companion are most unequivocally portrayed with a strong/weak dichotomy, while in the A texts the companion is treated with much greater sympathy (a tendency which the B2 texts inherit). It is also significant that the B texts contain far more didactic material than the A texts in this section, a sure sign of accretion. In general, evidence points to a development from A to B, with the B2 texts intermediate.

The companion of section 30 is a close version of the companion of sections 21 and 24, both found only in the B texts, and it is clear that these three episodes were

²⁶ With the interesting exception of *Nanakashū*.

²⁷ See Comments, section 30.

²⁸ Akitani Osamu 秋谷治, *Ōkanzeibon Saigyō monogatari kō* 寛永本「西行物語」考, *Hitotsubashi ronsō* 一橋論叢 86:5 (November 1981), p. 95.

²⁹ In this exchange and its lengthy kotobagaki, Saigyō and his companion Saijū visit a fellow-practitioner on retreat in the Arashiyama district of the capital and exchange poems as they part across the Ōi river (大井川), a place name also famously associated with the section of the Tōkaidō route which Saigyō was travelling at the point in his journey where section 30 occurs. Akitani speculates that the connection of the place name may have been the seed for the development of this legend. The parting in *Kikigakishū* bears no relation to the scene of section 30, and the connection is generally rather tenuous, but as Akitani points out, it is intriguing that Saijū is specified as Saigyō's companion in this exchange. The figure of Saijū haunts the companion of the Tale, as I will discuss below.

conceived in relation to each other, much as were the wife episodes discussed above. Section 24 in particular,³⁰ where the companion briefly appears as grudgingly allowed to accompany Saigyō on his travels, bears a strong relation to the Tenryū companion who is told ‘This is the reason I was loath to bring you with me.’³¹ The companion here is inserted into the *Sankashū* kotobagaki material which forms this episode, and is not present in the B2 and B3 texts, nor in *Nanakashū*. He appears at a point in the Tale where the B texts strongly suggest an awkward join in material, as discussed below.

But it is section 21’s companion who bears the strongest relationship to the Tenryū companion.³² Here too, his role is that of the weak-hearted companion who fails the test (in this episode, the test of remaining firm in the face of his weeping family when he begs from them), and is chided by Saigyō with a strongly didactic lecture. And here too, the resultant disturbance of reader sympathy is an apparent dilemma in the variants, with the B2 texts attempting to soften the effect by presenting the companion’s case sympathetically.³³

This episode appears in the part of the Tale not present in the A texts, so comparison is not possible. However, its apparently derivative character, the dilemma set up by the emphasis on the ‘strong Saigyō image, the presence of didactic material, and the strongly didactic intent of the episode all point to a later development, and its absence in the A texts should be no surprise. It is also interesting to note that it appears directly before the episode in which Saigyō must repress his tears at the sight of his young daughter, discussed above, which likewise shows clear

³⁰ In the B2 texts, these two episodes are amalgamated in section 30, while reference to the companion in section 24 is absent, making their relationship clear. Akitani (‘*Kanzeibon Saigyō monogatari kō*’, p. 637) notes that these two episodes overlap, but does not pursue the question of their relationship.

³¹ This is so particularly in *Bunmeibon*. In *SIZ* Saigyō does not seem unhappy to be accompanied by the companion in section 24.

³² This cross-relationship is brought out by the B3 texts, which place the episode of section 24 immediately after that of section 21. Likewise, in the B3 texts section 21 is followed by the episode in which Saigyō’s daughter takes the tonsure, another clearly interpolated section.

³³ See the Comments for section 21 for a full discussion of this episode and its ambivalences.

signs of being a product of setsuwa-style proliferation, as well as bearing obvious thematic relation to the theme of this section (although it thereby deepens the weak/strong ambivalence found in this section.)

These signs of later accretion in the *acompanion* episodes, and the shifts in emphasis that accompany them, echo the general line of development that can be traced from A to B texts, and embody the ambiguities that accompanied that development. They are further revealed by the question of the relationship of this companion to Saijū. This is the companion who appears in a number of kotobagaki in Saigyō's poetry, a close friend and *acompanion in the Way* (*dōgyō 同行*), about whom little is known other than his friendship with Saigyō.³⁴ He appears in this close companion role in setsuwa concerning Saigyō such as those found in *Senjūshō* and *Jikkishō*, but his name appears surprisingly seldom in the Tale, and the fate of Saijū there is telling.

In the A texts, Saijū is mentioned as *a* close retainer of Saigyō's for many years who took the tonsure with him (section 7).³⁵ In the B texts, Saigyō takes the tonsure alone,³⁶ although in the B texts we may see Saijū's trace in the companion of section 24, who is there described as *a* long-time retainer who had left the world (in a phrase similar to the A text phrase of section 7). Saijū's name only appears in the Bunmeibon line of texts at section 21 (not present in the A texts), where he is the weak and reviled companion, a version, as we saw above, of the nameless Tenryū companion.³⁷ It would seem that Saijū, beloved companion, underwent a sad double

³⁴ Kuwabara Hiroshi has investigated the identity of Saijū in his essay *Futari no Saijū — Saigyō kenkyū no isshō to shite 二人の西住 — 西行研究の一章として* (*Setsuwa* 6 [1978], pp. 78-85.)

³⁵ Kuwabara (*ibid.*, p. 80) refers to the poetic exchange found in *Kikigakishū* (see note 29), an exchange thought to have occurred soon after Saigyō's shukke, in which both poets express a commitment to the new life they are embarking on. From this he speculates that Saijū took the tonsure at the same time as or soon after Saigyō.

³⁶ Kanzeibon has a later marginal note adding the details found in the A texts, but Eishōbon does not include them, and it is clear that the B2 texts here inherited the B version.

³⁷ It is interesting that in the later A text *Saigyō Shōnin hosshinki* this Tenryū companion is identified as Saijū. In all other A (and B) texts he is anonymous.

transformation as the Tale evolved, from named friend to shadowy *æother* and from close companion to one who is only grudgingly accepted and later spurned.

That the Saijū/companion figure did not always have the rejected weakling role is also suggested by the one episode found in the A texts which the Bunmeibon texts omit, that of the dead companion of Okabe. This episode is found there between sections 30 and 31, and thus implicitly connected to the Tenryū companion episode. Seikadō specifically names this companion as Saijū, and it is significant that the companion of Okabe is beloved and mourned, as was the Saijū of Saigyō's poetry.³⁸ Bunmeibon may have inadvertently dropped this episode, but it could be speculated that it was felt to clash with the *æstrong* Saigyō whom Bunmeibon is at pains to present. Certainly this Saijū figure belongs to an earlier stage in the evolution of the companion.

The transformation of Saijū, and more generally of the *æcompanion*, in these episodes mirrors the larger shift I have traced from the *utamonogatari* sensibility to a more strictly religious viewpoint which, while not displacing the underlying earlier form and tone of much of the Tale, is often fundamentally at odds with it. Here, as in the wife and daughter episodes discussed above, the tensions arising from this shift are focussed on the *æstrong/weak* dichotomy. I will discuss this question in detail below, and the role that the theme of the companion plays in it. The developments that I have charted here represent on the textual level many of the more fundamental shifts and ambiguities that the Tale and its evolution embody.

Evidence of textual development

Despite the often impenetrable tangle of cross-textual relations, it is possible to detect hints of origin and development at other points in the Tale besides the two I have mentioned.

³⁸ It is also significant that the B2 texts and *Nanakashū* elsewhere (see K 49) include the sorrowful poem exchange between Saigyō and Jakunen on the occasion of Saijū's death (*Senzai wakashū* 35-36). As Akitani (*æKanzeibon*, p. 97) points out, these texts all contain strong traces of early forms of the Tale. The presence of this exchange there is further indication that the Saijū figure had not yet undergone the transformation that the Bunmeibon companion epitomizes.

While textual parallels such as the above strongly suggest interpolation and later developments, we may glimpse the early, or at least the enduring and essential, forms of the individual sections by paying attention to the points of continuity of text and content across the variants. Here, the results of textual analysis are unambiguous and revealing. In almost all sections which are found in common among all or most variants, we find a usually short section, generally associated with that section's poem(s), which shows a high degree of intertextual consistency. Limitations of space do not permit detailed cross-textual examples to be shown. However, the relationship of Shōhōbon and Bunmeibon for many sections can be considered typical. Underlinings in the Shōhōbon translation of Appendix II show consistently that the textual elements found in common reveal a kotobagaki-like core, which frequently has a high degree of intertextual linguistic fidelity.

Tonami³⁹ has argued that the poems form the core of the Tale. I would assert that it is not only the poems — which, despite overall consistency, frequently undergo addition and omission from text to text — but, more importantly, the core kotobagaki-like material that accompanies them, that is generally consistent across the texts, thus revealing that the Tale continues, despite the overlayings of didactic and other accreted material, to retain its essential utamonogatari form.

This constitutes further strong evidence that variants such as *Saigyō Hōshi shūka* and *Nanakashū*, generally dismissed as abbreviations of the original Tale, in fact retain the early form. Indeed SHS in particular frequently reveals in its abbreviated narrative text the kotobagaki-like bones that are retained across the variants. This in itself of course does not preclude the possibility that SHS and *Nanakashū* extracted such material from a fuller text, but considering other evidence pointing to SHS as an early version, and the strong suggestions that *Nanakashū* also retains evidence of an early form,⁴⁰ as well as general developmental trends evident in the Tale in other ways, it seems reasonable to assume that what we see here is a

³⁹ Tonami Miwako, *Shohon ni tsuite*, p. 50.

⁴⁰ See discussion below.

version of the utamonogatari framework on which the later Tale was built.

Nevertheless, it is clear that none of the extant texts can be claimed to be the original text. It should not be assumed that SHS itself does not contain augmenting material. There are, however, other intriguing hints at the Tale's early form, which point to a simple utamonogatari style as the origin, and the B texts as the result of later developments. One such hint can be found by examining key textual disjunctures. These hinge around the points at which the A and B texts diverge and converge (sections 8-10 and 24), the transition to the journey to Sanuki (which begins at section 47), and section 54, where the early A texts rejoin the story. I discuss textual relations in the Comments to these various sections, and will here summarize my conclusions.

The end of section 7 marks the birth of Saigyō. The Tale to this point has Norikiyo's hosshin as its focus, and the underlying utamonogatari form is much overlaid in the later texts with didactically-motivated material and evidence of accretions.⁴¹ With section 8, the texts begin to move apart, with the B texts and later A texts clumsily inserting differing didactic material,⁴² which is lacking entirely in the early A texts, onto an utamonogatari structure exemplified by *Nanakashū*. In section 9, the utamonogatari form comes to the fore, with the surprisingly light *asuki* -type episode of the plum and cherry blossom poems. It is at this point that the textual lines diverge.

In all the A texts, Saigyō now goes to Ise,⁴³ in a simple transition which

⁴¹ In particular, the repetitions and time confusions of section 6 in the later texts reveal clumsy accretions. Both SHS and *Nanakashū* contain a simple form of this section, whose opening kotobagaki and poem clearly contain the bones of the section. (SHS goes on to add a simple version of the continuing content).

Of these two texts, SHS contains a very simple form of sections 1, 2, 6 and 7, while *Nanakashū* similarly consists of very simple content, with the addition of section 3 (an augmentation of poems rather than religious content).

⁴² Abbreviated in SIZ and not present in the B3 texts, both of which echo the Bunmeibon content closely to this point.

⁴³ This transition is also chronologically closer to the facts of Saigyō's life as revealed in kotobagaki in *Sankashū*.

retains both the mood and the season established in section 8, while the B texts take him through Yoshino, Ōmine and back to the capital before he at last sets out again, to join the A text Saigyō at Ise. These intervening sections in the B line not only emphasize Saigyō's more strictly religious aspects (in the Yoshino-Ōmine sections), but contain many suggestions of interpolation.⁴⁴ Section 24 provides the transition to Ise, and likewise contains clear interpolation, as discussed above.⁴⁵ Furthermore, Bunmeibon introduces Saigyō's fresh start from the capital with a phrase reminiscent of that with which he sets forth to Yoshino on his previous start, in a sentence which suggests that this is his first embarkation on his new life.⁴⁶ All this suggests that the intervening B text material was superimposed on a simpler, A text type of earlier narrative structure.

The Ise sections are themselves intriguing. Aside from the introductory section which draws this visit firmly into the Buddhist paradigm with its treatise on honji-suijaku (much abbreviated in Seikadō, a mere sentence in SHS⁴⁷ and entirely absent in *Nanakashū*), didactic material is suddenly entirely absent, the tone is light and delighting, and the episodes are all in the poem-centred utamonogatari style. When the texts are compared, suggestions that the B1 texts derive from the A texts are particularly strong, and this is still clearer in the case of the B2 texts.⁴⁸

Furthermore, a number of the poems in this section, while there is little

⁴⁴ This is particularly so in the disjointed sections after his return to the capital, where sections 20 and 21 are both evidently later insertions (see above discussion), while the other sections are either derived directly from Sankashū kotobagaki (19 and 23) or from the urge to include more *Shinkokinshū* poems (22).

⁴⁵ A short version of this section appears in one later A text, *Saigyō hosshinki*. Here, however, it is in the form of brief kotobagaki plus poem, and all mention of the companion is absent.

⁴⁶ ㊦Since nowhere could be his fixed dwelling, he decided to spend the extent of his life performing wandering austerities from land to land. He chose first to go on pilgrimage to the Grand Shrine of Ise . . . ㊦

⁴⁷ This is the first occasion on which the earlier A texts differ radically from the later ones, a clear sign that the extended *Shasekishū*-indebted passage in *Shōhōbon* is a later addition.

⁴⁸ See the Comments to these sections, and details of other texts in Appendix I, for details. The absence of the Ise sections in the B3 texts may be related to ideological disapproval, as Taniguchi speculates (㊦*Saigyō monogatari no keisei* , p. 40.)

question that they are by Saigyō, are from a mysterious source. Taniguchi,⁴⁹ one of the few who is inclined to acknowledge that the A texts may be the earlier form, has investigated this question. He points to Saigyō's long-term residence at nearby Futami and his strong association with the poetic circle associated with Ise Shrine,⁵⁰ as well as documentary evidence, to conclude that the Shrine held one or more important copies of his work that included poems not found in his other collections. His conclusion is that the anomalous Ise section and its anomalous poems contain key evidence that the Tale developed in strong association with the shrine.

This convincing argument is at odds with the general view that the Tale's development was intimately connected with Sōrinji and associated hijiri. However, if the A texts are accepted as the earlier form both views can easily be reconciled in the idea that the hijiri inherited an earlier (A-type) Tale and elaborated it into the B texts, since the early A texts lack the material associated with the Sōrinji argument of Takagi and others, and the Ise section contains particularly strong evidence that A preceded B.⁵¹

The journey to Sanuki presents no overt evidence that it is an interpolation. Nevertheless, it is more volatile among the texts than the other two important travel sections they all share, the Ise sojourn and the Michinoku journey. It is interesting to note, for instance, that the B3 texts place the Sanuki sections much earlier in the Tale (without thereby distorting the narrative flow). More tellingly, they are entirely absent in the early A texts and *Nanakashū*.⁵² The *Nanakashū*-like text *Moshiogusa*, on the other hand, consists of an extended and largely independent version of the Sanuki journey. Because this journey is incorporated in most full-length forms of the Tale, it

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ This poetic circle was particularly strong and active at the time of Saigyō's Futami sojourn (see Mezaki, *Suki to mujō*, p. 96ff).

⁵¹ Takagi too grudgingly acknowledges that Taniguchi's argument is persuasive, at least in relation to the Ise sections (㊦Saigyō *monogatari no tenkyō*, p. 24).

⁵² It is also interesting to note that cross-textual examination reveals that the early B text Hakubyō bears an unusually close relation to the later A texts for these sections.

has generally been assumed that *Moshiogusa* originally continued the *Nanakashū* text. However, there is no textual indication of this, and the two form quite separate narratives. From the above, it could be speculated that the Sanuki episodes too were a later addition to the Tale, perhaps as a result of an amalgamation of a short separate utamonogatari text such as *Moshiogusa* represents.⁵³

The final important point of inter-textual disruption occurs at section 54, and once more it is the early A texts that alert us to this.⁵⁴ Both Seikadō and SHS rejoin the other texts, with the same words, at the end of this section, at the point where the didactic material of Saigyō's review of his life ends and the kotobagaki-like core of the section takes over, leading up to the famous death poem.⁵⁵ The transition in Seikadō is abrupt due to apparent omission of a large amount of intervening material, but this is not the case with SHS. Here, Saigyō returns from his Michinoku journey, finds the capital devastated, and retires in sorrow to the eastern mountains, where he quietly meditates and composes the death poem, an entirely natural narrative flow which omits the long rambling second capital sections and the Sanuki journey.⁵⁶ Significantly, we find the B2 texts echoing this point of convergence. After the return from Sanuki, they directly join⁵⁷ the end of section 54 with the transition sentence:
øHe went up to the capital and lived in the eastern mountains.

Yamaguchi Makoto has devoted detailed attention to a comparison of the later A and B texts for this section, focussing on the didactic content, to argue that the B texts, with their more straightforwardly religious øganmon intent, contain the earlier

⁵³ *Sankashū* itself would very probably have provided the impetus for the creation of such an utamonogatari, since many of the Sanuki poems there form a semi-continuous narrative which constitutes in embryo form a simple first-person øutamonogatari, as described in Part I.

⁵⁴ The *Nanakashū* text has already stopped abruptly at poem 150.

⁵⁵ The B3 texts likewise take up the Tale again at precisely this point.

⁵⁶ This roughly accords with the chronology of Saigyō's life, since his return to the devastated capital at the end of his second Michinoku trip occurred when he was an old man, a bare three years before his death, unlike the presentation of him in most versions of the Tale.

⁵⁷ Kanzeibon adds a short episode derived from SKS 1367 at the transition point.

form which the A texts inherit and disrupt.⁵⁸ I too see this section as containing key evidence for the Tale's development and original form and intent, but my interpretation is diametrically opposite to Yamaguchi's. Regardless of the possible cross-influences between the B1 texts and the later A texts (and here too I do not see his argument as conclusive, as I have argued above), a wider textual perspective reveals tendencies here which precisely replicate the tendencies found elsewhere. Once again, the didactic material is intertextually highly volatile, and is entirely absent from the earlier A texts. The text of these early variants consists of the *utamonogatari* bones of the section, found replicated across the later texts, onto which the preceding didactic material has apparently been (somewhat awkwardly) imposed. Evidence from the B2 and B3 texts supports this interpretation. And finally, cross-textual comparison here reveals that *Bunmeibon* is at the end of the B1 line of development, with *Hakubyō* apparently retaining its earliest form.⁵⁹

From all the evidence presented above, it is possible to hazard a guess as to the possible early form of the Tale. First, the general assumption that the Tale sprang up fully formed, in a form which *Bunmeibon* can be taken to represent, is thoroughly at odds with the evidence. Rather, the earliest form of the Tale appears to have been a shorter and far simpler chronicle, essentially poem-centred (*utamonogatari* style), perhaps originally comprising a cobbling together of discrete shorter texts such as we see in *Moshiogusa*. At the key moment when it attained the framework from which later versions of the Tale grew,⁶⁰ it would probably have consisted of a simple poem-

⁵⁸ *Saigyō monogatari no 'ganmon'*, pp. 1-18. For details of his argument, and a more detailed discussion of my position, see Comments to section 54.

⁵⁹ *Emaki* is, of course, missing for these final sections.

⁶⁰ There are intriguing hints that early versions of the Tale may have been in the first rather than third person voice. (This of course would preclude the inclusion of his *ōjō*.) The narrative slips temporarily into first person mode here and there in the later variants (particularly in the B3 texts), and this tendency is particularly prominent in *Nanakashū*. Taniguchi has pointed out that *Nijō* in *Towazugatari* appears to have read *Saigyō ga shugyō no shiki* as a first person record, and argues that *ashiki* (しき) should be read 私記 rather than the commonly assumed 四季. It is certainly the case that, in borrowings from *Sankashū* and *Shinkokinshū*, first person *kotobagaki* tended to be incorporated without change into the Tale, and to the extent that these *kotobagaki* formed the basis of the early Tale it is quite possible that the first person voice was once far more evident. (*Senjūshō*, of course, is

centred version of Saigyō's hosshin and shugyō (such as we find in *Nanakashū*), followed by the two *autamonogatari* sections of the later Tale, his sojourn in Ise and travels to Michinoku, thence back to the capital (much abbreviated or entirely absent) where he retires to Sōrinji, and his death. A version of the Sanuki journey may have been present at some point in the narrative.

This early tale would have lacked most if not all of the didactic material and intent that characterizes the B texts (and, less stridently, the later A texts), as well as the episodes concerning wife and daughter, and many if not all the *setsuwa*-type episodes. The tone would have been essentially literary (as is still evident in the later A texts, and much more clearly so in the earlier A texts.) It would, however, have contained the seeds of the Tale's later lines of development and emphasis in the religious moments of *shukke* and *ōjō* that frame the Tale, and in the implicit assumption that Saigyō's poetry and its associated mode of life had ultimate redemptive value.

1.3 Textual relations

Just as the Tale's earliest forms are now no more than hints buried in the later texts we have inherited, and speak of a profusion of lost variants, so too no final conclusions can be reached concerning relations among existing texts, and the gaps are everywhere apparent. Nevertheless, close cross-textual reading provides evidence of certain overall relationships, which I summarize here.

Among the A texts, *Saigyō Hōshi shūka* appears overall to be the earliest form. *Seikadō*, whose early date is accepted, is closer to the later A texts, but it does not appear to have developed directly from SHS (which occasionally favours the later A texts in textual detail). The later A texts could be thought to derive from a close version of *Seikadō*, with which they have a remarkably high level of consistency in the sections both contain, but an independent relationship to SHS is also evident. Furthermore, they appear to be characterized by its borrowing of Saigyō's first person voice to tell the tales of his travels.)

have come under the influence of subsequent developments represented by the B texts,⁶¹ although they maintain a strong independence from these texts even where general content largely coincides.

Of the B1 texts, the earliest existing form appears to be the partially-preserved Emaki. Hakubyō is an early inheritor of the Emaki material.⁶² SIZ is much closer to Bunmeibon, although it also contains strong links with Hakubyō, while Bunmeibon is evidently at the end of this line of development. Thus the overall evolution of these texts is Emaki → Hakubyō → SIZ → Bunmeibon, although the complexities of cross-textual detail among these variants makes it clear that intervening texts also once existed.

The B2 texts offer peculiar difficulties. Akitani's detailed study of Kanzeibon⁶³ reveals that, while this text is overall the earlier of the two, Eishōbon (generally a somewhat abbreviated and altered version of the Kanzeibon material) at some points suggests itself as the earlier form. More intriguing is the clearly strong relationship of the B2 texts to the A texts, which frequently suggests that they are intermediary between A and B. This leads to the conclusion, also reached by Akitani, that they contain obvious traces of early development. Their strongest characteristic, however, is the great preponderance of didactic material, much of it independent of both A and B1 texts, and their strong religious emphasis,⁶⁴ and in this they can be said to typify B text developments.

It could be speculated that the B2 texts represent an early offshoot of the

⁶¹ Except in the case of the Ise sections, where the A texts are clearly the basis for B text content, as described above.

⁶² Miya Tsugio also considers this text to be next oldest after Emaki, and from its Nanbokue style considers Hakubyō emaki to be a late 14th century work. (əHakubyō *Saigyō monogatari emaki* , pp. 19-41).

⁶³ Akitani, əKanzeibon *Saigyō monogatari kō* , 1981.

⁶⁴ The Amidist emphasis of the B2 texts is evident in this material, as also in the insertion in Eishōbon of the unique episode at Otokoyama, and the relative de-emphasis of the Ōmine sections, as Yamaguchi Makoto has pointed out (ə*Saigyō monogatari no kōzōteki saihen to Jishū* , 1992, p. 17.)

Tale, which independently inherited its early framework, and later came under the influence of Bunmeibon (to which they bear a close textual relationship for some sections). It is evident that, as with the B texts generally, copyists frequently felt at liberty to extensively alter material and to adapt or insert didactic material in particular.

The B3 texts, while inheriting the Bunmeibon material, display a similar tendency. They appear to be a relatively later development, although in these texts too there are occasional indications that early material otherwise lost is here retained. A relationship to the B2 texts is also evident. Interestingly, the B3 texts contain two separate strong tendencies, that of augmentation of didactic material, and of addition of short discrete episodes that are purely poetic — a phenomenon that could be termed a reappearance of the utamonogatari impulse.⁶⁵

The late A texts (represented in this study by Shōhōbon) display characteristics similar to the B texts, in that they contain evident insertions of didactic material (often of an independent nature), setsuwa-style episodes and didactically-motivated material in which the poetry is either an afterthought or entirely absent, and material derived from other texts such as *Hōbutsushū*. However, all these characteristics are less prominent in the A than in the B texts, and are counterbalanced by a more literary tone which is manifest on every level, from the often poetic prose style to the more cohesive and structured narrative flow and the overall prominence given to the poems. Together, these characteristics create a text that is far closer in spirit both to Saigyō's own poetic persona and to the utamonogatari style, and it should be no surprise that the few scholars who have chosen to focus their attention on the late A rather than the B texts have tended to emphasize the Tale's poetic and literary characteristics

⁶⁵ This impulse is also evident in the other variants to some extent, particularly in the two capital sections, where fresh *Sankashū* material is incorporated, often almost verbatim.

rather than consider it to be primarily a religious text.⁶⁶

While the late A text line has undergone developments similar to (and certainly influenced by) the B texts, it is also remarkable for its relative lack of intertextual volatility. The late A texts that have come down to us are all close versions of each other, with only occasional and largely unimportant textual variations, in contrast to the B texts, where even within the same line there is generally considerable variation, and which have proliferated into several distinct families. More importantly, the late A texts preserve virtually without variation the contents of the early Seikadō and, with only a little more variation, *Saigyō Hōshi shūka*. Thus, their more literary quality can be clearly traced to early forms of the Tale, despite the overlay of later material that relates them more closely to the B text developments.

Seikadō remains a key text, despite its apparently abbreviated nature. The unique characteristics of the late A texts noted above are all far more in evidence in this simpler variant. Its direct relation to the late A texts is difficult to establish, despite the high degree of consistency between them, and it would seem that several intervening texts have disappeared. This is also the case with SHS, which, while closely related to both Seikadō and the late A texts, favours now one and now the other in minor details. Textual analysis strongly suggests that it is an early precursor of the late A texts, however, and (as I have argued above) I agree with Tonami in seeing it as one of the earliest existing forms of the Tale, and not as the result of a later process which picks the bones out of the Tale to create a simple poetic version, as it is considered to be by Kuwabara in

⁶⁶ The work of Kuwabara Hiroshi and Tonami Miwako exemplifies this. Taniguchi Kōichi has also devoted attention to the A texts, and inclines to see them as earlier, although he considers Shōhōbon's rhetorical flourishes (*junshoku* 潤色) to be evidence of later reworking (which ignores the fact that they are equally present in the early Seikadō). (Taniguchi Kōichi, *Saigyō monogatari no keisei*, p. 31). Numanami's short study (Numanami Masayasu 沼波政保, *Saigyō-zō shiron — Senjūshō to Saigyō monogatari ni okeru ishitsuisei* 西行像試論 — 「撰集抄」と「西行物語」における異質性, *Dōmei Daigaku ronsō* 同明大学論叢 38 [June 1978], pp. 63-82) provides clearest evidence that focussing on the A texts produces a very different reading of the Tale. Numanami is one of the few to classify the Tale as essentially an utamonogatari-style work.

his glancing reference to it.⁶⁷

Among the variants examined, the most puzzling is *Nanakashū*. Like the B2 texts, it appears to bridge the A and B lines, but it contains a number of poems not found in either.⁶⁸ The episodes are generally so briefly presented as to make it more an anthology than a coherent *utamonogatari*.⁶⁹ The *kotobagaki* material, while frequently closely related to that of other variants, is often quite independent. Like SHS, it has been treated as a late poetic extract from the Tale, but I agree with Taniguchi and Akitani⁷⁰ in seeing it as retaining an early form, although it bears no clear relationship with any subsequent variant. It shares some textual similarities to SHS, but, given the likely early date of both, is generally remarkably independent of it (despite overall similarity of content). The fact that it contains a version of the sections unique to the B texts suggests that the B text line was an early offshoot of the Tale.

Very few clear facts can be deduced from the above. Textual analysis alone neither confirms nor denies that the early A texts echo the Tale's earliest forms more strongly or consistently than, for example, the early B text *Emaki*. It would seem that the A and B text lines branched off from each other early, and there are strong indications that some early versions of the Tale now lost would have included content which was not inherited by later texts. The single clear fact that emerges is that behind the great variety of texts we have inherited stand the ghosts of many more and highly various texts, not only among the earliest forms of the Tale but at every stage in its long evolution. Each of the texts

⁶⁷ *Saigyō to sono shūhen*, p. 257.

⁶⁸ These include the poem quoted by Nijō in *Towazugatari*, and Taniguchi speculates that *Nanakashū* may be very close to the version of the Tale which she read. (Taniguchi Kōichi, *saigyō monogatari no keisei*, p. 29).

⁶⁹ Its presentation, with the poems placed higher on the page than their *kotobagaki* material, likewise declares it to be intended as an anthology, as does its name.

⁷⁰ Taniguchi, *saigyō monogatari no keisei*, and Akitani, *kanzeibon Saigyō monogatari kō*. They argue that its straddling of categories, tendency to first person narration, and textual details, as well as the poems it uniquely includes, all suggest an early form.

studied bears traces of earlier variants now lost, as well as evidence pointing to rewriting.

It would seem that *Saigyō monogatari* has indeed never been a single text, but has truly been the property of its many readers. In this sense, the quest for the earliest form ignores the spirit of the text, and it is entirely fitting that the earliest form is hidden so deep within the existing variants and the many shadowy spaces between them that it eludes the closest textual analysis. Nevertheless, if we acknowledge the essence of the Tale to lie in its complex evolution rather than in some static representative text, cross-textual reading does reveal clear trends, which consistently point to an evolution characterized by accretion of didactically-motivated material, from a relatively simple utamonogatari-style text such as the early A texts represent.

I have here examined some of the key points at which disjunctions and slippages resulting from this evolution occurred on the textual level. In the following section, I examine how this evolution and its attendant shifts of focus produced disjunctions and slippages on the deeper thematic level, such that we can no more point to a single unambiguous theme, even within a given variant, than we can to a single representative form of the Tale.

SECTION 2: The Themes

2.1 The themes: general conclusions

The Tale is generally accepted as presenting Saigyō as an exemplar of the positive message of the kyōgen kigo thesis, that poetry is a means to enlightenment, a practice (shugyō) in its own right. This is indeed Bunmeibon's final unequivocal message, as set forth in section 54 where Saigyō, preparing for death, reviews his life before composing the famous death poem. The passage first elaborates on his saintly life as a monk, emphasizing the various austerities he had undertaken and the depth of his commitment to the Way, then proceeds to place his poetic activity within this Buddhist context, as a practice undertaken in repentance for sins, which led him

to view the phenomenal world with purity of heart (non-attachment), as the manifestation of the Buddhist truth of transience and a symbolic pointer to the Pure Land beyond. It thus rehearses some of the *kyōgen kigo* arguments outlined in Part I, and places the Tale retrospectively within a clear Buddhist framework.

Two matters prevent us from too easily accepting this summary of the Tale's message. The first is that this Bunmeibon passage cannot be taken to represent the Tale in its variant forms, and in fact is typical of Bunmeibon in that it appears to be a unique expansion of earlier B1 content, particularly in the *waka shugyō* section.⁷¹ Furthermore, as discussed above, there are clear indications that the didactic content of this passage is itself a later insertion and that the early A texts, which entirely lack this content, retain the early simple form of the section in their headnote and poem form. All this suggests that the insistence on an overt *kyōgen kigo* message for the Tale is a later development, of which Bunmeibon represents a culmination.⁷²

The other reason for questioning the validity of this Bunmeibon passage as a straightforward statement of the Tale's theme and intent is that it is severely at variance with the overall portrait of Saigyō that we find in the Tale itself. The figure of the saintly Buddhist practitioner and teacher from the first half of the passage is barely glimpsed in the Tale, Saigyō's poetic activity is never represented in terms of a practice, and the responses to the phenomenal world which provoke it are far from serene non-attachment. Once Saigyō gains his *shukke*, it is only in the *setsuwa* episodes such as the wife and daughter sections or the companion sections discussed above that this sternly Buddhist version of Saigyō replaces the poetic wanderer, and the conflict between the two that is evident in those sections is a reflection of the conflict between the Saigyō of section 54's *kyōgen kigo* passage and the Saigyō of the Tale as a whole (and most particularly of the early texts).

⁷¹ See Comments to section 54, and Appendix I, for details. This Bunmeibon passage is closely echoed only in *Kanzeibon*.

⁷² The B2 and B3 texts elsewhere make explicit reference to *waka shugyō*, in passages which likewise bear the marks of later interpolation. *Kanzeibon*'s vacillations on this theme are examined below.

It could be said, in fact, that the Tale reflects the ambiguity at the heart of the concept of *kyōgen kigo* itself, which as we saw can be either a statement of the incompatibility of poetry and the Buddhist Way or an attempt to argue that poetry can nevertheless be a valid means of following the Way, since in the Tale's Saigyō figure we find both an example of the reconciliation of poetry and religion and an embodiment of their unreconcilable aspects. The tensions between these two poles informs both the text itself, in its variant forms, and the development of the Tale described above.

This is not to say that the idea of *waka shugyō* was not present in the Tale from its inception. As I argue in Part I, the Tale would seem from its beginnings to have contained the seeds of these later disruptions in its implicit presentation of Saigyō's *ōjō* as the reward for his life of poetry, and one of the early and now lost versions of the Tale names it specifically as a personal record of Saigyō's (poetic) practice,⁷³ indicating that the early depictions of Saigyō's life were also presented in a religious context. Nevertheless, if we take the simple, essentially *utamonogatari*-style *Saigyō Hōshi shūka* as an example of the type of these earlier forms,⁷⁴ it becomes clear that the dilemmas and tensions of the later and particularly the B texts' depiction of Saigyō the saintly poet grew out of what was originally a much more coherent and satisfying depiction of his *waka shugyō* life.

Shorn of its overtly didactic content and of the *setsuwa*-type episodes, the Tale emerges as a moving *utamonogatari* style depiction of a man whose dedication to the pursuit of poetry led him to cast off the world and elevate poetry to a path and a practice (*michi*), a practice which involved not just the composition of poetry but the embodying of the poetic sensibility in his life. In its essential form (such as SHS typifies), the Tale presents Saigyō's *ōjō* as the natural reward for this single-minded dedication to the Way of poetry, and its simple message is the message of poetry as

⁷³ I follow Taniguchi's interpretation of this title (see note 60). An alternative reading would be 'The Four Seasons of Saigyō's (Poetic) Practice' (西行が修行の四季).

⁷⁴ The same is largely true of *Seikadō* and of *Nanakashū*.

michi. This message is never explicitly expounded in these poem-centred texts; it is enough that Saigyō's dedication to poetry and the poetic life, and its awe-inspiring result, be depicted.

What must be noted here is that Saigyō's poetic shugyō involves not just the composition of poetry but, importantly, an embodiment of poetry in the life lived. This is, as I have shown in Part I, the persona which Saigyō himself projected through his poems and their kotobagaki, and it is natural that it should be reconstructed in the romance form of the utamonogatari, itself a poetic construct and one dedicated to portraying the protagonist's life in poetic terms. That early versions of the Tale were indeed of this nature is well attested in Nijō's account of her memory of the Tale and her essentially romantic response to it.⁷⁵

But, as with Saigyō's own poetry and the tonseisha tradition in general, where a more strictly religious perspective is brought to bear on this philosophy of the shugyō of poetry and the poetic life, difficulties arise, and so it is that the more didactic approach of the later versions of the Tale comes into conflict with this earlier poetic and essentially romantic depiction. The tensions and contradictions produced by this conflict reveal the deep difficulties that the positive kyōgen kigo position faced, and suggest why, as I show in Part I, Shunzei and others were so defensive

⁷⁵ I remembered looking at a scroll when I was only nine years old called 'Records of the Travels of Saigyō'. It contained a particular scene where Saigyō, standing amid scattering cherry blossoms, with deep mountains off to one side and a river in front of him, composed this poem:

Winds scatter white blossoms,
Whitecaps breaking on rocks;
How difficult to cross
The mountain stream.

I had envied Saigyō's life ever since, and although I could never endure a life of ascetic hardship, I wished that I could at least renounce this life and wander wherever my feet might lead me, learning to empathize with the dew under the blossoms and to express the resentment of the scattering autumn leaves, and make out of this a record of my travels that might live on after my death. (Translation from Karen Brazell, trans., *The Confessions of Lady Nijō*, Anchor Books, Garden City, New York, 1973, p. 264.)

It is ironic, as Kojima (*Saigyō monogatari shokō*, pp. 320-321) points out, that Nijō's own personal account in fact is a great deal more prosaic and filled with depictions of austerities undertaken than anything we find in *Saigyō monogatari*. Kojima's discussion of this difference serves to point up the generally unacknowledged nature of the Tale as essentially a poetic document.

even in their strongest assertions of the legitimate role of poetry in religious practice.

1.2 The Texts: key textual problems

Suki In the Tale, one of the areas where the positions of poetry and religion tend to polarise can be seen in the lighter *asuki*⁷⁶ episodes and poems.⁷⁷

The *suki* ideal is an important expression of what Mezaki calls the *asuki no tonseisha* or *aesthete recluse philosophy*,⁷⁸ a philosophy which finds one of its most compelling early expressions in Saigyō's own writing and poetic persona, as in the *utamonogatari* form of the Tale. This *suki* sensibility can perhaps be seen at its clearest in the Tale in section 3, in the string of poems that Norikiyo composes on the new palace's screen paintings, which taken together form a portrait of the typical idealized *suki no tonseisha*, wandering alone in the midst of the natural world, moved to compose by its delights and sorrows — a projection of the Saigyō figure he was to become that is unencumbered by didactic imperatives. However, as I argue in the relevant Comments sections, in the many episodes where this Saigyō figure is found in the Tale (which largely coincide with what seem to be the earliest form of the Tale, as demonstrated above), it is often deeply at odds with the more austere portrayal of Saigyō that later forms of the Tale impose on the earlier material. This tension is never overtly acknowledged and seems often to be largely unnoticed by the Tale's later shapers, but it is none the less present for that, and at times the conflict becomes acute.

