

Learning with *Waka* Poetry: Transmission and Production of
Social Knowledge and Cultural Memory in Premodern Japan

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation argues that throughout premodern Japan, classical Japanese poetry (*waka*) served as a vehicle for the transmission of social knowledge, cultural memory, and specialized information. *Waka* was originally indispensable to private and public social interactions among aristocrats, but it came to play a diversity of functions for warriors, monks, farmers, merchants, and other social groups at each and every level of premodern society and over many centuries, particularly from the late Heian period (785-1185) through the Edo period (1600-1868).

To trace the changes in the social functions of *waka*, this dissertation explores several moments in the history of *waka*: the development of a pedagogy for *waka* in the poetic treatises of the Heian period; the reception of these works in anecdotal collections of the Kamakura period (1192-1333), particularly those geared towards warriors; the use of humorous *waka* (*kyōka*), in particular those with satiric and parodic intent, in Muromachi-period (1333-1467) narratives for commoners; and the use of *waka* as pedagogical instruments for the codification, preservation, transmission, and memorization of knowledge about disciplines as diverse as hawking, kickball, and the tea ceremony. In the epilogue, I trace the efforts of Meiji-period (1868-1911) intellectuals who sought to disconnect *waka* from any social or pedagogical function, in order to reconceptualize it under the modern European notions of “Literature” and “the Arts.”

I conclude that the social functions of poetry in the premodern period should not be understood as extra-literary uses of poems that were otherwise composed as purely literary works in the modern sense. The roles that waka played in pedagogy, in particular in the transmission of cultural memory and social knowledge across diverse social spaces, were an inherent feature of the practice of waka in premodern Japan.

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Introduction

From its beginnings in the late seventh century classical Japanese poetry (*waka* 和歌) was a strictly aristocratic and courtly genre, yet when the court's power largely collapsed in the twelfth and thirteen centuries, it became and remained for centuries culturally significant in social spaces far removed from the court. This dissertation reveals how *waka* evolved from a social practice intimately connected to the every-day life of the aristocracy into a vehicle for cultural transmission and cultural production employed by warriors, monks, farmers, merchants, and other social groups at every level of premodern society. I trace this transformation over many centuries, particularly from the late Heian period (785-1185) through the Edo period (1600-1868).

During most of the Heian period, *waka* were produced and circulated for their “literary” (*bunsei*) value, as well as for their “practical usefulness” (*jitsuyō*) in social interactions within the aristocracy.¹ This distinction is meaningful but somewhat arbitrary, for the genres that were meant to preserve the poems with better “literary” qualities—the imperial anthology (*chokusenshū* 勅撰集) and the personal collection (*shikashū* 私家集)—made repeated reference to the diverse circumstances in which poems were composed. Poems were composed in the context of religious practices, classified in imperial anthologies under the labels *jingika* 神祇歌, “poems related to gods,” and *shakkyōka* 釈教歌, “poems related to Buddhist teachings.” Elsewhere, poems were exchanged as formal salutations at auspicious occasions (labeled *ga no uta* 賀歌) and as

¹ Kubota Utsubo, *Heian shūka zenki* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1957); Kubota Utsubo, *Kokin waka shū hyōshaku* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō, 1960).

part of mourning and parting (*aishô no uta* 哀傷歌), and poems were recited for social rituals such as coming of age, marriages, funerals, and festivals.

One of the more important functions of waka in the everyday life of the aristocracy was its role in private exchanges (mod. J. *zôtôka* 贈答歌). For example, the second imperial anthology, *Gosenshû* 後撰集 (Later Collection, 951), includes the following exchange between an emperor and a concubine:

The “Ômi” Imperial Concubine had withdrawn to her home to mourn the passing of her mother. She sent this poem in response to a letter from the Retired Emperor.

My sleeves, wet with the summer rains...
are now soaked in the dew: the sadness of autumn.
Samidare ni nurenishi sode ni itodoshiku tsuyu okisofuru aki no wabishisa

The Retired Emperor’s reply:

Autumns are in general a sad season,
yet I feel particularly for the sleeves no doubt soaked in dew.
Ôkata mo aki wo wabishiki toki naredo tsuyukekaruramu sode wo shi zo omou

(*Gosenshû* – Book VI (Autumn II) – Poem 277/8)²

The concubine’s poem relies on concrete images—sleeves, rains, dew, autumn—and their conventional seasonal associations. The summer rains belong in the Fifth Month, during the rainy season. Dew is, by convention, associated with autumn. Wet sleeves symbolize heartfelt sobbing: sleeves wet with tears. We glean from the poem that the poet’s sadness started in the summer and continued well into the autumn.

The poetic form is too compact for the poem to provide information about the poet’s circumstances. This aspect we learn from the headnote, which presents the poem as part

² SNKBT, vol. 6, p. 85. 母の服にて里に侍けるに、先帝の御文たまへりける御返ごとに 近江更衣 五月雨に濡れにし袖にいとしく露をきそふる秋のわびしさ 御返し 延喜御製 おほかたも秋はわびしき時なれと露けかる覧袖をしぞ思。

of an epistolary exchange. The concubine sent this poem after she had withdrawn to her home to mourn the passing of her mother. Custom demanded that a person in mourning leave the court to avoid defiling the emperor. If the Imperial Concubine lost her mother in the Fifth Month, then the customary period of mourning, forty-nine days, would end by the beginning of the autumn, when she would be expected to return to the service of the Emperor. The poem thus works as a request for more time off-duty: the autumn has come but I still feel too sad to go back to court. The emperor's reply similarly blends the "literary" and the "practical". Using natural images charged with symbolic associations, he communicates his condolences and his sympathy. It is as if he were saying, "It's okay. You do not need to come back yet. Take your time."

As this example illustrates, skill in waka involved both a mastery of the poetic form and a sense of social etiquette: matching a good poem with the right social occasion. Learning waka meant both getting to know the poetic canon and understanding how poems were used in social life.

This immediate connection between waka and specific social situations lost strength towards the end of the Heian period. Hashimoto Fumio has argued that the social functions of poetry changed towards the beginning of the *Insei* 院政 period. The Insei period was inaugurated by the abdication of emperor Shirakawa (1053-1129; r. 1072-1086) in 1086, the year in which the fourth imperial anthology, *GoShūishū* 後拾遺集 (Later Collection of Gleanings) was compiled. During this period, poems that were composed as part of private communication rapidly lost ground to another type of poetry, composed for events such as poetic gatherings (*uta kai* 歌会) and poetic contests

(*utaawase* 歌合). These events could be either private or public and in a lavish style. They harked back to the tenth century but gained in importance throughout the Insei period; what mattered most was the skill to compose a poem on a fixed topic (*dai* 題). For a waka poet, being able to match the conventional associations and expectations of a poetic topic became more important than matching a social situation or conveying a personal message to a specific addressee.³

The resulting corpus of poems, recorded and canonized in multiple subsequent imperial anthologies, constitutes what Inoue Muneo terms the “proper style” (*shōfūtei* 正風体) of waka.⁴ Inoue refers to it otherwise as “elegant and sophisticated” (*fūga* 風雅) and “orthodox” (*seitōteki* 正統的).⁵ This is poetry largely devoid of practical uses, that is, more distant from its previous function as part of social interactions.

This shift from social interactions to fixed-topics has been described by modern scholars as a sign that waka was finally becoming a fully developed, mature literary genre. Kuboki Tetsuo, for example, saw it as a shift towards a poetry that was more creative (mod. J. *sōsaku* 創作). In this view, unleashing the creative potential of this poetic form required that waka be unbound from the constraints imposed on it by its central role on social occasions.⁶ My research looks at this process in a different way. This dissertation explores the new literary, social, and cultural functions that waka acquired as a consequence of this shift. I trace the afterlife of waka as it ceased to be,

³ Hashimoto Fumio, *Inseiki no wakadanshi - horikawain kadan wo keisei shita hitobito* (Tokyo: Musashino Shoin, 1966); Hashimoto Fumio, *Ōchō wakashi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 1972).

⁴ An expression coined in the Kamakura period (a poetic treatise written in the Kamakura period by a scholar associated to the Nijō household was titled *Shōfūteishō* 正風体抄) and which in the Edo Period gained currency in *haikai* circles as a term to describe proper or orthodox *haikai* poetry.

⁵ Inoue Muneo, “Waka no jitsuyōsei to bungeisei - kyōka kyōkunka to shōfūtei,” in *Chūsei kadan to kajinden no kenkyū* (Kasama shoin, 2007), pp. 361–405.