One particularly telling example is found in *Kanzeibon*, in section 12, where Saigyō's sojourn in Yoshino is described. The poems themselves are in the *suki* mode, but the narrative material of the various texts makes some attempt to introduce

⁷⁶ For a discussion of this term, see Part I, Section 1.1.

⁷⁷ I discuss these tensions where they arise in the text. See particularly the Comments to sections 3, 9, 12, 14, 18, 23, 28, 29, 32, 33, 36, 37 and 41.

⁷⁸ Mezaki Tokue, *Aesthete-recluses During the Transition from Ancient to Medieval Japan*, in *Principles of Classical Japanese Literature*, ed. Early Miner, Princeton University Press, 1985. See also his arguments for the importance of this concept in *Suki to mujō*, and in numerous other works. (The importance of this concept for the Tale is discussed in Section I, 1.4).

his stay in the vague terms of *performing austerities*.⁷⁹ *Kanzeibon* typically is particularly insistent in this, and inserts didactic material unique to the B2 texts, in the process bringing to prominence the underlying dilemma. It explains his visit to Yoshino as laudably religiously motivated, stating that *since he would see the blossoms of this floating world, he intended to see all in the spirit of Amida, as the flowers of Paradise*. However, the statement later in the section that *although he believed he had cast off this world, when he saw the flowering branches in full bloom he felt he had again met with (the joys and sorrows of) the floating world* is a clear subversion of this austere approach, and a somewhat guilty acknowledgement of the actual character of Saigyō's Yoshino poems.⁸⁰

This rueful admission that he is still attached to (moved by) the phenomenal world is a key theme in Saigyō's own poetry.⁸¹ Poem 104 (section 32), famous both in its own right and for the debate that it engenders, is one striking example of this position. The poem states that *even I, who have no heart (kokoro) feel aware as the curlew rises from the marsh*. The general interpretation of this poem is that as a monk Saigyō is one who should no longer possess a feeling *kokoro*, yet for all that he is moved by this moment's *aware* (its moving nature).⁸² Both the words *kokoro* and *aware* are deeply imbued with associations of poetic responsiveness. Their role in the Tale will be examined below. The tension that this poem evokes,

⁷⁹ This section is found only in the B texts.

⁸⁰ *Bunmeibon*'s perhaps inadvertent substitution in the same section of *木の実にたはぶれて* for the earlier B1 texts *木の実をひろひて* (SIZ) and *木の実をかきあつめて* (Hakubyō) has the same interesting effect of startlingly recasting the stern Saigyō figure at his austerities into the figure of the *sukimono*.

⁸¹ Poem 192 of the Tale is one of the more playful and ironic examples of this theme. Here, although he has *freed his mind (思ひ捨てにし)* of the spring (which, in his winter retreat, represents the return of the beauties and pleasures of the phenomenal world), he finds himself absurdly longing for it because of his frozen water pipe. This humorous admission of weakness takes on a more poignant and often anguished tone in other poems.

⁸² The alternative, less convincing, interpretation is that Saigyō is here humbly demurring that even one as poor in sensibility as himself is moved. Saigyō's poetry is not otherwise humble about his capacity for poetic sensibility, and I would further argue that the word *mi* 身 strongly suggests a meaning of *position in life* (i.e. as monk, one who has formally relinquished all attachment to the world), rather than his private poetic self.

between the state of *ōheartlessness* and the nevertheless feeling heart, embodies a tension between the religious and the poetic positions that is implicit in Saigyō's poetry generally, as I argue in Part I, and the poem is also typical in resolving itself in the admission that the poetic or feeling self rises again and again to defeat his formal vows and their aim — a defeat which the poem in fact celebrates. The Tale and its inherent tensions thus neatly reflect the fundamental tensions of Saigyō's own poetry and indeed of his dual role itself, of monk and poet.

The contrary images of Saigyō that we see in the Kanzeibon section above remain implicit and unproblematic to the extent that the Tale retains its *utamonogatari* form, unencumbered by overtly religious material, and its implied message of poetry as *michi*. What the later didactic overlays to the Tale drew out was the hidden dilemma of the contradiction between Saigyō's commitment as a monk to the position of nonattachment, and his ongoing pursuit of a life of poetic sensibility, which draws him back again and again to sorrowing or delighting attachment to the phenomenal world. In strictly religious terms, the poetic sensibility can finally only be seen as weakness. Saigyō's own willing admission of this weakness, which is an essential part of his poetic persona, causes the Tale particular problems (as seen in the Kanzeibon quotations above), but the problem is inescapable to the extent that the Tale seeks to make of the poet protagonist a didactic example of one who is dedicated to Buddhist practice and finally reaps its fruits, rather than one whose poetry is itself the practice.

ōStrong/weak in the setsuwa episodes The strong/weak dichotomy surfaces constantly in the Tale, and I have discussed each instance of it in the Comments to the relevant sections in Part II.⁸³ Its implications are pervasive throughout the Tale, but it is generally overtly present in the setsuwa and didactic episodes, typified by the wife and daughter sections and the companion episodes examined above, which all hinge on the concept of *ōstrong-hearted* versus *ōweak-hearted* . The Tenryū and related

⁸³ See particularly the Comments to sections 4, 6,7-9, 17, 20, 21, 30, 33, 38, 42, 45, 46, and 48-53.

companion sections can be considered typical in giving Saigyō the role of the sternly strong-hearted, and this of course is the Saigyō who appears in the crucial shukke scene, where Norikiyo musters his strength of will to reject his wife and daughter.

Yamazaki, in his study of the use of these concepts in the Tale,⁸⁴ concludes that these secondary characters and the episodes which include them are introduced to bring out Saigyō's strong-hearted religious strength,⁸⁵ and one would indeed expect that in these setsuwa sections, at least, Saigyō would be portrayed as unhesitatingly strong. Yet a careful reading of these sections reveals the interesting fact that the Tale repeatedly undermines its own message at these points. In the Comments to the two companion episodes of section 21 and 33, I detail the ambivalence of presentation which, even as it praises Saigyō's strength of heart, wavers towards portraying him as moved if not tearful, and this ambivalence appears equally strongly in sections depicting his daughter, where among the variants there is a frequent subversive tendency to add a mention of his secret weak tears.⁸⁶

The apparent message is, of course, that despite such weakness Saigyō nevertheless is able to overcome his emotions and be strong, yet the continued presence of his weak tearful responsiveness subverts this message, creating a tension that is particularly blatant in the juxtaposition of sections 21 and 22, where he glimpses his daughter playing and is reduced to tears, the very tears that he would not forgive in his companion of the previous section, who in fact has far more cause to weep. Even in these sections, which have no dealings with the tear-soaked poet

⁸⁴ The question of the role of the strong/weak dichotomy in the Tale has been virtually unexamined by scholars. Yamazaki Jun (山崎淳, *saigyō monogatari ni egakareta Saigyō-zō — Bunmeibon wo chūshin to shite 「西行物語」に描かれた西行像 — 文明本を中心として*, *Shirin* 11 [April 1991], pp. 31-45) is the only one to acknowledge its pervasive presence. He examines the occurrences of the words *yowashi* 弱し and *tsuyoshi* 強し and their cognate forms in eight variants, pointing out that these words are present in varying degrees in all the examined texts except Emaki, with most occurrences being in Bunmeibon. He does not attempt to reach conclusions about the role and importance of this theme, merely stating that they reflect the image of Saigyō as religious practitioner. Since he chooses to focus on the occurrences of these words, his understanding of the Saigyō image is of course determined by his focus on the didactic material and setsuwa episodes.

⁸⁵ *saigyō-zō*, p. 43.

⁸⁶ See Comments to sections 7 and 49.

persona but are purely didactic in intent, Saigyō the exemplary monk is repeatedly compromised by a weak attachment and emotional responsiveness.

Yamazaki's assertion is further thrown into question by the fact that in several of the strong/weak setsuwa episodes it is in fact the other who is the stronger. This is above all so in the depictions of the wife, as described above, whose early tears evolve into a truly formidable strength in the later texts, where she is explicitly praised as stronger than her husband — a description which several B texts also apply to the daughter. This has the happy effect of allowing Saigyō a degree of weakness while still allowing him to be defined as strong. As I suggest above, the weakness with which the strength of her silent practice is implicitly contrasted is that of Saigyō's sin of words, that besetting weakness that lies behind all the uneasiness of the Tale's didactic sections.

Saigyō is also the lesser of the two in the gentlest of the Tale's setsuwa episodes, the meeting with the flower-smitten hermit of Musashino (section 33). Saigyō is here the awe-struck witness to the hermit's explicitly mentioned strength of heart, which the B texts depict in expansive detail.⁸⁷ Here too, the later Tale's underlying ambivalence in relation to its strong religious message can be seen when this version of the episode is compared to that found in *Hosshinshū*, where the aim is to present Chōmei's message of *suki as michi*,⁸⁸ and it should be noted that the short version of this episode that appears in SHS is quite uncomplicated by strong/weak or didactic depiction.

The role of witness to another's strength is indeed found not only in such setsuwa episodes but in a number of Saigyō's exchanges with women of his acquaintance, some of which⁸⁹ the Tale reproduces elsewhere without didactic

⁸⁷ The later A texts typically eschew didactic detail in favour of a more human (and in didactic terms most unexemplary) portrayal, where Saigyō and the hermit converse enjoyably on their mutual family connections, that world of the capital and family relations which in his sterner mode Saigyō elsewhere utterly rejects.

⁸⁸ See Comments to section 33 for details.

⁸⁹ See the exchanges of poems 152/153 and 172/173. Saigyō's exchange of poems with the courtesan of Eguchi (175/176) can also be seen as an example of Saigyō accepting the inferior role in

comment. They are another example of the Saigyō persona's willing acknowledgement of his own (endearing) imperfections.⁹⁰ But such episodes in the Tale are more than passing, inadvertent reflections of this aspect of Saigyō. They, and the other ambivalences of depiction described above, reflect the deeper problem I have been discussing, that the intrusive didactic content finally cannot, and indeed cannot afford to, shift the balance of the Saigyō image from poet to exemplary monk, or (in its terms) from weak to strong. The Saigyō of human imperfections remains the true protagonist of the Tale, for all the protestations of section 54's idealized final description of his life.

3.2.4 The companion theme

The theme of the companion also reflects this. I have examined above the theme of the shadowy ㊦Saijū figure, the rejected companion who in the A texts and earlier versions of the Tale was allowed a much more positive role. In terms of the Tale's religious paradigm, solitude is strength, and Saigyō's rejection of the weak companion is a praiseworthy overcoming of any lingering weakness of his own, including a weakness otherwise much in evidence in the Tale, that of loneliness and longing for a companion. This theme is one commonly found in Saigyō's poetry, and is an inseparable aspect of the Saigyō persona which inevitably finds its way into the Tale in a number of places.⁹¹

Poem 28 (section 8), in which Saigyō longs for another hermit to share the loneliness of his mountain retreat with him, is a typical example of this Saigyō and his relation to a woman's religious strength .

⁹⁰ Such episodes in his collections are offset by others in which he is guide and teacher to a weaker other, interestingly always a male. The role of women in Saigyō's poetry has been investigated by Kuwabara Hiroshi (桑原博史, ㊦Nyōbō bungaku kara inja bungaku e 女房文学から隠者文学へ, *Ronshū Saigyō 論集西行*, Waka Bungakkai 和歌文学会, ed., *Waka bungaku no sekai 和歌文学の世界* vol. 14, Kasama Shoin, 1990, pp. 137-160) and others. It is reflected in the Tale by the inclusion of such episodes, and it could be argued that the growing strength of the wife (and ultimately the daughter as well) reflects this aspect of Saigyō. It is also noteworthy that women form a prominent part of the Tale's readership, from Nijō and Abutsu on.

⁹¹ See in particular sections 11, 15, 40 and 48.

human frailty, and also typical of the problems it causes the Tale, since Norikiyo is here composing the poem as a culmination to an extended meditative passage on the Buddhist truth, which has led to a longing for shukke and a hut alone in the mountains. This didactic material, clearly an insertion of the later texts, causes inconsistencies which the variants variously cope with.⁹² Particularly notable is Kanzeibon's disconcerting combination of strong and weak response in making the hut both ægladdening (うれし) and æforlornly moving (あはれ) to him, a double response that in fact would very likely reflect the complex responses of Saigyō himself,⁹³ but which has no place in the Tale's urge in its previous didactic material to present Saigyō as unequivocally æstrong .

Where the Tale is in less didactic mode, the fundamental contradiction is more easily assimilated. An example is seen in the Ōmine sections, ostensibly a depiction of religious austerities but in tone and content inclining strongly towards the utamonogatari style and suki sensibility, with minimal intrusions of religious content. The theme of longing for a companion echoes this, with Saigyō here (section 15) longing for æa sendatsu of sensibility to guide him in his pilgrimage, a description which, though odd, nicely combines his religious and poetic needs.⁹⁴ At such points in the Tale we are made aware of the underlying continuing pull of the fundamental paradigm of poetic sensibility, which interpolations of didactic material and point of view so frequently succumb to or are subverted by.

The theme of loneliness, of which the ælonging for a companion theme is an integral part, is one of the key themes to be found in the recluse literary tradition that Saigyō inherited, and is prominent in the Taoist and other Chinese literary personae

⁹² See Comments to section 8 for an examination of these.

⁹³ It is clear from the poetry that Saigyō's response to the loneliness and solitude he had chosen was indeed as ambivalent as the Tale inadvertently portrays, and there are a number of poems in which he gladly turns his back on the threatened presence of others. (Examples are poems 36 and 41.) Nevertheless, the ælonging for a companion theme is by far the more prominent in his poetry.

⁹⁴ This description (心ある *kokoro aru*) is used again of another when the companions of the Ōmine pilgrimage group are preparing to part in section 16, the companion of ækokoro being one who weeps particularly copiously at the sorrow of parting.

that the Saigyō persona pervasively refers to, as I argue in Part I.⁹⁵ The pose of rueful longing is thus a strong literary inheritance, which also informs the medieval aesthete recluse tradition within whose terms the Tale is essentially conceived.⁹⁶ It is an absolutely central aspect of the Saigyō of the utamonogatari Tale, in which solitude and its sorrows are the stuff of poetry and belong to the literary and aesthetic *asuki* paradigm rather than that of the stern religious recluse.⁹⁷ Where this fundamental form of the Tale is overlaid by the strictly religious paradigm represented by the didactic material, contradictions such as that of section 8 become acute, but Saigyō's solitude is for the most part (and, in the earlier A texts, entirely) a poetic rather than a religious prop.

However, much as the wife's initially weak response of silent tears at Norikiyo's shukke gradually transformed itself into the strong silence of her later portrait, so Saigyō's poetic lamentations on his loneliness are overlaid with material that gives a very different interpretation to the theme of the companion. The Tale's continual struggle to contain both the waka and the shugyō versions of the Saigyō figure thus reveals itself in the companion theme as in the other strong/weak conflicts

⁹⁵ I agree with Ivo Smits, who argues that "In the case of recluse poetry the similarities between the waka and poems in Chinese are too numerous to ignore. Both concept and imagery of the poetry in these two languages have too much in common not to suppose a formative connection" (*The Pursuit of Loneliness*, p. 28), and points to the theme of loneliness and longing for a companion as one important example of this.

⁹⁶ Mezaki, in discussing the pervasiveness of this theme in Saigyō's poetry, also points out that it undermines the religious commitment implicit in his choice of the reclusive life. (*Saigyō no shisōshiteki kenkyū*, p. 137.) Here again, the Tale is inheriting a dilemma already present in Saigyō's own persona.

⁹⁷ This solitude is in fact relentless in the Tale (unlike in Saigyō's life, where he apparently had at least one close companion in Saijū). The nearest he comes to being allowed a companion is in section 48, with the two moving poems of parting from his beloved pine tree. Other poems of parting appear in the Tale, but only the dead companion of Okabe is mentioned as having ever been close to him.

Senjūshō too shows Saigyō as essentially solitary, but he is there allowed occasional lapses from this state, with several sections depicting him happily accompanied by Saijū. However, the longing for a companion theme so prominent in Saigyō's persona finds bizarre expression in *Senjūshō* 5/15, where "the longing for someone else to share in his pleasure in moonlight and flowers prompts him to attempt to apply magic to create a human out of bones. It is telling that here too his desire for a companion is that of the sukimono rather than the monk. (Royall Tyler, *Japanese Tales*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1987, p. 69.)

described above.

Aware In considering the many aspects of the Tale that attempt and fail to negotiate the sometimes acute dilemma of the strong/weak dichotomy, it is natural to ask why the later Tale, with its strongly didactic impulses, did not simply rewrite the work to eliminate the weaker portrayals of Saigyō. The immediate answer must be that the Tale could not find a way around the fundamental dilemma of the kyōgen kigo thesis, that poetry is inseparable from responsiveness to and emotional involvement with the phenomenal world, which in strictly Buddhist terms can only be viewed as weakness and error. It could not present the strong story of Saigyō's salvation through poetry (the kyōgen kigo message) without acknowledging at every turn that Saigyō's very dedication to the poetic life drew him back inside that world that he should be relinquishing, as his poetry itself so constantly and poignantly attests.⁹⁸

Yet there is much that the Tale could have done to minimize the contradictions on the one hand, and on the other to further strengthen Saigyō's portrait in religious terms. There is no attempt to depict him at his austerities, and he is immune from the kind of portrayal we see in the hermit of Musashino, where the sukimono aspect, although acknowledged, is thoroughly subsumed by the religious. It is also noteworthy that Saigyō's more strictly religious poems, whose inclusion would have done much to integrate his poetic and religious aspects as well as shifting the focus of his image in the desired direction of the religious, are not included in any version of the Tale. Overall, the Tale presents a Saigyō whose religious activities occur almost entirely offstage. It is for this reason that section 54's idealized version of Saigyō's life, which would seem to be summing up the story we have just heard, is in fact so thoroughly at odds with it.

⁹⁸ As I argue above, this dilemma is acute only for the later versions of the Tale and to the extent that the didactic element is present. In the earlier versions, where the utamonogatari form is essentially undiluted, and whose underlying premise, the soft kyōgen kigo philosophy of poetry as michi, is never the overt focus of the Tale, the problem of these contradictions does not arise.

The answer to the question of why this should be so surely lies in the fact that the Tale itself, and not just its portrayal of Saigyō, could not transcend the terms in which it was originally conceived. These can be summed up in the word *aware*, a word which, as we have seen, plays a crucial part not only in Saigyō's own portrait but in the manner of its presentation and indeed pervasively throughout the Tale.

This complex word can be used to encapsulate the terms in which the poetic life (in which poetry becomes *michi*) is lived, and it is the single word that most aptly describes the world of the *utamonogatari* Saigyō, both of the early Tale and of the extensive parts of the later Tale that maintain this focus. It is of course a key concept in Japanese literature generally, an expression of the essentially poetic response to the world which is the mark of those of *asensibility* (*kokoro*). From its early association with the more positive emotional responses of joy and delight, it shifted to darker tones associated with sorrow, and particularly with sorrow at the transience of the phenomenal world (*mujōkan* 無常感). Its single abiding characteristic is that of powerful emotional response, and its use both as an expression of the response itself and as a referent for the phenomenon that evokes that response reflects the way in which emotion experientially unites subject and object. It is partly for this reason that Shunzei and others could find in the pursuit of poetry an equivalent to the *shikan* meditation technique which seeks to transcend the duality of subject and object.⁹⁹ Such arguments, however, were limited to the more sophisticated poetic circles, and have no bearing on the Tale's concepts of *kyōgen kigo* or its use of *aware*, nor do they appear to have concerned Saigyō.

A number of scholars have drawn attention to the importance of *aware* in Saigyō's poetry.¹⁰⁰ Among them, Inada Toshinori¹⁰¹ makes an interesting comparison

⁹⁹ See Part I, 2.1.

¹⁰⁰ Scholars such as Mezaki Tokue (*Saigyō no shisōshiteki kenkyū*, pp. 137-9) and Fujihira Haruo 藤平春男 (*asōan to hana — 'wakashis no Saigyō 草庵と花 — 「和歌史」の西行*, *Kokubungaku* 30: 4 [1985], p. 28) have examined the importance of this term in Saigyō's reclusive poetry, and its strong association with images of loneliness. Yamada Shōzen (*Saigyō no waka to bukkyō 西行の和歌と仏教*, Meiji Shoin, 1987, p. 271) agrees, and further argues that the word is frequently associated with religious emotion, which is particularly strongly connected with sacredness

with the poems of Tonza, who modelled himself on Saigyō but in whose poetry aware and its associated loneliness remain at the level of the tranquil emotion more suitable to one on the Buddhist path, and hence do not move as does the rough human breath of Saigyō's more fully felt and sometimes anguished poetry.

This pinpoints the dilemma facing the Tale, that it is precisely the movingly human nature of Saigyō's poetry, that which in Buddhist terms is weakness and backsliding, that draws us to his poems and the life that they so rawly present, where a poet like Tonza, whose aware response remains tepidly serene, though laudable does not engage us. Surely no such tale about Tonza could have been created and eagerly circulated down the centuries, even were he to have been considered a fine poet in his day and attained an impressive ōjō. Saigyō and his story draw the Tale's audience into that same emotion of aware, of being moved, that is epitomized in the Tale itself in its core utamonogatari form. Aware is thus inseparable from the Tale on every level, essential both to Saigyō's poetry and to the depiction of his life.

Inada gives as an example Saigyō's poems of longing for a companion, which are often associated with the desire to share the moment of aware with another of like mind. I have shown above how this essentially poetic longing, so strongly associated both with the experience of aware as the moment of emotional response to phenomena and with the sorrowing and longing heart itself, threatens the Tale's religious message and must be countered with depictions of the strong Saigyō turning away from a companion. Yet, as we have seen, the Tale itself continually subverts this strong depiction, admitting Saigyō's private weakness or forgiving the spurned companion his weakness even as it makes its didactic point.¹⁰²

It would seem that, despite the firm line taken by the didactic material (which of place. Yamada is certainly correct in seeing more than simple poetic emotion in many of Saigyō's aware responses, although his suggestion that all examples of aware in Saigyō are at bottom religious seems to me a simplification of Saigyō's complex straddling of the poetic and the religious.

¹⁰¹ Inada Toshinori 稲田利徳, *asōan no shi 草庵の詩*, *Kokubungaku* 19:4 (Dec. 1973), pp. 113-114.

¹⁰² See also my Comments to sections 21 and 30.

is often put into Saigyō's voice, or suggested as being the content of his musings), the Saigyō we see and identify with is essentially defined by the terms of aware. Where this figure who both feels aware and, in his feeling and suffering humanity, moves us to aware, threatens to be displaced by the firm and unfeeling monk who spurns all such weakness, the Tale's creators cannot ignore the fact that audience identification with the protagonist is imperilled. Hence we find the B texts in particular, which are always more ready to redraw Saigyō in austere terms, again and again subverting this portrait with secret tears, or suddenly inclining to take the part of the rejected companion. Saigyō may think what a strong thoughts he likes, but what he does cannot afford to stray far from the poetic path of feeling a weakness .

That the Tale in all its variants is bound by the paradigm of aware is also attested in the narratorial voice, particularly in the interjections that we find scattered throughout in many of the later variants.¹⁰³ Section 10, where Saigyō is committing himself to his new life of stern dedication to the Buddhist truth, is a typical instance of the role of this aware. The section¹⁰⁴ consists of a long didactic passage in which the narratorial voice and Saigyō's inner voice merge. At the end of this passage, the narratorial focus draws back to show us Saigyō's figure as it sets off to perform the austerities of wandering through mountains and forests with the comment a and the moment of his departure was indeed a moving thing .¹⁰⁵ We find this same aware repeated in the following section, where it is associated both with Saigyō's own longing for a companion and with a heart-wrenching description of his rough monk's travelling clothes, poignantly contrasted with a sorrowing recollection of the splendour of the clothes he had so recently worn in the world (a description which echoes the tearful recollections of Saigyō's poor a weak companion at Tenryū Crossing with unintentional irony). Such scenes, which one might expect to reinforce

¹⁰³ In Bunmeibon, see particularly sections 7, 10, 11, 15 and 51.

¹⁰⁴ This section appears only in the B texts. I here discuss the Bunmeibon version, which is largely echoed in the other variants.

¹⁰⁵ 出たつ初こそあはれなれ。

the Tale's strong message, in fact invite us to shed the tears of aware which are elsewhere so fiercely castigated.

Here and elsewhere in the Tale, both explicitly and implicitly, the aware with which Saigyō as poet is so strongly associated spills over into our response not only to his poetic (moved and thus suffering) life and responses to the world, but to the moving vision of him bowing to the stern necessities of the Buddhist path. He does not belong to the lineage of awe-inspiring recluses portrayed in the recluse setsuwa literature of *Senjūshō* or *Kankyō no tomo*. In religion as in poetry, the emotion that Saigyō must inspire is that of aware.

The shukke scene (section 7) is particularly revealing in this regard. In typical hosshin setsuwa, we witness the aspirant sternly resisting the tears and beseechings of loved ones — a test of strength which Saijū fails in section 21. The distribution of strength and weakness among the participants in the Tale's shukke scene, however, is far more confusing. Saigyō's one spirited setsuwa-style gesture (kicking his daughter) is immediately undermined in almost all variants by some reference to his tears and/or aware,¹⁰⁶ while the wife, to whom the tears traditionally belong, instead comes to take on the role that her husband should be claiming, that of strong and unmoved determination to leave the world.¹⁰⁷ In Saigyō's later meetings with his daughter, both

¹⁰⁶ Bunmeibon's striking mix of strong and weak portrayal is typical: 泣き悲しみたることも耳にも聞き入れずして、うちにいりて、今夜ばかりのかりのやどぞかしと思ふに、涙にむせびてぞあはれにおぼへける。

¹⁰⁷ It is fascinating to follow through the theme of aware for this key moment among the variants. Interestingly, in *Saigyō Hōshi shūka* the shukke scene is entirely lacking. *Nanakashū*'s miniature version of this section consists only of poem 24, preceded by the simple statement that his aware increased when he witnessed his daughter weeping (at the news of his decision, we must assume, since here Saigyō does not kick her). It is essentially this aware, compounded of the feeling heart touched by the daughter's tears and the moment that produces the poem, that is inherited by the later texts.

It is only in Emaki, which lacks the poem, that he turns a deaf ear to her tears without aware. In Seikadō we find a sudden shift. Now it is the wife's stony response to the daughter's tears that is recorded (娘のなきかなしむことをおどろくいろなし), while witnessing his wife's strong response provokes Saigyō's aware (これにつけてもあはれにおぼへて). SIZ and Bunmeibon closely inherit this (in an unusual leap from A to B texts that bypasses the two earlier texts of Emaki and Hakubyō), but where in SIZ the emotion is Saigyō's (哀れなりけれ), in Bunmeibon it has become ours as we witness the unmoved wife (through Saigyō's eyes) (哀れに見えけれ).

Thus aware is a shifting but ever-present focus for the shukke scene. Its essentially poetic

in section 20 where he is put to the test that Saijū has just failed, and in sections 49-51 where he sternly instructs her in her new role as nun, aware is the final tenor of the scene. Serene detachment is only finally granted him as he prepares for death.

Here and throughout the setsuwa-style and didactic sections in the later variants, Saigyō's ostensibly strong portrayal is thus finally held in check by the need to touch, rather than simply awe and inspire, the Tale's audience. In this sense, for all that its kyōgen kigo message is both implicit and occasionally explicit throughout the Tale, it is bound by the requirements of the romance-style utamonogatari rather than of its religious message.

These two elements are not by any means always at odds in the Tale, indeed the concept of kyōgen kigo, which seeks to legitimize poetry's role in religious practice, by its very nature cannot afford to spurn the terms of the poetic. Certainly the Tale's fundamental reliance on aware in its depiction of Saigyō both as poet and as monk creates a far more compelling portrait than would any setsuwa version which portrayed him as uncomplicatedly strong in his pursuit of the Way. Yet at key points in the later variants, where the religious content is uppermost, we find the two terms of the poetic and the religious creating telltale textual volatilities and disturbingly contradictory portrayals that echo the unresolvable difficulties faced by the kyōgen kigo proposition itself.

SECTION 3: Conclusion

In his study of the role of mujō in Japanese aesthetics,¹⁰⁸ Mezaki points out that it was the fundamental tensions embodied in this concept that made it such a dynamic force in Japan's cultural history:

Mujō and aesthetics are in a truly paradoxical relationship. Mujō leads nature is clear in *Nanakashū*, while in later versions it attaches itself to the weak tears that Saigyō (and we ourselves), rather than his wife, weeps. In setsuwa terms, the wife entirely upstages Saigyō in his own shukke scene, but in utamonogatari terms we are drawn inside Saigyō's responses through the emotionally satisfying experience of aware, both his and our own.

¹⁰⁸ *Suki to mujō*.

us to loathe the world, yet it likewise leads us to hold it dear. While the contemplation of mujō makes us realize the need to transcend all passions, mujō nevertheless ceaselessly draws us into the realms of sorrowing and joyful response. Particularly in Japanese cultural history, this strange paradox acted as a vast energy, and it fuelled the shift from the ancient to the medieval world. At this nexus the very different enterprises of religion and the arts collided head-on, yet this collision also drew forth splendid harmonies.¹⁰⁹

The dilemmas and resolutions we find embodied in *Saigyō monogatari* epitomize this dynamic. Saigyō's persona and poetry already contained these tensions in a difficult harmony, a harmony which the earliest forms of the Tale precariously inherited. The increasing cultural dominance of the religious paradigm, already underway in Saigyō's time and gaining momentum through the century he lived in, impelled the transformations which his Tale underwent during the following centuries. Throughout its evolution, the basic premise of the Tale unfalteringly remained the fundamental unity of poetry and religion embodied in the Saigyō figure. Yet that figure's long and difficult evolution through the Tale in fact embodies the collisions and paradoxes of these two terms quite as much as their harmonies.

The Tale's evolution reflects precisely the dynamic that Mezaki identifies. The constant shifts and tangles both among the evolving texts and within each text hinge on the shifting ground between the two worlds — of aesthetics and religion, *suki* and the world-despising pursuit of enlightenment, the poetic response to the transient world (無常感 *mujōkan*) and the Buddhist realization of the world's illusory nature (無常觀 *mujōkan*).

The *kyōgen kigo* debate, which was the formal expression of these tensions, is not simply resolved in the Tale's Saigyō figure, as the usual reading of the Tale assumes and as the Tale itself would have us believe. The dichotomy inherent in that debate's dual positive and negative interpretations is constantly played out in the Tale's evolution and structure. And despite the resolution of the Tale's ending, that

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 117.

final harmony which unites all the terms in the religious victory of ōjō, it is the poetic paradigm that remains the heart of the Tale. Aware, the glad and grieving responsiveness to the world's mujō which Saigyō's own poems and persona so movingly embody, remains the impelling force throughout the Tale and its evolution. It is this inextricable and paradoxical relationship hidden in the very terms of the Tale that have formed it and fuelled its evolution, making it a fascinating reflection of the interplay of terms that Mezaki identifies as driving the cultural energies of the medieval period.

The *Saigyō monogatari* that has emerged in this study is thus a very different creature from the version of the Tale which most scholars have investigated to date. The emphasis on the existence of a primary text in relation to which all others are simply variants, and the focus on Bunmeibon as that text, has denied the Tale the dynamic reading it deserves. Furthermore, scholarly attention has focussed largely on the religious material found in the Tale. Behind this lies the assumption that the B texts in particular invite, that Saigyō's primary status here is that of religious aspirant and saint, the poetry is simply the means to the religious end, and his poetic activity is simply a given in the Tale, its role not worthy of investigation. The ambiguities everywhere apparent in the depiction of Saigyō, and in the shifting terms of the Tale as a whole, have thus received scant attention, and the text has been seen as primarily a didactic tool straightforwardly exemplifying the waka shugyō answer to the kyōgen kigo debate.

My examination of the texts has shown that Bunmeibon is in fact a late development in the Tale's evolution, and has revealed strong evidence that it is in fact the A line of texts — and in particular the hitherto largely unexamined *Saigyō Hōshi shūka* — that holds the key to the Tale's early forms and development. It has also revealed that the religious material so prominent in variants such as Bunmeibon consistently shows signs of being later interpolation, and that the overall form of the Tale in all of its variants remains that of the utamonogatari. The tension between the two terms of poetry and religion that comprises the kyōgen kigo debate is thus played

out not only in the shifting ground within the Tale itself, but also in the continuing tensions that drive the Tale's evolution. It is only when we draw back from the close focus on Bunmeibon and its religious content, and fully acknowledge the dynamics that inform the development and content of the Tale as a whole, that this very different perspective emerges.

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A Study of
Saigyō monogatari

VOLUME II:
Appendices and Bibliography

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APPENDIX I Text comparisons

Numbers refer to Bunmeibon sections.

The order of texts examined is as follows:

B 1 texts: Emaki, Hakubyō, *Saigyō isshōgai-zōshi* (SIZ)

B 2 texts: Kanzeibon, Eishōbon

B 3 texts: Unemebon

A texts. I have chosen to describe the content of Shōhōbon as representative of the A texts, as the later A texts scarcely differ from Shōhōbon beyond occasional minor variations. I go on to note any differences found in the early A texts *Seikadō* and *Saigyō Hōshi shūka*.

Nanakashū is appended for reference.¹

An index of Kanzeibon and Unemebon contents can be found at the end of this Appendix (pp. 83-87).

1.

EMAKI: missing

HAKUBYŌ: Overall, echoes Bunmeibon closely in both content and textual detail, with occasional variations of word and phrase. Despite evidence of minor mistranscriptions, Hakubyō on the whole presents a clearer version of this section than does Bunmeibon. A direct relationship with the variations found in SIZ is rare, although present. Poem 2 is missing.

SIZ: Follows the same general trajectory of narration, but with considerable textual variation, with both omission and addition of material. Notable variations include the following. Unlike other texts, it begins with a date: around the second year of Daiji .

² There is an addition of descriptive material relating to his military prowess, which

¹ For an overview and general introduction to the texts, see the description in Part I, section 4.2. For my conclusions concerning their relationship, see Part III, sections 1.1 and 1.3.

² 1127. This date is found in different contexts in other versions of the Tale. (For a discussion

replaces the Bunmeibon material. Similarly for the description of his poetic skill, his participation in court events, and the emperor's appreciation of him.

At this point, SIZ inserts a passage found otherwise only in Hakubyō and Unemebon, in both of which it appears in section 4. In summary: Norikiyo was on guard duty with his retainers, accompanying the retired emperor to Hosshōji where he was attending the Lotus Sutra lectures,³ when an altercation broke out at the gate, which resulted in one of Norikiyo's retainers being seized by a member of a rival faction. Norikiyo bravely confronted the leader of the faction single-handedly, prepared to risk his life to rescue his retainer. This episode (presumably the brush with possible death)⁴ led to his recognition of the meaninglessness of the pursuit of worldly fame and glory, and reinforced his determination to leave the world. It is significant that this determination, although introduced here for the first time, is described as "another occasion,"⁵ a phrase which indicates that in its original form this episode was preceded by descriptions of other (one or several) situations which prompted the same thoughts. The text subsequently returns to the general B1 content (Sakanoue's dream). This episode, reminiscent of a scene from a *gunki monogatari* 軍記物語 (martial tale), seems to have been interpolated here to justify the emperor's desire to promote him, like Sakanoue, to kebiishi.⁶

of its confusions, see note 42, Bunmeibon 3. Its appearance here, unique among the variants, suggests further that the opening passages of SIZ contain reworkings of material found elsewhere in other versions of the Tale.

³ *Hōka happō* 法華八講, eight lectures on *The Lotus Sutra*, traditionally held over four days. Hosshōji 法勝寺 was a large temple in the Okazaki district of Kyoto.

⁴ In the versions of this episode found after section 4 in Hakubyō and Unemebeon, his realization that he had been in danger of falling into hell is given as the reason for his hosshin. (See note 15).

⁵ これにつけても, a phrase repeated on several other occasions, in all variants, where Norikiyo is prompted yet again by circumstance to determine to take the tonsure. The textual inconsistencies associated with such places strongly suggest insertions of material.

⁶ Yamazaki Makoto, in a fascinating but somewhat fanciful article, pursues the implications of the theory that Taira Yasuyori 平康頼 (fl. 1190-1200) had a hand in the creation of *Saigyō monogatari*, and proposes that the Tale is shadowed by a kind of "alternative tale" in which Norikiyo remained in the world (as did Yasuyori, who was also imperial guardsman) and found himself caught up in the Hōgen War (1156). He finds in the Hosshōji interpolation hints of this *gunki monogatari* that might have been. (Yamaguchi Makoto 山口真琴, "Kebiishi no monogatari; *Saigyō monogatari*

The version of the didactic material which follows omits two passages which are present in the other B1 texts: the long passage which strings together images and parable references illustrating delusion and transience, and a smaller passage a few lines later concerning the yearning for rebirth in the western Pure Land paradise. In general, the didactic passage contains considerable variations, including addition of material. The three final poems are as in Bunmeibon.