⁶ Kuboki Tetsuo, *Ori no bungaku - heian waka bungakuron* (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2007).

fundamentally, a component of quotidian aristocratic social, political, and religious interactions, and became a literary product, to show that it also became a vehicle for the transmission of social knowledge and cultural memory across diverse social spaces.

A crucial stage in the dissemination of waka across boundaries of class and space is the instruction on poetics that 13th-century warrior leaders who were based in the eastern city of Kamakura received from courtiers in the capital (Kyoto).⁷ After the Genpei war of 1180-85 and the creation of a warrior government in Kamakura, the newly powerful Minamoto and Hôjô households, aspiring to acquire the cultural prestige of the aristocracy, sought training in poetry. An illustrative case is that of Minamoto no Sanetomo 源実朝 (1192-1219) and Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162-1241). Sanetomo, the son of Genpei-war victor Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147-1199) and Hôjô Masako 北条政子 (1157-1225), became the third Kamakura shôgun in 1203. Teika, a high-ranking courtier, was the head of the Mikohidari poetic household and the leading waka poet of his generation. As part of their formal and explicit pedagogical relationship, Teika wrote and presented to Sanetomo a treatise on waka composition, *Kindai shûka* 近代秀歌 (Supreme Poems of Our Time, 1209). Sanetomo went on to become a well-known poet. He left hundreds of poems in his personal collection *Kinkaishû* 金槐集 (Collection of the Kamakura Minister of the Right, 1213) and had many poems included in imperial anthologies (*chokusenshû*). In the following centuries, subsequent generations of warrior rulers would receive similar training from Teika's descendants and have their poems collected in both private collections and officially sanctioned anthologies of waka.

⁷ Ogawa Takeo, *Buke wa naze uta wo yomu ka - Kamakura shôgun kara sengoku daimyô made* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2008).

These direct contacts at the highest levels of society, between elite aristocrats and elite warriors, only tell part of the story. As this dissertation shows, learning and practicing waka became important in other social groups too. These were initially lower-level warriors and Buddhist monks, and in the late medieval period merchants, farmers, and craftsmen also embraced waka. The transfer of knowledge that brought the practice of waka beyond the world of the court was neither a one-way trickle down of knowledge nor blind imitation but instead a complex process of cultural production. As non-courtiers absorbed the knowledge about the practice of waka that radiated from the court, they transformed it, adapting it to their specific needs, anxieties, and aspirations.

Why did waka take a central role in the cultural life of these diverse social groups? How did different social spaces appropriate and use waka? What can the transmission and production of knowledge about waka teach us about wider processes of knowledge transfer? Methodologically, these questions can only be answered by enlarging the focus of inquiry beyond works that, like Teika's *Kindai shūka*, were produced by elite poets for elite patrons. I analyze a whole range of genres that are not usually the focus of studies of waka and that emerged from a plurality of social spaces. From poetic treatises to cultural handbooks to Buddhist treatises to narrative tales to handbooks on kickball or the tea ceremony, these texts have been considered of secondary or of no importance in studies of waka. These studies tend to embrace the poetic canon established by Teika and his descendants, which focused on the imperial anthologies (*chokusenshū* 勅撰集) as well as on courtly tales that contained poems, such as *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (early 11th c.) and *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語 (951). Without an examination of non-canonical works it

is impossible to understand the cultural life of waka in premodern society. While most of the works I analyze were not meant as handbooks of waka, through their amalgam of literary criticism, philosophical and religious discussion, pedagogy, didacticism, and entertainment they reveal the cultural functions that waka came to play as it moved away from the centers of power and cultural prestige.

A second methodological concern is the need to conceptualize waka as a multi-dimensional social practice--rather than simply as a literary genre--and to investigate its place in the matrix of other social and cultural practices.⁸ A key concept here is Pierre Bourdieu's notion of "cultural capital." Bourdieu conceptualizes the field of cultural production as a structured space that is relatively autonomous but structurally homologous with the spheres of economic exchanges and of power. Its structure is determined by the relations among the positions that agents (producers as well as instances of legitimation) occupy in it as they engage in competition for control of resources. Among the resources specific to the cultural field, symbolic capital refers to accumulated prestige and cultural capital refers to cultural knowledge, competences or dispositions.⁹ In the context of waka, this approach leads to an examination of the internal and external politics of waka circles.¹⁰

⁸ My research is inspired in scholarship about premodern Japan that explores how literary genres like waka point to wider cultural processes. For example, Richard Bowring's study of *Ise monogatari* focused on the centuries of commentarial tradition, scholarly exegesis, and allusive references in pictorial works and other works of art. Waka practice has been connected as well to larger political agendas. Gustav Heldt, for example, has analysed the role of waka in legitimating communal and individual claims to the state's wealth and Torquil Duthie has described the uses of waka in the construction of imperial imaginaries. Richard Bowring, "The Ise Monogatari: a Short Cultural History," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 52.2 (1992): 401–480. Gustav Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony* (Cornell University Press, 2008). Torquil Duthie, *Man'yōshū and the Imperial Imagination in Early Japan* (Boston: Brill, 2014).

⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*. (Columbia University Press, 1993).

¹⁰ Robert Huey, for example, has investigated the impact of factionalism and exclusivity on elite medieval poetic practice. Robert Huey, "The Medievalization of Poetic Practice," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 50.2 (1990): 651–668.

The notion of cultural capital draws attention to the field of cultural production as a site of struggles for power and domination. It is impossible to understand waka as a social practice without consideration of power relations within the field of waka or the use of poems and poetic collections by emperors and regents. At the same time, this approach requires moving the focus from the quality of what is being produced and exchanged (knowledge about waka) to the ways in which it is exchanged. That is, in order to understand the field of cultural production as structurally homologous with the field of economic exchanges and of power we need to treat knowledge about waka as a commodity and the social practice of waka as position-taking informed by competitive interests and investments. This would suggest that, to the extent that it was sought and exchanged as cultural capital, waka was not necessarily different from any other dimension of the courtly culture of the Heian aristocracy.

Yet waka had an advantage over other courtly practices. Knowledge about waka was not just cultural capital, but a vehicle for the transmission of a variety of forms of cultural capital. I argue that towards the end of the Heian period, waka became a flexible and resilient conduit for the dissemination of the cultural knowledge and social memory of the court in general. This is why, among other traditional court pastimes such as music or painting, waka became a preferred vehicle for non-courtiers and non-elites interested in acquiring knowledge of court culture as well as wider cultural literacy. In waka's capacity to organize and drive the transfer of social knowledge and cultural memory I find an opportunity to revise not just the historiography of waka but our understanding of the broader cultural processes that shaped premodern Japanese society.

My first chapter looks at the poetic treatises (*karon* 歌論) of the late Heian period (785-1185), which have been regarded as the main genre for understanding the poetics of waka. I reveal them to be, even more importantly, pedagogical tools in a process of transmission of wider knowledge--of history, geography, court etiquette, court ritual, provincial customs--far beyond its usage in poetry composition. I analyze in depth the waka treatises *Toshiyori zuinô* 俊頼髓脳 (Toshiyori's Essentials of Poetry, 1111-14) by Minamoto no Toshiyori (1055-1129), *Fukurozôshi* 袋草紙 (The Bag Booklet, 1159) by Fujiwara no Kiyosuke (1104-77), and the early Kamakura-period (1192-1333) *Mumyôshô* 無名抄 (Untitled Notes, 1211) by Kamo no Chômei (ca. 1155-1216). These treatises, in spite of their great impact on contemporary poetic activity, have received relatively little attention from modern scholars.

The emergence of poetry treatises has to be understood in the context of pedagogical practices, as well as of gender and class distinctions.¹¹ The oldest pedagogical institution was the State Academy of Letters (the *Daigakuryô* 大学寮). It had been created in the late seventh as part of the *ritsuryô* 律令 state bureaucracy with the objective of training government officials. Training, which initially covered the Confucian classics (*myôgyôdô* 明経道) and arithmetic (*sandô* 算道), soon incorporated *ritsuryô* law (*myôhōdō* 明法道) and Chinese letters (*monjōdō* 文書). The study of Chinese letters, known also as *Kidendō* 紀伝道, was centered on anthologies of Chinese poems (*kanshi* 漢詩) like the *Wenxuan* 文選 (J. *Monzen*) and dictionaries like the *Erya* 爾雅 (J. *Jiga*), as well as on historical

¹¹ Ishikawa Ken, *Nihon gakkōshi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shōgakkān, 1960). Momo Hiroyuki, *Jōdai gakusei no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Shinbunkaku Shuppan, 1994). *Kōza nihon kyōikushi* (Tokyo: Daiichi Hōki, 1984). Ishikawa Matsutarō, *Nihon kyōikushi* (Tokyo: Tamagawa Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1987).

works such as Sima Qian 司馬遷's *Shiji* 史記 (J. *Shiki*). Specialists in Kidendô, known as Professors of Letters (*Monjô-hakase* 文章博士), appeared as early as the late eighth century. The existence of an institution like the Daigakuryô, staffed by monjô-hakase professors covering the Kidendô curriculum, set Chinese learning--and as part of it, *kanshi* poetry--in a position that contrasts with that of waka, which, until the 12th century, lacked such pedagogical apparatus with professional instructors, official institutions, or teaching materials. My first chapter describes the development of a systematic pedagogical apparatus for waka in the twelfth century.