KANZEIBON: Like Unemebon, the Tale is introduced with a Buddhist preface, though more briefly. It is largely composed of a weaving together of stock Buddhist aphorisms and metaphors such as are found throughout the various texts. It bears no relation to the preface of Unemebon, although it treats the same basic theme (the difficulties of awakening to the Buddhist Way), and like Unemebon it flows seamlessly into the opening sentence of the Tale:

Understanding the evanescence of things— the flowers of spring,
the leaves of autumn, blown on the wind, the bright moon of evening
hid in the clouds of dawn, the sheep's step approaching, lamp before
the wind, lightning, the ephemeral mayfly — during the time of the
Retired Emperor Toba there was a man

However, after this brief introduction it veers off into a lengthy passage extolling Saigyō in terms of his subsequent lifelong dedication to the Buddhist Way, detailing the truths which he understood, and depicting his continued composition of poetry as a means of purifying his heart and ensuring rebirth in paradise. It then returns to briefly summarize his life at court, emphasizing that despite appearances he constantly longed in private to leave it. Poems 1, 2 and 3 are not present, the text flowing seamlessly into the content of section 2.

EISHŌBON: No introductory didactic passage is present. The text begins with a considerably modified version of the B1 texts, which in textual detail contains echoes of phrases and content found only in Hakubyō. After describing the emperor's shiron 「検非違使」の物語 — 西行物語私論, *Setsuwa ronshū* 説話論集 vol. 7, *Chūsei setsuwa bungaku no sekai* 中世説話文学の世界, Seibundō, 1997, pp.433-47).

special love for him, there is the phrase “In the midst of all this, he always purified his heart and contemplated , at which point the text flows into an abbreviated version of the opening didactic section of Kanzeibon, presented in the form of Norikiyo’s private meditations, and concluding with a poem⁷ found only in this text, and not traceable to Saigyō. (This is equivalent to the point at which Kanzeibon first introduces Norikiyo before describing his life of dedication to Buddhism.) From here, Eishōbon follows Kanzeibon in describing and extolling Saigyō’s later life with a patchwork of didactic images and parable references, before returning to Norikiyo’s dilemma between public (daytime) service to the retired emperor, and private (night time) longings for the thatched hut of the recluse, as in Kanzeibon.

UNEMEBON: (U.1, 2) Introduces the Tale with a long and somewhat incoherent Buddhist sermon on the difficulty and necessity of devoting oneself to the Buddhist Way, repeating themes, aphorisms and quotations found scattered throughout the Tale in other versions. After describing the near impossibility of gaining enlightenment, no matter how dedicated one’s practice, it turns to expounding the virtues of following the devout exercise of one’s own calling (michi), in particular that of waka.:

Though they be called wild words and specious phrases⁸, they are a means of arousing a yearning for the Way. The autumn moon which hides behind clouds is like the moon of the Truth hid in clouds of suffering. To lament the scattering of spring’s blossoms on the wind is a means to comprehend that the flowers of earthly glory are taken by the winds of transience. If we turn to this, we will forget the hastiness of worldly thoughts; if we think on this, the scattered nature of our mind will still itself. Is this not the same as the idea that if we always hold in focus the Nenbutsu,⁹ even the midst of the city throngs is also a place of meditation to comprehend the law of transiency?¹⁰

⁷ *Iku tabi ka kokoro no yukite musuburan ware aramashi no yamakage no iho* いくたびか心のゆきてむすぶらん我あらましの山かげのいほ.

⁸ Kyōgen kigo.

⁹ I.e. meditate on the chanted name of Amida.

¹⁰ A reference to the Nara period priest Gyōgi 行基, who according to legend left his retreat in the mountains and chose to live in the marketplace, declaring it perfectly peaceful.

It then flows seamlessly and abruptly, mid-sentence, into the opening words of the Tale as found in the other versions.

Unemebon's text in this section is closely related to the Bunmeibon/Hakubyō line. It is consistently closer to Hakubyō in the opening section, but tends to favour Bunmeibon from the description of Norikiyo's attendance at the court ceremonies onward. Here too, however, details make it evident that it is based on a text that is prior to the Bunmeibon version, apparently intermediate between Hakubyō and Bunmeibon. As in Hakubyō, poem 2 is missing.

A TEXTS: While following the same basic content as the B texts overall, the main A texts differ substantially from the various B texts in textual detail, and in general (as elsewhere) structure the flow with far greater clarity. The following notes large or important textual differences found in Shōhōbon. (For detailed textual comparison, see Appendix II).

The narrative moves from the same introductory sentence to a quick forward flash (and after he renounced the world he took the name of Saigyō), which is found only in the A texts but could be thought to be the origin from which the B2 texts developed their extended forward flash didactic passages found at this point. The ensuing gunki monogatari-style tracing of his lineage and discussion of his military prowess is more erudite than the B line in its references to legendary Chinese masters and works, and briefer, and continues through mention of his love of learning (again complete with the literary flourish of a Chinese allusion), his musical skill, and finally a more detailed listing of famous poets to whom he succeeded in the art of poetry.

Here the narrative rejoins the B line. His recalling of the Tale of Sakanoue no Masasuke, and the quotation from the *Daijitsukyō*, leads in to a didactic section (beginning Quiet reflection led him to realize...)¹¹ whose content is entirely

¹¹ *Somosomo shizuka ni anzuru ni* そもそも静かに案ずるに, an introductory phrase found also at other places in the various texts, and a rhetorical device common in didactic *setsuwa* of the

different from that of the B1 texts, but bears some relation to the B2 texts³ didactic content found at this point. The text then returns briefly to the main B text line.

The transition to the next section, abruptly made in the B1 texts, is here smoothed by a final explanatory section pointing to the dilemma caused by the bonds he felt to emperor and family, again reminiscent of the B2 texts, and moves the time smoothly forward through the final sentence, ㊦Thus he continued to pass days and months in fruitless inaction, hateful to himself. The final three poems are as found in Bunmeibon

SEIKADŌ: is as for Shōhōbon throughout, with the exception of two minor textual variations.

SHS: presents a highly abbreviated form of this section, which contains only the opening and closing phrases of the other A texts, and the three poems. It gives in summary form the content of the section,¹² as a kotobagaki-like introduction to the final poems. It is notable in entirely lacking didactic content.

Nanakashū Kotobagaki is virtually identical with that of Seikadō and the later A texts. This is followed by poems 1-6 (poem 5 is found only in the B texts).

2.

EMAKI: missing.

HAKUBYŌ: Closely echoes Bunmeibon, most variations being the lack of phrases apparently added in Bunmeibon. The poems follow the versions found in the anthologies.

SIZ: As for Hakubyō, with a few variations peculiar to SIZ, and an occasional point at which it favours Bunmeibon rather than Hakubyō.

KAN³EIBON: Follows the B1 texts with occasional textual variation. The opening period.

¹² ㊦He found the world sad and dreary (うし ushi), and intended to take the tonsure, but he was anguished at the difficulty of severing his ties of love and loyalty, and he continued to pass days and months in fruitless inaction, hateful to himself.

sentence flows on from the previous section.¹³ Only poems 5 and 6 are present. Poem 6 contains a variation in the third phrase.

EISHŌBON: A somewhat abbreviated version of the Kanzeibon text. Only poem 5 is present.

UNEMEBON: Omits this section.

A TEXTS: Follow the B text content, with considerable textual variation. Typically, the A line is more literary and expansive in describing his poetic abilities. Waka is presented in terms which link it with the concept of spiritual discipline (as a means to clarify and concentrate the mind). Only poems 4 and 6 are present.

SEIKADŌ and SHS: As for Shōhōbon.

Nanakashū: Poems 4-6 are continuous with poems 1-3, with no intervening kotobagaki.

3.

EMAKI: Missing.

HAKUBYŌ: Closely echoes Bunmeibon, with numerous minor textual differences, including lack of some phrases. The only point of notable difference is in the kotobagaki to poem 16, which is unique to Hakubyō.

SIZ: Closely echoes the other B texts, with variations favouring now Hakubyō, now Bunmeibon, in a way which suggests intermediary status. At poem 16, it follows Bunmeibon.

KANZEIBON: Follows the B1 texts in the introductory section, with the notable omission of the names of the other poets. Poem 4 is inserted as the first poem here (before poem 7), and poem 16 is omitted.

EISHŌBON. Begins this section with a transitional word (さて *sate*). The introductory passage follows that of Kanzeibon, with occasional textual variation. Poem 4 opens the sequence, which omits poems 7, 12 and 16.

UNEMEBON: (U 3). After omitting section B 2, Unemebon here rejoins the B texts

¹³ This may be related to the fact that sections 1 and 2 are elided in Nanakashū.

with a transitional ㊦Time passed while he thus pondered, and in the second year of Daiji Thereafter it follows the B1 texts almost exactly, with minor variations favouring both Bunmeibon and Hakubyō. It is generally closest to Bunmeibon/SIZ. A TEXTS. The introductory passage is generally close to that of the B texts, with considerable minor textual variations.. Here, each poet is ordered to compose one poem, and while they are struggling to do this Norikiyo composes ten poems.¹⁴ The poems follow the order of the B1 texts, except that poems 15 and 16 are in reverse order. The final sentence of imperial praise is abbreviated.

SEIKADŌ: Is as for Shōhōbon, but runs the final sentence into the following scene.

SHS: Omits this section.

Nanakashū: Kotobagaki an abbreviated form of the part common to A and B texts, with variations favouring the A texts. Poems as for Bunmeibon.

4.

EMAKI: Missing.

HAKUBYŌ: Largely consistent with Bunmeibon for this section, with minor variations. The detailed description of the clothes is absent. The final Bunmeibon scene of his return home is missing: the section ends with ㊦he felt tears of joy and gratitude soak his sleeve , into which the phrase ㊦aware ni is inserted.

A somewhat abbreviated version of the Hosshōji scene¹⁵ follows. It here plays the role of another instance of Norikiyo's worldly accomplishments and the glory attendant on them, this time military. The section closes with his meditation on the folly of risking his life in military action in which death would lead to his ㊦falling into Hell ,¹⁶ which is described as ㊦the beginning of his hosshin .

SIZ: Appears intermediary between Hakubyō and Bunmeibon, with most variations

¹⁴ The poems are not given as ten examples among many, as the B texts present them.

¹⁵ See SIZ episode 1 for a description of this, and Bunmeibon section 1 Comments for a discussion of it.

¹⁶ A reference to the hell realm (修羅 *shura*) reserved for warriors who die in battle.

favouring Hakubyō. Like Bunmeibon, however, it continues the section with a sentence describing his triumphant return home, and his private rejection of such worldly glory and urge to embrace religion. These thoughts are given in a sentence from which Bunmeibon₃ seems to have developed. Bunmeibon₃'s sorrowing *aware* is here, as in Hakubyō, a joyful *aware* that is his response to the imperial favours rather than his sorrow at their worldly vanity.

KANZEIBON: Close to the B1 texts, though with minor variations. It follows all but Hakubyō in continuing the scene to his triumphant return and subsequent thoughts, which are here summarized. The Hosshōji scene is not present.

EISHŌBON: Gives a briefer version of Kanzeibon. Unlike the other B texts, the section does not open with a repetition of the date given in section 3, thus running this scene on from the previous scene, as in the A texts.

UNEMEBON: (U.4) Largely follows Bunmeibon, with some variations favouring the other B1 texts. Like Bunmeibon and SIZ, the final scene and Norikiyo₃'s thoughts end the section, although the didactic content differs in expression from both these texts. The Hosshōji scene (U.5) follows, as in Hakubyō.

A TEXTS: This group of texts, typically, smoothes and elaborates the logic of the text. It runs the episode on from the previous one with *afurthermore*,¹⁷ thereafter more or less echoing Bunmeibon₃'s description, though with considerable minor textual variation. The problematic scene of his tears of joy is replaced by an internal monologue which recognizes the pleasure of the moment and condemns it. He spurns his family₃'s joy with a Buddhist homily,¹⁸ and continues happily, *Indeed, today₃'s events are in fact a means whereby I am urged to the Buddhist Way*, direct speech once again replacing the purely didactic mode of the B texts.

SEIKADŌ: As for Shōhōbon.

SHS: Omits this section.

¹⁷また *mata*.

¹⁸ *afame and riches condemn you to evil, wife, children and retainers are karmic bonds tying you to life and death,* a recurring quotation in the Tale.

Nanakashū: omits this section.

5.

EMAKI: Missing

HAKUBYŌ: Echoes Bunmeibon with minor textual variations.

SIZ: Echoes Bunmeibon, minor textual variations generally following those of Hakubyō, with occasional unique additions and rearrangements of text.

KANZEIBON: (K. 6). Largely follows the B1 texts, with some additions and variations. Where variations coincide with those of other texts, they generally favour the non-Bunmeibon line, and occasionally echo those found in Unemebon. The order of the poems is: 17, 19, 18.

EISHŌBON: Follows Kanzeibon with variations and omissions. The quotation from *Wakan rōeishū* and poem 18 are omitted.

UNEMEBON: (U. 6). Follows the B1 texts, with most variations favouring the non-Bunmeibon texts.

A TEXTS: While following in broad outline the same narrative line, the A texts greatly expand and dramatize this episode. The scene is vividly set through descriptive language,¹⁹ and the conversation between the two friends is both dramatised through direct speech and greatly expanded to include a discussion during which Noriyasu reveals that he too has recently felt an urge towards shukke, a confession which excites and disturbs Norikiyo. With their promise and parting, the text returns to more or less agree with B versions although with added dramatic touches (the mother and wife flinging themselves down by Noriyasu's pillow, etc.). The *Wakan rōeishū* quotation is here placed as part of his private monologue on the transience of life and the urge toward shukke. The wife, elsewhere aged nineteen, is

¹⁹The opening words, for instance, read *kakute hi mo nishi ni katabuki, tsuki mo higashi ni izuru hodo* かくて日も西に傾き、月も東に出づるほど, which serves not only to connect the scene to the previous one, but to place it visually and dramatically, perhaps even symbolically, as balanced between setting sun and rising moon (the moon being a powerful religious trope both in Saigyō's poetry and in Shingon Buddhist iconography).

here fifteen. The mother, fifty in other texts (except Bunmeibon, where she is eighty), is here seventy.

SEIKADŌ: As for Shōhōbon, with occasional minor variations.

SHS: Omits this section.

Nanakashū: Gives the three poems with a brief kotobagaki saying that the world filled him with sorrow after his dear friend Noriyasu passed away.

6.

EMAKI: Commences with the closing section of Bunmeibon (beginning with the words ㄹIt seemed the time had not yet come), and thereafter follows Bunmeibon exactly, except for one minor variation. The versions of the poems are as found in the source collections.

HAKUBYŌ: Closely follows Bunmeibon except for minor textual differences. The versions of poems are as found in the source collections, except for a variation in poem 22.

SIZ: Follows the other B1 texts fairly closely in wording and content, being intermediate between Hakubyō and Bunmeibon, but presents considerable minor variations not found in other texts. In particular, it departs from the other texts in the section following the retired emperor's refusal, adding clarifying phrases such as ㄹthinking that, as this was something which he had firmly decided in his heart, he was determined not to be held back , and omitting many of the details of his regretful thoughts. The transition at the end to the decision of the second month is oddly abrupt, owing to the lack of ㄹas he was returning home he thought to himself. This is compounded by an odd repetition, before the final three poems, of an earlier phrase,²⁰ pointing to the likelihood of textual overlapping (as evidenced also in other texts at this point). Poem 22 follows Bunmeibon's variation.

KAN'EIBON: Generally follows the other B texts in content, and frequently also in wording, in some cases coinciding with Bunmeibon where the other texts differ,

²⁰ *Ichijō to omoi* 一定と思ひ.

frequently closest to Unemebon. A notable variation is a sizeable interpolation following the retired emperor's refusal (at the point where SIZ interpolates different material), a didactic passage consisting of Norikiyo's Buddhist musing on the necessity to turn one's back on worldly ties and obligations in order to transcend karmic rebirth. The order of the final two poems is reversed.

EISHŌBON: Generally follows the other B texts in content, and frequently also in wording. For the most part unrelated to the other texts in the changes made, except for the section following the retired emperor's refusal, which roughly follows the content, and occasionally the wording, of the equivalent section in Kanzeibon. His regretful thoughts of past service to the retired emperor are abbreviated (in a way unrelated to SIZ). The transition to the decision of the second month is smoother than in other B texts: 'Well, while he was on his way, he remembered. Only the first (poem 21) of the final three poems is given.

UNEMEBON: Closely follows the B1 texts, often favouring Hakubyō and at other times Bunmeibon. The music and poetry sessions in the palace are here held in the Buddha Hall (仏院 *butsuin*).

A TEXTS: Although following the B texts in general outline, this text departs from them in much of its detail, both by adding dramatic touches —such as the reining in of his horse to gaze back while his mind filled with memories of his lost life — and by making the process of events and internal monologue more natural. As in SIZ and the B3 texts, there is a sizeable interpolation following the retired emperor's refusal, here an internal monologue related to but less didactic than the Kanzeibon material. His 'strength of heart' is not mentioned here, and he is instead depicted as 'weeping as he returns home. The awkward transition to the final problematic passage is here smoothed by dramatically presenting the present moment as one of possible failure this time overcome. Typical also is the relative lack of emphasis on the splendours of the court and his position therein, and closer focus on his role as poet — seen both in the roles in which he recalls himself at court, and in the added poetic kotobagaki-like details which introduce the poems.

SEIKADŌ: As for Shōhōbon, with very occasional minor variations.

SHS: Rejoins the narrative near the end of this section, to introduce poem 20, after which it follows Shōhōbon.

Nanakashū: As with SHS, the section commences with a short kotobagaki preceding poem 20, whose opening words²¹ coincide with those found in all other texts, suggesting that they may preserve the original core of this episode. The next three poems follow the order found in the A texts, and their kotobagaki (which is a poetic description without narrative context) is also closer to that of the A texts.

Section 7

EMAKI: Although containing a number of minor differences in wording, the text generally follows Bunmeibon to the point where Norikiyo goes inside. Unlike Bunmeibon, the sentence ends here, and an illustration follows. The remaining text (including poem 24) is not present. There is a page join where the text next begins, and the cramped position of the first line suggests that the beginning of this piece of text is missing.²² The emaki here departs from Bunmeibon:

Thus he decided to escape the world of fame and riches, cut the bonds of life and death, arm himself with religious austerities, and set out upon the path to rebirth through nenbutsu. The moon was inclining towards the rim of the western mountains, so he determined in his heart that this would be the end, and spoke (to his wife) of many things concerning the past, the future and the next world, but she was immensely distraught with resentment and grief, and spoke not a word, but only wept. Nevertheless, there was no holding him, so he cut off his own topknot, and left the house. He was twenty-six years of age. It was the sixteenth day of the eighth month. Thus in the dawn he ran to a hijiri in Saga with whom he had long been

²¹ *Nigatasu no koro shukke wa ichijō to omoisadamete* 二月の頃出家は一定とおもひ定めて.

²² Work done by emaki scholars, notable among them Sakaguchi Hironori (㊦Seiritsu jiki wo megutte) and Chino Kaori (㊦Emaki no fukugen), has established the likelihood of various losses and mispaginations both here and elsewhere in the two scrolls of the Emaki.

acquainted, and accomplished his shukke. People said to each other
What can this be about? , and he composed: (the three poems
follow). (His Buddhist name) was Saigyō.

The text of the Tokugawa scroll ends here.

HAKUBYŌ: Generally follows the Emaki. Like the Emaki, it ends the sentence at the point where Norikiyo enters the house, which is followed by an illustration.

Differences of wording to this point are almost entirely consonant with those of the other non-Bunmeibon B1 texts, although changes in the first sentence differ from both. The text becomes more independent after the illustration, at which point a new scroll begins. It adds a regret at the severing of sexual relations with his wife, and introduces the wife as not only strong and unsurprised at the scene with her daughter, in words which are a version of those found in the A texts, but determined to take the tonsure herself (not found in the A texts).

The religious section that follows the first poem — here too, as in Unemeibon and Kanzeibon, Norikiyo's tears flow — is broadly similar to Bunmeibon but with increasing differences. Some variations echo the Emaki — for instance, in giving age and date. The wife's lack of response is amplified with the words her resentment and grief were immense , echoing in slightly different words the description in the Emaki. She is, however, dry-eyed, and the strange discrepancy between her calm and a strong reaction to Saigyō's initial gesture, and the immense grief and resentment she shows at this point, embodies the confusion between strong and weak found in her portraits among the various versions.

SIZ: Generally follows the other B1 texts to the first poem. Differences in wording in the first half of the section follow those of the Emaki with almost no exception.²³ It follows Bunmeibon in continuing the sentence at the point where the Emaki text ends.

An important divergence is in the depiction of the wife, which follows Bunmeibon

²³ The one interesting addition not found in the other two texts is the addition of the phrase and though his tears fell as Norikiyo reels with love for his daughter (目もくれ涙もこぼれけれど も *me mo kure namida mo koborekeredomo*).

exactly except for the omission of the phrase *was a finer person than her husband* . The section after the first poem, although broadly following Bunmeibon, has more differences in both wording and content in the religious section of the passage. The wife's response to his farewell speech is tearless silence. An interesting difference is that Norikiyo here represses the tears that flow in Bunmeibon during his religious musings.

KANZEIBON: Generally follows the B1 texts, though with more variations than the above texts. Differences from Bunmeibon include most of the differences found in the other B1 texts. Noteworthy similarities include Emaki and Hakubyō's final *ぬ* where Norikiyo goes inside, and omission of *あはれに*. The wife is explicitly finer than her husband (as in Bunmeibon and Unemeibon), and the text continues at this point: *She had realized long since that her husband was intending shukke, and she did not show surprise but soon followed him in taking the tonsure. It is wonderful (to consider) her calmness at her daughter's tears. There then follows an independent didactic section on the theme of the necessity of cutting one's bonds with wife and child, supported by examples and sutra quotations, and finishing with the poem. The section following the poem closely echoes that of the non-Bunmeibon B1 texts. A note appended to this section adds that his Buddhist name was Saigyō, and continues, 'a close follower of his for many years also took the tonsure and received the name of Saijū . This seems to refer to the version of the passage found in the A texts (see below).*

EISHŌBON: While more or less repeating the B1 texts, frequently simplifies by summarizing and omitting. Here too the wife is explicitly finer than her husband. This text basically follows Kanzeibon, as also in the contents of the added didactic passage, though it makes this passage Norikiyo's internal monologue by the addition of *she thought* , adding *but yet his tears fell secretly, and, feeling the pathos of it* ,²⁴ followed by the poem. The subsequent religious section follows fairly closely the non-Bunmeibon variations. His talk with his wife is not mentioned. The hijiri are

²⁴ とは思へどもさすがにしのびの涙のこぼれてあはれに覺へて *to wa omoedomo sasuga ni shinobi no namida no koborete aware ni oboete*

depicted not as full of surprise but as gathering to praise his shukke. Only the first and third poem are given.

UNEMEBON: Generally follows the B1 texts, and where there are differences in wording, they are usually consonant with the non-Bunmeibon texts, although small independent variations also appear. Like Bunmeibon, the sentence which ends the Emaki text continues with . The religious section roughly follows that of the non-Bunmeibon B1 texts.

A TEXTS: Though following Bunmeibon in general narrative flow, the A texts typically smooth and add much dramatic detail in such a way as to more or less obscure any direct relationship to any one text or line of texts. The portrait of the wife follows SIZ by omitting mention of her being finer than her husband . Didactic material on a theme similar to that found in Kanzeibon and Eishōbon immediately before the poem is here dramatically inserted into Norikiyo's internal monologue as he decides to kick his daughter from the verandah. There is a wide departure from all the B texts after the poem, with the religious musings being omitted. Instead, Norikiyo directly addresses to his wife (silent and weeping) a short sermon not found in any other text, on the necessity of severing his bonds with her in this life, and the certainty of their meeting again in the next.²⁵ The following description, poetically and dramatically expanded, leads to his tonsuring — with added mention of the shukke of his companion Saijū, found elsewhere only in Kanzeibon's note — and the three poems, in the order 26, 25, 27.

SEIKADŌ: Follows Shōhōbon closely, with occasional minor variations.

SHS: Omits most of this section. It rejoins the A texts at the end of the section, with a brief description of Saigyō's having achieved shukke in the eastern mountains (both A and B texts otherwise place the event in the western mountains), where the hijiri gather round. It specifies that his name became Saigyō Hōshi , and repeats this name before the three poems (ordered as in the other A texts).

²⁵ This speech fleshes out the implications of the rather obscure *asamazama ni chigiru* of the B texts.

Nanakashū: The kotobagaki to poem 24 says  When he was about to leave his house, he heard his daughter weeping, and his sense of pathos (aware) grew the stronger . Following poem 24 is a sentence which is a close echo of that found at this point in all other texts, stating that he went to a hijiri of his acquaintance in Saga and took the tonsure, and others wondered at it. This is followed by the three poems, in the order found in the A texts.

Section 8.

EMAKI: missing.

HAKUBYŌ: Begins with the words  He left the world and was known as Saigyō. Thereafter it generally follows Bunmeibon, and includes a version of Bunmeibon's entire didactic material, though with some omissions and changes. The poems are preceded by  He was forlornly moved by (his) grass hut dwelling , which seems to place this section in a scene where Saigyō is already ensconced in the hut he longs for in the other B1 texts.

SIZ: This section is abbreviated to roughly half the length of Bunmeibon. It contains much the same content, although with many differences of wording and some omissions, but the didactic material ends at roughly the point where Bunmeibon draws breath before continuing  And he meditated on transience (thus) . There is no mention of his yearning for a grass hut in the mountains. The two poems are preceded by  He determined that he would not be mired by the dust of this sad world .

KANZEIBON: Largely follows Bunmeibon in somewhat abbreviated form. Where variations occur they tend to echo those of Hakubyō. Only the first poem is present, preceded by  the loneliness of (his) grass hut below a secluded mountain was gladdening and forlornly moving .

EISHŌBON: A further abbreviation from Kanzeibon, but it includes both poems. The final sentence is the same as Kanzeibon but omits  and forlornly moving .

UNEMEBON: Not present.

A TEXTS: Shōhōbon has a long didactic passage entirely different from that of the B

texts, although it expresses the same general sentiments (the necessity for shukke and the truth of the law of impermanence), which is followed by the kotobagaki-style  He made for himself a grass hut in the western mountain area, and there he lived , and the two poems.

SEIKADŌ: Omits this section except for poem 28 and the above introductory sentence. This is Seikadō's first departure from Shōhōbon and related texts.

SHS: Omits this section.

Nanakashū: The two poems are preceded by the simple kotobagaki:  His mind dwelt increasingly on (the idea of) a dwelling deep in the mountains. This seems closest to Bunmeibon among the variants.

Section 9

EMAKI: The opening section of the Mannōbon scroll is missing. After an illustration depicting the tonsured Saigyō in relaxed contemplation of the scene outside his  hut , the text commences with the words  His act of celebration at this end-of-year season was only to turn toward the west and pray 'Bestow a calm heart at death, and lead me hence to Paradise' . It continues to follow Bunmeibon with minor variations in wording and occasional omission of phrases.

HAKUBYŌ: Follows the Bunmeibon text closely, the only major variation being the reordering of the position of the first two poems, (31, 30). Where minor variations appear, they are almost all consistent with Emaki, and appear independent of SIZ.

SIZ: Follows the Bunmeibon text, with small variations which generally coincide with those of the non-Bunmeibon B1 texts.

KANZEIBON: Largely follows Bunmeibon, but omits the final scene and poem. The first section adds that with his recollection of past new years  he was moved with melancholy (aware) . It is followed by the three poems in the order 32, 31, 30. The variations in the remainder of the section frequently echo those of Emaki. The final scene and poem are replaced by an entirely independent short scene and poem, which

is in fact by Kūni 空仁.²⁶

EISHŌBON: While following Bunmeibon for the most part, this text as usual shows more independence both in abbreviation of poems (30 and 31 are missing) and in interpretation of content. The main examples of the latter are in the placement of Saigyō's initial deathbed prayer at the conclusion of the passage recalling the new year festivities, and in the rewriting and reinterpretation of poem 33, which is here given to the passersby, with the following poem being Saigyō's response. As with Kanzeibon, the section ends with poem 36, omitting the final poem and its introductory material.

UNEMEBON: Follows the Bunmeibon text more closely, variations generally being independent of the previous three texts, although echoes of all three are present. There are important variations in the poetry (32, 31, poem 30 missing). The passage ends with poem 33, and the subsequent descriptions and poems of plum blossoms are absent.

A TEXTS: While the basic narrative line is preserved, the A texts present their usual more polished and dramatically realised version of the narrative. Notable among the differences is the different interpretation of Saigyō's recalling of his past activities at the beginning of the section: while the Bunmeibon line of texts suggests the weak Saigyō,²⁷ A texts' omission of poem 30, and lack of any suggestion of yearning in his recollections, allows the strong Saigyō of the other two poems (here reversed in order) to govern the scene. This theme is consistent with that of the following passage where, as in Eishōbon, his deathbed prayer is given as the conclusion of his musings. It is also noteworthy that, while Bunmeibon is unusual in presenting Saigyō's suki aspect in his enjoying of the cherry blossoms, the A texts firmly state here the

²⁶ A poet who was a strong influence on Saigyō, who composed several poems on a visit to the remains of his hut not long after his shukke. Yamazaki Jun (aKeiō daigaku fuzoku toshokan-zō *Saigyō monogatari ekotoba*, p. 41) points out that this poem is found following a poem by Saigyō on the same theme (plum blossoms and uguisu) in *Mimosuso wakashū*, which is also a likely source for several other poems introduced by Kanzeibon.

²⁷ さすがにおもひいでて *sasuga ni omoiidete*, followed by a poem of yearning for absent companions.

continuing theme, ㊦Day and night in his thatched hut he longed for the Buddha's coming . In general, the A texts thus present a consistently ㊦strong Saigyō which tempers the suki nature of the blossom poems, in contrast to the more unstable Saigyō image of the B texts.

SEIKADŌ: Entirely consistent with Shōhōbon for this section.

SHS: Generally consistent with the other A texts. However, the celebratory passage which concludes with the prayer is omitted, making this section more purely in the kotobagaki style. Poem 35 and its introductory material is also missing.

Nanakashū: The introductory kotobagaki for this section resembles the B texts, but as with the A texts, poem 30 is absent and the order of 31 and 32 is reversed. All other poems are present, however the long kotobagaki are largely independent of both A and B texts (and also of *Sankashū*).

Section 10

EMAKI: Echoes Bunmeibon fairly closely, with small variations and omissions. The main divergence is in the lack of the sentence beginning ㊦Thus even though my sins committed... .

HAKUBYŌ: Intermediary between Bunmeibon and Emaki, with variations that for the most part echo those of Emaki, as well as frequent minor variations not found in other texts. The problematic sentence missing from Emaki here bears more resemblance to that of SIZ than Bunmeibon, but displays its own distinct rephrasing.

SIZ: Largely follows Bunmeibon, with many of the minor variations echoing those of the other B1 texts. The sentence omitted in Emaki is present here, but in greatly altered form.

KANZEIBON: Largely follows the B1 texts, the text being most similar to that of SIZ, including the problematic sentence.

EISHŌBON: Begins by following Bunmeibon (with minor variations), but from the point of transition into didactic material this text largely takes its own way, omitting a large section of the B1 material, and reinterpreting the remaining material to

emphasize the Nenbutsu element. It returns to the B1 texts with the quotation.

UNEMEBON: Not present.

A TEXTS: **From this point, the A texts branch off.** This and the following sections of the B text are omitted, and Saigyō goes straight to Ise. (See section 25 for continuation of the A texts.)

Nanakashū: Not present.

11.

EMAKI: Generally echoes Bunmeibon in wording, though with abbreviations and simplification of description, particularly in the section describing Saigyō's former glory.

HAKUBYŌ: Intermediary. Frequently follows Bunmeibon at points where the previous two texts diverge, including the description of his former glory. However, there are divergences which are found in none of the other texts, for instance the addition of the comment *ait* was forlorn (to see) him about the business of (ink-black hempen robe, underdress of persimmon paper cloth, bark-lined monk's hat, rosary and surplice).

SIZ: Largely similar to Bunmeibon. Differences frequently echo Emaki, although in a few places they diverge from Emaki in favour of Bunmeibon, particularly in the section describing his former glory (which, however, omits some of the detail found in Bunmeibon). It seems likely that SIZ is here intermediate between Emaki and Bunmeibon.

KANZEIBON: Closer in detail to Bunmeibon than the above B1 texts, although with some small changes and omissions, the most noticeable of which is omission of the statement that he went to Yoshino in order to give his heart to the blossoms and compose , versions of which appear in all the above examined texts.

EISHŌBON: A simplified version of the passage, bearing most relation in wording and omissions to Kanzeibon, whose omission of his reason for visiting Yoshino it

follows. It adds that she felt lonely and bereft ²⁸ (心すごくおぼへて) at the lack of a companion.

UNEMEBON: Not present.

Nanakashū: The description of his former glories is absent. The kotobagaki for poem 37 states that he went to Yoshino and purified his heart with the flowers, but longed for a friend. It is largely independent of the B text prose.

12.

EMAKI: As for Bunmeibon apart from a few minor differences in wording. The blossoms opening earlier to the south in Bunmeibon becomes, less comprehensibly, to the east. The first poem has a year instead of Bunmeibon's a spring, which follows the original wording of the poem.

HAKUBYŌ: Intermediary, with a number of variations from Emaki which favour Bunmeibon, as well as some unique to this text. The flowers here bloom from the south.

SIZ: A close version of the other B1 texts. Where differences from Bunmeibon appear, they sometimes follow Emaki rather than Hakubyō (including the blossoms opening to the east, and the changed word in the first poem). He longed to stay in these mountains and die (until he died in Emaki) is here omitted, and replaced by the neutral a(the blossoms) soon scattered.

KANZEIBON: Varies greatly from Bunmeibon and the other texts, with many omissions and interpolations which serve to frame the scene in religious terms. It opens with the statement Since he would see the blossoms of this floating world, he (intended to) see all in the spirit of Amida, as the flowers of paradise. There follows an independent passage in which he goes to Yoshino and is confused by snow on the branches, followed by SKS 565, at which point the text rejoins the other B texts with poem 38. It then follows the B1 texts, with additions of detail, to poem 39, after which there is an independent introductory passage and SKS 64, followed by: Although he

²⁸ 心すごくおぼへて *kokorosugoku oboete*.

believed he had cast off this world, when he saw the flowering branches in full bloom he felt he had again met with (the joys and sorrows of) the floating world. This is followed by poem 40, poem 41 being replaced by SKS 76.

EISHŌBON: While bearing a strong overall relation to Kanzeibon, this text pursues its independent way, omitting all the poems found in Bunmeibon, and including only SKS 565, 64, and 76 (all of which are found in Kanzeibon). It also follows Kanzeibon in the additions which interpret the blossom-viewing in religious terms, although the wording is frequently quite independent.

UNEMEBON: Here rejoins the other texts with a passage summarizing the process by which he reaches Yoshino: After his shukke, he felt it was meaningless to leave his trace in the world however briefly, and he performed austerities in deep mountains and holy places. He went to Yoshino at blossom time. Seated beneath the blossoms, he composes SKS 125 (found only in the B3texts), at which point we rejoin the above texts with the final two poems (40, 41).

Nanakashū: This section consists only of the last two poems (40 and 41) plus one more, with a kotobagaki which is independent of that of the B texts, describing the scene. The final poem's inclusion is intriguing. It is not found among Saigyō's poetry collections, nor is it found in any existing version of the Tale. However, *Shinchokusen wakashū* gives it (poem 98) as being by Saigyō Hōshi. It is also the poem quoted by Lady Nijō in *Towazugatari* where she refers to a copy of the Tale which she saw as a girl in 1266. The presence of this poem in *Nanakashū* is valuable evidence for this text's strong connection to a very early version of the Tale.

13.

EMAKI. As for Bunmeibon apart from a few minor differences in wording. The only important difference is in the sentence which describes Saigyō's austerities through the sutra quotations. In Emaki there are awkward repetitions here suggestive of mistranscription or clumsy interpolation, smoothed and made more straightforward in Bunmeibon. There is thus the possibility that here Emaki is (mis)copying an earlier

text.

HAKUBYŌ. Though largely following the other B1 texts, is somewhat more independent, with some abbreviations and additions of descriptive detail, particularly in the first half of the section. Saigyō here does not play among the nuts on the peak, as he does in Emaki and Bunmeibon, but more realistically gathers leaves there for a lonely dwelling. The transition from his life at Yoshino to his decision to go to Kumano is more natural than in Emaki. The second and third poems follow *Sankashū*, and the final poem is written on the shrine pillar, as in *Sankashū*'s kotobagaki. The overall impression is that for this section, Hakubyō retains an earlier form than Emaki.

SIZ. Largely follows Bunmeibon, though with more minor variations, some of which follow Emaki but many of which are unique to this text. He gathers the leaves of the peak, as in Hakubyō, though not for a dwelling, and in general the text echoes Hakubyō most closely among the B1 texts.

KANZEIBON. The general narrative line of the B1 texts is followed here, but with numerous interpolations and omissions. The introductory sentence states 'Although there were many mountains, he had entered Yoshino Mountain (suggesting that Saigyō chose this mountain among many possible ones for purposes of austerities). The text here briefly rejoins the B1 texts, adding that, owing to the delightfulness of the blossoms, 'his true desire was to be thus (in this place), so he built a thatched hut, falling blossoms for companion, and spread for pillow the sleeve of filtering moonlight. Poem 41 (the final poem of the B1 texts' previous section) follows, with added explanatory introduction, followed by a version of the description of his austerities (prefaced by 'alone in his quiet hut he purified his heart'). He then sets off to Kumano (here explicitly to worship its deity), and the section ends with poem 42 (the first poem in the B1 texts).

EISHŌBON. This section is a version of Kanzeibon, although frequently with different wording and some abbreviation. The mountains in the opening line of Kanzeibon here become stations (*suku* or *shuku* 宿, a word whose overtones here suggest the fixed places of lodging on the Ōmine circuit, of which Yoshino is part).

UNEMEBON. This section is truncated, omitting the first poem and ending with the second poem. The prose closely follows that of Hakubyō/SIZ, but here it is the nuts of the trees that he gathers (a version intermediary between Emaki/Bunmeibon and Hakubyō/SIZ).

Nanakashū: Consists of poems 43 and 44, each with a short kotobagaki. The prose is largely unrelated to that found in the Tale, although the settings for the poems (setting off for Kumano, and Yagami no Ōji) are as found there.

14.

EMAKI. The text follows Bunmeibon with a few minor variations, to the point where Saigyō sends the poem. Here there appears to be a section of the scroll missing: a join in the pages occurs, and the following text picks up the tale from Bunmeibon section 16.²⁹

Variations to be noted are: the presence of an introductory phrase,³⁰ which serves to link with the previous section through a common *ə*journeying expression which carries the narrative forward; the addition of など after the name of *ə*Shunzei ;³¹ and an important variation in the description of Saigyō's missive to him, which here reads *ə*in consternation he composed and sent (a poem), to which he attached this poem: 'This sensibility alone / holds good / to the world's final days — / had I not had that dream / I'd not have heard this truth. This version and its poem follows (with variations) the kotobagaki and poem found in *Shinkokinshū* (see Section 14 Comments).

HAKUBYŌ. The first section closely echoes Emaki (including the opening phrase, not present in other texts), with some variations unique to Hakubyō. The report of the dream and its sequel is here *ə*The sanmi nyūdō Lord Shunzei (俊泉) pledged saying . .

²⁹ It is unlikely that Emaki preserves an earlier form of the text here. As Sakaguchi (*ə*Saigyō *monogatari* no seiritsu jiki wo megutte , pp. 53-55) notes, the point where Emaki rejoins the Bunmeibon text contains several discrepancies which indicate that text has been lost at this point.

³⁰ かくてまどひありくほどに *kakute madoiariku hodo ni*.

³¹ Written 俊恵, as in Bunmeibon.

. . . In consternation Saigyō attached this poem, intending it to be attached to the hundred poems³² (poem as in Emaki) .

The ensuing section begins ㊦Well he went to the holy mountain (of Nachi) with a deep longing to worship there, and he prayed ... followed by the text which in Bunmeibon is his response to the earlier dream. The remaining text generally echoes Bunmeibon quite closely, though with considerable simplifications and omissions, most notably the omission of the extended speech on the waterfalls by the resident monk.

SIZ. Most closely related to Hakubyō, with some variations favouring the other two B1 texts. SIZ is the only one of these texts to follow the original *Shinkokinshū* kotobagaki in specifying that it was the Bettō Tankei who spoke the words to Shunzei (here 俊成). The poem is given.

The ensuing section is intermediary between Hakubyō and Bunmeibon, containing some of Bunmeibon's elaborations, though not the resident monk's extended speech. As in Hakubyō, the religious passage attached to the poem in Bunmeibon is instead the content of Saigyō's worship after reaching the shrine at Nachi.

KANZEIBON. This text opens with an interpolation of a section found at the end of B1 section 1, which relates how the tonsured emperor Kazan came to Nachi by way of Senri and there performed austerities, and follows with a didactic passage and poem 1 (SKKS 831) (none of which is included in section 1 of Kanzeibon). This section is presumably inserted at this point owing to its topological references, as well as to provide a suitably didactic introduction to Saigyō's own austerities at Nachi (which other texts lack).

Saigyō's dream and its resultant poem is a close version of the text found in the B1 texts, although there is here a further confusion of the original kotobagaki's

³² 百首のおくにとて. This appears to be a confused rendering of the kotobagaki found in *Shinkokinshū*, which states (in part) ㊦I hastened to compose and send (the) poem, and *within* (遣はしける奥に, i.e. within the message containing the requested poem) I added this: (poem)

words: ㊦At the end of the hundred poems I composed and sent, I added this poem. The remainder of the section is a fairly close copy of the version found in Hakubyō, with minor omissions and changes.

EISHŌBON. Generally follows Kanzeibon (including the opening section), though with frequent minor omissions and rephrasings. The dream is reported as ㊦The sanmi nyūdō bewailed the fact that (matters) had changed from times past . Saigyō here writes one hundred poems and sends them, with this poem written at the end. Neither here nor in Kanzeibon is there any evidence of the Bunmeibon text being used as a source; of the Bunmeibon line, Hakubyō has by far the strongest relationship to these two variants.

UNEMEBON. From this point, Unemebon departs radically from the above B texts, returning finally to the Bunmeibon narrative line of this section only after taking Saigyō on a very roundabout route. The intervening content is, in summary (sections unique to Unemebon are italicised):

(U.12) He returns to the capital. *There follows a short episode (meeting with spring mist on Ōsaka pass) based on the headnote of SKS 9, with the poem.* **(U.13)** The famous episode and exchange with the courtesan of Eguchi, based on SKS 752 and 753 and their kotobagaki.³³ **(U.14)** *A poetic passage describing Saigyō, alone and mournful during the long rains, meditating in silence on Amida's paradise, and hearing the first hototogisu, followed by SKS 179 (whose kotobagaki, ㊦Hearing the first call of the hototogisu while maintaining silence (as an austerity) , it expands on).* **(U.15)** *An episode which repeats almost verbatim the kotobagaki to SKS 1218, in which Saigyō accompanies the retired emperor on pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi Shrine, and writes the poem on its pillar.*³⁴ **(U.16)** A short section which is a version of Bunmeibon 18, where he visits the bay at Tsu on his way back from Sumiyoshi, and composes SKS 559 (no kotobagaki in *Sankashū*). **(U.17)** *SKS 513 with a brief*

³³ See Bunmeibon Section 46.

³⁴ Compare Bunmeibon section 18, where Saigyō visits Sumiyoshi under different circumstances. The poem is also different.

kotobagaki-like introduction stating that he composed this poem while performing austerities in a hut in Hirosawa. This poem appears in Section 8 of the other B texts, as one of the first poems composed after his shukke. **(U.18)** A short section which briefly reverts to Bunmeibon, being one of the poems (SKS 1114) and its introductory material found in section 15. Like Bunmeibon, it closely follows the kotobagaki to that poem. **(U.19)** Another short section which constitutes part of Bunmeibon 15, located further along the Ōmine route. Here too both texts are a slightly expanded form of the SKS kotobagaki (SKS 917), although their additional material differs. **(U.20)** This section returns to the final poem and introductory material (his visit to Yagami no Ōji shrine) of Bunmeibon section 13, both of which are versions of the original kotobagaki plus SKS 98. **(U.21)** With this section, we return to the section of Bunmeibon under present discussion (section 14). The first poem and introductory material (Saigyō's dream) are not present. The section opens by stating that he went to Nachi and was told by the monk to visit the two waterfalls. It continues with the ensuing narrative content found in the B1 texts at this point, although largely (but not entirely) independently expressed, ending with the two poems as in Bunmeibon.

Unemebon's departure from inherited texts consists almost entirely of additional material culled from kotobagaki found in Sankashū, frequently with only minor expansion. There is little attempt to provide a sense of sequentiality between sections. They are tenuously connected only through vague geographical location: return to the capital, with visits to other localities such as Eguchi and Sumiyoshi, followed by a geographically confused series based on the Ōmine-Nachi-Kumano pilgrimage route area. Nor is there any seasonal sequentiality — through the poems with seasonal reference, we move from spring to early summer to spring to winter to autumn and back to spring again.

It would seem that the sole purpose of these added sections is to draw in additional episodes and poems found in *Sankashū*. Many, but by no means all, of these episodes and their poems include some reference to the image of Saigyō as

religious practitioner, and the material added to flesh out the original kotobagaki sometimes includes explicit images of Saigyō engaged in austerities (in particular 16 and 19 above). It is noteworthy that section 16 in particular depicts Saigyō at his lonely meditations in highly poetic language (unlike the merely factual reference to austerities in the kotobagaki on which it is based). The complete absence of didactic material throughout these sections is also noteworthy. It would seem that Unemebon is here following a practice of textual augmentation which may well have been behind the very earliest forms of the Tale: a stringing together of poems and kotobagaki material, expanded and elaborated to create a discontinuous narrative depicting poetically and, often by extension, religiously moving moments in Saigyō's life. It is also worth noting the shifting perspective created by the frequent use of the first person ぎ verb ending and other humilifics such as まかる and さぶらふ (found in sections 14, 17, 18 and 22) whose reiteration is not contradicted by the neutral descriptive language of the other sections, resulting in a first person reading of the entire sequence (echoing the autobiographical kotobagaki style of *Sankashū*). Although Unemebon appears to have been created around the end of the fifteenth century (the earliest of its texts is dated 1500), it thus continues a tradition of writing/rewriting consistent with the likely beginnings of the Tale's development.

Nanakashū: SKKS 1844 appears with a brief kotobagaki saying it was sent when Jakuren Hōshi requested one hundred poems. It is followed by three poems not found in this section in the B1 texts. SKS 1979 (see Bunmeibon section 39) immediately follows the above poem. A kotobagaki then describes how he went to Hongū, and this is followed by a poem by Jien. The next kotobagaki describes his seeing the old cherry tree by Kazan's hut, followed by SKS 852 (found also in the B2 and B3 texts). The section ends with poem 45, with a kotobagaki describing how the sight of the single flowering branch caused him to lament the fleetingness of life.

15.

EMAKI. Missing.

HAKUBYŌ. Follows Bunmeibon fairly closely. The poems and their introductory sections show little variation. The opening section, while generally close, has more omissions, chief of which are Saigyō's prayer, and the explanation of Ōmine's special powers. The final description of the opening section provides another variation, a more abbreviated version from which the other texts were perhaps expanded: ʼHe was overjoyed, and he set off in yamabushi's clothing, and entered (Ōmine). The remainder of the section is a close version of that found in the other B1 texts.

SIZ. Related to Hakubyō, although that text contains points at which it favours Bunmeibon rather than SIZ, suggesting that SIZ is not directly intermediary. Like Hakubyō, the opening section omits the prayer and the description of Ōmine's powers. The ensuing description is an expansion of Hakubyō's, and is a variation of that found in Bunmeibon: ʼHe was overjoyed, and entered. No doubt feeling the situation a most moving one, he changed from his monk's robes into the persimmon robes (of a yamabushi), and the sight was most affecting. The remainder of the section closely follows the other B1 texts.

KANZEIBON. Although following The B1 texts in general outline, this text tends to abbreviation and summary in this section. The opening section rewrites the same content (with the omission of the two parts found only in Bunmeibon), and shows closest relationship to SIZ in the final description. The section of poems and introductory material here becomes a simple string of poems with a brief introduction consisting for the most part of barely more than place names, although they seem to have been abbreviated from earlier versions of the Tale rather than taken directly from *Sankashū*. Other changes are the omission of poems 47 and 48 and their introductions, and the displacement of the final poem (54) and its introduction to the place of the missing poems.

EISHŌBON. While bearing a strong relationship to Kanzeibon both in phrasing and in position of poems, this text also has strong elements of SIZ, particularly in the final description of the first section, which strongly suggest that it here presents an intermediary version between SIZ and Kanzeibon (there is no direct influence from

Hakubyō). As is typical of this text, the number of poems is abbreviated: only Bunmeibon's poems 46, 54, 49 and 52, in that order, are found here. The introductory material is a slightly expanded version of Kanzeibon's.

UNEMEBON. The Kumano sections are missing from this text. After the brief visit to Nachi in the previous section (U 21), there follows (U 22) a short section describing his retirement to a mountain village and devotion to chanting the nenbutsu, followed by SKKS 1657 (found in section 40 of Bunmeibon).

Nanakashū: All the poems found in the B1 texts are present, each with short kotobagaki. These bear no strong relationship either to the kotobagaki found in *Sankashū* or the Tale's prose. None are religious in content.

16.

EMAKI. The tale commences again at this point. Emaki follows Bunmeibon in this section apart from small textual variations.

HAKUBYŌ. Where this text differs from Bunmeibon, it is almost without exception in line with Emaki, of which it appears to be a close copy for this section.

SIZ. Although following the other B1 texts, occasionally presents more independent variations of phrasing, and is somewhat closer to the Bunmeibon text. Some textual confusion is evident in the description of the dove's call and its connection to Mt. Kazuraki (the dove called strongly, and his heart was purified, and then, on another occasion (又 *mata*) when he looked at Mr. Kazuraki . . .) The order of the three poems here becomes 56, 55, 57.

KANZEIBON. This section is greatly abridged. The passage which brings Saigyō and his group out of Ōmine is missing. The section consists solely of two poems (56 and 57), each with a brief introductory kotobagaki.

EISHŌBON. This and the following section are conflated: When they came down from Ōmine, he resumed his original monk's robes, his companions scattered, and as he went on all alone, the land of Yamato grew close. He stopped at a place called Furu-hata, and hearing a mountain dove calling strongly, (poem 56). The last

sentence is the same as Kanzeibon's kotobagaki for this poem.

UNEMEBON. Not present.

Nanakashū: The three poems are present with kotobagaki section which links the narrative to the previous section with the words 'Yamato grew close', followed by a largely independent description of Mt. Kazuraki, the dove's voice and the autumnal leaves.

17.

EMAKI. Faithfully follows the Bunmeibon text apart from a few minor changes, except for the point where Saigyō's memory of the fruits of his worship changes to the scene of their changing robes, where roughly a line of the Bunmeibon text is missing, causing a very unnatural transition. The first poem follows the *Sankashū* version.

HAKUBYŌ. From this point the text is missing until section 43.

SIZ. Follows Bunmeibon, except for minor changes, most of which do not reflect those of Emaki.

KANZEIBON. This section is abridged to a single sentence: 'When they emerged into a village, he parted from all the companions he had been travelling with, and all alone he resumed his monk's robes', and continues on to Sumiyoshi (see following section).

EISHŌBON. This section's contents appeared in abridged form in section 16.

UNEMEBON. Not present.

Nanakashū: The two poems are preceded by two kotobagaki, the first of which is (for Nanakashū) lengthy. It relates that his companions departed, and Saigyō was left wondering where to go, wringing his sleeves in sorrow. The kotobagaki to poem 59 briefly describes his hearing the new cry in the lonely dawn.

18.

EMAKI. Faithfully follows the Bunmeibon text apart from a few minor changes. The Mannōke-bon scroll ends with poem 61. **The remainder of Emaki is lost.**

SIZ. Follows Bunmeibon, though somewhat less faithfully than Emaki. The main change is the addition of what is ostensibly the Yorimasa poem on which Saigyō's poem is based, which does not contain the quotation found in Bunmeibon and Emaki.

KANZEIBON. This section is abridged to the statement that he went to Sumiyoshi after resuming his monk's robes, followed by the first poem (60). Yorimasa's poem as partially quoted here is a version of that found in SIZ. (A marginal note points out the error of taking Yorimasa's poem as the honka).

Poem 62 and its introductory material are found in a quite different place in the B2 texts (K. 47), after Saigyō has exchanged poems with the courtesan of Eguchi (see Bunmeibon 46). The introductory material includes a description of the misty bay of Tsu with its fishing boats, whose disappearing wake reminds him of the transience of the world (a reference to the famous poem of Mansei).³⁵

EISHŌBON. Only the contents of the first half of the Bunmeibon section appear here, rewritten and somewhat expanded. The entire Yorimasa poem is quoted, with the third phrase being that quoted in Bunmeibon.

As in Kanzeibon, poem 62 and its introductory material are found after the Eguchi episode. The contents are as for Kanzeibon.

UNEMEBON. See U.15 (described under 14 above).

Nanakashū: The three poems are present, in the order 61, 60, 62. The first two poems are prefaced by a lengthy kotobagaki stating that he went to Sumiyoshi, followed by a poetic description of waves, and wind in pines. The two poems are quoted as in Bunmeibon. The kotobagaki for poem 62 begins as a fairly close rendering of that found in Bunmeibon, then veers off to a poetic landscape description. Here too the poem is composed as he is returning to the capital the following spring.

19.

SIZ. Follows Bunmeibon, with minor variations.

³⁵ 満誓, early 8th century. 世のなかをなににたとへむ朝ぼらけこぎゆく船のあとの白波. *Yo no naka wo nani ni tatoemu asaborake kogiyuku fune no ato no shiranami*

KANZEIBON. This section is a somewhat abbreviated form of the B1 texts. The two sets of poems are introduced by less expansive versions of the same introductory material.

EISHŌBON. A long section is interposed at this point. It describes Saigyō's visit to Iwashimizu Shrine on Otokoyama, on his way back to the capital. The powerfulness and holiness of the shrine are made much of, and Saigyō spends the night there, during the course of which he dreams that Amida appears on his left sleeve. From here he goes to Sarashina (which is in fact in present-day Nagano prefecture, and hence very much out of his way) and composes on the utamakura Mt. Obasute. The three poems included in this section do not appear in the catalogue of Saigyō's poems.

He then returns to the capital, rejoining Bunmeibon 19's contents. The two episodes strongly echo the Kanzeibon version, but the first poem in each episode is dropped. This has the effect of making Hyōe's responding poem one written by Saigyō himself. The poems display strong variations not seen in other texts.

UNEMEBON. The opening sentence more or less echoes that of Bunmeibon (though with details suggesting SIZ may have been its origin), but the section develops differently, by bringing in (largely verbatim) two poems and their kotobagakis from *Sankashū* (SKS 1043 and 444) which treat the theme of visiting people's homes and recalling the past through the sad state of a present dwelling.

Nanakashū: All the poems are present. The kotobagaki to poems 63 and 64 begins as in Bunmeibon, then takes its own way. The kotobagaki to poems 65 and 66 make no mention of the scene at Hossōji, and are a summary of the situation of the exchange.

20.

SIZ. Follows Bunmeibon, with variations. The daughter's age here is six or seven. The poem follows the form found in the anthologies.

KANZEIBON. Follows Bunmeibon with somewhat more variation, many of the changes reflecting the SIZ text. The daughter is here reduced to five or six. Mention of wondering about his old home is omitted, as is the quotation that he recalls at the end.

The final sentence, while related to that found in SIZ, has considerable differences (detailed in note 45 to the Bunmeibon translation). His strength of heart is not mentioned, but he chokes on tears as he composes. The poem follows that found in the anthologies.

EISHŌBON. Shows much more variation, although basically following the Kanzeibon text. The daughter is six years old. Where he sees his daughter, there are echoes of Bunmeibon not found in other texts.³⁶ There is also an interesting alternative to the quote, in the form of a lament that his heart would not have been set in motion (はたらかざらまし *hatarakazaramashi*) had he not seen her, giving this as one more reason for choosing a mountain dwelling.

UNEMEBON. Follows the B1 texts, though with the omission of a number of details, and of the poem. The daughter's age follows that of SIZ, as do a number of other variations from Bunmeibon. She here plays with dirt, not flowers, and there is no mention of Saigyō's strength of heart and his tears. He simply recalls the quotation, and passes by.

Nanakashū: All mention of his daughter is absent. Poem 67 has a succinct kotobagaki stating that his urge to go deep into the mountains grew stronger.

Section 21.

SIZ: Although largely following Bunmeibon, the episode contains numerous minor additions and omissions of material. The most prominent of these is at the beginning, where SIZ has a passage recalling a previous event:

When Saigyō and Saijū were both still in the mundane world, they spoke together of the idea of leaving the world at the same time, but Saigyō accomplished *shukke* first. Saijū for long did not leave the world. One day he saw Saigyō, and put his whip to his sidewhisters. Seeing this, Saigyō thought that he was being shown that he would shave his head. Saijū left the world and joined him.

³⁶ The moment when she sees him is 父を見つけて *chichi wo mitsukete*, and his wishing to inform her is 我こそ父よと *ware koso chichi yo to*.

At this point, the Bunmeibon narrative begins. This rather disjointed addition to the text is not found in other variants. It may be an abbreviated form of a separate legend concerning Saigyō and Saijū.

The other major difference is at the point where Saijū receives the food and turns to leave, hearing the sound of weeping from within. SIZ here adds a poem (SKS 761) which is recited, apparently by Saijū, before he leaves the gate and bursts into tears. Saigyō's subsequent sermon contains some added material. Other textual differences are minor, but pervasive.

KANZEIBON: This text follows the Bunmeibon episode, but with frequent variations of phrasing and sentence order which reflect the influence of SIZ. However, it omits the additional material found in SIZ, and at some points follows Bunmeibon where SIZ differs, suggesting that it drew on an intermediary text. Noteworthy differences are: the opening words are spoken by Saijū. Saijū weeps only briefly (一時斗 *ittoki bakari*) after he leaves. Saigyō's spoken response omits the short sermon, simply accusing Saijū of being weak-hearted, and unfit to be his companion hereafter. Saigyō then departs (without a poem), and there follows a long interpolated didactic passage. It begins by expounding the necessity of commitment to the begging life, proceeds to point out the particular difficulty these two men faced owing to their former riches and high position, concluding that Saijū had good reason to weep when he heard his family wailing at the sight of him. It continues with examples of great religious men who have wept when faced with their past homes, and ends with the statement that Saigyō's bitter lament that the weeping Saijū was faint-hearted shows us that his own strength of heart was above the ordinary.

It is interesting to note that Saijū is throughout portrayed much more sympathetically than in the Bunmeibon version. It is he who initiates the begging, his tears are explicitly only brief, and the didactic material (spoken here by a neutral commentator, rather than by Saigyō) is at pains to vindicate him for his momentary weakness. The final sentence's hasty praise of Saigyō's unusual strength of heart

seems rather lacking in conviction, since the audience's sympathies have been so firmly directed towards Saijū until this point, the more so as Saijū is doing no more than re-enact (with considerably less tearfulness) Saigyō's own sorrows at seeing his daughter in the previous section. Kanzeibon's re-writing of the episode indeed points up the inconsistencies implicit in these two sections (as so often elsewhere in the Tale), between the unwavering strength of heart which Saigyō sternly demands of Saijū, and the more movingly human weakness that is nevertheless tearfully overcome, which Saigyō reveals in the previous section and which Saijū here epitomises. It is interesting that Kanzeibon, generally so much more sternly Buddhist than the Bunmeibon texts, should here soften Bunmeibon's hard line.

EISHŌBON: Generally follows the content of Kanzeibon, with minor variations in the narrative section (including omission of the briefness of Saijū's tears). The following didactic section, while generally following the content of Kanzeibon, has much more extensive textual variation, particularly in the final section, which omits reference to famous religious men in favour of natural imagery to illustrate the theme of longing for home. It goes to greater pains to exonerate the tears of foolish women in such a situation, as well as Saijū's own tears, thereby further apparently undermining the force of the original strong message of the episode.

UNEMEBON: The next section consists of a small set of poetic exchanges and poems. The first is an exchange of poems with Jakuren, who is presently in Ise. These poems³⁷ are not found in any anthology or collection of Saigyō's poems. They may be material from a lost collection. The other is a daieika composed at a poetry gathering at Kitashirakawa (SKS 251), with *Sankashū*'s kotobagaki repeated verbatim. Here too we see the more social side of Saigyō.

Unemebon next jumps to the episode of Saigyō's leavetaking at the Kamo shrine, as he prepares to depart for Shikoku (Bunmeibon 44).

³⁷ 伊勢の海の人もなぎさを詠めやりて君きたらばと思ふなに事 *Ise no umi no hito mo nagisa wo nagameyarite kimi kitaraba to omou nanigoto.*

旅寝せし荒き浜辺も君が為おぼつかなしと思ふなに事 *tabine seshi araki hamabe mo kimi ga tame obotsukanashi to omou nanigoto.*

The Saijū begging episode appears much later in the text, after the sections in which Saigyō helps his daughter to achieve shukke (see Bunmeibon sections 49-51). It is a somewhat abbreviated version of the B1 line. A variation is that the wife here becomes his old wetnurse. Saigyō's sermon and poems are omitted here.

Nanakashū: A short episode is interpolated here. It consists of SKS 1351 and 1352, Saigyō's exchange with Shōnagon no Tsubone³⁸ when she returned a copy of his poems she had borrowed, and is a slightly expanded version of the kotobagaki found there. The version of the present section which follows consists of the two poems, the first accompanied by a kotobagaki stating that he heard the bell as evening fell, the second that the dawn moon was bright.

Section 22.

SIZ. Follows Bunmeibon apart from minor differences of wording. Where Saigyō is spoken of as the only one capable of composing Yamato poems, SIZ adds inheriting the line of Tsurayuki and Mitsune.³⁹ Other differences are in the order of the ten poems (although SIZ also gives ten, it rather oddly prefaces this by 'among the ten poems he composed were. . .'). The Bunmeibon poem numbers are here ordered as: 70, 71, 73, 72, 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 76. There is some variation in the wording of some of the poems, most being closer to *Sankashū*.

KANZEIBON: This section is here divided into two. The opening words are: 'Well, it was his wont to compose on the subject of moonlight on Vulture Peak, and among them he composed (these) ten poems'. The poems are: SKS 621 (SKKS 1185), SKS 1040, SKKS 938, SKS 855 (SKKS 1977), SKKS 1631, SKS 351 (SKKS 1531), SKKS 1533, SKKS 1779, SKS 521, SKS 644 (SKKS 1268). Of these, the sixth to eighth poems are found in Bunmeibon 22, and the fifth is the second poem of Bunmeibon 21. Most of the remaining poems are found elsewhere in the B1 texts. The

³⁸ 小納言の局, lady-in-waiting to the empress.

³⁹ Ōshikōchi no Mitsune 凡河内躬恒 (dates unknown). Early Heian poet, one of the compilers of the *Kokinshū*, often ranked with Ki no Tsurayuki as one of the best poets of the age.

first, sixth and tenth are originally love poems.

The prose introduction of the B1 texts follows, somewhat abridged. Here the head priest requests the kechien of one hundred poems composed on the theme of loathing and turning from the sullied world, seeking after the Pure Land, and attaining enlightenment . Five poems follow: SKS 761, SKKS 1749, SKS 724 (SKKS 1828), SKKS 1534, of which only the last poem is found in this section in Bunmeibon. Three of the remaining poems are found elsewhere in Bunmeibon. All five poems are overtly religious in content.

EISHŌBON: The Bunmeibon text is not present. Only Kanzeibon's moon poems section appears, introduced by "After this, gazing at the moon of Vulture Peak, he composed ten poems . The first six poems of the Kanzeibon series follow, to which are added SKS 617 and SKKS 1534 (which appears as the final poem in Kanzeibon, and in Bunmeibon's section 22), making a total of eight.

As Yamazaki Jun⁴⁰ points out, the line of development here is clearly Bunmeibon (type) → Kanzeibon → Eishōbon, both in content and in poem selection (Kanzeibon has poems in common with both, while Eishōbon shares its single Bunmeibon poem with Kanzeibon). Yamazaki speculates that Kanzeibon's awkward splitting of the ten poems theme into two was rectified in Eishōbon by choosing only the first of the two ten poem series (thus proving to have here relied on Kanzeibon alone for content). The single element all three texts have in common is the intention to present a religious ten-poem sequence on the moon.

UNEMEBON: Not present.

Nanakashū: A kotobagaki saying that he was summoned to Ninnaji and requested to compose one hundred moon poems for the abbot's kechien is followed by eight poems: poems 70-74, 76, 78 and 79.

Section 23

SIZ: As for Bunmeibon, with a few minor variations. The omission of Bunmeibon's

⁴⁰ "Keiō Daigaku fuzoku toshokan-zō *Saigyō monogatari ekotoba* , p. 34.

の *no* after 忍西入道 *Ninsei nyūdō* retains the *Sankashū* subject of the sentence. It could be thought that SIZ is thus intermediary between the two.

KANZEIBON: Not present.

EISHŌBON: Not present.

UNEMEBON: Not present.

Nanakashū: Paraphrases the *Sankashū* kotobagaki, followed by the two poems. The name here is ㊦Sainin (as found in *Kashū*).

Section 24

SIZ: While following the Bunmeibon episode in content and wording, this text is lacking certain important elements found in Bunmeibon. It omits ㊦he decided to spend the extent of his life performing wandering austerities from land to land. He chose first to go on pilgrimage to the Grand Shrine of Ise , limiting the episode to a description of his setting off ㊦to perform austerities . The companion here is stated as having ㊦left the world with Saigyō (which identifies him more strongly with Saijū), and Saigyō accedes to his request without reluctance.

KANZEIBON: Follows Bunmeibon (including the section omitted in SIZ), but omits all reference to the companion.

EISHŌBON: As for Kanzeibon, with the addition of the introductory phrase ㊦Composing thus which links it with the previous section (Bunmeibon 22).

UNEMEBON: Not present.

Nanakashū: A brief kotobagaki stating that Suzukayama was moving for him is followed by the poem.

Section 25

SIZ: Generally follows Bunmeibon with occasional minor changes. In several places one appears to be an amplification of the other, though this does not work exclusively in one direction. Bunmeibon's conclusion of Saigyō's thoughts (㊦thus he prayed gratefully in his heart) is missing, which gives to the preceding contents more of an

abstract didactic tone.

KANZEIBON: Greatly alters and abridges the Bunmeibon content. A brief introductory passage describing Saigyō staying at the foot of Mt. Kamiji in a small hall dedicated to Dainichi Nyorai, and pondering the blessings of trace manifestation (*suijaku*), is followed by three poems. The first is SSS 625, the poem which is prefaced by this *kotobagaki* stating that it was composed on the subject of the trace manifestation of Dainichi Nyorai, at a time when Saigyō had left Mt. Kōya and was staying in a mountain temple at Futamigaura. (This *kotobagaki* forms the basis of the introductory passage found here). The second and third poems are Bunmeibon poems 84 and 85.

There follows a much abbreviated version of the didactic passage found in Bunmeibon, and the poem found in this section of Bunmeibon (poem 83).

EISHŌBON: Follows with minor differences the second part of the Kanzeibon content, with Bunmeibon poem 83. It would seem that here Eishōbon is intermediary between Bunmeibon and Kanzeibon, which expanded the Eishōbon content with material derived from the *kotobagaki* as explained above.

UNEMEBON: Not present.

A TEXTS: At this point, the narrative content of A and B texts merge again. The texts themselves, however, differ considerably. In an independent rendering of much of the content of Bunmeibon's didactic passage, the A texts present an explanation of why Buddhist practitioners are forbidden entry to the shrine, which involves the legend of the formation of Japan and the jealousy of a Buddhist deity who witnessed it. Shōhōbon inserts a further long passage on the foundation and virtues of Ise Shrine, and both it and Seikadō conclude with poem 83 followed by SSS 625 (see Kanzeibon above).⁴¹

SHS: Has a greatly simplified form of the passage. After the first sentence

⁴¹ This long passage, which is entirely independent of those of the B texts, is derived from *Shasekishū* 1.1. A shorter form of the same passage is in Seikadō, but SHS entirely omits it, suggesting that SHS may be a pre-*Shasekishū* text (i.e. pre 1279-83).

stating that he went to the grand shrine of Ise, it picks up the end of the passage at the point where in Shōhōbon Saigyō's meditation ends (i.e. it contains a small segment found in Shōhōbon but not Seikadō), concluding with the two poems. This intriguing discrepancy, the first strong departure of SHS from Seikadō, suggests that it and Seikadō were created independently at this point, and the two were later inherited, amalgamated and further expanded by Shōhōbon.

Further, the opening passage of *Shasekishū* 1.1 bears such strong similarities to the main part of the section found in the A texts that it is clear that one is based on a direct borrowing from the other. The *Shasekishū* passage is most fully represented in Shōhōbon, but the first half is also found in Seikadō, which is considered to pre-date *Shasekishū*. This suggests one of three possibilities: that the dating for Seikadō is later than scholars have estimated, that an early A text influenced *Shasekishū* rather than vice versa, or that both were making use of previous material now lost. Takagi⁴² (p. 29) assumes the first possibility. However, given the prevalence of cross-borrowings among multiple texts at this time, the third possibility seems equally likely. Whatever the facts may be, it is interesting to note that this *Shasekishū* material is entirely absent from SHS, which strongly suggests that SHS was created prior to *Shasekishū*'s influence on the text.

Nanakashū: The two poems found here are as in Kanzeibon and the A texts, following Kanzeibon's order. The extensive kotobagaki is an independent description of Saigyō on the bank of Mimosusogawa, moved at the power of the shrine.

26.

SIZ: An abbreviated form of the Bunmeibon text, which omits the reference to his awakening, and to the same moon. Saigyō is simply described as approaching the pines of the shrine fence, being moved by the clarity (here, apparently, of the moonlight on the water), and composing the two poems.

KANZEIBON: Conflated with section 25, as described above. The B1 narrative

⁴² Saigyō *monogatari no tenkyō*, p. 29.

content is missing, only the two poems being included.

EISHŌBON: Not present.

UNEMEBON: Not present.

A TEXTS: While presenting the same scene and poems, the A texts embroider the content with autumn leaves on the water, and provide a more comprehensible version of Saigyō's thoughts concerning the same moon and its relation to the leaves that hide it. There is no mention of Saigyō's tears on his priestly sleeve.

SHS: Omits the leaves on the river, but otherwise follows the A texts exactly.

It follows Shōhōbon for the single textual variation found in Seikadō.

Nanakashū: The same scene is largely re-stated in the kotobagaki. The two poems follow.

27.

SIZ: Follows Bunmeibon, with several minor variations and the omission of Bunmeibon's opening words (Since nowhere is finally home, he mournfully decided to leave), thus creating a more natural narrative flow.

KANZEIBON: Not present.

EISHŌBON: Not present.

UNEMEBON: Not present.

A TEXTS: Echo the opening words of Bunmeibon, and are otherwise also closer to Bunmeibon than is usual for the A texts. Where Bunmeibon has Saigyō compose poem 85 as he is passing through Futami, the A texts follow Saigyō's known biographical facts by having him build his hut there.

SHS: follows the other A texts almost exactly.

Nanakashū: A lengthy kotobagaki gives the same content, but is closer to the A texts in having Saigyō live at Futami, as well as in its mention of trailing mists, and in omitting the opening words. Poem 87 is absent, and poem 86 is followed by poem 89.

28.

SIZ: Follows Bunmeibon with minor variations. Poems 88 and 89 are not written at a gathering of shrine priests. Several variations (noted in the Bunmeibon translation notes) indicate that SIZ probably preserves the earlier version of this section.

KANZEIBON: Omits all but the section on Tsukiyomi Shrine, which is based, not on the B1 texts but on the A text version. I translate it with underlined sections compared with Shōhōbon.

When he worshipped and prayed at Tsukiyomi Shrine, (the moonlight) was indeed clear and unclouded, as the name implies, and he was reminded of Vulture Peak.⁴³

The pure moon / shines bright through cloud rifts / far on Vulture Peak / its light transformed and softened / in Tsukiyomi forest.

Those in whose eyes / the moon has sunk / on Vulture Peak / must wander lost at heart / within their self-made darkness.

The two poems are both found in this section of Shōhōbon,⁴⁴ which also contains Bunmeibon poem 91.

EISHŌBON: As for Kanzeibon, with minor variations, and the omission of the second poem.

UNEMEBON: Not present.

A TEXTS: Continue to display an unusual degree of similarity with the B1 texts, which appear to be variations on the A line's text for this section. Problems of meaning in these B texts coincide with points at which they depart from the A texts. The latter half of the section contains more variations, including the addition of two poems composed at Tsukiyomi no Miya. These are the two poems which Kanzeibon and Eishōbon include here (while omitting poem 91), further indication that these two texts are directly and exclusively related to the A line in this section.

⁴³ An appended note says ʼIn *Saigyō monogatari* he spends two or three years at Futami, during which time he composes various poems.

⁴⁴ They are also included in *Nanakashū* .

SHS: Follows the A texts exactly, but omits the ㊦Kaze no miya subsection and poem.

Nanakashū: Poem 89 directly follows poem 86 of the previous section. It is followed by poem 90 with short kotobagaki. *Nanakashū* follows the A texts in including SSS 62 and SKS 888 before poem 91 (in the B2 text order). These three poems are preceded by a kotobagaki which is a close echo of that found in the A texts. Poem 92 is preceded by SKS 104 (identified by the *Sankashū* kotobagaki as a poem from his early tonsured days at Higashiyama). This poem is not found in other versions of the Tale.

29.

SIZ: As for Bunmeibon, with minor variations, including the alternative version of poem 94.

KANZEIBON: An abbreviated variation. Here the shrine priests attempt to hold him back as he is about to set off for the East, and he recites poem 94. Poem 93 is absent.

EISHŌBON: A longer version of Kanzeibon, which incorporates a poem from Kanzeibon 28. His religious companion(s) (*dōgyō* 同行) rather than the shrine priests lament his going, as in Bunmeibon, and say that the moon of Vulture Peak (i.e. the Buddha) has sunk, whereupon Saigyō recites SKS 888 (Kanzeibon 28, second poem). Then, to comfort the companion(s), he recites poem 94 only.

UNEMEBON: Not present.

A TEXTS: Follows the overall content of Bunmeibon, but omits poem 93. The period spent at Ise is here not belittled as ㊦fruitless . The introductory section portrays a night spent in music and poetry with sorrowing friends (neither shrine priests nor ㊦religious companions), where Saigyō composes poem 94 only. This section is thus entirely secular and *suki* in tone.

SEIKADŌ: Omits reference to travel to the East having been his original intention, and goes on to omit the second half of this section.

SHS: Follows Shōhōbon without variation.

Nanakashū: Contains poem 94 only. Details of the kotobagaki material indicate that it is a version of that of the A texts.

30.

SIZ: Follows Bunmeibon, but with considerable variation of textual detail. Among the notable differences are the abbreviation of Saigyō's spoken response to his companion's tears. The poem is omitted, as is the explanation of Fugyō bosatsu's words (which are quoted in abbreviated form). The companion's reply, while following the same basic content as that of Bunmeibon, has considerable variation of detail in the description of Saigyō's former dignity and favour at court. Saigyō's final rejection of him includes the words *ait* is pointless to recall the past .

KANZEIBON: This version presents a complex amalgam of A and B texts, as well as containing evidence of the close relationship of this episode both to that found in section 21 and to the B1 texts section 24 (where Saigyō reluctantly allows his tonsured long-time retainer to accompany him). Kanzeibon's section 24 does not mention the companion, but he is here introduced as one who had pleaded to accompany Saigyō and been reluctantly allowed to do so, in a passage whose wording is reminiscent of B1 section 24.