Another important pedagogical practice for the Heian aristocracy was tutoring. During the eighth century the Daigakuryô grew in size and cultural significance as the gateway to a career as government official. But in the ninth century appointments gradually became less meritocratic and more a question of family affiliation. Powerful households tended to have their scions trained at home by tutors. The Daigakuryô had been open only to males, and the home curricula, too, were inflected with gender distinctions.

The education of male aristocrats focused on literacy and letters in Chinese. It consisted also in the study of household diaries (*kiroku* 記録), in which courtiers recorded and passed down the details of their time serving at court. These diaries preserved knowledge about official proceedings, court regulations, etiquette, and attire. In this way, they served as guides for ritual precedent (*yûsoku-kojitsu* 有職故実). Later, starting in the 11th century, compilations of model letters (*ôrai-mono* 往来者) were also used as primers of court culture. The earliest extant work of this type is *Meigô-ôrai* 明衡往来 (Fujiwara no Akihira's Letter Copybook, 1040) by the courtier Fujiwara no Akihira

(989-1066), who also compiled *Honchô monzui* 本朝文粹, a collection of writings in Chinese. In this way, home tutoring slowly took over the role hitherto held by the Daigakuryô of preparing powerful aristocrats for a competitive career at court.

The education of elite women was similarly oriented towards a career at court. Women were not eligible to enter the Daigakuryô. Aristocratic ladies trained exclusively at home in elegant accomplishments such as calligraphy (*tenarai* 手習い), music (and string instruments, chiefly the *biwa* and the *koto*), and waka. Skill in these accomplishments only gained in importance with the rise of marriage-politics that marked the early to mid- Heian period.

As powerful aristocrats vied to position themselves as the father-in-law of the emperor and grandfather of the crown prince, the education their daughters received became crucial. Knowledge of Chinese letters was not considered a requisite for aristocratic women as it was for men. A basic knowledge of kanshi poetry, however, was not uncommon, as illustrated by the case of ladies-in-waiting such as Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部 (ca. 973-ca. 1014) and Sei Shônagon 清少納言 (active at the turn of the 11th c.). The work of the Tang-dynasty poet Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846, J. Haku Kyoï or Hakushi), in particular, came to be studied by aristocrats of both genders.

It was against this background that waka treatises, waka instructors, and the explicit pedagogical contract between student and instructor emerged in the late 11th century. In my exploration of waka pedagogy I establish a distinction between two types of transmission: from parent to child within a single household and from specialist to powerful patron--or patron's children--under a pedagogical contract. It was only later that waka pedagogy came to be dominated by elite figures like Fujiwara no Shunzei (1104-

1204) and his son Teika (1162-1241). Initially, specialists tended to belong to the lower and middle ranks of the aristocracy, in particular to an administrative level known as *zuryō* 受領. *Zuryō* were lower-level public officials who traveled to the provinces to oversee administrative activities in lieu of higher-level provincial governors (*kami* 守), who stayed behind in the capital. With little prospects of advancing through the courtly ranks, many *zuryō*-level aristocrats turned to cultural activities.¹² Waka instructor Tachibana no Nagayasu (later known as Priest Nōin, b. 988) and many of his students¹³ belonged to the *zuryō* aristocracy, as did authors of waka treatises, among them Minamoto no Toshiyori and Fujiwara no Kiyosuke.

I argue that it was waka instructors such as Nōin, Toshiyori, and Kiyosuke who turned waka into a vehicle for the preservation and transmission of a deep, rich field of knowledge. In their pedagogical texts, often compiled for more powerful courtiers, these *zuryō*-level waka experts transformed knowledge about waka into a vehicle of social knowledge and cultural memory. They did it by compiling brief expository accounts and narrative episodes, which recorded poems together with the physical setting, the social occasion, the go-betweens, the props (such as a branch with blossoms or a pile of snow presented with the poem), or the outcome of the exchange. These “waka vignettes,” as I refer to them in this dissertation, were an efficient way of condensing the cultural information necessary to know waka. Waka vignettes were also a versatile tool that could be adjusted to different pedagogical settings.

¹² Francine Hérail. *Emperor and Aristocracy in Heian Japan* (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2013).

¹³ Among them Fujiwara no Norinaga 藤原範永, Taira no Munenaka 平棟仲, Minamoto no Yorizane 源頼実, Minamoto no Kanenaga 源兼長 (aka Shigenari 重成), Fujiwara no Tsunehira 藤原経衡, and Minamoto no Yoriie 源頼家.

By “waka vignette” I mean a poetry-prose configuration that--regardless of the text or genre in which it appears--combines waka with a brief evocative description, expository account, or narrative episode. Waka vignettes are a trans-generic form, which appeared already in the earliest compilations of waka. What I here call waka vignettes have actually received different names, which vary with genre and text. In poetic collections, poems are often introduced by narrative headnotes (*kotobagaki* 詞書 or *daishi* 題詞),¹⁴ followed by postnotes (*sachû* 左注), and often presented in pairs as part of poetic exchanges (*zôtôka* 贈答歌); in poem-tales (*utamonogatari* 歌物語), one or more poems are joined by brief narrative accounts to form discrete episodes (*dan* 段); in fictional tales (*monogatari* 物語), characters compose and exchange poems as part of everyday activities and official functions at court; the two early historical chronicles (*kiki* 記紀) and the later historical tales (*rekishi monogatari* 歴史物語) include many poems composed by gods and humans; personal diaries (*nikki* 日記) and personal essays (*zuihitsu* 隨筆) note poems exchanged by the author and her acquaintances; treatises on poetry (*karon* 歌論 or *kagaku* 歌学) quote poems as part of critical discussions and of anecdotes; records of poetic contests (*utaawase* 歌合) register poems together with the context of their recitation and the critical assessment of a judge; anecdotal collections (*setsuwashû* 説話集) include many narrative episodes centered around waka (*waka setsuwa* 和歌説話). Also, warrior tales (*gunki mono* 軍記物), Buddhist treatises, and handbooks of pastimes such as kickball (*kemari* 蹴鞠) or the tea ceremony (*chanoyu* 茶

¹⁴ The Japanese terms between brackets in this paragraph refer to critical terms currently used in modern scholarship (even though some of them, such as *utaawase* or *nikki*, have a much earlier origin).

の湯) contain waka vignettes. In these genres and texts, waka vignettes reveal the diverse functions that waka could play in society.

In my second chapter I explore large collections of short anecdotal narrative. Known as *setsuwashû* 説話集, they are a characteristic genre of the Kamakura period (1192-1333). I argue that in these works waka--as preserved in waka vignettes--developed into the preferred means for non-aristocrats to acquire the knowledge about customs, values, and lore associated with aristocratic life. *Setsuwashû* contain a wealth of waka vignettes taken from poetic treatises, as well as from Heian-period courtly genres such as imperial anthologies of waka (*chokusenshû*), private diaries (*nikki*), and poem-tales (*utamonogatari*). A representative *setsuwashû* is *Jikkinshô* 十訓抄 (A Ten-Lesson Digest, 1252), a handbook of practical advice with Confucian overtones, in which waka vignettes are included among other exemplary or cautionary tales. Also of importance is *Kokonchomonjû* 古今著聞集 (A Collection of Tales Written and Heard in the Past and Present, 1254), a handbook of court culture organized into thirty thematic chapters (covering topics like religion, governance, scholarship, and the arts, and also food, flora, and fauna), where waka vignettes serve to outline different aspects of life at court. In contrast to Heian-period poetic treatises, aimed at aristocrats plus a few elite warriors, collections of anecdotal narrative served a more diverse audience, which included mid- and lower-level warriors from the Eastern provinces.

These non-elite warriors needed to acquire knowledge about the court and its culture but had few chances in the Kamakura period of experiencing the court first hand. After the Genpei War of 1180-85 and the creation of a warrior government in Kamakura, the imperial court bureaucracy in the capital (Kyoto) continued to play a vital political and

administrative role. It even enjoyed a certain measure of autonomy, at least until the Jōkyū uprising (1221), the failed attempt by Retired Emperor GoToba (1180-1239) to overthrow the Kamakura government and return full political power to the court in the capital. GoToba's defeat led to an even stronger warrior presence in the capital. The court was able to retain some of its administrative functions. However, now a branch office of the warrior government was attached to the court and staffed by Kamakura deputies in permanent residence in the capital. Warriors travelling from Kamakura to the capital to serve as comptrollers, liaisons, or representatives, as well as their retainers and amanuenses, had to interact with a court bureaucracy staffed by aristocrats. *Kokonchomonjū* and *Jikkinshō* contain evidence that these mid-level warriors were expected to quickly assimilate the expectations and preferences of the aristocracy.

Acquiring knowledge about waka wasn't simply a matter of securing a veneer of cultural sophistication. In this politically volatile context, a warrior who could quickly assimilate the expectations and preferences of the aristocracy would gain a competitive edge against fellow warriors competing for office and position. This fueled a complex process of transmission of the knowledge that had been traditionally distinctive of the court. In the second chapter I show how the waka vignettes that had come to encode the social knowledge and cultural memory of the court in Heian-period poetic treatises for aristocrats and elite warriors were repurposed and transformed in Kamakura-period anecdotal collections to reach a more diverse audience.

In the third chapter, I apply the results of the research in the first two chapters to the analysis of a case study. As waka brought court knowledge to wider audiences in the Kamakura period, new patterns emerged. One of these was the compilation of waka

vignettes that stressed the various ways in which learning waka could prove useful to an individual. Known as *katoku* 歌徳 (“the virtue(s) of poetry”), these vignettes have been explained as a product of a power specific to the Japanese language (*kotodama* 言霊) or as the miraculous effect of Buddhist spells (*darani* 陀羅尼; from Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* धारणी). Studies have tended to focus on a thirteenth-century Buddhist treatise titled *Shasekishū* (A Collection of Sand and Pebbles, 1283). In this work, Ichien 一円 (1226-1312), a Rinzaï-sect priest born in Kamakura to a traditional warrior household, argued that waka could serve as a vehicle for Buddhist truth and edited a series of waka vignettes as evidence.

My analysis reveals that a discourse on the practical, social, financial, and religious benefits of poetry had taken shape at least a century earlier. This early *katoku* discourse emerged predominantly in pedagogical texts--poetic treatises and anecdotal collections--, not in Buddhist treatises. The way in which poetic treatises such as *Toshiyori zuinō* and anecdotal collections such as *Jikkishō* discuss the benefits of waka suggests that the wondrous benefits and miraculous events described in *katoku* vignettes reflect and amplify the more secular benefits of acquiring cultural knowledge through waka.

As warrior households consolidated their role as the main political players during the Muromachi period (1333-1467) and Warring States period (1467-1600), and as communities of urban commoner merchants came to accumulate financial resources, waka vignettes started to appear in vernacular tales for commoner audiences. In my fourth chapter I look at what are now called *otogizōshi* 御伽草子 (Muromachi tales). Many of these texts came to reflect the aesthetic sensibilities and social anxieties of townsfolk, artisans, and merchants.

This was a period of political instability. The capital was razed to the ground in the Ōnin Wars (1467-77) and there were repeated large-scale peasant uprisings. As traditional elite warrior leaders such as the Ashikaga progressively lost their network of alliances and surrendered control of the provinces to coalitions of lesser warriors, a new class of wealthy townsfolk rose in political and economic importance. These wealthy commoners enjoyed relative autonomy; for example, in the city of Sakai (south Osaka), they struck alliances with the warrior leaders, Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊富秀吉 (1536-1598), who eventually succeeded in unifying the country.

By the 15th century, a group of city-dwellers based in the capital had come to amass financial and commercial resources. Sake brewers and merchants, for example, accumulated enough capital to serve as moneylenders, a role until then played almost exclusively by large Buddhist institutions. They could serve also as tax farmers, acting as financiers who collected and retained tax revenue.¹⁵ As they came into contact with elite groups (aristocrats, high-ranking Buddhist priests, and traditional warrior households such as the Ashikaga), affluent commoner merchants sought to assimilate the culture and lore associated with the court.

Throughout the Kamakura and Muromachi periods cultural knowledge carried by waka spread to social spaces far removed from the court, but the aristocratic and warrior elites never stopped placing Chinese learning at the core of their pedagogical practices. Elite training on the aesthetic and technical aspects of waka composition was monopolized by a handful of specialist families, led by the Nijō, Kyōgoku, and Reizei

¹⁵ Suzanne Gay, *The Moneylenders of Late Medieval Kyoto* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).

off-shoots of the Heian-period Mikohidari household. In this context, *setsuwashû* anecdotal collections and *otogizôshi* tales offer a chance to uncover peripheral pedagogical practices through which non-elites gained access to a body of knowledge deemed necessary to function in premodern society. *Setsuwashû* and *otogizôshi* served pedagogical, didactic, and instructional aims, but presented their material through vignettes that recount mysterious, dramatic, and humorous events. I argue that this secondary, informal pedagogy represents a fundamental step in the transmission of cultural knowledge to more diverse social spaces.

Most of the extant *otogizôshi* (Muromachi tales) from the Muromachi period (1333-1467) and Warring States period (1467-1600) seem to have been written by aristocrats. Most were geared to an aristocratic or to an elite warrior audience, but many address the interests and aspirations of merchant townsfolk, who embraced the study of *waka* as a carrier of courtly knowledge. I argue that *otogizôshi* tales offer a new formulation of *waka* knowledge. They play the elegance (*ga* 雅) of the court culture transmitted by *waka* against new popular (*zoku* 俗) sensibilities. I analyze this *ga/zoku* dynamic in tales such as *Menoto no sôshi* 乳母の草紙 (The Nursemaid's Booklet), *Monokusa Tarô* 物くさ太郎 (Lazy Tarô), and *Saru Genji sôshi* 猿源氏草紙 (The Tale of Monkey Genji). In this last tale, for example, a sardine peddler from the provinces wins the heart of an aristocratic lady thanks to his poetic skill--a pattern modeled after a subgroup of the *katoku* vignettes of the Heian period. But in *Saru Genji sôshi* the poems, instead of being orthodox *waka*, are satiric or popular variants (*kyôka* 狂歌) of the classic form, and are humorously infiltrated with low vocabulary and commoner sentiment.

Humorous poems are as old as the poetic form itself. Since the earliest collection of *waka*, *Man'yōshū* (A Collection of a Ten-Thousand Leaves, c. late eighth century), humorous poems appear alongside more sober compositions (what Inoue Muneo calls *shōfutei* or orthodox style).¹⁶ The first imperial anthology, *Kokinshū* (905), included a section of humorous poems under the label *haikaika* 俳諧歌.¹⁷ By marking off these poems as a separate category, the editors of *Kokinshū* stressed the notion of “orthodox” poems as the standard for composition. These *haikai* poems display humor and include expressions that do not appear in the rest of the collection, particularly words connected to everyday life. For example, the following poem by Yoshimine no Harutoshi 良岑玄利, aka Priest Sosei 素性法師:

Will you tell me who the owner is,
of the robe dyed the yellow of blossoming kerria?
I ask but get no answer from this mouthless gardenia.
Yamabuki no hana iro koromo nushi ya tare toedo kotaezu kuchinashi ni shite
(*Kokinshū*, Book XIX, poem n. 1012)¹⁸

The humor arises from a double reading of *kuchinashi*: it can mean “gardenia” (梔子)—the fruit of which was used in dying—but also “no mouth” (口無し), an expression that is not part of orthodox *waka* diction. The poem deploys this double reading as part of a “set-up and punch” structure: an upper section (*kami no ku*) that looks fully orthodox,

¹⁶ In particular in book XVI, which includes several headnotes to the poem indicating explicitly their jesting intent. These poems are technically referred today as *gishōka* 戲笑歌 (playful and joking poems), a later coinage that is not attested in the *Man'yōshū* (to the extent of my knowledge), but based on the use of the character 戲 in the headnotes to the poems in that collection.

¹⁷ Also read *hikai no uta*. Cfr. Katagiri Yōichi, ed., *Kokinshū* (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 2005). The term *haikai* was originally used for humorous Chinese verse. Cfr. also 久富木原玲 「俳諧歌から和歌へ」 国語と国文学 60(1), p14-31, 1983-01; 「戯れ歌の時代：平安後期和歌の課題」 国語と國文學 63(7), 43-57, 1986; 「俳諧歌-和歌史の構想・序説」 国語と国文学 58(10), p12-30, 1981-10.