At Tenryū crossing Saigyō is beaten (it is not stated by whom) when he boards the boat, but shows no sign of anger, laughs aloud and disembarks. When his companion weeps, Saigyō's first words of rebuke are those found in Bunmeibon's section 21: *ait*This is why I said you should not accompany me. He then lectures the companion on the virtues of physical self-sacrifice in much the same terms as in Bunmeibon 21, ending with Saigyō's final words in the present section. The companion then replies much as in Unemebon (below), but without reference to Saigyō's former life. Saigyō simply responds that *abeing* accompanied by another disarrays the mind (こころ) , tells him to be off, and they go their separate ways, without authorial comment.

The episode is followed by a lengthy didactic section, which restates at greater

length the moral of the tale, nevertheless vindicating the weeping companion by reference to Saigyō's glorious past, and goes on to preach the worthiness of the act of shukke.

EISHŌBON: This text, while following Kanzeibon both in content and on the textual level, contains considerable variations and additions. Like Kanzeibon, it begins with a description of Saigyō grudgingly allowing the ex-retainer to accompany him, and proceeds to a somewhat abbreviated version of the Tenryū Crossing incident. As Saigyō laughs and leaves the boat, he recites poem 95 (found otherwise only in Bunmeibon). Saigyō's rebuke of his companion's tears echoes that of Kanzeibon, but the companion's explanation is omitted. There follows a lengthy didactic section which bears a strong relation to that of Kanzeibon. It includes the quotation from Kūya found otherwise only in Bunmeibon/SIZ.

The fact that Eishōbon bears less direct relationship to the A texts, and its inclusion of several elements found only in Bunmeibon/SIZ, suggest that it is intermediary between Kanzeibon and the other B texts.

UNEMEBON: (U. 45) This episode is inserted at a much later point in the Tale, after Saigyō has helped his daughter take the tonsure (see Bunmeibon section 51). It is preceded by a version of Bunmeibon section 21 (where Saigyō and Saijū go begging), thus highlighting the strong similarities in the two stories.

The episode is much abridged. Saigyō is ordered off the boat and beaten, whereupon he laughs. When his companion weeps, he receives a short rebuke (əDidn't I say so? There is no greater austerity than this), and Saigyō leaves. There follows an explanatory section detailing the point of view of the monk, who recalls Saigyō's former splendours, ending with the remark əone feels that it is not despicable that a lowly heart should soak the sleeves with tears of sympathy (at Saigyō's present situation) . This relatively sympathetic portrayal of the point of view of the miscreant companion is reminiscent of that found in Kanzeibon/Eishōbon in section 21, and is also echoed in the later A texts.

A TEXTS: Follow the general outline of the narrative, and coincide with Bunmeibon

in some details and phrasing, but largely go their own way in overall description, and particularly in Saigyō's lengthy sermon to his companion. The companion's explanation, and all detail of Saigyō's former glory, are absent. The narratorial ambivalence of sympathies seen in Kanzeibon/Eishōbon's section 21 is strongly echoed here in the sympathetic understanding for the companion's tears (although he is not, as in Unemebon above, described as 'one of lowly heart'). Saigyō's 'strength of heart' is also reminiscent of Kanzeibon/Eishōbon's section 21, but he is here saved for our sympathy by his private sorrow at the parting, thus considerably softening the stern religious message by the addition of aware.

SEIKADŌ: Does not contain the final section of Saigyō's sermon, and also omits the sympathetic comment on the reason for the companion's tears. From this point onward, the content of the later A texts is severely abridged or omitted in Seikadō, and it may be that the variations here are also abridgements of an earlier fuller version preserved in the other A texts. Certainly SHS, which is generally close to Seikadō to this point, follows Shōhōbon here. The extra material, however, is typical of the kind of textual material in which variations occur (didactic material, and material embodying some conflict between the 'strong/religious' and 'weak/aware' interpretations of a scene). Thus we cannot rule out the possibility that, here as elsewhere, Seikadō preserves the earlier, more neutral form.

SHS: Follows Shōhōbon without variation. In the occasional minor textual differences between Shōhōbon (including the use of the name 'Tenchū' instead of 'Tenryū') it follows Seikadō, although at other points it is closer to Shōhōbon, and includes the passages missing in Seikadō.

Nanakashū: This section is not present.

31.

SIZ: Following section 30 there is a passage which describes Saigyō's discovery at Okabe of the travelling hat of a now dead companion he had parted from in the capital that spring. This episode is prelude to a poem which does not appear in any Saigyō

collection (see Shōhōbon translation, Appendix II). He continues on his way from Okabe, where SIZ rejoins the Bunmeibon content.

A number of points differ from Bunmeibon. Poem 96 and its introductory material is the same apart from a small abridgement in the prose. Of the following three poems in Bunmeibon, only poem 98 is present, poems 97 and 99 being attached to the end of the following section (32). Poem 98's introductory material, although similar, varies in phrasing, and includes added description evoking the autumn landscape.

KANZEIBON: A heavily abbreviated version. Poem 96 is prefaced by a brief statement that it was composed when crossing Saya no Nakayama. It is followed directly by Bunmeibon poem 105. There follows a version of the episode at Okabe in Suruga, which closely echoes the contents of this episode as found in SIZ and the A texts, but is not found in Bunmeibon.

EISHŌBON: This short section runs on from the previous section. Saigyō tearfully composes poem 96 as he is about to cross Saya no Nakayama (a brief introductory statement which bears a close textual relation to that of SIZ). The Okabe section follows, a close version of Kanzeibon but with the addition of the detail that the companion achieved an admirable ōjō (although this does nothing to alleviate Saigyō's sorrow).

UNEMEBON: (U. 46) Only poem 96 and introductory material are present. The introductory material bears no relation to that of the B1 texts beyond the opening phrase. It paraphrases the sentiments of the poem.

A TEXTS: Shōhōbon, while adding a short description of Saigyō's prayer at a shrine before crossing the pass, otherwise follows Bunmeibon. (Seikadō omits this added description).

All A texts contain a following section describing the episode at Okabe, as above. It is followed by a poeticised version of the introductory material to poems 97-99, and the poems themselves.

SEIKADŌ: Contains a much abbreviated form of this section, with only poem

96 and the poem accompanying the Okabe episode. Here the dead companion is named as Saijū.

From this point in the text, Seikadō omits the Shōhōbon content until the brief episode in section 32 accompanied by a version of Bunmeibon poem 104.

SHS: Follows Shōhōbon, although minor variations in the section shared with Seikadō tend to favour Seikadō.

Nanakashū: Poem 96 is preceded by a simple kotobagaki (One cannot know the length of one's life) which is not found in the B texts, but occurs in the A texts in section 29 as he sets off for the east (as he has just done in the present text). This indicates a continuing strong association with the A texts at this point, and also suggests that the preceding material missing in *Nanakashū* could well be a later interpolation.

Poems 97-99 are preceded by a kotobagaki whose phrasing indicates that it belongs to the A text line. The Okabe episode, however, is not present.

32.

SIZ: Contains the same poems, and largely the same content, but with many small variations and occasional added (poetic) detail. Many of the poems also contain variations.

KANZEIBON: Likewise a greatly abridged version, which contains only a version of the introductory content to poem 101, and adds another poem (SKS 1307), a version of a poem found in the A texts at this point. The introductory material also refers to the Narihira poem, and is expansive on Saigyō's sorrows as he journeys, giving him a short monologue concerning the likelihood of death in some village or field along the way.

EISHŌBON: A variation of Kanzeibon's content, but omitting the second poem.

UNEMEBON: Contains only poem 101 and a somewhat extended version of its introductory material, which, though independent of other texts, bears some relation to the content of the A texts. It quotes part of Narihira's poem from section 9 of *Ise*

*monogatari.*⁴⁵

A TEXTS: Contain all but the final episode and accompanying poems (105 and 106). While textually closely related, Shōhōbon adds considerable detail, largely poetic descriptions of landscape, and poetic references. It also adds a second poem in the Mt. Fuji section (SKS 1307, also found in Kanzeibon).

SEIKADŌ: Lacks all but a small part of this section (poem 103 and its introductory material), but here follows the other A texts exactly.

SHS: Follows Shōhōbon exactly, but the manuscript contains an unnatural omission of a page of material, from near the end of the Kiyomigata prose section to near the end of the following Mt. Fuji section. This page is misplaced to the middle of section 37.

Nanakashū: While the kotobagaki section is a largely independent restating of the same content, it bears occasional relation to the A texts and to Kanzeibon. Like these, SKS 1307 is included after poem 101. Poems 105 and 106 (in reverse order) and a lengthy version of their kotobagaki material is present.

33.

SIZ: Follows Bunmeibon with many minor variations and omissions, which generally read more smoothly than Bunmeibon. The sutra quotation differs, and of the three poems in Bunmeibon, poem 107 is missing and the order of poems 108 and 109 is reversed.

KANZEIBON: While containing much the same content as the other texts, and some echoing of phrase and detail, this variant presents a largely independent text, bearing a closer relation in parts to the A texts than to the B texts. Both the elaborate and poetic description of Musashino, and to a lesser extent the hermit's speech, also share common elements with Unemebon. Changes in the order of sentences is notable.

There is no sutra quotation, nor mention of a heavenly child. Of the final two poems

⁴⁵ ときしらぬ山は富士の嶺いつとてか鹿の子まだらに雪の降るらむ *toki shiranu yama wa fuji no ne itsu tote ka shika no ko madara ni yuki no fururamu.*

the first (SKS 296) is only found otherwise in Eishōbon and in *Nanakashū*. The other is Bunmeibon poem 109.

EISHŌBON: A somewhat abbreviated version of Kanzeibon, with some independent description. The final poems are as in Kanzeibon.

UNEMEBON: The first half of this section consists of an elaborate independent description of the Musashino landscape, couched in highly poetic terms. The text then returns to a version of that found in Bunmeibon, where the old monk tells of his past and describes how he survives, in response to Saigyō's questions. There is no mention of the heavenly child's visitations, and the poems are missing. The sutra quotation is as in Bunmeibon.

A TEXTS: Shōhōbon shares most of the section's main elements, as well as many textual details, with Bunmeibon. However, its variations are as striking, and as independent, as those of the B2 and B3 texts. The Musashino landscape is evoked in poetic terms, although not as fulsomely as in many of the B texts. Notable variations are a different sutra quotation, and omission of the hermit's description of how he gains his sustenance. In place of the hermit's words, the two are depicted as talking through the night about their mutual past relation to Yūhōmonjin, and parting sorrowfully at dawn. Saigyō's encounter with the hermit thus presents less of the elements of Buddhist *setsuwa* at this point, and is a more *apoeticized* meeting. Saigyō's tears likewise are the *apoetic* tears of sorrow at parting and longing for the past, rather than the *religious* tears produced by the moving nature of the hermit's strength of heart. To Bunmeibon poems 107 and 108 is added a further poem, SKS 334, whose topic is the full moon of the eighth month (and thus seasonally appropriate to the scene).

SEIKADŌ: Omits this section.

SHS: Severely abbreviates this section, to a short *kotobagaki*-style description of how Saigyō entered Musashino, came upon an old monk chanting sutras, borrowed his lodgings for the night, and parted tearfully from him at dawn. The three A text poems follow.

Nanakashū: The lengthy kotobagaki here consists of a poetic description of Saigyō's entry into Musashino, the first half of which is a close version of that of the A texts. There is no mention of the hermit, and Musashino is simply an utamakura which provokes the six poems which conclude the section. They are SKS 334 (found in the later A texts), poems 107, 109 and 108, followed by SKS 296 (found only in the B2 texts) and SKS 330 (found only here).

34.

SIZ: Follows Bunmeibon, with for the most part minor variations. The introductory section for the last two poems, however, contains a variation which provides more detail, describing how Saigyō borrowed for the night a simple hut belonging to poor people, and composed the poems on the beautiful moonlight which filtereded it. It would seem that Bunmeibon's rather terse version of this scene is an abbreviation of a version such as that of SIZ, which makes clear the connection between the dwelling and the moonlight. Poem 110 follows the SKS version.

KANZEIBON: Poem 110 and a version of its introductory material begins this section. The remaining poems (except for poem 111) and prose of the B texts is not present. In their stead there is independent material filling out the depiction of his journey eastward. Two *Shinkokinshū* poems, SKKS 1532⁴⁶ and 1560, are preceded by a brief introductory sentence describing him discovering and approaching a village at dusk. There follows a poem found only in the variant collection *Saigyō Shōninshū* (SSS 450), accompanied by a version of the kotobagaki found there, describing how Saigyō fell in at Chūsonji with a large group of people who had fled the capital after the fall of Sutoku,⁴⁷ and their tearful recalling of the capital together. The next short sub-

⁴⁶ The first poem is found in other variants in section 47 (poem 181), where Saigyō is about to depart for Sanuki. The second poem appears in Bunmeibon and Hakubyō, in section 45 (poem 173).

⁴⁷ When he was defeated in the Hōgen rebellion (1156) and banished to Sanuki. The original kotobagaki does not link this event with the exiles whom Saigyō meets at Chūsonji, who are described as Nara monks. There appears to be a conflation at this point with the reference in other variants to Sutoku's exile, found in section 47.

section describes Saigyō going on deeper into the mountains to escape such sorrowful news, and is followed by SKKS 1641.⁴⁸ Bunmeibon poem 111 follows this, after which is a poem which is found in no other collection of Saigyō's poetry.⁴⁹ The section continues with a short prose passage on the subject of the moving nature of chance meetings with friends from the capital, which Saigyō tearfully ponders as he views Koromo River, and the sentence flows into the following section.

The added material in this section is a complex combination of poems not found in the usual collections, as well as poems found in very different contexts in other versions of the Tale. Several of these are from the final sections of Saigyō's second return to the capital, as is the reference to Sutoku's fall, suggesting some connection with this area of the Tale, but the poems and material found here are so varied that no conclusions can be drawn. The section provides a good example of the fluid nature of such poetic sections, where material can be omitted and fresh material from anthologies and poetry collections can readily be added without substantially altering the narrative flow.

EISHŌBON: Opens with a close version of Kanzeibon, quoting Nōin's poem, but the sentence breaks off, and is followed by SKS 764, a poem found at the end of the following section in Kanzeibon and the A texts. A page of text is presumed missing.

UNEMEBON: Not present.

A TEXTS: Shōhōbon follows the B text line closely, with a few added descriptive details and variations of phrase. It contains a description of Saigyō's borrowing the poor folk's hut which is similar to though independent of that found in SIZ. It echoes Bunmeibon (but not SIZ) in the inclusion of the expression *cloud seven times and eight times fine*, but its substitution of *rain* for *fine* makes sense of the statement, suggesting that it retains the earlier form.

SHS: Follows Shōhōbon exactly for this section.

⁴⁸ Found in other variants in section 38 (poem 136), when Saigyō returns to the capital.

⁴⁹ あづま路や忍ぶの里にやすらいでなこそその関を越す煩ふ *azumaji ya shinobu no sato ni yasuraide na koso no seki wo kosu wazurau*, a poem not found in any Saigyō anthology, but present as composed by him in *Shin chokusenshū* (poem 673).

Nanakashū: The section reveals a remarkably strong relationship to Kanzeibon. Poem 110 is preceded by a short kotobagaki, and poem 111 likewise. There follows poem 173 (see section 45), and 181 (see section 47), which is also found at this place in Kanzeibon. They are preceded by a kotobagaki similar to Kanzeibon's content, describing how he took shelter under a tree when evening caught him far from a village. The next two poems are 112 and 113, with a shorter poetic version of their introductory section. The section then reverts to Kanzeibon content, with a version of the Chūsonji episode and SSS 450. Finally, the section ends with two more poems found here only in Kanzeibon, poem 136 and the final Koromogawa poem, preceded by a version of Kanzeibon's introductory material.

35.

SIZ: Follows Bunmeibon with minor variations. The opening list of places differs except for the first name. The rather confused description of Sanekata at the capital is here if anything more confused. Poem 113 does not appear.

KANZEIBON: The opening of this section forms a continuous syntactic flow from the previous section. It is a fairly free restatement of the same material, and more closely related to the original kotobagaki (including the description found in Unemebon). Unlike Unemebon, it includes a version of Saigyō's recollection of Sanekata at the capital, which describes how Sanekata was designated one of the dancers at the subsidiary festival,⁵⁰ saw his reflection in Mitarashi River as he purified himself there, and praised it as unrecognizable though himself. The young women of the court thereupon swore to gain his enmity.

Poem 114 is followed by a version of SKS 764, which is found only in the A and B2 texts (and *Nanakashū*).

EISHŌBON: This section begins in the middle, presumably owing to the missing page (see section 34 above). SKS 764 is followed by a highly abbreviated version of

⁵⁰ This detail increases the likelihood that this episode is based on Sanekata's poem SKKS 1796, whose kotobagaki refers to the fact that he was a dancer at the festival.

Kanzeibon's description of Sanekata and lament at the present sight of the withered susuki. No poem concludes this section, a further indication of textual confusion.

UNEMEBON: Gives the episode in kotobagaki-like summary. It adds a sentence which is a close version of that found in the kotobagaki for poem 114 in *Sankashū*, describing the inexpressible sight of the frost-withered *susuki* stretching all about him. This is followed by poem 114.

A TEXTS: Shōhōbon contains a somewhat abbreviated version of the material, which omits Saigyō's reflections on Sanekata, and is less directly related to the original kotobagaki than are the B2 and B3 texts. It shows closest relation to the B1 texts, particularly in its inclusion of the place names at the beginning of the section (although the names themselves differ in several places from those of other texts) but adds SKS 764 as a second poem.

SHS: follows Shōhōbon exactly for this section.

Nanakashū: Poem 114 is followed by SKS 764, as in the A and B2 texts, and a final poem found in no Saigyō collection.⁵¹ They are preceded by a brief kotobagaki summarizing the meeting at Sanekata's grave.

36.

SIZ: The introductory section follows Bunmeibon more or less faithfully, with differences in the list of place names, and the addition of the name Hidehira (who is identified as a sukimono). Only three poems are given: 116, 117 and 119.

KANZEIBON: The introductory section is a loose version of the B1 texts, which adds that Hidehira prevailed upon Saigyō through his family connection,⁵² and emphasises that Saigyō composed only against his wishes. Only two poems are given: 117 and 119.

EISHŌBON: After a version of the opening sentence, which describes Saigyō wandering through various places, the narrative jumps to Saigyō's return to the capital

⁵¹ いつかわれ古きそとばの数に入りて知られず知らぬ人にとはれむ。

⁵² 縁 *en*. They were distantly related.

(section 38).

UNEMEBON: Not present. Section 35 is followed by a brief exchange of poems with Jakunen, lamenting the death of a mutual acquaintance (believed to be Saijū), a close version of SKS 805-806 and kotobagaki. This is immediately followed by the final sections (53-56) of the Tale. **I will omit further mention of this text until those sections.**

A TEXTS: Apart from variations in the list of names, the opening sentence of Shōhōbon is as found in the B1 texts. However, from this point the section continues in a great deal more detail to describe Hidehira, Saigyō's welcome at Hiraizumi, their talk, and finally Hidehira's proposal concerning the one-hundred poem collection. Saigyō's initial resistance to the request is here overcome by his recollection of the message he received in the dream at Senri (section 14). The fact that this episode does not appear in the A texts is generally taken as evidence that the A texts are an abbreviated version of the B texts.

The poems are as found in Bunmeibon, except for the reversal of the order of the final two poems (120 and 121). They are followed by a brief section describing Saigyō's departure at the end of autumn.

SHS: Not present.

Nanakashū: There is a brief kotobagaki with the place names followed by a brief description of his visit to Hidehira and the request for the poems. The poems included are as for the B1 texts, but poem 119 is not present.

37.

SIZ: Follows the content and in general the wording of Bunmeibon, although variations and omissions are more prominent than usual. Bunmeibon's confused first sentence is replaced by 'When autumn had finally reached its close . . . The only other notable variation is the omission of all reference to the poor people's hut and its willows (although poem 127 is retained), which is likewise a sentence where the Bunmeibon text is confused. Here, unusually, SIZ seems to be tidying Bunmeibon

(which bears a stronger relation to the A texts).

KANZEIBON: Consists of a brief transition section of poem 128 and introductory passage which combines elements of both the A texts and Bunmeibon.

EISHŌBON: Not present.

A TEXTS: These largely follow, and frequently elaborate on, the content of the Bunmeibon text. Notable variations are the omission of poem 123 and its introductory material, and a more comprehensible introduction to poems 126 and 127, in which Saigyō feels compelled to stay because of the scent of the plum blossoms. The final poem (129) is also missing. All variations in the A texts smoothe and frequently make sense of anomalous and awkward points in Bunmeibon, to which they are more closely related than to the other B texts.

SHS: Follows Shōhōbon almost exactly, although a misplacement of a page results in the insertion of part of section 32 in the middle. Poem 125 contains a mistranscription of 月 for 年.

Nanakashū: All Bunmeibon's poems are present except poem 23 (as with Shōhōbon). Two new poems are added. Between poems 122 and 124 is SKS 493, with a kotobagaki describing the crickets voice beneath a snow-covered hedge. SKS 521 follows poem 124. The kotobagaki are similar in content to those found in the Tale.

38.

SIZ: Contains a more syntactically comprehensible version of Bunmeibon, with considerable minor variations and one major addition of poems and introductory material. The long lament which opens this section omits some of the more poetic material found in Bunmeibon (which rather reads as a confusing addition to a text close to SIZ), and towards its end presents increasing variation of order of phrases. In general, SIZ in this section more closely reflects the content of the A texts. This is also the case with the sub-section following on the opening lament, which describes Saigyō as calling on the house of a particular friend and learning from his weeping wife that he had died. This is followed by SKKS 837 (as in the A texts), after which

poems 131-133 appear. The remainder of this text follows Bunmeibon (though the final short introductory section is somewhat augmented).

KANZEIBON: This section is severely abbreviated, and consists of a shorter version of the opening lament, followed by poem 130. Interestingly, although the prose is largely independent of both the A and B1 texts, a number of phrases are close echoes of those found in Bunmeibon but not in SIZ. It could be speculated that Bunmeibon augmented an SIZ-type text with borrowings from a text related to Kanzeibon. (The preponderance of these Bunmeibon-specific phrases in an otherwise quite brief passage make it less likely that the influence would have gone the other way).

EISHŌBON: A close version of Kanzeibon, although with variations in phrasing that make it somewhat less close to Bunmeibon. Here too only poem 130 is present.

A TEXTS: This section generally approximates most closely to SIZ in content. Its opening lament is lacking many of the poetic additions found in SIZ and even more in Bunmeibon, and is a more straightforward description of Saigyō's realisation of the devastation of the capital. This is followed by Bunmeibon poems 130 and 132,⁵³ which is followed by a short sub-section found also in SIZ, describing his visit to the widow of a friend, and poem SKKS 837. Bunmeibon's sermon material is entirely lacking. The remainder of the section is as for Bunmeibon, with an augmentation of the introductory prose section (which differs from that of SIZ).

SHS: Follows Shōhōbon exactly, to the end of poem 132. This is followed by Saigyō's retreat to Sōrinji and his death (section 54-56, sections which coincide precisely with the remaining Seikadō text, and also Unemebon). **The intervening sections are missing.**

Nanakashū: Poems 130 and 132 are not present. Poems 131-4 are preceded by a kotobagaki which lacks the *Hōbutsushū* and other quotations, but whose text contains echoes of that found in the B1 texts. There follows a brief kotobagaki describing how he built himself a hut and pursued the practice of silence, and heard a hototogisu. This is followed by SKS 179, followed by a poem which does not appear in any Saigyō

⁵³ Another late A text, *Saigyō Shōnin hosshinki*, here inserts poem 132, as in the B1 texts.

collection.⁵⁴ SKS 198 follows. Finally, poems 134 and 135 are preceded by a brief kotobagaki that seems to be a summary of that in the B1 texts.

39.

SIZ: A close version of Bunmeibon, with only minor textual variations, but omits poem 141 and the sentence which gives its circumstances (this poem and introductory material are found in section 37).

KANZEIBON: From this point, the text differs greatly from the other B texts and from the A texts. See section summary at the end of this Appendix for details. Sections which coincide with Bunmeibon will be discussed as they arise.

EISHŌBON: This text follows Kanzeibon, as above, and will be similarly treated under the appropriate Bunmeibon sections. It omits K48, 50 and 55, and the order of the final sections is: K51, 54, 52, 53.

A TEXTS: Shōhōbon contains only poem 140 and a version of its introductory sentence. (As with SIZ, poem 141 and its episode appeared in the previous section).

Nanakashū: Poem 139 is not present. Poems 137-8 have an abbreviated version of the B1 text content as kotobagaki. Poems 140-1 has likewise.

40.

SIZ: While it contains the same material as that found in Bunmeibon, there is considerable variation in its ordering. Several poems and their episodes which appear in the following section of Bunmeibon are found here between poems 143 and 144: they are the episodes and poems of 149, 150 and 151. This creates a series which takes Saigyō from his mountain village (142 and 143) to the graveyard of Funaoka (where he is described as himself chanting the Lotus Sutra for the dead, poem 149), hearing insects singing (poem 150), and composing on the moon through the smoke of the pyres of Toribeyama (poem 151), after which he returns to the scene of poem

⁵⁴ うき世いとふ我はあやなし時鳥あはれこもれる忍び音のこゑ *ukiyo itou ware wa ayanashi hototogisu aware komoreru shinobine no koe.*

144. This order has the virtue of placing Saigyō in the capital when he observes the distant autumn leaves in poem 144. Otherwise, its aim seems to be to gather in this section the poems which are composed alone, placing the poems composed socially in the following section. (Bunmeibon's section 41 does not make this distinction in its ordering of the poems). Seasonality may be another factor in this rearrangement.

In general, the introductory material is shorter and more kotobagaki-like.

KANZEIBON: Not present.

EISHŌBON: Not present.

A TEXTS: Shōhōbon contains only poem 142 and a version of its introductory material which bears a strong relation to that found in Bunmeibon (but not SIZ).

Nanakashū: Bunmeibon's three poems are present, with an added poem between 142 and 143 which is not found in any Saigyō collection.⁵⁵ The brief kotobagaki follows the B1 text content.

41.

SIZ: Follows the Bunmeibon content until poem 148, with some variations in the introductory material, which has a somewhat closer relationship to the original kotobagaki material. There is evidence (see notes to Bunmeibon translation) of Bunmeibon being a copy of an SIZ-type text. The remaining poems (149, 150 and 151) and their introductory material are found in section 40 of SIZ.

KANZEIBON: Not present.

EISHŌBON: Not present.

A TEXTS: A shorter version of the Bunmeibon content. Only poems 147 to 150 and their introductory material are present, with the addition of a poem not found in other variants.⁵⁶ This poem is unrecorded anywhere outside the A texts, and is generally believed not to be by Saigyō. The introductory material to the subsections found in

⁵⁵ あはれただ心に似たる友もがなうへしたもなくものがたりせむ。

⁵⁶ 初秋の中の五日の今宵こそ亡き人数のほどは見えけれ *hatsuaki no naka no itsuka no koyoi koso naki hitokazu no hodo wa miekere.*

this section (consisting of Saigyō's visit to Hōkongōin and to Funaoka) is a free expansion of the original kotobagaki material, with minor textual confusion evident in the first subsection. This, plus the presence of the anomalous poem, suggests that the A texts here represent a later and/or independent development in relation to the B texts. No early A texts contain this section, so comparison is not possible.

Nanakashū: Only two poems are present. Poem 146 is preceded by a short explanatory kotobagaki. It is followed by a version of Bunmeibon's opening material, with poem 145.

42.

HAKUBYŌ: The third scroll commences in the middle of this section, with the introductory material for poems 156-7. Thereafter, it follows the other B1 texts closely, with minor independent variations in content.

SIZ: Follows Bunmeibon closely for this section, with only occasional minor variations in both poems and introductory material, which show no evidence of influence from Hakubyō. It follows the *Sankashū* kotobagaki more closely than does Bunmeibon, although the text is somewhat confused in the introductory material for poems 156-7.

KANZEIBON: Not present.

EISHŌBON: Not present.

A TEXTS: This section contains only poems 154-5 and their episode (the night of talk with Nakanoin on the occasion of his taking the tonsure).

Nanakashū: The poems are as in the B1 texts except that poems 154-5 and their kotobagaki material are not present. Poems 151-2 are preceded by a somewhat more poetic version of the B1 content. Poems 156-7 are preceded by a short kotobagaki which is more confusing than that of the B1 texts, since it omits mention of Tamenari. The kotobagaki to poems 158-61 is a version of the B1 content.

43.

HAKUBYŌ: Follows Bunmeibon closely, with minor variations. The one hundred poem collection is not specified as being on the topic of Love. The order of poems 163 and 164 is reversed.

SIZ: Follows the other B1 texts closely, with occasional minor variations which place it as intermediary between Hakubyō and Bunmeibon. The poem order follows Bunmeibon.

KANZEIBON: All but poem 165 appear, with other love poems, in a short section (K 44) in which Saigyō is described as returning to the capital to lodge with a friend, after travels to Tennōji and Tsu. While at his friend's house, he receives an imperial command to compose the love poem sequence, which he obeys although he thinks it strange. The section frames this episode with an introductory statement of his deepening longing for ōjō and pursuit of it.

EISHŌBON: A somewhat abbreviated version of the Kanzeibon episode above.

A TEXTS: The introductory section omits the opening sentence of the B1 texts but is otherwise close. The poems appear in the same order as in Bunmeibon and SIZ. Poem 167 is not present.

Nanakashū: A unique section is interpolated here, consisting largely of poems found in the following sections of the Tale. First is a poem by Jakuren,⁵⁷ given as by Saigyō, with a kotobagaki describing the difficulty of attaining a quiet heart in the city. Poems 170-1 follow, with related kotobagaki. There follow three *Sankashū* poems not found in any version of the Tale, SKS 274, 294 and 453, with a kotobagaki describing his wandering through a plain and forlornly hearing insect voices. Poems 175-6 (Bunmeibon section 46) follow, with kotobagaki describing his meeting with Eguchi no Kimi. Finally, poem 180 (Bunmeibon section 47) appears with brief kotobagaki saying he parted from his companion. This section thus takes Saigyō from the city on an unspecified journey.

It is followed by the present section, consisting of 11 poems with brief

⁵⁷ 人しげき市の中にもありぬべしころぞ人はすみぞめのそで *hito shigeki ichi no naka ni mo arinubeshi kokoro zo hito wa sumizome no sode*.

kotobagaki stating that the newly retired emperor requested one hundred love poems. They are: poems 162, 164-7, 163, SKS 685, poem 78 (see section 22),⁵⁸ SKS 671, SKS 660 and SKS 628.

44.

HAKUBYŌ: Follows the other B1 texts, with variations that favour neither consistently. Important variations are: the inclusion of the Kamo Shrine description omitted in SIZ; a textual confusion at the point where Saigyō laments the possibility that he may not return;⁵⁹ the inclusion of the original kotobagaki of poems 170-1 in more faithful form than that found in Bunmeibon, but with the substitution of *æt* that winter for *əin* autumn .

SIZ: Follows Bunmeibon with minor variations. The more important of these are: the omission of the reference to Kamo Shrine as the place where he had worshipped of old, and a rewriting of the original kotobagaki of poems 170-1 (which Bunmeibon includes with little variation) changing *əin* autumn to *æt* that time and omitting reference to Saigyō's travel in a distant place — both of which are inconsistent with the Tale's present context).

KANZEIBON: This section appears as K46. This episode echoes Bunmeibon's poem 168 and its introductory material while differing in content. Here, Saigyō decides to go to Shikoku for austerities, and a companion laments the parting, whereupon Saigyō composes two poems (which appear in Bunmeibon 17 as poem 58, and Bunmeibon 47 as poem 180). There follows a brief description of Saigyō hearing the temple gong at dawn as he chants the nenbutsu, followed by SKS 938. He then visits Kamo Shrine, on the seventeenth (not the tenth) day of the second month of Ninnan 3⁶⁰ (not 2). The description is almost entirely independent of the other variants, though echoes them in

⁵⁸ This poem also appears in that section in *Nanakashū*.

⁵⁹ It is possible that the confusion of text at this point is related to Bunmeibon's confusing addition later in the sentence (see section 44 note 615).

⁶⁰ The anthology *Kashū* gives the year as Ninnan 3.

general content. It is more closely based on the kotobagaki to SKS 1095. It is followed by poem 169, and the exchange of poems 170-1 is missing.

EISHŌBON: Generally as for K46. His decision to go to Shikoku is textually related to the death of Saijū in the previous section (K 45). SKS 938 and introductory material is not present. The date of his visit to Kamo Shrine is the seventeenth day of the eleventh (not second) month of Ninnan 3.

A TEXTS: Generally follow Bunmeibon's content. The situation of the poem 171-2 exchange is reversed, with Narimichi sending him poem 171 upon hearing that he would travel to far places, poem 172 being Saigyō's reply.

Nanakashū: Poem 168 and brief kotobagaki material are followed by a short scene found in Bunmeibon 41, in which Saigyō visits Funaoka to pray for the dead, and composes poem 149 and SSS 537. That section's contents are continued here with poem 150 and short kotobagaki. ***Nanakashū concludes here.***

45.

HAKUBYŌ: This seems to represent the earliest extant form of this passage. Although substantially differing from the original kotobagaki in textual detail, and containing the additional description found in the other variants, it is closest to the kotobagaki in phrasing and content. Among the Tale's variants, it bears closest relation to SIZ. Comparison of textual detail makes it seem likely that Bunmeibon and SIZ developed independently from a Hakubyō-like earlier text. However, Hakubyō also shows evidence of being a hasty copy, either of an earlier text or of the kotobagaki material, particularly in the repetition of the phrase *ことがらいふ* (*kotogara iu ni*) which is not present in the other variants. Poem 174 is as in *Sankashū*.

SIZ: This section contains an unusual degree of variation in textual detail from the Bunmeibon text, although the content remains unchanged. It shows less evidence of textual corruption than does Bunmeibon, and occasionally bears a closer relation to the original kotobagaki material, but this is not consistent. Its variations generally

favour Hakubyō. Poem 174 is as in *Sankashū*.

UNEMEBON: Poem 172 only is given, together with brief introductory material that is an almost verbatim transcription of the original kotobagaki. This is followed by a short description of Saigyō composing a number of poems at the foot of Mt. Ogura, among which was one composed when he saw autumn leaves floating richly on the waves of the Ōi River.⁶¹ SKS 484 follows.

KANZEIBON: A version of this section appears as K 41, after an interpolation of didactic material on the inevitability of death. Its opening words bear a relation to those found in the B2 texts and the original kotobagaki, but the text soon veers into independent description. After a short introductory passage, poem 172 appears (but not poem 173). There follows an expansive poetic restating of the description of her altered appearance, which concludes with a description of the overgrown path to her door and her pitiful life, buffeted by Mt. Ogura's stormy winds. Poem 174 and its introductory material is not present.

EISHŌBON: Largely echoes Kanzeibon, although with considerable minor textual variation, which occasionally suggests that it is an earlier form of the text.

A TEXTS: The opening words echo those of most other variants, but are followed by a descriptive passage which, while echoing the content of the B texts, is largely independent of them. In content and occasionally in wording it bears some resemblance to the B2 texts, although it lacks the added description found in those texts. It is, as always, smoother and more poetically descriptive than the B texts. Poem 174 and its introductory material are not present.

46.

HAKUBYŌ: Differs to an unusual degree in textual detail from the other B1 texts. She refuses him, saying that they do not put up such people, and he acknowledges the justice of this custom, but composes the poem. Bunmeibon's description of her appears here. She sends her reply through a messenger.

⁶¹ 大井川, the lower reaches of the Hozu River, west of Kyoto.

SIZ: Follows Bunmeibon exactly for the first half of the introductory material, but the final part diverges somewhat in textual detail. Here, the description of the custom of courtesans is given (more reasonably) as the explanation by which Eguchi no Kimi shames Saigyō. Her poem is introduced merely by the conventional ‘In reply’, and mention of her sensibility etc. is lacking. In general, it appears that Bunmeibon is directly related to the earlier Hakubyō version, with SIZ inheriting and attempting to smooth Bunmeibon’s confusions.

KANZEIBON: This episode appears as K.42. It gives a largely independent summary of the same content. He seeks shelter when it grows dark, in a well-cared-for dwelling, and is harshly turned away with the explanation that only those in the world may stay there. The exchange of poems follows, after which a sentence adds that she was familiar with the sentiment of Japanese poetry, and felt moved to pity at the thought of exposing him to the erotic world by giving him lodging.

EISHŌBON: Interpolates a rather confused short episode dealing with Saigyō’s visit to Tennōji, accompanied by a poem which is not found in any listing of Saigyō’s poems.⁶² This is followed by a version of the Eguchi no Kimi episode which, while generally similar to that of Kanzeibon, is independent of it in many places. The exchange is likewise followed by a somewhat confused version of Kanzeibon’s final sentence.

UNEMEBON: This episode appears after another episode and poem (SKS 9) describing a brief excursion from the capital. It gives the story in summary, stating that Saigyō sought shelter when darkness came on, and speculating that the reason he was rejected was owing to his monk’s robes. The two poems follow, without further introductory material.

A TEXTS: The content of the A texts seems to be most closely related to that of Hakubyō, of which it appears to be a summary. As in Hakubyō, she refuses him, saying that they do not put up ‘such people’. The following sentence is not present.

⁶² *Oikakete iso no be wa tōru to mo koji to zo omou kōri no hate wa.* おいかけて磯の辺は通るともこじとぞ思ふかふりなはては。

Saigyō composes and leaves, and when the courtesan sees his poem, she calls him back and responds.

47.

HAKUBYŌ: Displays considerable variation independent of both Bunmeibon and SIZ, and variations which coincide with another text favour neither Bunmeibon nor SIZ consistently. Notable independent variations include the addition several times of the phrase あはれにおぼへて *aware ni oboete*, and several complete rephrasings of content. The exile of Sutoku is described as leading to the probable disappearance of the Way of waka. Saigyō does not seclude himself at Tennōji but leaves it and sets off for Sanuki; and Sutoku's devotion to chanting the sutras occurred not after he had undergone a change of heart (御心引かへて後、御つとめ *onkokoro hikikaete nochi, ontsutome*. . .) but was for rebirth in the next world (御心引かへて後世の御つとめ *onkokoro hikikaete gose no ontsutome*. . .), a detail which can perhaps be seen as evidence that Hakubyō preserves an earlier form of the text at this point.

SIZ: Generally follows Bunmeibon closely. Exceptions are most prominent in the material associated with the last three poems. The description of the friend's unwillingness to part with him contains an added phrase describing his tears and Saigyō comforting him with the poem. The introduction to poem 181 more comprehensibly describes the moon outside (rather than around) the capital as clear and beautiful. Poem 182 is not accompanied by the Buddhist quotation.

KANZEIBON: Poem 180 appears with another poem (poem 58) as two parting poems composed under the same circumstances as described in the other texts, but this episode (K. 46) occurs before Saigyō's visit to Kamo Shrine.

EISHŌBON: As for Kanzeibon. Poem 180 and poem 58 appear before the visit to Kamo Shrine, and Eishōbon elaborates in the introductory material on Saigyō's decision to visit Sanuki as a result of his sorrow at Saijū's death in the previous episode and his resulting increased awareness of transience.

UNEMEBON: Not present.

A TEXTS: The contents of this section consist of poems 180, 181 and 182, and their introductory material. Here Saigyō is described as staying in Tennōji, but choosing to go on to Shikoku because it had always been his intention to go there, and also because he wanted news of Sutoku in exile. A friend in religion attempts to hold him back, and he composes (180 and 181). This content is thus a summary of the content found in the B1 texts, and it is possible to see the B1 content as a later expansion of it, incorporating more poems. Poem 182 is composed when Saigyō has reached Sanuki and learned of Sutoku's dedication to his Buddhist practice. It is accompanied by the quotation, but is not sent to anyone. Although largely independent of the B texts except for key phrases, the content of the A texts's prose material bears closest resemblance to that of Hakubyō, increasing the possibility that it retains an early form of the material.

48.

HAKUBYŌ: While following the content of the other B1 texts, Hakubyō continues here to include an unusual degree of independent variation. The opening sentence has Saigyō visiting the Matsuyama harbour three or four years after he grieves deeply to hear of Sutoku-in's death (as in the A texts). SKS 1354 (the poem immediately following poem 185 in *Sankashū*), is added after poem 183. The text generally contains a number of additional descriptive phrases not found in other variants. Close textual comparison reveals a closer relationship to SIZ than to Bunmeibon, but the independent variations occasionally favour the A texts. Bunmeibon poem 114 (SKS 1355) appears after the lament over Sutoku's past glories.

SIZ: For the most part follows Bunmeibon closely, with a few exceptions. SKS 1354 is added after poem 184 (as in Hakubyō). Introductory material as follows is added before poem 185: 'His heart was held by the place called Zentsūji in this land, where Kōbō Daishi was born, and he built a hut and lived there for two or three years. Finding it difficult to leave the place, since it was close to the Daishi, (he composed). Bunmeibon poem 114 (SKS 1355) appears after the lament over Sutoku's past

glories. SKS 1355 appears as in Hakubyō.

KANZEIBON: This section appears as K 47, directly after Saigyō's visit to Kamo Shrine. The opening section gives a brief version of the B1 texts and/or kotobagaki material, followed by poem 183. The visit to the grave at Shiramine is accompanied by a lengthy description of his fall from past glories which bears some relation to that found in Unemebon. SKS 1355 follows. The brief description of his living at Zentsūji is filled out by a later hand, which quotes the details found in the A texts. It is followed by a short descriptive passage depicting his sorrowful thoughts (on transience and death) as he watches the smoke rise from the salt kilns nearby, which introduces poem 186. As in Unemebon, he prepares to set off for Tosa. Gazing at the bright moon, he recalls the distant capital, and recites a poem not found in other variants, SKS 1101. This is followed by poem 185. Poem 184 is not present.

EISHŌBON: As for K 47. A similar introductory section is followed by poem 183. The lament for Sutoku's fall is a somewhat abbreviated version of Kanzeibon's, and is likewise followed by SKS 1355. Poem 186 and its introductory material is missing. The description of recalling the distant capital with the bright moon is as in Kanzeibon, but is not followed by SKS 1101 as there, clear evidence that at this point Kanzeibon is the earlier text. Poem 185 follows. Poem 184 is not present.

UNEMEBON: A version of this section appears elsewhere. It presents Saigyō's visit to Matsuyama (with poem 183) and Shiramine (with SKS 1355) in a summary which bears some relation to the B1 texts and/or the kotobagaki material. The description of Sutoku's past glory and fall is entirely independent, and contains stronger Buddhist content. Poem 186 follows, with a brief introductory summary. Saigyō's departure is specified as being for Tosa, which echoes the kotobagaki found in *Kashū*. Poem 185 follows, with introductory material which is a summary of the B1 text content. Poem 184 is not present.

A TEXTS: As in Hakubyō, Saigyō here learns of Sutoku-in's death only after his arrival in Sanuki, four or five years after which he visits Matsuyama, and composes poem 183. This poem is immediately followed by the lament of his past glories and

downfall, which shows considerable variation on the same general content. Mention of Shiramine is omitted. He composes SKS 1101 before the grave. After mention of his hut at Zentsūji, his decision to return to the capital is described, followed by poem 185. Poems 184 and 186 are not present.

49.

HAKUBYŌ: This text continues to show considerable variation from the other two B1 texts, both in textual detail and in additions and omissions. The most important of these are as follows.

Upon hearing of his daughter's present state, Saigyō attempts to pretend he has not heard, but weeps copiously, and thinks to himself that he had intended to have her employed in the empress's service, that her present situation is untenable, and that since the world is anyway illusion he should make her a nun. His later explanation to her likewise emphasizes that being in her present (tonsured) position means that he is powerless to help her in the world. He persuades her to take the Buddhist path with a small sermon on transience, and, as in SIZ, omits the details of Bunmeibon's instructions on their meeting in the next life. The daughter's final reply is considerably abbreviated. Close textual comparison reveals a stronger relation to SIZ than to Bunmeibon, and occasional details also favour the A texts.

SIZ: Generally follows Bunmeibon closely, with numerous minor textual variations. The friend's mention here of Renzeidono being 'extremely fond of' the daughter, which is omitted in Bunmeibon, is perhaps directly substituted for there by the long interpolated section on her childhood sorrows and Renzeidono's comforting of her. Saigyō's instructions to his daughter on their meeting in the next life is also abbreviated here, as in Hakubyō, and her final reply is a slightly extended version of that found in Hakubyō.

KANZEIBON: This episode appears as K.35. The text follows the SIZ line with only minor variations to the daughter's final answer, which is more expansive on her sorrows and her failed desire to take the tonsure. (This bears no relation to the

Bunmeibon speech).

EISHŌBON: Appears as for Kanzeibon. This text is a free reworking of the same content, with considerable addition in minor narrative detail. Saigyō is from the beginning privately concerned about his daughter, which the friend guesses when he tells him her story. Hearing it, Saigyō is particularly displeased to hear of her present lowly employment. Their meeting is movingly portrayed, and Saigyō proceeds to give her an extended sermon on transience and suffering and the need to commit oneself to the Way. This sermon bears no apparent textual relation to that found in other variants. The weeping daughter speaks briefly of her joy at this opportunity and her need to prepare herself, Saigyō responds with a final reminder on the necessity of leaving behind worldly obligations, and they part. While sharing key phrases and moments with the other variants, Eishōbon is here otherwise entirely textually independent in its interpretation of the content.

UNEMEBON: This episode appears as U. 38-39. Although displaying minor variations, this text here follows the B1 texts closely, bearing strongest relation to SIZ.

A TEXTS: Follows the B1 texts with frequent minor textual variations, additions and omission. It does not appear to be directly related to Bunmeibon, but shares elements in common with the B1 and 3 texts generally. As in Eishōbon and Hakubyō, Saigyō appears particularly concerned with her present lowly status and his powerlessness to help her.

50.

HAKUBYŌ: Follows Bunmeibon, but is closest to SIZ in textual detail. It is also textually closer to *Hosshinshū* than the other B1 texts, and there is clear evidence of textual evolution from Hakubyō, through SIZ, to Bunmeibon. The poem is not present.

SIZ: Follows Bunmeibon, with additions and omissions which favour Hakubyō. She washes her hair before her departure (a detail made more of in *Hosshinshū*).

Renzeidono feels no suspicion when the daughter pauses to gaze at her, and is rather less detailed in her later bewailing. Somewhat unnaturally, it is Saigyō and not she who composes the poem.

KANZEIBON: This episode appears as K. 36. It is much abbreviated. The daughter washes her hair, then holds up the carriage while she gazes at Renzeidono, who finds this strange but assumes the daughter is simply bidding a temporary farewell.

Meanwhile Saigyō, feeling moved as he awaits his daughter, composes the poem.

Kanzeibon is textually most closely related to *Hosshinshū*, and seems to be an independent summary of it, although it rather oddly omits the climax of the scene. It is also related to the later B1 and the B3 lines in including the poem, which it makes more acceptable by moving the focus to the waiting Saigyō.

EISHŌBON: As for Kanzeibon. This variant is a more expansive version of Kanzeibon. Here, the puzzled Renzeidono tells the daughter to be sure to return the next day, which she agrees to do as she leaves. The final sentence depicts her tearful exit, as she tells herself that this is the final parting and laments that she cannot reveal it. There is no poem.

UNEMEBON: This episode appears as U. 41. It is unique in following rather than preceding the description of the daughter taking the tonsure (Bunmeibon 51). It is an abbreviated version of the episode, which does not describe the daughter's departure but commences with the scene of Renzeidono waiting. Textual details link this version with SIZ. As in SIZ, the poem is composed by Saigyō.

A TEXTS: Follow the B1 texts, with some independent variation. Some details relate this variant to the Hakubyō text. The poem is Renzeidono's (as in Bunmeibon but not the other texts).

51.

HAKUBYŌ: While following Bunmeibon in overall form and content, contains considerable minor textual variations, and an entirely separate section as part of Saigyō's speech. Though somewhat confused, this section gives the content of his

thoughts at the time of his hosshin, with a detailed depiction of the ōjō which he would surely achieve. The section concludes with four poems — poem 188, 189, poem 187 (found in other variants at the end of the previous section), and poem 190. SIZ: Follows Bunmeibon closely, with minor textual variations which strongly favour Hakubyō.

KANZEIBON: This section appears as K. 37. It is a close version of Unemebon below. The section ends, however, as found in the B1 texts, with Saigyō's relief, and three poems — 188, 190, and a version of 191.

EISHŌBON: This section bears no direct relation to that found in Kanzeibon, and where it coincides with other variants it appears to be derived independently from B1 texts, with Hakubyō being its closest relation. However, large parts of this section are unique to Eishōbon. It opens with an extended didactic passage given to Saigyō when his daughter arrives, which speaks of the salvation offered by Amida. After his daughter has spoken of her past unhappiness and present joy, Saigyō feels tears of affection rise in him, but telling himself that he must not be weak of heart, he reminds himself of the inevitability of death with a string of traditional conceits. The daughter then makes her way sorrowfully to Amano, as in the B1 texts, and a relieved Saigyō composes poems 188 and 189, with between them the insertion of poem 26 (see Bunmeibon section 7).

UNEMEBON: This section appears as U. 40. It largely follows the B1 texts, and is textually closest to SIZ. Saigyō's speech develops from a B1 beginning to continue the string of images with a verbatim repetition of the didactic passage found at the beginning of the Tale in section 1 (Unemebon 2), which comments on his hosshin. The Buddhist quotation is abbreviated, and the scene ends with their parting. This is followed by the episode (Bunmeibon 50) of Re SENDONO's discovery of her shukke.

A TEXTS: This text continues its remarkably strong relation to Bunmeibon, much of it verbatim, with minor textual differences. The only notable variation comes at the end, where Saigyō, instead of going off relieved, watches his daughter go. He composes poems 188 and 190.

52.

HAKUBYŌ: While following the other B1 texts, displays more textual variation. This is particularly evident in the opening section, which changes the order of the poems to 192, 191, 193, and breaks Bunmeibon's introductory material into two sections, with poem 192 being composed when he and others were complaining together over the ice in the water pipes. Poems 191 and 193 are here composed when spring has come yet there is still no sign of the ice melting. Such an ordering of material is more natural than that found in the other B1 texts.

SIZ: Follows Bunmeibon with minor textual variations, which generally favour Hakubyō. This version of the frozen water-pipe episode combines Hakubyō and Bunmeibon in a way which suggests this text may be intermediary.

KANZEIBON: This section appears as K.38 and 39. This variant is closer in textual detail to Bunmeibon than are the other B1 texts for the opening section. The order of the three poems is here 192, 193, 191. Poem 194 and its introductory material are missing. Saigyō's response to Horikawa's poem is omitted, and the introductory material states that she sent the poem in the fourth month when the mountain hototogisu were singing loudly.

EISHŌBON: As for Kanzeibon. This text gives an independent variation apparently based on Kanzeibon for the opening section. The first three poems are ordered as in Kanzeibon, but all contain variations which show evidence of poor or hasty copying. They are followed by the statement that Saigyō was unhappy at the lateness of the blossoms. As in Kanzeibon, poem 194 and its introductory material are missing, and only Horikawa's poem is given for the final episode, whose introductory material is a variation of that found in Kanzeibon.

UNEMEBON: Not present.

A TEXTS: Only the first three poems and their introductory material are present. The introductory material is a fairly close version of the B1 texts, and many of its details bear a particular relationship to Hakubyō, although the order of poems is as in the B2

texts.

The remainder of the section is missing.

53.

HAKUBYŌ: Closely follows the other B1 texts. The poems are as found in *Sankashū*. At the end is added poem 201, presumably a copyist's error since it appears again as in other texts, at the end of section 55.

SIZ: Closely follows Bunmeibon, with numerous minor textual variations, which sometimes favour the *Sankashū* kotobagaki from which this episode is taken. General textual variations follow those of Hakubyō. The poems, however, all contain variations from *Sankashū*. The only noteworthy textual variation is the lack of specific reference to Saigyō's saying of sutras by Toba-in's grave (a detail found only in Bunmeibon).

KANZEIBON: Not present.

EISHŌBON: Not present.

UNEMEBON: Not present.

A TEXTS: Follow the B texts in content, and for the most part in textual detail. An intriguing variation is found in the introduction to poem 198, which rather incongruously inserts a description of the grief of those in the funeral procession at seeing an unsuitable carriage used to convey the body to the burial ground.

54.

HAKUBYŌ: While generally a close version of the other B1 texts, Hakubyō displays considerable textual variation and omissions in this section. The passage describing Saigyō's wandering life after his shukke is not present, and the remainder of this passage contains reorderings of content, together with some omissions. The waka shugyō passage likewise is abbreviated in numerous places, the single exception being the addition of the words *æhe purified his heartthrough a myriad words*. Variations which relate to the other B1 texts consistently favour SIZ, pointing to the likelihood

that SIZ is an expansion of the Hakubyō material which Bunmeibon then inherited.

SIZ: Largely follows Bunmeibon with minor textual variation, which is more prominent in the second half (particularly in the waka shugyō passage).

KANZEIBON: After the section in which Saigyō leaves his pine at Zentsūji and sets off for Tosa (K. 47, see Bunmeibon 48), this text moves to a short section (K. 48) based on SKS 1367, in which hail collects on the rim of an offertory bowl in which Saigyō has placed flowers to offer to the Buddha. K. 49 moves directly to the statement that ‘He went up to the capital and lived in the eastern mountains’, and from here the content rejoins B. 54.

The text follows the B1 texts fairly closely, with numerous though minor variations and no interpolations. While favouring Bunmeibon in ordering of content and occasionally in language, where its variations replicate those of the B1 texts it generally favours SIZ/Hakubyō.

EISHŌBON: K. 48 is not present, and the scene moves directly from his journeying to Tosa to his return to the capital and residence in the eastern mountains. From here, the text is a simplified form of the other B texts, which omits the second half of the section (both the waka shugyō passage and the final description of his meditations at Sōrinji), concluding directly with poem 200. The section appears to be a much abbreviated, rather than an earlier, form of K. 49 above.

UNEMEBON: U.50 (which follows directly on the Sanekata’s grave episode) consists of an exchange with Jakunen, found in *Sankashū* 805-6, a more or less direct borrowing without added material. The two poets lament the passing of a mutual hijiri acquaintance, while expressing pleasure at the news that he attained ōjō. This short exchange (which echoes that of Teika and Kinhira after Saigyō’s own death, see section 57) performs the same function as the episode concerning Toba’s death in the other variants, in that it announces the theme of death and foreshadows Saigyō’s own.

The present section’s meditation on Saigyō’s past is entirely omitted,⁶³ as is

⁶³ Some of its material, however, finds its way into the following sections, depicting Saigyō’s death and his daughter’s life as a nun.

poem 200. The essential information, that he moved to Sōrinji to await his end, appears as the introductory sentence to the scene of his death (U.51). Its opening statement, ‘In accordance with his words ‘at that special time, the second month’s full moon’, with its reference to the famous poem, may suggest that the previous section has somehow been omitted, although the poem’s fame makes it quite possible that a mere reference to it was considered sufficient, without the need to quote it. Since the narrative flow does not suggest any omission, the latter possibility seems the more likely.

A TEXTS: Shōhōbon again provides an interesting variation on the common text. It follows the B1 texts (though favouring SIZ/Hakubyō where it echoes divergencies among these texts), with frequent minor variations and some interpolations. Its main divergence is in omission of all but a summary of the waka shugyō section. It also presents problems of voice, and the particularly awkward transition at the point where the early A texts rejoin the text is strongly suggestive of interpolation.

SEIKADŌ: With the words ‘Saigyō built a hut beside Sōrinji in the eastern foothills of the capital’, this variant rejoins the texts, and henceforth proceeds in tandem with them, with some variations. In this section, the variation consists of the lack of the description of Saigyō’s meditations in his hut. Seikadō simply states that he spent his days and nights there awaiting the arrival of the heavenly host.

SHS: This variant likewise rejoins the texts, at the same point as Seikadō, and with the same words. It proceeds as for Shōhōbon, strongly suggesting that it is intermediary between the two.

55.

HAKUBYŌ: Closely echoes Bunmeibon to the end of *The Lotus Sutra* quotation. The subsequent description of the scene of his ōjō contains considerable variation when compared to Bunmeibon, most notably in numerous omissions of phrases describing details of the scene. Bunmeibon’s final sentence is also lacking. The death scene is considerably abbreviated. Where variations coincide with another B1 text,

they consistently favour SIZ, suggesting that here too SIZ has inherited and expanded on a Hakubyō-type text, which then received further expansion in Bunmeibon.

Hakubyō includes a unique phrase stating that he was ninety four at the time of his death.⁶⁴

SIZ: Intermediary between Hakubyō and Bunmeibon, with a rather less abbreviated version of the death scene than that found in Hakubyō.

KANZEIBON: At this point is interposed in all existing copies of Kanzeibon a section in katakana (K.50) which discusses descriptions of Saigyō's death found in the *Shūgyokushū* 拾玉集(1236)⁶⁵ and *Shūi gusō* 拾遺愚草(1216),⁶⁶ quoting the poems relating to Saigyō's death, and ending with a discussion of the discrepancy in death dates between that recorded in these works and that found in the Tale.

There follows a rather loose version of section 57 of the B1 texts, with occasional added detail. No direct influence from Bunmeibon is discernible.

EISHŌBON: A version of Kanzeibon which contains considerable independence of phrase, and an added final comment on the moving and uplifting nature of the scene.

UNEMEBON: This is a free rendering of Saigyō's death scene, largely independent of the other texts except in general outline and some textual echoes. Interestingly, several themes and expressions from the previous section as found in the other texts (but omitted in Unemebon) are found echoed here; of particular note is a clever weaving in of the theme of nature reflecting Buddhist truth. Here, it is not the truth of impermanence (as in Bunmeibon), but nature as a reflection of paradise — the strange scent which fills the sky is every like the scent of the plum by the eaves , and the heavenly music echoing in the clouds is metaphorically linked with the cry of the hototogisu in the valley . Use of these common poetic images express one version of thekyōgen kigo justification of poetry, that in contemplating nature the poet is contemplating images of the Buddha's paradise. Unemebon's dramatization of this

⁶⁴ He was in fact seventy-three.

⁶⁵ The personal collection of the poet Jien 慈円 (1155-1225).

⁶⁶ The personal collection of the poet Fujiwara Teika.

teaching here effectively integrates Saigyō's poetic activity into his final religious apotheosis.

The section ends rather incongruously with poem 201, which is here composed by Saigyō in an excess of joy as he departs on the lotus throne.

A TEXTS: The first half of the section is a fairly close version of the B1 texts (with the omission of added detail found only in Bunmeibon). Shōhōbon departs more radically from the B texts in the latter half, although details of expression echo those found in the other B texts. It bears least resemblance to Bunmeibon throughout. Noteworthy are the lack of overt reference to the coincidence with Sakyamuni's death, and the fact that it is Amida and his retinue rather than Kannon who comes to gather Saigyō up.

SEIKADŌ: The only difference from the later A texts is in the lack of the quotation from the Lotus Sutra. The Seikadō text ends with the final words of this section.

SHS: As for the later A texts. The quotation from the Lotus Sutra is present.

56.

HAKUBYŌ: A high degree of variation is present in this section, although overall content remains unchanged. The wife is not here superior to her husband. She does, however, foretell her death (in a sentence closer to that of Bunmeibon than to SIZ), and her ōjō occurs in the same year as Saigyō's, on the fourteenth day of the tenth month, when she is ninety-two. The daughter is not superior to, but later than, her parents, and considerably more detail is devoted to her practice and ōjō, which occurs, not on the Buddha's death day as in Bunmeibon, but on the thirteenth day of the ninth month of that year, when she is seventy-four.

Although all the B1 variants, and particularly Hakubyō, display great variation for this section, some textual relation with Bunmeibon is discernible here, while there is little direct relationship with SIZ.

SIZ: While following the content of Bunmeibon, SIZ displays numerous variations

both in choice of words and in omissions of Bunmeibon details (and occasionally additions). The wife here does not clearly foretell her death as in Bunmeibon, and the daughter is superior to both parents in this version. Her death is recorded only by year.

KANZEIBON: The description of Saigyō's death (K 51 above) is followed by a version of B 57 (K 52), which I will discuss below. K53 is a section found only in the B3 texts (Eishōbon places this section at the end of the Tale), which describes how the poets of the capital copied sutras as a prayer for Saigyō after his death, and people of sensibility (心有人) placed flowers on his coffin. It then relates how Saigyō had stated to a fellow-hijiri that because of his love of the moon he wished to have his head cut off in death and placed where the moonlight would shine on it, and this was duly done.

There follows (K 54) a brief version of B 56. It omits all reference to the wife, and gives a brief account of the daughter's ōjō, which states (as does SIZ) that she was superior to her parents, and gives her death as the time of *higan* 彼岸 (in the eighth month) of that year. No age is given. She and her father are reunited on the same lotus.

EISHŌBON: Unlike Kanzeibon, Eishōbon follows the order found in the other B texts. This section relates both the wife's and daughter's ōjō, and is most closely related to the SIZ version. The time of the daughter's death is as found in Kanzeibon. Kanzeibon's two intervening sections are here placed at the end of the Tale.

UNEMEBON: This section begins with a short description of the daughter which picks up from her journey's end and arrival at Amano, and describes her joining her mother in a life of chanting the nenbutsu. It borrows from the descriptions of B 54 to credit the daughter with what in other texts is Saigyō's religious perceptions of nature: the moon is a pointer on the path to the Pure Land, the falling leaves and blossoms reveal the truth of the transient world. Finally, she is praised for her strength of heart.

The remainder of the section rejoins the content of B 56. It bears a close resemblance to the version found in SIZ, with occasional echoes from Hakuyō in

linguistic detail.

A TEXTS: Shōhōbon contains a rather loose version of the B text content, which bears closest textual relation to the B2 texts (including giving the time of the daughter's death as higan, although of the previous year). The daughter's death is described somewhat perfunctorily, and her superiority is not mentioned, although the wife's is. The final sentence is missing.

SHS: Not present.

57.

HAKUBYŌ: the Tale ends with the exchange between Jakunen and Gyōson, and omits Bunmeibon's unique opening description of the news reaching the people of the capital, their tears and their ōjō. Teika's poem is as found in *Shūi gusō*, and the second poem is given as Kinhira's reply. It is otherwise a fairly close version of the other B1 texts, although it bears a stronger relation to SIZ than to Bunmeibon, and textual details suggest it to be the earliest of the three. After the Teika-Kinhira exchange, there is a sentence describing how all the poets in the capital copied sutras in mourning for Saigyō.

SIZ: As for Hakubyō, the Tale ends with the second exchange of poems. This section otherwise follows Bunmeibon with minor textual variations, and the notable omission of Bunmeibon's description of the events in the capital.

KANZEIBON: Much of the content of B 57 is found in Kanzeibon in the earlier K 53, an independent section by a later hand inserted before the description of Saigyō's death (see above under B 56). In place of the present section, this text ends with a statement (possibly by the same later hand) that this Tale contains discrepancies when compared with *Sankashū*, but the present writer feels that it should be believed by readers, since it is an old Tale, as witness the reference to its episode on the Tenryū ferry by Abutsu in her diary.⁶⁷

EISHŌBON: Like Unemebon, the section opens with a description of the mourning

⁶⁷ See section 30.

of the capital's poets, and proceeds to Teika's poem (although Kinhira's is not mentioned). After this is a version of the description of people (in general) copying sutras in mourning. There follows a version of Kanzeibon 53's description of people (here, every year) throwing branches of cherry blossom onto the grave, and Saigyō's head being left exposed to the moonlight (here he is buried with the top of the head exposed). This section appears to be intermediary between that of the other B texts and that found in Kanzeibon as K 53.

UNEMEBON: The section opens with a sentence describing the mourning of the poets in the capital. It then rejoins the B1 text content with the Teika-Kinhira exchange, after which is a sentence (a version of that found in Hakubyō) which describes the tonsured poets copying sutras in mourning for him. The Tale ends here.

A TEXTS: Shōhōbon follows Unemebon and Eishōbon in opening with a brief description of the poets' mourning in the capital, and proceeds to the Teika-Kinhira exchange, which forms its conclusion.

SHS: Follows Shōhōbon, with occasional minor textual differences.

KANZEIBON: summary of content

Equivalent (partial or whole) Bunmeibon sections are indicated in brackets.

Those sections not found in Bunmeibon are in italics.

K1— *Short introductory didactic section.*

K2 — Introducing him (B1, 2).

K3 — Fusumae poems (B3).

K4 — Honours are showered on him (B4).

K5 — Noriyasu's death (B5).

K6 — He decides to leave the world (B6)

K7 — He kicks his daughter, and takes the tonsure (B7)

- K8 — Meditations on transience (B8)
- K9 — Year's end and plum blossom poems (B9)
- K10—Repentance and setting off (B10)
- K11—To Yoshino (B11)
- K12—At Yoshino (B12)
- K13 —To Kumano (B13)
- K14 — Senri to Nachi (B14)
- K15 — Into Ōmine (B15)
- K16 — Out from Ōmine (B16)
- K17 — Parting from friends and to Sumiyoshi (B17, 18)
- K18 — Return to the capital (B19)
- K19 — He sees his daughter (B20)
- K20 — He and Saijū go begging (B21)
- K21 — Moon poems at Ninnaji (B22)
- K22 — He sets off for Ise (B24)
- K23 — At Ise (B25, 26)
- K24 — At Tsukiyomi no Miya (B28)
- K25 — Tenryū Crossing (B30)
- K26 — To Saya no Nakayama (B31)
- K27 — *The dead friend of Okabe*
- K28 — Travelling further east (B32)
- K29 — The hermit of Musashino (B33)
- K30 — Shirakawa and beyond (B34)
- K31 — Sakekata's grave (B35)
- K32 — Hiraizumi (B36)
- K33 — He turns homeward (B37)
- K34 — Return to the capital (B38)
- K35 — Meeting with his daughter (B49)
- K36 — Renzeidon (B50)

- K37 — Daughter's shukke (B51)
- K38 — He retires to Ōhara (B52)
- K39 — Poem to Horikawa (B52)
- K40 — *Sermon on death*
- K41 — Visits Chūnagon at Mt. Ogura (B45)
- K42 — Courtesan of Eguchi (B46)
- K43 — To Tsu no Kuni (B18)
- K44 — To the capital, and imperial love poems (B43)
- K45 — *Saijū's illness and death*
- K46 — Departing for Sanuki (B44)
- K47 — At Sanuki (B48)
- K48 — *Poem on hail in an offertory bowl*
- K49 — Return to the capital, and meditation on his life (B54)
- K50 — *Katakana section on praiseworthiness of his end*
- K51 — His ōjō (B55)
- K52 — Poetic tributes (B57)
- K53 — *His head is exposed to be bathed in moonlight*
- K54 — His daughter's ōjō (B56)
- K55 — *Postscript on the Tale's authenticity*

UNEMEBON: summary of content

Section divisions follow the pauses indicated by an illustration.

Those sections unique to Unemebon are in italics.

- U1 — *Introductory didactic section , which slips mid-sentence into U2.*
- U2 — Introducing him (B1).
- U3 — Fusumae poems (B3).
- U4 — Honours are showered on him (B4).

- U5 — *The Hosshōji episode.*
- U6 — Noriyasu's death. (B5).
- U7 — He decides to leave the world. (B6).
- U8 — He kicks his daughter, and takes the tonsure. (B7).
- U9 — Year's end and plum blossom poems. (B9).
- U10 — After wandering in mountains and to holy places, he goes to Yoshino. (B12)
- U11 — To Kumano. (B13).
- U12 — *He visits a friend in the village of Shiga.*
- U13 — Courtesan of Eguchi. (B46).
- U14 — *Lonely in spring, he meditates and hears an uguisu sing.*
- U15 — He joins an imperial procession on pilgrimage to Sumiyoshi. (B18)
- U.16 — Tsu no Kuni. (B18).
- U.17 — *He composes while meditating in a hut in Hirosawa.*
- U18 — He visits Byōdōin's stupa in Ōmine. (B15).
- U19 — He visits Shō no Iwaya in Ōmine. (B15).
- U20 — He pauses at Yagami no Ōji to compose. (B13).
- U21 — He visits the ruins of Kazan'in's hut at Nachi. (B14).
- U22 — Alone in his mountain village hut, he meditates and composes. (B40).
- U23 — Return to the capital. (B38).
- U24 — He sees his daughter. (B20).
- U25 — *An exchange of poems with Jakuren from Ise.*
- U26 — *He composes on the autumn wind, at a gathering in Shirakawa.*
- U27 — He visits Kamo Shrine, and to Sanuki. (B44).
- U28 — *He composes while spending the night on his way to Tennōji.*
- U29 — *He composes while visiting Mt. Shosha in Harima.*
- U30 — At Sanuki. (B48).
- U31 — He lives at Zentsūji and composes to the pine. (B48).
- U32 — Return to the capital. (B38).
- U33 — An exchange of poems with Hyōe no Tsubone. (B41).

- U34 — He visits Chūnagon no Tsubone at Mt. Ogura. (B45).
- U35 — *He composes on the autumn leaves at Mt. Ogura.*
- U36 — *He visits Kōfukuji and Nara, and composes on a legend of Sarusawa Pond.*
- U37 — *Jakuren invites him to compose at Mt. Kōya.*
- U38 — He visits a friend in the capital, and learns of his daughter's fate. (B49).
- U39 — Meeting with his daughter. (B51)
- U.40 — Daughter's shukke. (B51)
- U41 — Reisendonō is angered at the betrayal. (B50).
- U42 — He and Saijū go begging. (B21).
- U43 — He composes on the year's end in a distant land. (B37).
- U44 — He visits Sutoku-in at Ninnaji. (B47).
- U45 — Tenryū Crossing. (B30).
- U46 — To Saya no Nakayama. (B31).
- U47 — He composes on Mt. Fuji. (B31).
- U48 — The hermit of Musashino. (B33).
- U49 — Sanekata's grave. (B35).
- U50 — *Exchange with Jakuren on the death of a mutual friend.*
- U51 — His ōjō. (B55).
- U51 — His daughter and wife pursue their practice at Amano. (B56).
- U52 — They die, and people in the capital exchange poems on Saigyō's death. (B57).

APPENDIX II Shōhōbon translation

The section numbers refer to the equivalent section in Bunmeibon.

Text identical or close to identical with Bunmeibon is underlined.

Text which is similar in content but differs either on the linguistic or the rhetorical level, or both, is shown by a dotted line.

Points at which the Seikadō text differs are footnoted.

B1. During the time of retired emperor Toba, there was a man who served as one of the imperial guards. His name was Fujiwara Norikiyo, Guardsman of the Left, and after he renounced the world he took the name of Saigyō. His ancestry reached back to the god Amatsukoyane, from whom he was descended to the sixteenth generation. He was a ninth generation descendant of the Shōgun Hidesato, grandson of Guardsman of the Right Hidekiyo, and eldest son of Yasukiyo.

Thus he came of ancient military stock, and he himself gained honours in the military arts. He mastered the one hundred arrow art of Yōyū, and grasped the secret truths of Chōryō's Sanryakusho.⁶⁸ He was a lover of all learning, and studied the ancient manuscripts of the Sugawara and Ki families,⁶⁹ as it were gathering fireflies and collecting snow for light to read by, such was his devotion to study. Nor was he by any means unversed in the art of music.

Naturally, it was likewise with this country's native tradition of waka, that thirty one-syllable verse which had its beginnings in the song of the god Susano-o,⁷⁰ "Oh the eight-fold wall in Izumo / of the eight-fold clouds"; which then became a

⁶⁸ 三略の書. A legendary book on military tactics, which Chōryō 張良 (a military tactician of the Han Dynasty) was said to have received from an immortal.

⁶⁹ 菅家紀家. Two great families of the Heian period whose special preserve was the study of the Chinese classics.

⁷⁰ 素盞烏尊. Brother of the sun goddess Amaterasu, and credited with originating the native Japanese verse form with the poem quoted here.

ceaselessly flowing stream down through the great poets Hitomaro and Akahito, and thus on through the many others who have treasured waka, Ariwara no Narihira, Oshikōchi no Mitsune,⁷¹ Ki no Tsurayuki, Kisen of Ujiyama.⁷² Norikiyo could stand without shame beside these poets of old in his power to set blossoms on the withered tree and soften the hearts of the most unfeeling demons with his poetry.⁷³

Such being his talents, the emperor called on Norikiyo's services on the occasion of the poetry gatherings beneath the spring blossoms, the moon banquet of autumn leaves, the court football gatherings beneath the goal trees, archery contests in the Southern Garden, and indeed all the ceremonies associated with the progress of the seasons.

When he was in attendance at the emperor's residence, he passed the day on guard duty gazing up at the lofty heights of the imperial chamber, and on the evenings when he was not granted leave from night watch, he guarded the palace floors till break of day. He was thus blessed with special imperial favours. His family was prosperous, and powerful as that of Sudatta. His home overflowed with vassals and dependents, and with every kind of treasure.

And yet the emperor still was not satisfied, but insistently signified a wish to rapidly promote him to great heights. But Norikiyo said to himself, "Sōshu's hundred years of prosperity were but the work of a single night. What happiness can be had from the dream of a butterfly?" and he avoided the emperor's urgings with this and that evasive answer, for although to all appearances he fulfilled his duties with dedication, in his heart he lamented the vain and transient nature of this world.

He recalled how Sakanoue no Masasuke dreamt of falling into hell and so assumed the cap of the fifth rank in order to avoid becoming a kebiishi.

At the hour of our death, all must relinquish

⁷¹ 凡河内躬恒 (date of birth and death unknown). As with Narihira and Tsurayuki, a famous early waka poet.

⁷² 宇治山の喜撰, fl. ca. 810-824. Famous early waka poet.

⁷³ A reference to the use of this expression in the kana preface of the *Kokinshū* describing the uncanny power of poetry.

wife, and riches, even the throne itself.

Our only true companions, in this life and the next,

are the Buddhist precepts, alms-giving and selflessness.

This verse was ever in his thoughts.

Quiet reflection led him to realize that to receive this human form of ours is as difficult and rare a thing as that a thread dangled from heaven should pass through a needle's eye within the ocean's depths; to have the good fortune of meeting with the Buddhist Law is as rare as for a blind turtle which rises to the surface once every hundred years to chance upon the hole in a floating log. It is a wretched thing, then, to seek after illusory prosperity, to become tied by the transient bond of wife and children, and to create sufferings for yourself in future lives.

The pleasures of the past twenty five years seemed to him now more fleeting than some dream seen in a dozing sleep. What worthwhile memories could there be with twenty or thirty years more of life? Though born a man of the East, he had had the supreme good fortune to receive the teachings of that distant Western Heaven. Who would not then strive to follow the Buddhist Way? Who would put his hand into a mountain of jewels and withdraw it empty?

It is thus that Nagarjuna said, "Even if a man is prosperous, if his desire does not cease, he must be called poor. Likewise if he is poor, but has no desire, he must be called rich . And again the saint of Mount Shosha said, "Bend your own arm and make it your pillow. In this lies happiness. Why should you seek after the shifting clouds of glory in this world?"

With this reasoning running in his mind, his urge to retire from this world grew deeper, yet he was anguished at the difficulty of severing his ties of love and loyalty, and he continued to pass days and months in fruitless inaction, hateful to himself.

When do they think they must lament? / When ponder? —/ that they thus pass this life / blind / to the one to come.

At what moment / of our long sleep / will we awaken from this dream / into enlightenment?

What is this / that catches at my heart / and holds it to this world — / so that the world / is yet more hateful to me? ⁷⁴

B2. This man always bathed himself in the breeze of waka, clearing the worldly dust from his heart, and he drew deep draughts from the clear flow of the waka tradition, to concentrate his thoughts the more.

Hence, when the emperor from time to time chose an occasion to present him with the subject for a poem, he would compose upon it then and there.

On the subject of 'The First Day of Spring', he wrote:

Ice that sealed the rock gaps / this morning starts to melt — / under the moss / water trickles / seeking its way.