¹⁸ 山吹の花色衣ぬしやたれとへどこたはずくちなしにして。

followed by the humorous twist on *kuchinashi* in the lower section (*shimo no ku*).¹⁹ Perceiving the poem's humor requires knowing what constitutes orthodox poetry and what doesn't. In other words, a breach of orthodox rules (allowed but marked off as *haikai*) works rhetorically by reinforcing the notion that orthodox waka is a genre with airtight rules. If that were not the case, the poem wouldn't be funny.

Humorous poems (now referred to as *kyōka*) are the main form in which waka appears in Muromachi-period *otogizōshi* narratives. In my fourth chapter I use the “set-up and punch” structure of humorous poems as a useful analogy to understand the reception of elite culture by merchant commoners during the late Muromachi period. *Kyōka* are funny only when read as a sudden break with the rules and conventions of orthodox waka. *Kyōka* might parody orthodox waka, but they simultaneously transmit (in inverted form) its rules and conventions. The relationship of classical to popular culture in *otogizōshi* is *kyōka*-esque: a relationship not of opposition but of symbiosis in the production and transmission of culture in late medieval Japan.

Another important subgenre that emerged in the medieval period as a departure from orthodox poems were waka used in pedagogy. In my fifth chapter I examine the use of waka to encode information about specific disciplinary fields other than poetry itself. This extra-literary use of waka led to the development of poems that served to codify, preserve, transmit, and facilitate memorization of vast tracts of information about the most varied disciplines, from hawking to kickball to the tea ceremony. Didactic or

¹⁹ A contrast between orthodox elements and non-orthodox elements that has an aesthetic effect has been described (in connection to narrative parody in Muromachi-period *otogizōshi* tales) as an effect of “bathos” by Shinoda Jun’ichi and as an “anticlimax” by Virginia Skord. Shinoda Jun’ichi, “Musō Monokusa Tarō ron,” in *Taniyama Shigeru kyōju taishoku kinen kokugo kokubungaku ronshū* (Tokyo: Hanawa, 1972); Virginia Skord, “Monogusa Taro. From Rags to Riches and Beyond,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 44.2 (1989): 171–198.

educational poems are often referred to by modern scholars as *kyôkunka* 教訓歌 (pedagogical poems) or *dôka* 道歌 (poems of the way/profession). To trace their development I look at works such as *Ryûzankô taka hyakushu* 龍山公鷹百首 (Hundred Poems by Lord Ryûzan, 12th c.), a manual of falconry written by a powerful courtier for elite-warriors during the Kamakura period; *Kemari hyakushu* 蹴鞠百首 (Hundred-Poems on Kickball, 15th c.), a manual of kickball written by a member of the Asukai household of waka and kemari experts during the Muromachi period; and *Rikyû dôka hyakushu* 利休道歌百首 (Rikyû's Hundred-Poems on the Tea Ceremony, late 17th c.), a manual of the tea ceremony attributed to Sen no Rikyû, who served as chief tea master (*sadô* 茶頭) under the powerful warrior leaders of the Momoyama period (1573-1615). As opposed to hawking and kickball, traditionally aristocratic pastimes, the tea ceremony emerged as a social practice popular with both warriors and merchant-class urbanites.

In collections of pedagogical waka, poems serve as a means to memorize and absorb essential information about a discipline. For example, the waka that comprise *Rikyû dôka hyakushu* condense and codify rules, instructions, and lore about the tea ceremony, its main implements, and its philosophical and aesthetic principles. In contrast to waka vignettes, in which the poem is at the core of an expository or narrative prose passage, these series of poems transmit cultural knowledge without recourse to prose. Poems used in training for different disciplines reveal one more way in which waka became a vehicle for the transmission of knowledge.

In the opening section of this introduction I made a distinction between the literary value and the practical usefulness of waka. This distinction informs much of modern scholarship on waka, and in the epilogue I revisit it in light of the literary reforms of the

Meiji period (1868-1911) by poets such as Masaoka Shiki (1867-1902). As part of the late nineteenth-century intellectual conversation about how to transform Japan into a modern nation, Shiki conceptualized the practice of waka in connection with two crucial intellectual issues: a drive towards the unification of spoken and literary languages, and disputes over the reconfiguration of Japan's literary genres in response to the European notion of "Literature."

Shiki argued that waka, together with other forms of poetry and with narrative prose, belonged to one unified field of literary production. He referred to this field as "*bungaku*" 文学, an old expression that in Shiki's time came to serve as the translation for the European concept of "Literature." In the epilogue I explore how Shiki arrived at his formulation, which had enormous influence on the direction that waka practice would take in modern Japan. Crucially, the notion of waka as a purely literary activity required stripping it of some of its fundamental features, and among these were the social functions it had come to serve in premodern pedagogical and educational practices.

I conceive of this dissertation as a step towards writing a social history of waka. It views the transmission of knowledge about waka and through waka in premodern Japan as a dialogical process in which elites and non-elites found an opportunity to reimagine their place in society, reflect on their own practices and customs, negotiate social and cultural boundaries, and repurpose the social knowledge and cultural memory of the aristocracy. By conceptualizing knowledge transfer not just as transmission but as fundamentally informed by cultural production, my research aims to make it possible to hear other voices in this cultural dialogue, marked by the motivations and aspirations of

diverse social groups, and by the discontinuities and frictions that structured premodern Japanese society.

Chapter 1 – Cultural Transmission in Poetry Treatises

(Karon) of the Insei Period

Introduction

In this first chapter I look at poetry treatises as key instruments in understanding the fundamental changes that the practice of waka underwent in the Heian (784-1185) and Kamakura periods (1185-1333). I trace the transformation of waka, initially an elegant pastime and courtly practice that lacked pedagogical articulation, into a crucial vehicle for the transmission of social knowledge and cultural memory, and part of a sophisticated pedagogical apparatus that took waka beyond the court and into diverse sociocultural spaces. To support my argument, I analyze in depth waka treatises from the twelfth and thirteenth century --*Toshiyori zuinô* (Toshiyori's Essentials of Poetry, 1111-14) by Minamoto no Toshiyori (aka Shunrai, 1055-1129); *Fukurozôshi* (The Bag Booklet, 1159) by Fujiwara no Kiyosuke (1104-77); and *Mumyôshô* (Untitled Notes, 1211) by Kamo no Chômei (aka Nagaakira; ca. 1155-1216) -- treatises that, in spite of their significant impact on contemporary poetic activity, have received relatively little attention from modern scholars.

Waka treatises in general have been extensively read for information on how poets composed and evaluated poems, with a focus on poetic technique and poetic language. This is the approach of what we today call “poetics”, a concern with “literary language”¹

¹ Michael Riffaterre, *Semiotics of Poetry* (Indiana University Press, 1978).

or the “poetic function of language”² as a form of verbal expression. I focus instead on waka as a historical practice, and reveal poetry treatises as paramount sources of information on the diverse sociocultural functions that poetry played in premodern Japan. I argue that waka became the crux of a broad pedagogical and cultural project built around a multi-dimensional, integrated process of cultural transmission. In this section I will outline the venues for debates about poetry, describe the sociocultural environment from which they emerged, and discuss the state of the field of studies of waka treatises in English.

Texts in which waka poets discuss their craft have a long history. As early as the Nara-period (710-784), poets put down in writing “rules” (*shiki*) for poetic composition, discussed frequent “technical mistakes” (*kahei*), expounded on expression traditionally used in poems but whose meaning had become obscure, and illustrated their arguments with poems that served as models to imitate or to avoid. Based initially on the formulas of treatises on Chinese verse from the Six Dynasties Period (220-589)³ and the “Great Preface” 大序 to the *Shijing* 詩經 (Book of Songs, J. *Shikyô*; aka *Môshi* 毛詩),⁴ these discussions eventually led to the development of a critical vocabulary more pertinent to the linguistic characteristics of waka. At the same time, treatises were not the only venue where poets discussed poetry. An important group of texts were the prefaces to imperial poetry waka anthologies. The prefaces to the first such collection, *Kokinshû* (905), in particular, had a huge impact in the way poets talked and wrote about waka. Also of

² Roman Jakobson, *Language in Literature* (Harvard University Press, 1987).

³ Judith Rabinovitch. “Wasp Waists and Monkey Tails,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 51.2 (1991): 471–560.

⁴ John T. Wixted, “Chinese Influences on the *Kokinshû* Prefaces,” in *Kokinshû: a Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern*, Laurel Rodd and Mary Henkenius, eds., (Princeton University Press, 1984).

significance were the records of poetic contests (*utaawase*),⁵ in particular those that registered the words of the judge of the contest, who after adjudicating each round offered a brief justification for the decision. Common since the turn of the tenth century, poetic contests gradually gained importance, to the point that by the twelfth century they had become a prime venue for debates on poetry. Records of these judgments are thus a useful resource for the scholar of waka.