Filtering through the mist / the voice of the uguisu — / spring / in this mountain village / with so few to hear.

B3. Around the tenth day of the tenth month of the second year of Daiji, there was an imperial progress to visit the Toba Palace. The retired emperor viewed the fusuma in the newly rebuilt palace. So pleased was he at their splendour that he called on the poets of the day -- Tsunenobu, Masafusa, Mototoshi, and among them Norikiyo -- and expressed a wish that each should compose one poem on each of the subjects of these screen paintings. They all took great pains over their verses, and that very day Norikiyo presented the following:

On a scene depicting a stream flowing at the foot of a snow-covered mountain in spring. _____

⁷⁴ This poem does not appear in Seikadō.

The snow that lies / so deep on the high peaks / has melted — / white waves /
on Kiyotaki's waters.

On seeing a scene in which a hermit in his grass-thatched hut in a mountain village is
composing a poem on plum blossoms.

Come seeking this hut / to see my plum's full flowering --/ though I live
estranged from people / yet there is a time/ for visits.

On a scene in which a man gazes at the moon beneath blossoms

Gazed at thus / confused / through clouds / of blossom / the moon /is hazed to
the eye.

On a scene depicting someone entering a cedar grove among mountain fields, to hear
the first hototogisu of summer.

Here I will take my stand / to wait out the silence / before the hototogisu's call
/ in this cedar grove / among mountain fields.

On a scene in which the search has succeeded and the voice of the hototogisu is
heard.

The hototogisu / has emerged /from deep among mountain peaks — / his voice
is sounding / down in these lower foothills.

On a scene depicting a traveller resting in the shade of a willow by a clear flowing
stream.

In the willow's shade / where the pure stream / flows on by the wayside / I

halt my steps and stand a while.

On a forlorn scene of grasses tangled by the first winds of autumn, with the dew swept from the under-leaves.

Ah how the dew drops / must be spilling now / from those grasses — / the
autumn wind has risen / on the fields of Miyagino.

On a scene of a deer calling by a hut where a man guards mountain rice fields.

A deer calls / near the hut / among mountain fields — / startled, / he startles
the deer.

On a scene depicting a storm scattering the autumn leaves at Ogura Mountain, with a bright moon above.

Leaves are falling / in the village below / dark Ogura Mountain — / there in the
branches / the brilliant moon.

On a scene of autumn showers, with clouds on the high mountains.

In Akishino / chill autumn showers must be falling / over the low villages / for
clouds swathe / the peaks of Mount Ikoma

Thus he composed ten poems, and the emperor was delighted with them. He
ordered the calligraphers Sadanobu and Tokinobu to write them (on the screens).⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Seikadō omits the final phrase of this sentence (書かせらる), and instead runs this sentence on to the following one (ときのぶをめされて、頭の弁をもて. . .). This conflation of scenes is odd, does not appear in any other version, and strongly suggests the copyist accidentally slipped from the first 召されて to its repetition in the next phrase and omitted the intervening words. Such errors, though rare, are important evidence that Seikadō, though deemed among the earliest surviving versions of the Tale, is itself a copy of a still earlier work.

B4. He summoned Norikiyo and the Secretary Controller presented him with a sword called ʼAsahimaro , wrapped in a brocade bag. And this was not all, for he was then called before the imperial consort, where Chūnagon had a girl in waiting, Otome no Mae, present him with fifteen robes. When he emerged with them on his shoulder all who saw him, both high and low,⁷⁶ were astonished, and there was not one who did not envy him. ʼCould there be a prouder moment than this in my life? he thought. ʼMy attachment to this life can only grow the deeper for it.

That evening when he returned home, his wife and family were gathered to greet him with smiles of joy and eyes wide with pleasure at his honours. Again in his heart there rose the injunction, ʼFame and riches condemn you to evil. Wife and family are karmic bonds tying you to life and death. And he even thought with pleasure, ʼIndeed, today's events may after all prove to be the very means by which I am led to the Way of the Buddha.

B5. It was thus that, as the sun was sinking to the west and the moon emerging in the eastern sky, Norikiyo left the palace with his dear friend, Guardsman of the Left Satō Noriyasu.⁷⁷ As they went along together, Noriyasu remarked:

ʼEver since the distant days of our ancestor the shōgun Hidesato, who subjugated the eastern provinces, our family has served as imperial guardsmen, maintaining peace in the nation. To this day we have been blessed with imperial favours, and honours have been heaped upon us. And yet, for some reason, recently I feel everything to be but a dream, and it seems to me⁷⁸ that being alive today is no guarantee that we can hold expectation for the morrow. Ah, if only there were something one could truly rely on. I yearn to renounce the world, become a monk, and spend my days in retreat in some remote mountain village.

⁷⁶ Seikadō has みな (as found in Hakubyō) while Shōhōbon has 上下.

⁷⁷ Seikadō runs this sentence on with まかりいで、みちにておりやすかたりけるは.

⁷⁸ 身とおぼえず. Seikadō has 身にもあらず.

He spoke with feeling, and Norikiyo was deeply moved.  How do you come to be saying such things now! he cried, and they soaked their sleeves with tears together.

Then Noriyasu said,  Tomorrow we must all hasten to the Toba Palace. Call in on me, and let us go together, and he remained at Shichij  Omiya.

The next morning, when Norikiyo called in at the Omiya house to fetch Noriyasu, he found a noisy throng of people gathered about the gate, and heard within the sound of many voices raised in sorrow.  This is strange, he thought,⁷⁹ and he quickly entered, wondering what had happened.

 The young master died suddenly in his sleep last night, he was told. Noriyasu's fifteen-year-old wife and his old mother of over seventy had flung themselves down in tears by his pillow and at his feet.

When Norikiyo witnessed this, he felt the world go black around him.  So it was premonition that made him suddenly speak of the transience of this world! he thought. Though this was not the first time he had understood the truth of transience, the unaccountable nature of this death struck him forcibly. He was beside himself, and a great hatred of the world rose in his breast.

 At morning, pink-cheeked and youthful, / we are proud in the world. / At evening, our whitened bones / rot in the field , he murmured to himself. He called to mind images from the sutras, of a fish caught in a drying pool, of a sheep led to the slaughter house, and he felt an urge to cut off his hair and take the tonsure that very moment. But he thought to himself,  I must first behold the imperial face once more, and beg my leave of him, and he whipped his horse towards the palace.

Now Noriyasu was but two years the senior of Norikiyo, and only twenty seven.  Death takes no account of youth or age, he thought, and in his sorrow he composed the following:

A sad place indeed / is that mountain path / into death — / once it is crossed / there can be no returning.

⁷⁹ と思へば. Seikad  has ととへば.

Though I see / all about me / the dream that is this world / yet, seeing, / my
foolish heart does not awaken.

How can I have spent / these long months and years / in a world / where he
whom I saw yesterday / today is gone?

B6. That day Norikiyo was attired particularly splendidly. A music and poetry gathering happened to be in progress at the Toba Palace, and the retired emperor had him called in immediately.

When the event was over, Norikiyo requested the Tō no Ben to petition on his behalf for permission to retire from the world. The retired emperor was reported only as being astonished and vexed . However, Norikiyo thought deeply and concluded thus: ǎIf I heed the imperial displeasure and resign myself for the moment to returning to the home and family to which I am so attached, instead of retiring from the world, things will simply continue without the moment of choice ever arising again. The Buddha teaches that we must sever ourselves from the bonds of worldly ties and obligations,⁸⁰ and that a monk's garb is the first step on the road to release from suffering. As he rode away from the palace he thought to himself, ǎNever again will I join the honoured guests beneath the blossoms,⁸¹ or find my place among the cultured poets viewing the moon. And so he set out weeping along the road, constantly reining in his horse to gaze back.

In fact he had already,⁸² in the second month, set his mind on retiring from the world. At that time the sky was hazy with spring mists, and he had forlornly written:

⁸⁰ Although the passage is otherwise unrelated, this phrase repeats a phrase found with variations in Kanzeibon and Eishōbon at this point. The origin appears to be from *Shukke ryaku sahō* 出家略作法 : 棄恩入無為は如来の教へ.

⁸¹ はなのもと. Seikadō has はなのたもと, presumably a slip.

⁸² From this point *Saigyō Hōshi shūka* rejoins the text.

Empty as sky / my heart lifts / like spring mist / in its longing / to leave this world behind.

His intention then had been far from a shallow one, but somehow the time had not come, a number of petty things stood in his way, and his busy life had swept him on without his grasping the moment. In the autumn of that year he had again had the urge to leave the world. Even the autumn wind had a mournful tone, and the moon shone bright.

Autumn's first wind / creates feeling / alike / even in those / who never pause to feel.

Autumn moon / hold my heart firm / which wanders/ homeless / in the world's grief.

What shades of sadness / do I add / to the moon's light / gazing at her / with these heavy thoughts?

B7. Autumn too was passed in futile evasion. I pray to the Three Treasures that this time nothing will stand in the way of my retiring from the world. So saying, he returned home. When he returned to his home that evening, his darling daughter of four came running innocently to the verandah. She was a delightful sight, her hair barely reaching her shoulders. I'm so happy you've come home, Papa. Why are you so late? Wouldn't His Highness let you leave? She chattered on, clinging enchantingly to the sleeve⁸³ of his courtly robes. He adored her above all things, but he thought to himself, It is this daughter who has been the cause of my inability to

⁸³ Seikadō is missing two characters here. The text reads かりぎぬのすすがりけるを, suggesting that the writer wrote or began to write すそに, which was partly removed by this or a later hand.

leave the world. The evil god Maō indeed said that he provided man with the bonds of wife and children to prevent his leaving the world, so that all people could not become Buddhas. How can I remain clinging to these attachments, in the face of this knowledge? Here is the enemy before my eyes! Now must begin my severing of bonds of attachment to earthly passions, and mercilessly he kicked her down off the verandah. She covered her face with her little hands and only cried for him the more, but though it pained his heart to do it, he pretended to ignore her cries and went inside.

The servants and ladies-in-waiting who witnessed this were utterly astonished, and set up a clamour, crying What can this be about? But his wife had long known of his desire to leave the world, and showed no surprise at the sight of her weeping child.

This also affected Norikiyo deeply.

Though the dewdrops vanish / they will come again. / Not so this self. / In this we may place / no faith.

The moon had already passed the sky's mid-point, a stormy wind from the peaks was sighing in the pine by the eaves, and from somewhere came the mournful sound of a fulling block. Now by pillows could be heard the weakening cries of autumn insects in the frosty night, and all things seemed forlorn. Norikiyo turned to his wife of many years and made his various vows concerning what must be, but she only wept, and made no reply.

Once the great saint Ananda came across a girl from the heathen Matōka, and very nearly broke the commandment against physical passion, but the Buddha perceived this with his divine sight, and ordered Manjusri to say a powerful spell, by means of which his lust gradually abated and he was saved from violating the precepts. The Buddha taught that this karma is not a matter of only one or two lifetimes, but extends through countless lives. Thus our own connection is not just for

this lifetime. In our next life we will be reborn on the same lotus, and attain the peace of enlightenment together. He spoke of various things, but still she made no reply.

Deeply reluctant as he was to leave thus, there was no holding him from the path he had chosen, so summoning his strength of heart he cut off his hair, cast the locks into the private worship hall, and went out through the gate; but his heart grew dark to think that he was taking his farewell look at the home he had known for twenty five years, and when his thoughts turned to the wife he loved so deeply and his four-year-old daughter, he could not contain his grief and tears overflowed his sleeves, falling to rival the dew on the roadside grasses as he passed.

He ran to a hijiri he had long been acquainted with, who lived at the foot of the western mountains, and in the dawn he finally accomplished his shukke. His Buddhist name was Saigyō. A close follower of his for many years also took the tonsure. He received the name of Saijū. The next morning, the hijiri who lived around the hut gathered round, saying to each other in surprise and disbelief,  What can this be about? How unexpected! How extraordinary! . Thus Saigyō:

Do I indeed  throw away / by cutting worldly ties? / I would call / those who  throw away nothing / those who throw all away.

Having risen through the worlds / to attain at last / this hard-won human form / surely no one would sink back / no wiser.

Let me leave to the world / in memory of this worthless self / at least a name / as one who left / that world behind.

B8. Indeed what a joyful thing it is to follow the Nirvana Sutra's parable of the three horses⁸⁴ and retire early from the world. Quiet reflection leads us⁸⁵ to realize

⁸⁴ *Nehangyō* vol. 33. The three horses represent three possible ways of being (the active bodhisattva way, the more passive monk's way and the unenlightened commoner's way), and the

how fortunate we have been to chance to meet with the Buddhist Law, to learn the truths of karmic rebirth, improve our karmic lot, and to hear of the wonderful Way of enlightenment. What folly if we study no Buddhist sect, perform no ascetic practices, ignore our own inherent Buddha nature and wander blindly in worthless acts, with no chance to sever our bonds with the world. How dreadful to stray yet further from the path in lifetimes to come, reborn over and over into the Six Realms, suffering the Four Life Forms, in an endless cycle of death and life, sunk in countless kalpas of suffering. Yet though we should shave the head and put on Buddhist robes, keeping the commandments, should relinquish desire and distance ourselves from love, people nevertheless hold on to wife and children, indulge in the Three Poisons and the Five Passions, and do not maintain the Five Commandments and the Ten Good Actions. In this situation the murdering demon of Impermanence afflicts us all, high and low, the devil of Parting Through Death comes upon us all, old and young, so that events are at odds with our hearts' hopes, and happiness and misery come linked together.

And thus did Saigyō now happily sever himself from worldly ties, and choose to live in the house of Truth, shaking off the dust of this world and entering the Buddhist Way. He made for himself a grass hut in the western mountain area, and there he lived.

If only there were another / who could bear the loneliness / we would build
our huts side by side / in the wintry mountain hamlet.

I might have lived on / oblivious / to the self's sorrow / were there no
teaching / to turn me from the world.⁸⁶

parable ends by proclaiming the superiority of shukke.

⁸⁵ The didactic material in this passage retains the narratorial voice, unlike that in the B texts which place it within the context of Saigyō's meditations.

⁸⁶ This section is entirely missing from Seikadō, with the exception of the first poem, which is preceded by Shōhōbon's final sentence (the only sentence to bear any relation to the B texts).

B9. The year ended. He recalled how until this past year he had busied himself at this time with matters both public and private.

The year ends. / How different/ those past activities. / Now my haste / is of another order.

Recalling the past / now in my garden / I stack firewood / for a year's end /different from those I knew before.

The first day of the New Year dawned. It now seemed to him the merest dream that he had ever on this day celebrated with the words "For Your Highness, and for myself, long life and prosperity for ten thousand years" . The blind folly of worldly desires seemed now extraordinary, and turning to face the west he prayed: "Bestow a calm heart at death, and lead me hence to Paradise."

Humble though his hut was, spring was not forgotten by the plum tree before his hut, which bloomed magnificently, scenting the air. Perhaps plum blossom has a particular way of making people pause, for those who passed by tended to linger and gaze at this tree.

Be aware/ the plum blossom/ in my humble hedge / halts the feet / of passing strangers.

While the plum blossom still hangs / in my hedge / in this mountain village / I await those who come seeking / its scent.

The fragrance of the flowering plum tree by the eaves next door was constantly carried on the breeze, scenting the sleeves of others.

How the owner must hate / this passing wind / which takes the scent of his

plums / for the joy / of others.

Day and night in his thatched hut he longed for the Buddha's coming. But old friends of a different bent from him came cherry blossom viewing, and their random talk of old times disturbed his peace of mind. ㊦How foolish , he thought.

The one fault /in the cherry blossom / is that people / come crowding / to see it.

B25. He set off to pay his respects at the Great Shrine of Ise. By the banks of the Mimosuso River he entered the cedar grove, knelt down before the first gate, and worshipped the distant shrine within.

Now the reason why this shrine shuns the Three Treasures of Buddhism, and does not permit priests to approach, is as follows. Long ago, before this land existed, Dainichi Buddha's talismanic amulet lay at the bottom of the great ocean. Into this ocean the goddess Amaterasu dipped her heavenly spear. When the wicked god Maō in the Sixth Heaven saw the water drops like dew on her spear, he feared that if these drops became land the Buddhist faith would spread there and people would overcome the cycle of life and death, and he determined to make them disappear. Thereupon, Amaterasu made a promise that she would not lend her ear to the names of the Three Treasures, nor let Buddhists approach her. Owing to these words, priests are formally forbidden entry to her Grand Shrine, although in secret the Buddhist Law is revered there. This Shrine embodies all the blessing of the light of sun and moon, which we receive thanks to Amaterasu's opening her cave door in heaven.⁸⁷

Thus all things sprang from Dainichi's talismanic amulet at the bottom of the ocean. Of the two worlds of Dainichi, the Womb World manifestation is located in the Inner Shrine, and the combination of the various fences into four groups forms the shape of a mandala. The Outer Shrine is the Diamond World manifestation,

⁸⁷ Seikadō here departs from Shōhōbon in lacking the following long section.

sometimes also called Amida Buddha. It was in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Emperor Suinin that the shrine at Ise was founded. At the command of Amaterasu, the stout pillars of this shrine were raised at the upper reaches of the Isuzu River in the land of Ise to enshrine the goddess, and the first Shrine Priestess was Suinin's daughter Yamatohime. This holy place has since held sway over the land, and all the generations of emperors have worshipped the imperial ancestors there.

In particular, the simple thatched roof of the shrine buildings, and the fact that the offerings consist of only partially polished rice, reveals a lack of extravagance, and a concern for the hardships of the nation's people. The straightness of the gates and the roof crosspieces, as well as the roof poles and rafters, expresses the desire that the hearts of the people be likewise straight and pure. Thus one who is pure of heart, and who bears in mind the people's sufferings and avoids extravagant public spending, is surely acting in accordance with the will of the gods.

☪Ah how wonderful that Vairocana Bodhisattva, eternal truth transcending life and death, should have left the world of enlightenment and taken the form of a god in order to dwell in this world of folly and save all sentient beings. His aim is to cut through the endless cycle of rebirth and lead all beings to the eternal Way of the Buddha. Thus those who shun life and death, who practice the Buddhist Law and long for rebirth in Paradise, are following the spirit of the gods, while those who desire only earthly glory and profit and who are without religious feeling, are acting against the spirit of the gods.⁸⁸ Thus Saigyō, contemplating the great blessings of the Buddha manifestations, and the expedient means whereby they take on the forms of the gods for our salvation, shed such tears of religious emotion as to overflow the ink-black sleeves of his priestly robes.

After remaining thus for some time, he composed the following:

The pillars of the shrine / stand firm / upon the rock / and the sun's light shines
/ utterly unclouded.

⁸⁸ Seikadō here rejoins the Shōhōbon content.

I go searching deep / along the ways of the gods / in to where the high winds
sing / among pines / far up on that holiest peak.

B26.

A wild wind blew from Kamiiji Mountain, the autumn leaves from the peak
were scattered over the waves of Mimosuso River, till one could almost believe a
brocade was spread there, while the pines which formed the shrine fence held their
age-long green to their very tips. Saigyō recalled the words: əThe moon is the same
moon that springs (also) from that holy mountain. To see it thus hidden by the trees’
leaves . . . ⁸⁹

Indeed the moon that rose that night was especially bright.

That vow / to shine with pure light / is why the moon / of Mount Kamiiji / thus
lights this world.

My heart is with this prayer / hung as the paper strips / on the sakaki branch—
now I understand / the gods and the buddhas are one.

B27.

əSince nowhere is finally home, in humble gratitude let me stay a while in the
garden of the goddess Amaterasu, and here send up my prayers to be reborn in
Paradise, he thought.

He decided that, since he was to be there, he should choose a place famed for
its beauty, so he built his hut by Futami Bay, recalling the poem of the high priest
Sukechika:

So many / pearly shells / on the beach at Futami — / the dark stands of pine /
seem like a lacquered ground for them.

⁸⁹ Seikadō replaces なむ with あらむ: əHow can the trees’ leaves hide it?

When moonlight filtered through gaps in the mist, and the waves sounded softly in the distance, he wrote:

Did I ever think / I would spend my days and nights / sleeves soaked/ with the salt waves of Futami / gazing at the moon?

It seems Futami's waves/ surging over the bay/ but at a second look/ it is waves of mist washing in / to cling in the treetops.

B28.

The cherry blossoms had passed their peak. Kamiiji's cherries were far finer even than those of Yoshino. The shrine priests gathered at the edge of Mimosuso River and composed.

In that distant age / when Amaterasu / threw open the cave door / who planted / the first cherry tree?

How the gods / must delight / in the cherry trees of Mount Kamiiji / whose blossoms seclude themselves / deep within their shrine.

Seeing how the blossoms of the Wind Shrine bloomed in particularly fine abundance.

This spring I will not grieve / over the fallen blossoms / but relinquish them / together with this heart / to the Wind God's care.

When he worshipped at Tsukiyomi Shrine, the moonlight was indeed clear and unclouded, as the name implies, and the cherries were in full bloom.

Seen through these branches / the moon is not only beautiful / as the famed

moon of autumn — / (but here too) in the forest of Tsukiyomi Shrine / in
beautiful spring.

The pure moon / shines bright through cloud rifts / far on Vulture Peak / its
light transformed and softened / in Tsukiyomi forest.

Those in whose eyes / the moon has sunk / on Vulture Peak / must wander lost
at heart / within their self-made darkness.

The blossoms of Cherry Blossom Shrine were blown about by the wind. He thought
they must (soon) scatter and lie at the base of the tree like mournful snow, and in
submission he composed.

Calmly my heart has surrendered / these flowers / of Cherry Blossom Shrine /
for the divine wind / of the gods has taken them.

B29.

It was already more than three years that he had dwelt at this place, and he
yearned for the East which had been the aim of his journey.⁹⁰ ㊦Who knows how short
life may be , he thought,⁹¹ and he made his preparations to leave. A number of dear
friends gathered to bid him farewell, and spent the night loath to see him go, beguiling
themselves with songs and music and wringing the tears from their sleeves. It
happened that on that night the moon was beautiful.

You must mourn me/ and I will hold your memory dear / whoever first departs
this earth / remembering / with the moon as keepsake.

⁹⁰ Seikadō omits ころざしたりし (which had been the aim of his journey) . SHS includes it.

⁹¹ Seikadō here elides the sentence to the beginning of the following section, omitting the remainder of section B29.

B30.

Many days had passed since he had set off toward the East, when at the place in Tōtōmi province known as Tenryū⁹² Crossing, he found a boat with (a) samurai aboard which was just then about to depart, and hastened to embark. There were many people on board, and, probably fearing that the boat was unsafe, (he) said “That priest must get off”. Saigyō assumed this to be part of the banter that went with ferry crossings, and turned a deaf ear. However, the man beat him mercilessly with a whip.

Saigyō was a pitiful sight indeed, with blood coursing from wounds on his head, but he showed no signs of resentment. He only joined his hands politely together, and left the boat. When his companion saw this he wept with sorrow, but Saigyō watched this in silence for a while and then said, “This is precisely the kind of thing I meant when I said as we left that there would be pain and suffering along the way. One must never feel bitter, even if an arm or leg is cut off, even if one loses one's life. If you are going to cling to your old attitude to things, you should not have shaved your head and put on monk's robes. The Buddha's heart holds compassion above all things, and saves poor sinful creatures such as we. If we take revenge on our enemies, our resentful feelings only continue. It is said that ‘If we repay our enemy with charity, our enemy will cease to exist’.⁹³ According to the sutra, ‘A single evil thought will extinguish countless kalpas of good deeds’. Again, when the Bodhisattva Fugyō was beaten he paid no heed to the pain but instead worshipped his attackers, saying ‘I worship you all deeply, and do not despise you. The reason is that you / are all on the bodhisattva path’. All these reveal the true form of the Buddhist practice, which puts others above self.⁹⁴ No doubt other such events will occur in the future as well. We must not continue to cause each other pain in this way, so you must forthwith return to the capital.⁹⁵

⁹² Seikadō gives the name as 天中 *Tenchū*.

⁹³ The following passage is absent in Seikadō.

⁹⁴ Seikadō rejoins Shōhōbon at this point.

⁹⁵ The following sentence is absent in Seikadō

And so they went their separate ways, east and west. Poor companion, it was natural that he should grieve to see Saigyō thus, remembering well how he had been in former days.

Although Saigyō had the strength of heart to send away his companion, he felt sad and regretful, for the man had been a good friend for many years.

B31.

All alone he (travelled on and came to) Kotonoma Shrine, on the difficult mountain pass known as Saya no Nakayama, and there (he recited)

Whatever the forms I see

whatever the sounds I hear

all can only lead astray.

The Buddha cannot be apprehended with the senses.⁹⁶

Worshipping thus, he set off across the pass. He composed the following:

Did I ever think / grown old / I would cross this pass once more? / But my long life has brought me back / to Saya no Nakayama.

On he went, alone and pierced by stormy winds, breasting the world's rough waves and floods of grief, great as the Ōi River, and tears and the dews of his travels lay thick together on his priestly sleeve, till he could not wring it dry of them.

Going on, he came to an inn at Okabe, in Suruga province. Stopping to rest in the dilapidated temple hall, he chanced to look towards the back door, and noticed an old cypress bark hat hanging there. Sensing something odd, he looked more closely. On it were written the words from the Lotus Sutra: ㊄We do not covet bodily life, we

⁹⁶ A quotation from *Kongō hanyagyō* 金剛般若經.

do but regret the Unexcelled Path .⁹⁷ He recalled that past spring in the capital, when a companion had set off on a religious journey to the Eastern provinces, and how they had together sealed a promise that if one were to die first he would return to this world and lead the other to Paradise. So saddened had he been at parting that Saigyō had written these words (on his friend's hat), saying ʼtake this as a keepsake .

The hat was here, but its owner was nowhere to be seen. Sorrowing, Saigyō said to himself, ʼIt is the world's way that one or other should go before, disappearing ʼlike the dewdrop at the rootʼ .⁹⁸ Holding back his tears, he enquired of the inn keeper.

ʼYes, a travelling monk came here from the capital this spring. He grew sick and died in this little temple, and the wild dogs took and scattered his body. No doubt you can find his remains somewhere hereabout.

He searched, but could find nothing.

The hat is here / but what has become / of the body it once sheltered? / Alas
the transience / of this world.

Thus composing, he journeyed on, pierced by the early winds of autumn,
moved by the landscape of the wild autumn fields. He heard the small voices of
autumn insects, and of the wild geese journeying above on their northward way,
waiting to bear no lover's messages. Forlorn at heart, he wrote:

No one announces / the coming of autumn / yet we know it / from the sight of
the wind passing / across the mountain foothills.

Ungraspable / the reason / for autumnʼs / overwhelming / sadness.

⁹⁷ A quotation from chapter 13 of *The Lotus Sutra* (Hurvitz p. 206).

⁹⁸ Reference to a poem by Bishop Henjō (SKKS 757) lamenting the inevitable death of all, soon or late.

The wild goose crying aloft / wings spread with the white clouds / cries for its
friend / grounded / in the household field.

B32.

Passing over Mount Utsu, where Captain Narihira lost his way among the ivy
and maples, and composed ‘I go on without meeting her even in my dreams , he
fondly recalled the people (poets) of old. He reached Kiyomi Barrier, where the waves
of the bay breaking on the shore and the sight of the moonlight flooding the tide
struck him as still more beautiful than he had heard them to be.

The autumn moon / tosses its light / with the white waves / which cross the
rocks / of Kiyomigata.

As he neared the land of Suruga, he felt the truth of Ariwara's poem of long
ago ‘the mountain of Fuji with its timeless snows. . . . Gazing up at the far peak of
Mount Fuji, he saw smoke indeed rising timelessly. Half the mountain was hidden in
cloud, lakes brimmed at its feet, plains stretched to the south of it, and before it
shimmered the vast blue sea with its hoards for the fishermen. Here he felt he could
forget for a while the trials and griefs of the long journey from the capital over
mountain, river, bay and sea.

Fuji’s smoke / trails lingering in the wind / skyward and is gone / as my
thoughts too disappear / I know not where.

Timeless / my thoughts (of you) / drift like Fuji’s smoke / and, like Ukishima, /
tears float this bed on which I weep.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ SKS 1307. Although using images of Fuji’s geography, this poem is in fact a love poem.

¹⁰⁰As he made his way toward Ashigara Mountain he recalled the old poem of Sanekata's that runs Since the mountain's name is Ashigara , and the words of the poet of Chinese verse who had written deep within White Mist Mountain/ a single bird's cry. ¹⁰¹ The late autumn wind pierced him through.

The end of autumn / comes home to me / in this mountain village — / how sad
/ the rough late autumn wind.

In the place called Ōba in the land of Sagami, crossing Togami Plain, he heard the cry of a deer carried to him on the breeze through the mists.

His wife hidden safe / in thick confusions of vine / on Togami Plain, / the wild
deer bells.¹⁰²

In the early evening of that day, he heard the sudden sound of a curlew rising from a marsh.

A curlew lifts from the marsh / in autumn twilight, / and even I / who have no
heart to feel / am moved.

B33.

As there was nowhere in particular he was aiming for, he was drawn by the moonlight to push on, deeper into the distances of Musashino. The dewdrops on the obana grass heads, each holding the moon, scattered their jewels in the passing wind, the insects' cries beneath the bush clover were most forlorn, and he fondly recalled the

¹⁰⁰ The following short section and its poem is the only section to appear in Seikadō.

¹⁰¹ A partial quotation of a poem by Tachibana no Tadamoto 橘直幹 contained in the travel section of *Wakan rōeishū*.

¹⁰² This poem is not found among the poems of Saigyō except in the appended section of the late collection *Saigyō Shōninshū*, where the opening section is しかまつのかずのしげみに. In the A texts the opening section is えはまどふ葛のしげみに. The poem is generally not considered to be by Saigyō.

poems of old which ask the origin of Musashino's purple grasses. As he went, he murmured 'This moon makes me forget the evening's lodgings / and journey on along tomorrow's path' .¹⁰³

When he had gone in five or six *chō* in from the road, he heard a voice chanting sutras. 'I heard that human habitation is far from here he thought wonderingly. Following the voice, he searched and found (the place). It was a mere hut, thatched with *susuki* and *karukaya* grasses, surrounded by a fence of bush clover, valerian, and many another autumn flower. Dry ferns were spread against the eastern wall for what seemed a sleeping place, and on the western wall hung a painting of the bodhisattva Fugen, with the eight books of *The Lotus Sutra* placed before it.¹⁰⁴ In the garden, a thousand flowers bent with the dew, and the sad voices of insects lent their tone to the melancholy of the place. 'It seems that no visitor ventures this way, he thought, and indeed the path had petered out.

Looking inside the hut, he saw an ancient monk who looked well over ninety years of age, with the snow of age upon his head and frost hanging from his brow, chanting, 'Be in a quiet place, perfect and collect your thoughts' .¹⁰⁵

'Could this be some kind of mountain sage?' he wondered. It was the fifteenth day of the eighth month, and the moon's light was indeed bright as its fame has it. There was no mistaking this hermit's retreat. He stepped in and stood before the monk, and they both gazed at each other in amazement, without a word.

After some time, Saigyō said, 'What manner of person are you, to be here thus?' But there was no reply.

Saigyō spoke again. 'I am a man of the Capital. I have come east with a desire to see this land, and as I made my way through Musashino, its landscape moved me

¹⁰³ From a poem by Fujiwara Tamekane (藤原為兼, 1254-1332) found in *Gyokuyō wakashū* (GYS 1143). This poem's inclusion here indicates that this version of the tale postdates *Gyokuyō wakashū* (which was compiled in 1313). It is not present in *Saigyō Hōshi shūka*.

¹⁰⁴ This sentence bears a close relationship to the description of his hut found in Kamo no Chōmei's *Hōjōki* (section 5).

¹⁰⁵ From the fourteenth chapter of *The Lotus Sutra* (Hurvitz p. 212)

far more than the tales of it which I had heard at home. I heard that no one lives near here. What enables you to live here? I wish to learn about your past.

The old monk replied, əI was once the head¹⁰⁶ of the samurai who served Yūhōmonzīn, but when she passed away I left the world, and travelled through many lands performing austerities. I felt that this plain was suitable for Buddhist austerities, and I have lived here now for some sixty years, since the age of twenty nine. I have chanted (*The Lotus Sutra*) more than seventy thousand times...

Saigyō was not unacquainted with the circumstances of princess Yūhōmonzīn,¹⁰⁷ so they talked together, their monk's sleeves soaked in tears, recalling old times with longing, until with the dawn came the time to part.

How might I / become pure / and unclouded / to polish the moon's light / in my heart?

What should I do? / Were I still in the world / I would leave it / in fresh despair / at its griefs.

This evening alone / bears autumn's name / though the moon hangs clear / in this same sky / on other nights.

B34.

As he went down into Michinoku, he stopped (on the way) at the barrier gate of Shirakawa. He recalled the *nyūdō Nōin*'s¹⁰⁸ poem, əThough it was with / the mists of spring / that I left¹⁰⁹ the capital / the autumn winds blow / at Shirakawa barrier

¹⁰⁶ Itō Zenshū has 長なりし, which I follow.

¹⁰⁷ She was the sister of Toba-in, whom Saigyō had served.

¹⁰⁸ 能因法師 (988?-1058). His poem on the barrier gate at Shirakawa (*Goshūishū* 518) is famous, and provides the honka for Saigyō's equally famous poem quoted here.

¹⁰⁹ いでしかど. The original poem has たちしかど, which contains a poetic consonance with the arising of the spring mist.

gate, and as the moon was especially clear and beautiful, he wrote on a pillar,

The filtering moonlight /which guards /Shirakawa's barrier house / halts the heart / of the passerby.

The next day he crossed the barrier mountain and passed on far beyond. From time to time there was a downpour of rain, making him feel as if it was a cloud seven times and eight times rain. That evening, he felt particularly forlornly moved.

Who lives / in such a village / and thus knows the pathos / of this rain pouring / from the evening sky?

When some days had passed since he had left the barrier gate of Shirakawa, darkness fell as he was going through a distant field, and he entered the humble dwelling of poor folk. As the night drew on the moon grew clearer, and he felt that the sight of it in the capital did not stand comparison with this, and he recalled how he had exchanged vows, promising to recall each other whenever they saw the moon.

It was in fact / mere play / when in the capital / we found such pathos / in the moon.

Does that person / with whom I vowed / to remember each other when we saw the moon / tonight like me / have tear-soaked sleeves?

B35.

Thus he went on, through such places as Tsubo no Ishibumi and Numatachi. As he was passing through a field, he saw a grave that had a certain important look to it, and asked a man who was cutting grass, "What grave is that? When he heard the reply, "That is the grave of one known as Captain Sanekata," he was moved (and

composed)

He left a name / that time does not decay. / Now I find / as his keepsake / the
dry susukiof this withered field.

How transient. / The dew / of this worthless life will fade, / and will we not be
laid to rest / in the fields?

B36

He went on, past Akuro and Tsugaru, Ebisugashima, the Shinobu area and
Koromogawa, not knowing which among them to gaze his fill upon the most. (He
came to) Hiraizumi, where lived Hidehira, a powerful man who held sway over the
two lands of Dewa and Mutsu.¹¹⁰ Having heard that Hidehira had for many years
devoted himself to the way of waka, he called in there, and Hidehira met him with
joy. He treated him with especial hospitality, regaling him with talk of many matters
from ancestral tales to the present, not unconnected to Saigyō.¹¹¹ One day Hidehira
said, It is a happy chance that you have come to this land. I propose the composition
of a one-hundred poem collection on Love. Won't you compose for me? Saigyō
refused with this and that excuse, but recalling his dream as he slept a traveller's sleep
on the beach at Senri,¹¹² he strung together a few poems.

Going home / the night I first left / the rainbow wand/ I felt I could not wait /
the thousand days.

Knowing myself I know / the blame / lies nowhere else / yet bitter thoughts of
her / still wet these sleeves.

¹¹⁰ 出羽陸奥. Together these comprise the northern part of Honshū.

¹¹¹ A reference to the fact that Saigyō and Hidehira were distantly related.

¹¹² See Bunmeibon section 14.

If I recall her / when the moon / shines clear/ my heart clouds / the moon.

I would that she / could have the heart / to pity me / for though I may be
worthless / my grief is not.

He did not give me cause to hope / yet I wait out the night / believing he may
come. / If only the dawn were here / and not this slowly dying night.

I longed/ to live / only till we could meet / but now my aching heart / repents
its vow.

He gathered these poems which he had written and presented them to Hidehira, who urged him to stay for four or five years in this fashion, but he felt it would be fruitless to do so, and at the end of autumn he departed.

B37.

When he stayed in a little earth hut at the foot of a mountain, the autumn wind where he slept pierced him through, and he was moved by the weakening call of a cricket.

The cricket's voice / recedes / as if it weakens / with each night / of growing
autumn chill.

He was moved to witness how the people here (too) bustled about in
preparations at the end of the year, although this was not the capital.

All the more forlorn / to see on a journey / this far sky / darken / with the
year's end

For all my loathing / of this suffering self / I am moved / to gaze at the moon /
as the year ends.

The year had changed to the new, and with the rising mists (of spring) on the
mountain he made his way toward the capital. In a field there was a place where
beautiful green willows had been planted around the house, and a row of plums grew
thickly beneath the eaves. As they were blossoming in profusion, he felt he could not
pass by such a scent, and though no one sought to hold him there, he spent the night in
the hut.

The scent that drifts / to this traveller's pillow / where I sleep alone / is the
scent / of the plum in the hedge.

As marker for their boundary / on the log slope / the poor mountain folk / have
planted / the jewels / of these little willows.

Thus he went on, threading his way from mountain to mountain and temple to
temple, and at the beginning of the fourth month he arrived in the land of Mino.
Though he had turned his back on it, yet he thought with lonely yearning of matters in
the capital, and as he was wishing that he could hear news of it, a hototogisu flew by,
calling several times.

Hototogisu / if you fly to the capital / send this message. / Tell of the sorrows /
of one who follows / late behind your voice.

B38.