Known today as *karonsho* 歌論書 (“texts on poetry debates”) or *kagakusho* 歌学書 (“texts on poetry studies”), or “waka treatises” as I refer to them in my dissertation, texts where poets discussed poetry comprise a broad diversity of works. They range from concise lists of poetic terms to voluminous tomes covering the history of waka practice, its most famous poets, and the minutiae of the everyday practice of composing poetry. While prefaces to imperial collections tend to use a high-flown, grandiloquent rhetoric, and judges of poetic contests kept their explanations short, waka treatises offered an ideal medium for poets to expound on their conceptions of what made a good poem.

Waka treatises circulated as artifacts of practice,⁶ as elements in a broader system of professional, political, economic, and social interactions. For this reason, before entering into my argument, I will briefly describe the sociocultural environment in which treatises were written and read. By the twelfth century, when treatises like *Toshiyori zuinô* and *Fukurozôshi* were written, waka circles had come to be dominated by poetic households. Practitioners of waka included female poets and some members of elite warrior families,

⁵ The oldest poetic contest on record was the *Minbukyô Yukihiro utaawase* (Poetic Contest of the Minister of People’s Affairs Ariwara no Yukihiro, 885-9); the first to include critical comments were *Teiji-in utaawase* (Retired Emperor Uda’s Poetic Contest at the Teiji-in, 913) and *Tentoku dairi utaawase* (Emperor Murakami’s Poetic Contest of the Tentoku Period at the Imperial Palace, 960).

⁶ I heard the expression “artifacts of practice” from Steven Carter at the Waka Workshop 2014, and found it particularly pithy.

but waka experts were without exception male scions of aristocratic houses.⁷ The two main poetic households were the Rokujô 六条 and the Mikohidari 御子左. The founder of the Rokujô lineage was Fujiwara no Akisue 藤原顕季 (1055-1123). His son Akisuke 藤原顕輔 (1090-1155) inherited the role of household head, and passed it down to his son Kiyosuke (1104-77), the author of *Fukurozôshi*. The rival Mikohidari was founded by Fujiwara no Shunzei 藤原俊成 (1114-1204) and led later by his son Teika 定家 (1162-1241). Rival poets and households came head to head in poetic meetings (*utakai*) and poetic contests (*utaawase*) hosted by powerful personages. For example, in 1193, the powerful courtier Fujiwara no Yoshitsune hosted a contest for twelve of the foremost poets of the time. Known as the *Ropyyakuban utaawase* 六百番歌合 (Poetry Contest in Six-Hundred Rounds), its participants included Mikohidari-school affiliates such as Teika and Fujiwara no Ietaka (1158-1237), as well as leading Rokujô-school poets such as Kenshō (ca. 1130-ca.1210); Shunzei acted as the judge for the contest.⁸

Poetry households were rivals in a fierce competition for patronage and legitimization. Poets vied to entice powerful personages to become their students and for the ultimate accomplishment, receiving an imperial commission to compile a poetic anthology. Emperors and retired emperors could issue such a commission, an opportunity which commonly happened only once in a poet's lifetime. Competition for imperial commissions was already fierce before the establishment of poetic households. Minamoto no Tsunenobu (1016-97), a scion of a powerful aristocratic family, for example, lost this

⁷ The tendency to coalesce into households of specialists (*shihanke* 師範家) was not exclusive to waka, but can be seen also in disciplines like court kickball (*kemari* 蹴鞠) and calligraphy.

⁸ In this *utaawase*, instead of the customary one-time meeting, the host first commissioned one hundred-poem sequence from each participant, covering the topics spring, summer, autumn, winter, and love. The resulting twelve hundred poems were paired in six hundred rounds, evaluated by each of the two sides, and then submitted to the judge. The whole process took more than one year.

honor to a younger rival, Fujiwara no Michitoshi (1047-99), even though both his father Michikata (968-1044) and grandfather Shigenobu (922-995) had reached the upper crust of the court hierarchy. After Michitoshi compiled *GoShûishû* 後拾遺集 (Later Collection of Gleanings, 1086) for Retired Emperor Shirakawa (1053-1129, r. 1072-1086), Tsunenobu responded with a scathing essay, *NanGoShûishô* 難後拾遺集 (Difficulties with the *GoShûishû*), describing Michitoshi's mistakes (Michitoshi later circulated a text rebutting Tsunenobu's criticism). One generation later, Tsunenobu's son Minamoto no Toshiyori (1055-1129), author of the waka treatise *Toshiyori zuinô*, prevailed over rival Fujiwara no Mototoshi (ca. 1056-1142) to compile the fifth imperial anthology, *Kin'yôshû* 金葉和歌集 (Collection of Golden Leaves, 1124-27). The next chance to compile an imperial anthology went to Rokujô-head Akisuke. He edited *Shikashû* 詞花集 (1151) by command of Emperor Sutoku. His heir Kiyosuke was later commissioned by Emperor Nijô (1143-1165) to compile a sequel, titled *ShokuShikashû* 続詞花集, but the early death of the emperor hindered his chances of seeing the work sanctioned as an imperial anthology.

After Kiyosuke's missed chance, the Rokujô house lost ground to the Mikohidari. Mototoshi's student Shunzei compiled the next imperial anthology, *Senzaishû* 千載集 (1188). His son Teika led a group of compilers for *ShinKokinshû* 新古今集 (1205) and was later the sole editor of *ShinChokusenshû* 新勅撰集 (1235). Shunzei and Teika were the first consecutive compilers from the same household, the Mikohidari. Teika's descendants, organized into three rival households --Nijô, Kyôgoku, and Reizei-- continued the legacy of the Mikohidari, compiling eleven official anthologies for

emperors, retired emperors, and *shogun*. Rokujō poets remained active but would never again win a commission to compile imperial anthologies (after 1439 the practice was discontinued).⁹

The sweeping success of the Mikohidari presents a risk to the historian of waka. The majority of research in English and translations into English have focused on this household: Shunzei's (1114-1204) treatise *Korai fūteishō* 古来風体抄 (Poetic Styles from the Past, 1197),¹⁰ Teika's treatises *Shogaku hyakushū* 初学百首 (One Hundred Poems by a Beginner, 1181),¹¹ *Kindai shūka* 近代秀歌 (Supreme Poems of Our Time, 1209),¹² *Teika jittei* 定家十体 (The Ten Styles of Teika, 1213),¹³ *Eiga no taigai* 詠歌大概 (Essentials of Poetic Composition, 1213-9),¹⁴ *Maigetsushō* 毎月抄 (Monthly Notes, 1219),¹⁵ as well as his imperial anthology *ShinKokinshū*¹⁶ and his Buddhist poems;¹⁷

⁹ For detailed analyses of poetic practice in the medieval period, cfr. Robert Huey, "The Medievalization of Poetic Practice," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 50.2 (1990): 651–668. Robert Huey, *Kyōgoku Tamekane: Poetry and Politics in Late Kamakura Japan* (Stanford University Press, 1989). Paul Atkins, "Nijō v. Reizei: Land Rights, Litigation, and Literary Authority in Medieval Japan," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 66.2 (2006): 495–529. Robert Huey, "Warrior Control Over the Imperial Anthologies," in Jeffrey Mass, ed., *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century* (Stanford University Press, 1997). Susan Klein, *Allegories of Desire* (Harvard University Council on East Asia, 2002).

¹⁰ Haruo Shirane, ed., *Traditional Japanese Literature: An Anthology, Beginnings to 1600* (Columbia University Press, 2007), pp. 587-592.

¹¹ Roselee Bundy, "Poetic Apprenticeship. Fujiwara Teika's *Shogaku Hyakushū*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 45.2 (1990): 157–188.

¹² Robert Brower and Earl Miner, *Fujiwara Teika's Supreme Poems of Our Times: A Thirteenth-Century Poetic Treatise and Sequence* (Stanford University Press, 1967).

¹³ Often classified as a later, apocryphal work. Translated in Edwin Cranston, "'Mystery and Depth' in Japanese Court Poetry" (Fifty-eight *yūgen* style poems translated from Teika *jittei*)," in *The Distant Isle: Studies and Translations in Honor of Robert H. Brower* (University of Michigan, 1996), pp. 65-104.

¹⁴ Cook, Lewis, trans., "Essentials of Poetic Composition (*Eiga no taigai*)," in Shirane, *Traditional Japanese Literature*, pp. 605-607. Satō Hiroaki, trans., "An Outline for Composing Tanka (*Eiga no taigai*)" in *From the Country of Eight Islands: An Anthology of Japanese Poetry*, ed. Satō Hiroaki and Burton Watson (University of Washington Press, 1981), pp. 202-204.