Since (he could not end) his life as his heart desired, he thus returned to his old
home a second time, and when he saw the state of things in the capital, it had become

proof that all die before or after , dew on leaf tip or the fallen drop .

After more than ten years of travelling about, when he called on friends he used to know intimately, they had turned to smoke in the evening sky over the pyres of Mt. Toribe, or morning dew on the graves of Mount Funaoka. Only the empty names remained to be made out on stones now overgrown with coarse grass and wormwood. Calling at people's homes, he found over one hundred and sixty houses where the garden had become one with its surroundings, where the only lock was now the deep growth of creepers and grasses over gate and door, and the building had disintegrated to become a dwelling for quails.

Dismayed, he said to himself, "How is it that I have so far survived in such a vain and wretched world? Nostalgia had drawn him to return to his old home "as the north-bred horse neighs at the north wind, and the south-born bird nests on a southern branch," yet to have returned now filled his heart with anguish.

As though it owned / this worthless body / my heart / has brought it back / after all my wanderings.

Can this be / the ruins / of the house where I once lived? / In the wormwood's dew / the moon hangs reflected.

He called at the house of a friend he had known for many years. Only his wife was there and, weeping, she told him that her husband had died. As he was leaving, he wrote on the paper of the door:

This truly / must be love — / to keep beside you / only the shadow / of one now dead.

Within the capital, it was somehow full of bustle and noise, and his peace of mind was disturbed.

I long to be / alone / in some far cave / and dwell on my thoughts / without
thought for the eyes of others.

Why is there no pitying friend / who visits me / sunk here in thought? / Over
the reeds / only the wind comes calling to this hut.

I will push on / still deeper into the mountains / leaving no marker to return by
— / seeking some place / where sad news cannot find me.

B39.

Passing the riding grounds of the imperial palace, he looked in (and saw how)
all was utterly changed and unlike the time of Toba-in.

Only grieving / for that past / so rich with sentiment / I live on / in this sad
world.

B40.

Composing thus, he made for himself a bare hut deep in the northern
mountains and pursued his practice; yet he felt bereft that there was no like-minded
friend (there).

I wish there were / a friend in this mountain village / who had turned from the
hateful world. / Together we would talk, / regretful of the past.

B41.

In the tenth month, some people invited him to Hōkongōin to view the autumn
leaves. Seeing how¹¹³ in Taikenmonjin's time the ladies-in-waiting picked numerous

¹¹³ たはぶれ給ひけるを西行見て。 This is a rare instance of an apparent textual confusion in

branches of autumn leaves and entertained themselves, he recalled times past, and sent this to Hyōe no Tsubone.

Your sleeves must now be soaked / in a soft rain of tears / to see the autumn leaves, / recalling / autumns past.

Hyōe no Tsubone's reply:

The rain of tears / falls even as I gaze / upon the deeply coloured leaves / and there is not a day / I do not recall the past.

On the night of the fifteenth day of the seventh month of the following year, when the full moon was bright, he was moved to see all the people of the capital, rich and poor, gather at Funaoka and Rendaino and mourn the many dead.

Would that I could / somehow hold close to me / the moonlight of this night / to light them / on their mountain path into death.

Seeing a great number of people holding lights:

On this one night / in early autumn / the numbers / of the dead / are visible.

Hearing the voice of a cricket:

I hope that on that day / by my pillow under the wormwood / I hear / this dear familiar voice / of crickets.

B42. _____

Shōhōbon. He is in fact recalling this scene, not witnessing it on his present visit.

On a night on which Minister of the Right Nakanoin spoke to him through the night of his decision to leave the world, the moon was clear and bright.

All night / we made our vows/ gazing at the moon / and with those dear words / the darkness cleared from my heart.

His reply:

How could / the darkness of this world / not clear for you / since your heart's moon / has now appeared.

B43.

An imperial request came through Nakanoin Minister of the Right to collect a one-hundred poem series on Love. Since an imperial request was difficult to refuse, (he composed):

And yet somehow / I would not wish to lose / this worthless life —/ if only she could learn / to know its pain.

Let me not simply blame / my own heart — / my bitterness / against myself grows strongest / when I have told her of my love.

If only one who knew were here / to bring dawn to my heart / I would not be thus / in this endless night / of bitter thoughts.

I will not forget / the face / of her I parted from / for my longing has printed it / on the moon.

Why should I resent her, / who is grown distant now? / There was a time / she

did not know of me / nor I of her.

B44.

Hearing that someone he knew was leaving for the East, he sent this poem.

When you are gone / I will fix my eyes on the east / watching the evening sky
/ waiting / for the returning moon.

Deciding to go to Shikoku for austerities, he went to take leave of (the deity
of) the Kamo Shrine, where he had worshipped for many years. He prepared offerings
of gohei, and on the tenth day of the tenth month in the second year of Ninnan,
thinking that this might be the last time he would approach the deity, he composed
this weeping, as he was of a status to prevent him entering the shrine.

My tears / fall / on this offering branch / to think / I may not come again.

That autumn, the Shirakawa Dainagon,¹¹⁴ hearing that he would travel to far
places for austerities, sent this poem.

Blown / with the autumn leaves / by the peak's stormy winds / where will my
heart / be carried?

In reply, Saigyō wrote:

Do they not know / to whence they are scattered, / those leaves which fall / so
casually / and are blown away?

B45.

¹¹⁴ Another name for Bunmeibon's Jijū Dainagon (Fujiwara Narimichi).

The lady-in-waiting to Taikenmonjin, had left the world and was living in a hut she had built at the foot of Mt. Ogura. He visited her, and found that her dwelling was more movingly secluded than he had heard. The sound of the wind was touchingly pitiful, and the water pipe visited the place with its intermittent sound of water; (the news of how she) gathered kindling in the garden, and drew water from the valley stream, was so particularly moving that it could not but bring tears. When she was in the world, this woman was of unsurpassable beauty and elegance of heart, and drew all hearts to her. Now, to the contrary, her jet hair had turned to snow, and the willow curves of her eyebrows were piled with frost. He was deeply moved to see how the waves of old age had creased her face, her form now utterly transformed by the deep-dyed nun's robes.

When did you learn / to live here / with the ferocity / of the sound of this wind
/ from the mountain?

Hyōe no Tsubone, lady-in-waiting in the same establishment whom he knew well, replied:

I see this as the dwelling / of one who left her home / drawn by the stormy
wind / to stay no longer / in the sad world.

B46.

On pilgrimage to Tennōji, rain suddenly fell as he was on the road. Though he (attempted to) borrow lodgings from Eguchi no Kimi, she would not hear his request, saying that such people are not put up here. Saigyō wrote the following, and left.

Hard though it must be / for you to turn / from this passing world, / yet you
turn me away from your passing lodging.

Seeing this poem, the courtesan called him back and replied:

Hearing that you were one / who had turned from the passing world / I only
thought / your heart must not be held / by this passing lodging.

B47.

He had gone to Tennōji and remained there for a while, but not only had it been his original desire to go down to Shikoku, but he yearned sadly to learn the fate of the new retired emperor, who had unprecedentedly been exiled. To a dear friend in religion who tried to hold him back, he composed:

For your heart's comfort / have faith / that I will return / although that day /
may never come.

Could I have dyed my heart / with the pure colour / of the moon / if I had not
left the capital / behind me?

When he arrived in the land of Sanuki, he inquired after the new retired emperor, and learning that he (had) devoted himself to saying sutras for rebirth in the next world, he (wrote): ‘If others do not strike us in anger, how shall we learn fortitude?’ and (added) below this:

Were it not / for the unhappy times / you met with in the world / you would
have missed the chance / to turn your back on it.

B48.

When he heard that the new retired emperor had passed away early, his tears flowed ceaselessly. Four or five years later (Saigyō) arrived at the place called Matsuyama Bay and visited the place where he had lived, but there was no trace of

him.

That exiled boat / washed on the waves / to Matsuyama / is now / empty and
gone.

In earlier days, he was looked up to by a hundred officials, who strove not to
displease him in the smallest way, and longed to approach his imperial presence and
be the recipient of his august words. Yet he had left the jewelled throne of the ten
virtues behind him, and been abandoned in the deep mountains of this distant island
where even the name of the Buddhist Law went unheard — at the sorrow of it,
(Saigyō) stayed weeping long before his grave.

Those jewels of old, / your great halls — / what has become of that / now in
the afterlife, /my lord?

Thus he wandered on, living here and there; and as the place in that country
called Zentsūji was where Kōbō Daishi was born, and was a holy land from which the
Buddhist Law was disseminated, there he built his hut, and he lived there for two or
three years. But things could not continue thus, so he decided to go back to the
capital; if the pine tree by his eave were human, he thought to himself, how difficult
their mutual parting would be.

When I am weary of life / in this place / and go drifting on again / this pine
will stay on / alone.

B49.

When he had already gone back to the capital, he visited a place with which he
had long been connected and stayed there, and they wrung the tears from their sleeves
over talk of times past and present. The master of the house told him, ①Yes, how

moving to think of your poor dear daughter. Directly after your shukke, your wife also took the tonsure; for one or two years she stayed together with your daughter, but (then) a lady named Reizenzindono, daughter of the Kujō minister of Justice, took her as her own child, and treated her with great affection. After that, her mother went to perform austerities in a place called Amano at the foot of Mt. Kōya. For these past seven or eight years there has been not the slightest word of her. Reizeidono's daughter by her husband's principle wife brought in as her husband a man called Harima no Sanmi. This lady has made your daughter her lady-in-waiting. (But) she only prays day and night to the gods and buddhas to make her their servant, and to reveal to her her father's whereabouts in this life, and does nothing but weep. When he heard this, Saigyō acted as if he took no notice, and went away.

The following day he went to a house near Reizeidono's house and discussed things with the master there, then called over his daughter. She hastened over, thinking 'I had indeed heard that my father had committed himself to the Way', and at the sight of his emaciated form in its black robes, she felt strange to be told that it was indeed her father, and her tears flowed. Saigyō too was moved to see how she had changed from that child who had played, and grown to such refinement.

Saigyō said, 'For many years we have not known each other's whereabouts, and (at last) today we meet again. To be parent and child is (the result of) a deep karmic bond from a previous life. Therefore, I hope you will listen to my teaching. 'You are my parent, so how should I gainsay you?' she replied. He was delighted. 'From when you were a child, I worried how to take care of you, and thought to have you sent to the retired emperor's court, but I had no power to do so because of being thus (i.e. having taken the tonsure). But though I have thrown all away, yet for your sake alone my heart is disarrayed. Others will only despise you for worthless court service. This world is (fleeting as) a dream of illusion. Those in their prime today will age and weaken in no time. Only become a nun, and be with your mother and help each other towards the next life. If I go to paradise, I will hasten to greet you there', he said.

(She) thought deeply for a little, and suppressed her tears. əSince I was a child I have been without father and mother, and my life is a lowly one in every way, so I have been longing for some means to take the tonsure, she said. Saigyō was delighted; they arranged that she should come on such and such a day to the home of her wetnurse, and she returned home.

B50.

When the day had come, she washed her hair and made ablutions and waited, and when a carriage had been brought to fetch her and she was about to leave, with something in mind she asked them to wait for a moment and went in, and gazed deeply at Renzeidono, then departed tearfully. Well after waiting impatiently, Renzeidono sent someone to fetch her, and hearing that (the daughter) had already taken the tonsure, Renzeidon said bitterly, əThis child has never left my side since she was six years old, and I have had exceptional affection for her, but her love for me is not as strong as I had thought. Still, it is moving to think how when she left she gazed deeply at me and her eyes filled with tears, she said, weeping sorrowfully.

We mourn those / who like the fallen dewdrop / have already gone — / but
who is not the drop at leaf's edge / awaiting its fall?

B51.

Saigyō greeted his daughter, divided and bound up her waist-length hair, and conferred the precepts of the renunciate on her. He the said, əLong ago when I was in the world, I ran in headlong pursuit of all its ways, visiting wicked places; I took delight in my service at court, my heart was held by my bond with wife and child and the accumulation of wealth, and I did not leave the burning house of delusion. (But) I meditated on the truth that the blossoms are carried off by the wind, the moon appears only to be hidden again by dawn's clouds. Those whom we loved yesterday are gone today. (All is) as a flame before the wind, a flash of lightning, dream and illusion.

Though I threw away earthly passions and left the world, took on the practice of wandering austerities, and became a beggar and alms-giver, yet since I am a foolish and unenlightened person I never forgot about you, and now I have seen you take the tonsure. My hopes in this life are surely fulfilled. To the eyes of others you are a woman, but in the future you will certainly be a child of the Buddha. Preserve these words always, he said.

For humankind, deep in sin, / there is no other way to salvation. / Only repeat the name of Amida / and you will gain rebirth in paradise. / Though your karmic burden is heavy / and you have no virtues to bring you to the Pure Land / the power of Amida / will be sure to lead you to paradise.

☞You must never forget these words. This is the last time we will see each other. I will await you in the Pure Land. Now Mount Kōya is a sacred place, where Kōbō Daishi is laid to rest, the land of the Buddha where Miroku will return to save all sentient beings. Thus at the foot of this mountain there is a bessho called Amano. I have heard that your mother lives there. You must go there and together devote yourself to the Buddha's path, he said

The nun his daughter wept and said, ☞Abandoned by my father when I was four, parted from my mother when I was seven, I have been lost in the darkness between this world and the next, spending my days and nights in fear of others. Thus from childhood my desire for shukke was deep. Being a woman, I could never achieve it, but now I have joyfully attained my shukke. Even were riches to be heaped upon me, it would be but a moment's dream. I will make your words of the sutra my signpost towards ōjō, and we will certainly all three (be reborn on) the same lotus in the Pure Land, she said, and their tearful parting was indeed moving.

Saigyō watched her go into the distance.

How could we pass our life / not knowing / the final /inescapable path / into death.

Long ago, seeing the moon, / my heart was disarrayed / and I have met again /
with such an autumn .

This nun had heard only (that she should go to) the foot of Mt. Kōya, but she did not know in which direction she should go, and had no companion to tell her troubles to. With only her heart to guide her, (she set off on) her unaccustomed journey, this the first night for her to sleep a traveller's sleep, the dews of autumn mingling with her inevitable tears, which together soaked sleeve and pillow, and she was startled awake before her gloomy dreams had reached their end; it was the middle of the night, her distraught heart could only cling to the image of the home she could not forget, and she saw in the dawn, crying with the cock's cry. By day, not knowing how to learn the whereabouts of the grass hut¹¹⁵ she sought, she struggled weeping on, following the bent grasses of those distant folk who had pushed through this way before, and those who met her on the way wept and said in astonishment, 'This is no common person. Poor thing! Days passed, and she made her way to Amano, and found her mother's hut, and they spoke together of the past, and I have heard¹¹⁶ that they spent their days and nights pursuing their practice together.

B52.

After this, Saigyō secluded himself in the depths of Ōhara and pursued his practice; but the water in the water pipe froze, and people spoke of how they could not draw water for the altar until spring came. But when spring arrived the ice still did not melt, and there was no sign of when it would do so.

Ridiculous — / the frozen water / in the water pipe / has made me wait with
longing / for the spring I had freed my mind of.

¹¹⁵ I here follow Kuwabara (*Saigyō monogatari*, p. 232) in assuming the meaning of 草 to be 草庵, and to refer to her mother's thatched hut.

¹¹⁶ 聞きてはべりし. Unusually, the verb ending indicates direct narratorial voice.

In the deep mountains / the melt has not begun / beneath the snow / but the
skies of the capital / must have shifted to spring.

Ōhara is close / to Hiraḥs peaks / so I well know / how deep / those snows
must be.

B53.

The retired emperor passed away, and Saigyō came (to the capital) from Mt.
Kōya to coincide with the funeral procession at night to the burial ground. Moved, he
composed.

This of all nights / teaches me / that I am bound / by vows most deep / to you,
my lord.

When he was about to be laid to rest, an unsuitable covered carriage was used
and seeing this those in attendance on him soaked their sleeves with tears.¹¹⁷

How sad this night / to see your procession / now on a different road / and sad
too to know / that it is your final journey.

After he had been buried, those who had accompanied him, though their grief
knew no bounds, were not in a position to continue mourning, and finally had to
return home, and Saigyō remained alone in order to spend the night in mourning,
performing rites.

¹¹⁷ This section of text is found only in the A texts. Kuwabara (*Saigyō monogatari*, p.240) suggests that the use of a covered carriage (鹿車) such as that used by the nobility but seldom by members of the imperial family was seen as unfitting for this funeral. Historical records indicate that such a carriage was indeed used on this occasion, though there is no suggestion that this was considered unfortunate.

Had I still belonged / to this sad world / I would have simply mourned/ with
no thought / to pray thus for you.

B54.

He pondered quietly on the past¹¹⁸— At the age of twenty-five I left the
imperial guards of the imperial palace, and turned my back on the jewels of wife and
child, turned to face the Buddhist altar and cut my hair, left the burning house of
delusion, and sought out huts deep in the mountains; I purified my heart in the water
of the Eight Virtues, and set my heart on the Nine Realms of Paradise. I later begged
throughout the land, performed austerities in mountain and forest, dwelt in the belief
that all are one in the Buddha,¹¹⁹ and taught the people as the situation warranted. I
constantly shed the tears of bliss upon the sleeve of compassion, and within the robe
of perseverance I wrapped the priceless jewel of the truth. Thus fifty-odd years have
passed. With the passage of one day and night, a person has a myriad (delusive)
thoughts. In repentance for and purification of the six sins,¹²⁰ I have composed
(poems of) thirty-one syllables, considering them to be a means of purifying myself of
transgressions and pursuing the Buddhist Way ,* and he built a hut beside Sōrinji in
the eastern foothills (of the capital), and there he kept as companion always before the
window of his meditations the light of the moon of the Three Understandings, and on
the firm floor of chanting of the holy name, he spent his days and nights awaiting the

¹¹⁸ It is unclear how much of the following passage is intended as internal monologue. Kuwabara (ibid., p. 242) translates only the latter half of the passage (his meditation on sinful thoughts and poetry composition) in direct speech. However, the whole passage to the mention of his living at Sōrinji is written using the ぎ verb ending associated with personal reminiscence. The transition to descriptive writing (at the point indicated with an asterisk in the translation) is also syntactically unnatural, and strongly suggestive of awkward attaching on of the previous passage. This suggestion is reinforced by the fact that it is precisely at this point that the earlier A texts, as well as Unemebon, rejoin the narrative. (For discussion of this problem, see Comments to B. 54, and the discussion in Part III).

¹¹⁹ 平等一子. Kuwabara (ibid., p. 243) amends this to the more acceptable 平等意趣.

¹²⁰ 六根淨. The presence of this phrase is an example of the tendency of Shōhōbon, in this passage and elsewhere, to favour the B texts generally but with the exception of Bunmeibon (the only one among the B texts which does not contain it).

arrival of heavenly host to greet him (at his death). A cherry tree had been planted by the temple hall, and he composed this, hoping that he might attain ōjō on this morning of the fifteenth day of the second month, the day when the Buddha had died, when these same flowers were in full bloom.

I pray / that I may die / beneath the blossoms of spring / at that special time, / the second month's full moon.

B55.

As said in this poem, on the fifteenth day of the second month of Kenkyū ,
clarifying his mind, he turned to the west and recited:

If anyone, even with distracted thought,
And with so much as a single flower,
Makes offering to a painted image
He shall at length see numberless Buddhas.
If he end his life in this way,
He will go to paradise.
Surround me now,
Amida Bosatsu
And the hosts of bodhisattvas.

Thus he chanted, and he composed

If any would pray for me / in the next life / let them / make offering of / the
cherry blossom.

He ceaselessly recited one thousand nenbutsu, in the sky could be heard the
faint sound of heavenly instruments, a strange scent wafted from afar, in the distance
a purple cloud trailed, and he achieved his longed-for ōjō while thousands marvelled

at the appearance of Amida and his retinue that had come to greet him, and the accompanying procession of the bodhisattvas.

B56.

Now Saigyō's companion nun who was at Amano on Kōya was a person of far greater strength of heart than the father. At her husband's shukke, she quickly took the tonsure and went into seclusion at Amano. She hated to hear word from her old home, and continued her practice in silence. With the nun her daughter as companion in the Way, from before the time of her death, she ceaselessly chanted nenbutsu, and she achieved her ōjō as if slipping into sleep.

Her daughter the nun was sinless throughout life, and she also attained a splendid ōjō at the time of higan in the eighth month of Shōji.

B57.

After Saigyō's ōjō, the poets of the capital mourned him, and there was no dry sleeve.

Among them, middle minister of the right Lord Sadaie sent word of Saigyō's ōjō to the sanmi of Bodai Temple,¹²¹ with this poem.

That time / of full moon / is indeed the same / yet how sad / the cloud/ that disappeared we know not where.

The reply of Kinhira:

Hearing / of that purple / my heart is comforted / though the passing of his cloud / fills me with sorrow.

¹²¹ Fujiwara Kinhira 藤原公衡 (?-1193).

APPENDIX III
Transcription of *Saigyō Hōshi shūka*
(transcribed from the manuscript held in Tenri Library)

Underlining indicates points at which this text differs from Seikadō. An asterisk indicates omissions.

Bracketed numbers indicate the equivalent Shōhōbon section (see Appendix II).

(1) 鳥羽院の御時左兵衛のぜう藤原の憲清世はうしとおもひ出家をこころざしけれども恩愛すてがたさにあんじわづらひてむなしく月日をおくりけるとあさましくおぼへて

／いつなげきいつおもふべきことなれば後の世しらで人のすぐらん
／いつのまにながきねぶりの夢さめておどろくことのあらんとすらん
／なにごとにとまるころの有ければさらにしもまた世のいとはしき

(2) この人つねになにはづの風をあふぎこころのうちのちりをはらひとみの小川のながれをくみて¹²²おもひをこらす便とすこのゆへに君よりも折にふれ時にしたがひて題をくだされてければ時をうつさずよみ¹²³奏しけり立春の題にて

／岩まどちし氷もけさはとけにけり¹²⁴こけのしたみづみちもとむなり
／鶯の声ぞかすみにもれてくる人めともしき春の山さと

(6) 二月の頃出家をおもひ定めたりしにおりふし空かすみ心ほそかりしに

¹²² Favours Shōhōbon.

¹²³ Favours Shōhōbon in omitting て.

¹²⁴ Beside にけり is written in a smaller hand そめて. This is found in Seikadō also.

／空になる心は春のかすみにて世にあらじともおもひ立つかな
こころざしあさからずといへどもその期やきたらざりけんなとなき
わざどもにさへられむなしくはせ過ぬおなじ秋の頃おもひ立たりしに風のお
とさへものあはれに月の光もくまなかりしかば

／おしなべて物をおもはぬ人にさへころをつくる秋のはつかぜ

／世のうさに一かたならずうかれゆく心とどめよ秋の世の月

(7) ついに東山にて出家をして法名を西行ト云あたりの法師あつまりおどろ
きあやしみければ

西行法師

／うけがたき人のすがたにうかび出てこりずやだれも又しづむべき

／世をすつる人はまことにすつるかはすてぬ人をぞすつるとはいふ

／世をいとふ名をだにも又とめおきてかずならぬ身のおも出にせん

(9) としもくれぬこそまではなにとなく公私につけてありし事どもおもひ出
て

／としくれしそのいとなみはさもあらであらぬさまなるいそぎをぞする

／むかしおもふ庭にうきぎをつみおきてみしにもあらぬとしのくれかな¹²⁵

かずならぬすまひなれども春をわすれぬ花なればいほりのまへなりける
梅さかりにさきにほひ人をとどむるならひにやゆきすぐる人すぎかねよりて
ながめければ西行法師

／こころせんしづがかきねの梅の花よしなくすぐる人とどめけり

／香をとめん人をこそまで山里はかきねの梅のちらぬかぎりは

柴のあみどのあけくれは仏の御むかひをいつあらんと待たてまつりにさも
あらぬむかしのとも花見にとてあつまり次にもなとなきむかしがたりにも
こころのみだるるかたもありければよしなしとて

／花見にとむれつつ人のくるのみぞあたらさくらのとがには有けり

¹²⁵ Favours Shōhōbon.

(B25) さても大神宮にまふで侍りぬ本地のふかきりやくをあふぎ和光のちかき方便をおもふにしんかふのなみだすみぞめの袖にあまるしばらくありてかくなん¹²⁶

／宮はしらしたつ岩ねにしき立て露もくもらぬ日のひかりかな
／ふかく入て神路のおくを尋ぬれば又うへもなきみねの松風

(B26) 神路山のあらしおろせば∟にしきをさらすかとうたがはれ御かきの松を見やれば千とせみどりこずえにあらはるおなじみ山の月なればいかに木の葉かくれもなんとおもふことに月の光りもすみのぼりければ

／神路山月さやかなるちかひにてあめのしたをばてらすなりけり
／さかき葉にこころをかけんゆふしでおもへばかみもほとけなりけり

(B27) いづくもつるのすみかならねばかたじけなくもあまてるの神の庭にはんべりて後世菩提の事をいのらむやおもひおなじくは名にしおふたる所なればとて二見のうらにいほりをたて輔親の際主が玉くしげ二見のうらのかいしげみまき糸にみする松のむら立と詠ぜし事どもおもひ出てかすみのひまよりもりくる月かけとほきなみまにかすかなりける折ふし

／おもひきや二見のうらの月を見てあけくれ袖に波かけんとは
／なみこすと二見のうらに見えつるはこずへにかかるかすみなりけり

(B28) 花のさかりにもなりければ神路山のさくら吉野の山にもはるかにすぐれたりければ神官どもみもすそがはのほとりにあつまりて詠じケルニ

／いわどあけし天つみことのその上に桜をだれかうへはじめけん
／神ぢ山みしめにこもる花さかりこはいかばかりうれしかるらん

¹²⁶ The underlined section, although absent from Seikadō, forms the final part of the section as found in Shōhōbon.

風の宮の花ことにわりなくさきみだれたるを見て

／この春は花をおしまでよそならんころを風のみやにまかせて

月よみの宮にまふでたりける¹²⁷にまことになにしおひて月のひかりおもしろく花さかりなりければ

／木ずへ見れば秋にかぎらぬ名なりけり春おもしろき月よみの森

／さやかなるわしのたかねの雲間よりかげやはらぐる月よみのもり

／わしのやま月を入りぬと見人やころのやみにまよふなるらん

桜の宮の花風にさそはれ木のもとにちりうき雪のつもるやらんと覚てやるかたなかりければ

／神風にころやすくぞまかせつる桜のみやの花のさかりを

(B29) さてもこの所にやすらいですでにみとせあまりにもなりぬころざしたりしひがしのかたもゆかしければいのちのほどもしりがたしとて¹²⁸すでにいととするに日ごろあさからずなれちぎりし人々あつまりて夜もすがらなごりをおしみて弦歌の曲にころをとどめたがひに袖をしぼりける折ふしその夜月おもしろかりければ

／君もとへ我もしのばんさき立たば月をかたみにおもひ出つつ

(B 30) すでにあづまのかたへくだるに日かずつもれば遠江の国天中のわたりといふところにてもののふののりたりけるふねにびんせんをしたりけるほどに人おほくのりて船あやうかりけんあの法師おりよおりよといひけれどもわたりのならひとおもひてきき入ぬさまにてありけるになさけなくむちをもちて西行をうちけり血などかしらよりいでて世にあへなく見えけれども西行少しもうらみたるいろなくしててをあわせ船よりおりにけりこれを見てともなりける入道なきかなしみければ西行つくづくとまぶりみやこを出し時みち

¹²⁷ Favours Shōhōbon.

¹²⁸ Seikadō is here unique in eliding this farewell scene into the following section.

のまにていかにもこころくるしき事有るべしといひしは是ぞかしたとへば足
手をきられいのちをうしなふともそれまつたくうらみにあらずもしいにしへ
のこころをもつべくはかみをそり衣をそめでこそあらめ仏の御こころはみな
じひを先としてわれらがごとくのざうあくふぜんのものをすくひたまふされ
ばあだをもてあだを報ずればそのうらみやまずおんをもててきをほうずれば
あだすなはちめつすといへり経の中には無量劫の間修したる善根も一念の悪
をおこせばみな焼失すともいへり又不経菩薩はうたるるつへをいたまず我深
敬汝等不敢輕慢所以者何汝等皆行菩薩道とてなを礼恭敬し給きこれみな利他
をむねとし仏道修行のすがたなり自今以後もかかる事は有べしたがひに心く
るしかるべければなんちはみやこへ帰れとて東西へぞわかれけるこの同行の
入道も西行がそのかみのありさまどもおもひ出てかかる事を見て心うしと覺
へけるもことわりとこそあはれなる西行こころつよくも同行の入道をばおひ
すてたりけれども年ごろあひなれしものなればさすが名残はおしかりけれど
もただ一人小夜の中山ことのまの明神の御前に侍りて

若以色見我以音声求我是人行邪道不能見如来と礼拝してさやの山中を越て
かくなん

／としたけて又こゆべしとおもひきやいのちなりけるさやの中山

(B31) ただ一人あらしのかぜの身にしみてうき事いとど大井川しかいの波を
わけなみだも露もおきまがふすみ染の袖しぼりもあへぬ行ほどにするがのく
におかべのしゆくといふところに付てあれたる御たうに立ちよりやすみてい
けるなにとなくうしろとのかたを見やりたりければふるきひかさをかけられ
たるをあやしと見るに過にしはるのころみやこにてたがひにさき立たば還来
穢国最期引攝のちぎりをむすびし同行のあづまのかたへ修行に出しときあな
がちにわかれをかなしみしかばこれをかたみにとて

我不愛身命但惜無上道と書たりしかさは有／ながらぬしはみへざりければ
おくれさき立ならひはやもとのしづくとなりけるやらんとあはれに覺てな
みだをおさへやどのものにとひければ都よりこのはる修行者のきたりてあり
しがこの御たうにていたはりをしてうせ侍りしをいぬのくひみだして侍きか

ばねはちかきあたりに侍るらんといひけれど尋るに見へざりければ西行法師
／かさはあるその身はいかになりぬらんあはれはかなきあめのしたか
な

とかくうちながめてゆくほどにはつあきかぜも身にしみていつしかのべのけ
しきもあはれにむしのこえごえおとづれたりことつてをまつとしもなきにこ
しちのかりもおとづれ心ほそくおぼへて

／秋たつと人はつけねどしられけりみ山のすそのかぜのけしきに

／おぼつかなあきはいかなるゆへのあればすぞろに物のかなしがるら
ん

／しらくもをつばさにかけてとぶかりのかどたのおものともしたふな
り

(B 32) むかしなりひらの中じゃうつたかへでにみちまよひ夢にもあはずなり
ゆくとながめけんうつの山べをすぐるにもむかし人こひしきこちしてきよ
みがせきにつきぬればおきのなみみぎはのいわにくだけ月のひかりしほに{...
トブ...}¹²⁹山川江海をしのぎし旅のうさもこのところにてすこしわするる心ち
しておぼへける

／風になびくふじのけぶりの空にきへてゆくへもしらぬわが思ひかな

／いつとなきおもひはふじのけぶりにてまどろむほどやうき嶋がはら

あしがら山にかかりてむかし実方の中条の名もあしがらの山なればと詠め
又白霧山深鳥一声といひし人のことどもおもひいださるるおりふし木がらし
の風身にしむばかりなりければ

／山里は秋のすへにぞおもひするかなしかりけり木がらしのかぜ

さがみの国おほぼといふところとがみがはらをすぐるに野原の霧のひまよ
り風にさそはれしかのなく声きこえければ

¹²⁹ A page has been misplaced at this point. It is found inserted in the middle of section 37 below.

／糸はまどふくづのしげみにつまこめてとがみが原におかなくなり

そのゆふぐれがたにさはべのしぎとびたつおとしければ

／こころなき身にもあはれはしられけりしぎたつさはの秋のゆくれ

(B.33) むさしの国にわけ入ほどにくさふかくとじこもるしらうそうのしばの
いほりにきやうをよみて侍りしにやどをかりてあかつきがたに立出けるにた
がいになごりおしくて西行法師

／いかで我きよくくもらぬ身となりてこころの月の影をみがかん

／いかがすべき世にあらばこそ世をもすててあなうの世やとさらにい
とはん

／秋はただこよひばかりのななりけりおなじ雲井に月はすめども

(B.34) みちのくへ下りけるにしらかわの関といふところにてとどまり能因入
道都をばかすみとともにたちしかど秋風ぞふくしらかわのせきとながめし事
どもおもひ出てことに月さへおもしろかりければせきやのはしらに

／しら川の関家を月のもるからに人のこころをとむるなりけり

次の日関山を越てはるばる行ほどに七度くもり八度雨ふるとかやのこち
して時時雨うちふりことに物あはれなりけるそのゆふぐれ

／たれすみてあわれしるらん山里の雨ふりすさぶゆふぐれのそら

さてもせきやを立て日かずすぐるほどにはるかなる野中にゆきくれてしづ
がふせやのありけるに立入けり夜ふかくふくるままに月くまなく都にてなが
めかずにもあらずおぼへてさても月見ん度にはたがひにおもひいでんとちぎ
りし人の事おもひいでられて

／みやこにて月をあはれとおもひしはかずにもあらぬすさびなりけり

／月見ばとちぎりおきてしふるさとの人もやこよひそでぬらすらん

(B.35) かくてつぼのいしぶみぬまたちなんどいふところ所を過てある野中を

過にことありがおのはかの見えけるをくさかりけるおのこにあれはいかなる
はかぞととひければこれなんさねかたの中將ときこへし人の御はかといふを
ききてあはれにおぼへて

／くちもせぬその名ばかりをとめおきてかれ野のすすきかたみにぞ見
る

／はかなしやあだにいのちのつゆきへて野べにやたれもおくりおかれ
ん

(B.37) かたやまかげのはにふの小家にとどまりたりけるに寝やの秋かせ身
にしみきりぎりすのこゑよはり行もあはれにおぼえて

／きりぎりす夜さむに秋のなるままによはるか声のとをざかりゆく

みやこならねどもとしのくれにはわれもわれもとそのいそぎをするもあは
れにおぼえて

／つねよりもこころぼそくぞ覚えケルたびのそらにてとしのくるれば

／うき身こそいとひながらもあはれ也月をながめて月のくれぬる

としたちかへりければみ山べのかすみとともにおもひたち都のかたへ行く
ほどに有野中にあほ柳のいとおもしろきをうへまはし軒にはこぐらきほどに
梅をばうへならべたるが花さきみだれたりければ人とどめど行もやられぬに
ほひゆかしさにこのふせやにとどまりけり

／ひとりねる草の枕のうつりかはかきねの梅のほひなりけり

／山がつかたおかかけてしむる野のさかひにたてる玉のお柳

かくて山々寺々をつたひゆく (トブ)¹³⁰ みちたるありさまききしよりもわ
りなくおぼへければ

／清見がたおきのいわこす白なみにひかりをかはず秋の夜の月

¹³⁰ See note 129.

するがのくににかけりて在中將の山はふじのねいつとてかと言けんもこと
はりとおぼへてはるかにふじのたかねを見あぐればおりしり顔のけぶりたち
のぼり山のなかばはくもにかくれふもとに湖水をたたへ南には郊原有まへに
は蒼海まんまんとしててうぎよのたすけにたよりあり都を出ておほくの (ト
ブ) ¹³¹

ほどに四月のはじめばかりにみののくにまでのぼりたりけるにさすがすてし
ながらも都のかたの事どもゆかしくおぼへてそなたの便かなとうちあらます
折ふしほととぎす二声三こゑおとづれてすぎければ

／ほととぎすみやこへ行ばことつてんこえおくれたる旅のあはれを

(B 38) こころにまかせぬいのちなれば二度旧里にかへりみやこのありさまを
見ればおくれさきだつためしすへのつゆあとのしづくとなりはててこの十余
年の間にめぐりきてなれむつびし人々をたづねればみなとりべののゆふべの
けぶりとのぼりふなおか山のあしたのつゆときへはててむなしきのみあさ
ぢふやよもぎがもとにとどめおきそのすみかをとへば庭もそとももひとつに
てむぐらのかど草のとざしのみふかくしてうづらの寝やとあれはてたる所々
百十余家なりさればこれほどあだなるうき世にわが身いかにとしてつれなく
のがれきつらんとあさましくおぼへてなほ胡馬北風にいばへ越鳥南枝にすく
ふとやらの風情に古郷をしたふこころにひかれて又かへりきぬる事わがこ
ころながらもうたてしくおぼえて

／かずならぬ身をもこころの持ちがおにうかれては又かへりきにけり

／これやみしむかし住みける宿ならんよもぎが露に月のかかれる

(B 54) さてひがし山のほとりそふりんじのかた原にいほりをむすびてくわん
ねんのまどのまへには三明の月のひかりをともとしてせうみやうのゆかのほ
とりにはせつしゆの御むかひを待てあかしくらしけり御堂のみぎりにさくら
をうへられたりけるにおなじくこの花さかりしゃか入ねはんの日二月十五日

¹³¹ The text here returns to the contents of section 37.

のあさをうしやうをおもひてかくなん

／ねがはくは花のもとにてはるしなんそのきさらぎのもちつきのころ

(B 55) すでにこのうたのごとく建久年二月十五日正念ただしくして西方にむかひて若人散乱心乃至以一花供養於書像漸見無数仏於此命終即往安楽世界阿弥陀仏大菩薩衆園繞住處となへて

／ほとけには桜の花をたてまつれ我後の世を人とぶらはば

とながめて千遍念仏やむ事なく空に伎楽のおとほのかに異香とをくくんじし
うんはるかにたな引て三そんらいかうのよそほひしやうしゆくわんきのぎし
き万民耳目をおどろかしわう生のそくはいをとげにけり

(B 57) 西行往生の後都のうちの歌ひとあとをしたひ袖をしぼらぬはなし中にも左こんの中将定家菩提院の三位の中将のもとへ西行往生の事を申されけるおくに

___左近中将

／もち月のころはたがはぬそらなれどきえけんくもの行急かなしも

___三位中将公衡返事

／紫の色ときくにぞなくさむるきへけんくもはかなしけれども

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