¹⁵ Robert Brower, "Fujiwara Teika's *Maigetsushō*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 40. No. 4 (1985): 399-425. *Maigetsushō* has long held a borderline status as a text that cannot be attributed to Teika with any level of certainty. However, Paul Atkins has argued persuasively that internal evidence supports the attribution and that no external evidence conflicts with it.

¹⁶ Robert Huey, *The Making of ShinKokinshū* (Harvard University Press, 2002).

Teika's heir Tameie (1198-1275)'s *Eiga no ittei* 詠歌一体 (The Foremost Style of Poetic Composition)¹⁸ and his wife Nun Abutsu (d. 1283);¹⁹ Kyôgoku Tamekane (1254-1332)'s *Wakashô* 和歌抄 (Notes on Poetry, ca. 1285-87);²⁰ and Reizei Tametada's student and huge Teika admirer Priest Shôtetsu (1381-1459)'s *Shôtetsu monogatari* 正徹物語 (Conversations with Shôtetsu, 1448-5).²¹ The few exceptions were poets like Saigyô (1118-1190), Retired Emperor GoToba (1180-1239), and Kamo no Chômei (ca. 1155-1216), who lacked a clear affiliation with either the Rokujô or the Mikohidari.²² A minority of translations cover the very short early treatises: *Uta no shiki* 歌の式 (The Code of Poetry, 772),²³ and Fujiwara no Kintô (966-1041)'s *Shinsen zuinô* 新撰髓脳 (Newly Selected Essentials of Poetry) and *Waka kuhon* 和歌九品 (The Nine Levels of Waka).²⁴ In summary, research on classical and medieval waka has largely focused on the works of the Mikohidari and its later off-shoots, the Nijô, Kyôgoku, and Reizei.²⁵

¹⁷ Edward Kamens, "Waking the Dead: Fujiwara No Teika's Sotoba Kuyô Poems," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 28.2 (2002): 379-406.

¹⁸ Robert Brower, "The Foremost Style of Poetic Composition. Fujiwara Tameie's Eiga no Ittei," *Monumenta Nipponica* 42. No. 4 (1987): 391-429.

¹⁹ Christina Laffin, *Rewriting Medieval Japanese Women* (University of Hawaii Press, 2013).

²⁰ Robert Huey and Susan Matisoff, "Lord Tamekane's Notes on Poetry. Tamekanekyô wakashô," *Monumenta Nipponica* 40.2 (1985): 127-146.

²¹ Robert Brower and Steven Carter, *Conversations with Shôtetsu* (University of Michigan, 1992).

²² Jack Stoneman, "So Deep in the Mountains: Saigyô's Yama Fukami Poems and Reclusion in Medieval Japanese Poetry," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 68.2 (2008): 33-75. Robert Brower, "'Ex-Emperor Go-Toba's Secret Teachings': Go-Toba no in Gokuden," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 32 (1972): 5-70. Hilda Katô, "The Mumyôshô of Kamo no Chômei and Its Significance in Japanese Literature," *Monumenta Nipponica* 23. No. 3/4 (1968): 321-349.

²³ Judith Rabinovitch, "Wasp Waists and Monkey Tails: A Study and Translation of Hamanari's Uta no Shiki (The Code of Poetry, 772), Also Known as Kakyô Hyôshiki (A Formulary for Verse Based on The Canons of Poetry)," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 51. No. 2 (Dec., 1991): 471-560.

²⁴ Nicholas Teele, "Rules for Poetic Elegance: Fujiwara no Kintô's Shinsen Zuinô & Waka Kuhon," *Monumenta Nipponica* 31. No. 2 (Summer 1976): 145-164.

²⁵ A few exceptions need to be mentioned. Research dealing with *Toshiyori zuinô* can be found in Ivo Smits, "Review: Teika and the Others: Poetics, Poetry, and Politics in Early Medieval Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 59.3 (2004): 359-389; Shibayama Saeko, "Ôe No Masafusa and the Convergence of the 'Ways': the Twilight of Early Chinese Literary Studies and the Rise of Waka Studies in the Long Twelfth Century in Japan." PhD Diss., Columbia University, 2012. ProQuest. Also, Anne Commons is working on a translation of *Toshiyori zuinô*. A discussion of Minoamoto no Tsunenobu's work can be found in Ivo Smits,

An analysis of waka treatises by non-Mikohidari poets is of particular significance as a supplement to our current knowledge of classical and medieval waka practice. In this context, *Toshiyori zuinô* and *Fukurozôshi* are exceptionally relevant because they are the work of sophisticated poets, who at one point led the world of waka and received commissions to compile imperial anthologies. An analysis of *Mumyôshô* (1211) by Kamo no Chômei is likewise relevant. Furthermore, these works reveal a fundamental social function of waka.

I argue that learning waka required more than knowing how to compose and interpret poems. Treatises transmitted two other types of knowledge. In waka treatises, a “hard” knowledge about waka and related fields of knowledge arising from the cultural canon of history, literature, religion, and geography, was interwoven with a “softer” knowledge connected to the development of social skills, nuances of etiquette, and a sense of propriety. This suggests that learning waka was intimately connected to the wider process of socialization and enculturation.

“Enculturation” is a concept that anthropologists use to refer to the process where a culture that is currently established teaches new members its accepted practices, norms and values. It refers to the requirements of that specific culture, and thus has to do less with academic knowledge and more with practical competence in language, customs, and rituals. By “socialization” developmental psychologists mean the process by which social and cultural expectations progressively shape an individual’s personality and skills. It refers to a person’s understanding of the expectations--often tacit or implicit--which go with different social and cultural roles. Socialization and enculturation describe two

The pursuit of loneliness: Chinese and Japanese nature poetry in medieval Japan, ca. 1050-1150
(Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1995).

dimensions of one same process, by which people assimilate cultural values and expectations, and learn how to behave in a way that is acceptable to that culture

Waka treatises were pedagogical devices. Most treatises were written by commission for specific powerful patrons, and their intended readers were diverse: male and female, aristocratic and warrior, young and old. The concern with wider pedagogical aims outlined in the previous paragraph was hardly absent from the work of Mikohidari poets. Shunzei's *Korai fûteishô*, for example, includes passages where waka becomes, as in *Toshiyori zuinô* and *Fukurozôshi*, a vehicle for social knowledge and cultural memory. At the same time, Mikohidari treatises display a tendency to emphasize other aspects of waka practice, in particular the relationship of a poem to other poems and to the textual heritage of the past in general.²⁶ This feature of waka had been present from the beginning,²⁷ but in the late Heian period emerged a new poetic technique, discussed already in detail by Toshiyori and Kiyosuke, consisting in an "allusive variation" (*honkadori* 本歌取り), in which a poet would use one or two lines from a famous poem in a new context. Shunzei and Teika saw this technique as central to waka composition²⁸ and featured it prominently in their compositions, their editorial work, and their teaching of poetry.

In *Toshiyori zuinô*, *Fukurozôshi*, and *Mumyôshô*, a wider social and cultural knowledge appears in the shape of brief narrative episodes centered on a poem, a poet, or

²⁶ Wiebcke Denecke, for example, discusses waka's intertextuality –the relationship of a poem to other texts– and intertopicality, a less specific lexical coincidence between poems, made more frequent by the use of poetic guides arranged by topic like *Kokinrokujô* (mid-Heian period). Wiebcke Denecke, "'Topic Poetry Is All Ours': Poetic Composition on Chinese Lines in Early Heian Japan," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 67.1 (2007): 1–49.

²⁷ Edward Kamens, *Utamakura, Allusion, and Intertextuality in Traditional Japanese Poetry* (Yale University Press, 1997), p. 32.

²⁸ Haruo Shirane, "Lyricism and Intertextuality: an Approach to Shunzei's Poetics," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 50.1 (1990). David Bialock, "Voice, Text, and The Question of Poetic Borrowing in Late Classical Japanese Poetry," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 54. No. 1 (June 1994): 181-231.

poetic lore. These “waka vignettes,” as I refer to them in this dissertation, are rare in Mikohidari treatises by Teika and his descendants. Waka vignettes were not common in waka treatises before *Toshiyori zuinô* and *Fukurozôshi* either, and my analysis of these texts allows me to situate waka vignettes at the core of a shift in the cultural consumption of waka. In this first chapter, I locate this shift in terms of changes that took place between the mid-tenth and the twelfth centuries. I establish a comparison to the pedagogy of poetry in Chinese (*kanshi*), and trace the development of a new way of teaching waka, which I connect to changes in the social role of the waka instructor, the creation of a pedagogical contract, and the early stages of the institution of poetry households. I show that these structural changes in the social roles of poetry can be understood as part of the transformation of waka knowledge into a way for young courtiers to learn about the history, customs, language, rituals, and values of the court, as well as about events from its more recent cultural memory.

As the Kamakura period progressed and waka vignettes became rarer in Mikohidari waka treatises, vignettes taken from *Toshiyori zuinô* and *Fukurozôshi* started to appear in a great range of texts --handbooks on court culture, works of history, military tales, didactic advice to young warriors, and even Buddhist essays. In the following chapter, I explore how waka vignettes from Heian-period waka treatises came to be reshaped and reframed under new pedagogical purposes and for a new, more diverse audience. I argue that, from among all the traditional elegant accomplishments, it was precisely waka that would become a privileged vehicle for non-courtiers to gain knowledge about the cultural life of the imperial court and to acquire the cultural capital associated with the court as a source of high-culture. The foundation for that argument lies here in the first chapter,

where I reveal the process that transformed waka into a vehicle of social knowledge and cultural memory in the first place.

The Creation of a Pedagogy for Waka in the Heian Period

During the tenth century, waka was a social practice that played an indispensable role in court life. Poems were everywhere --in public events, private interactions, and religious rites-- and waka was a required skill for aristocratic men and women. This elegant accomplishment, however, lacked pedagogical articulation. The courtiers of the tenth century received instruction only within each private household, as there were no formal institutions in which one could learn to compose waka, let alone any notion of a professional “waka instructor” whose occupation and source of revenue could be the teaching of poetry and who produced pedagogical textbooks. This contrasts starkly with the situation for poetry in Chinese (*kanshi*). Instruction in *kanshi* verse could be obtained at the State Academy of Letters (the *Daigakuryô* 大学寮) established around the middle of the ninth century to train the scions of powerful families in Chinese-learning (*Kidendô* 紀伝道), in preparation for entering the state bureaucracy. Moreover, specialists in *Kidendô*, known as Professors of Letters (*Monjô-hakase* 文章博士), had existed at least since the late eighth century.²⁹ While at the *Daigakuryô* the actual composition of poetry was part of the official curriculum, training in waka remained informal, one more aspect of court life that one was to pick up casually.

²⁹ For a detailed examination of the *daigakuryô* in the 10th century see Brian Steininger, “Poetic Ministers: Literacy and Bureaucracy in the Tenth-Century State Academy.” PhD Diss., Yale University, 2011. ProQuest.

Acquiring and demonstrating knowledge about waka hinged on one's ability to commit to memory a vast number of poems. A hint as to what a waka education comprised--at least for women, we have less information about men--can be found in an episode where Fujiwara no Morotada 藤原師尹 (920-69), who was grooming his daughter Hôshi 芳子 to become an Imperial Consort, advised her in this way: "First, you must study calligraphy. Next, practice until you are the best at the seven-stringed kin harp. Then, you must memorize all the poems in all twenty volumes of the *Kokinshû*."³⁰ This passage suggests that waka was considered a premier accomplishment for ladies, together with penmanship and music; that the *Kokinshû* (905), the first and at the time still the only imperial anthology, had quickly gained the status of a classic; and that the method for learning poetry was to memorize a canonical collection, a practice analogous to the memorization of the *Shijing* (Book of Odes) by students of the Daigakuryô. Hôshi's training in waka was directed by her father and required neither out-of-household instructors nor specialized pedagogical texts.

The lack of a specific pedagogy for waka should not be taken as a sign that waka was merely an elegant pastime. On the contrary, skill and knowledge of waka was of utmost importance in politics, in particular for the powerful Fujiwara houses that sought to gain and reproduce their influence through marriage politics. Morotada's injunction to memorize the *Kokinshû* appears in a section of Sei Shônagon's *Makura no sôshi* 枕草子 (The Pillow Book, 1000) where the author recounts an anecdote told by her patron Teishi

³⁰ As recounted in *Makura no sôshi*. SNKBZ, vol. 18, p. 54 (Dan 21). 一つには御手を習ひたまへ。次には琴の御琴を、人よりことに弾きまさらむとおぼせ。さては古今の歌二十巻をみな浮かべさせたまふを御学問にはせさせたまへ。

定子 (977-1000), Empress to Emperor Ichijō (980-1011). This passage contains hints of the importance of waka knowledge at court.³¹

“As I’m sure you are all aware,” Her Majesty began, “the lady known as the Senkyōden Consort, High Consort in the reign of Emperor Murakami, was the daughter of the Minister of the Left, of the Smaller Palace of the First Ward. When she was still a girl, her father gave her the following advice:

“First, you must study calligraphy. Next, you must determine to outshine everyone in your skill on the seven-stringed kin. And you must also make it your study to commit to memory all the poems in the twenty volumes of the *Kokinshū*.”

“Now the Emperor had learned of this, so one day, when he was kept from his usual duties by an abstinence, he took a copy of the *Kokinshū* to the High Consort’s quarters, and set up a standing curtain between them. She found this unusual behavior rather odd, and when he opened a book and began asking her to recite the poem that so-and-so had written on such-and-such a date and occasion, she was intrigued to realize what he was up to – though on the other hand, she would also have been dreadfully nervous that there might be some which she would forget or misquote. He called in two or three of his gentlewomen who were well-versed in poetry, and had them extract the answers from her, and keep count of her mistakes with go counters. It must have been a wonderful scene to witness. I do envy them all, even the people who were merely serving on this occasion.

“Well, he pressed her to go on answering, and she went through them making not a single mistake, though she cleverly gave just enough of each poem to show she knew it, and didn’t try to complete them. His Majesty decided he would call a halt just as soon as she made a mistake, and as she went on and on he even began to get rather irritated, but they reached the tenth volume and still she hadn’t made a single slip. “This has been quite futile,” he finally declared, and he put a marker in the book and retired to another room to sleep. All very wonderful it was. “When he awoke many hours later, he decided that it would never do to leave the matter hanging, and moreover it had better be done that day, since she might refresh her memory with another copy of the work if he left it till tomorrow. So he produced the remaining ten volumes, had the lamps lit and proceeded to work his way through the rest of the poems until long into the night. But she never made a single mistake.

“Meanwhile, word was sent to her father that the Emperor had returned to her quarters and that the test was continuing. The Minister flew

³¹ I am quoting Meredith MacKinney’s translation from the Penguin Classics series. Aimed at the general public, this translation captures the narrative gist of the passage, which suffices for the sake of my argument.

into a panic with worry that she might fail the test; he ordered numerous sutras to be said for her, while he placed himself facing the direction of the palace and spent the entire night in heartfelt prayer. Altogether a fascinating and moving story,”” Her Majesty remarked in conclusion. His Majesty too heard the tale with admiration. “I wouldn’t be able to manage more than three or four volumes myself,” he remarked.

(*Makura no sôshi*, Dan 21).

It is hard to take Teishi’s account as historical fact. In *Makura no sôshi*, she tells this anecdote right after her attendants had failed a similar challenge on their memorization skills. Moreover, the court of Emperor Murakami is presented in an idealized light throughout *Makura no sôshi*, and this anecdote seems to fit that pattern.

The value of this passage in the context of my argument is as an indication of what kinds of ideals would have seemed reasonable to Teishi’s and Sei Shônagon’s audiences, as well as a rare glimpse of waka pedagogy from a historical period that has left us no systematic discussions of it. In the first place, this passage suggests that a courtier’s knowledge was subject to challenges without previous notice. Second, these challenges didn’t necessarily involve actually composing a new poem, but tested the ability to remember famous poems. Also, showing one’s knowledge of waka didn’t necessarily involve identifying the subtexts of poems and the cultural references, or expounding on obscure poetic terms. However superficial the knowledge this test required, failing it could lead to public humiliation. Moreover, a lady’s knowledge had political consequences, as is suggested by the fact that Morotada panicked and ordered sutras read --the standard procedure to protect against illness and misfortune. In telling this anecdote,

Empress Teishi offered Sei Shônagon an example of courtly success as well as a cautionary tale about the paramount importance of acquiring waka knowledge.³²

The role of a waka instructor didn't take shape until the early eleventh century. There had been a long tradition of parents training their children, but the figure of an out-of-household instructor didn't appear until Fujiwara no Nagatô (b. 949)³³ was formally engaged as instructor by a recent graduate of the Daigakuryô, the young Tachibana no Nagayasu (later known as Priest Nôin, b. 988), son of the Governor of Higo Province Tachibana no Motoyasu. They met when one day Nôin arrived uninvited at the house of Nagatô and requested instruction in waka. Later waka instructors saw in this encounter the beginning of explicit master-disciple relationships in the world of waka. The incident appears, for example, recorded in the waka treatise *Fukurozôshi* (1159) by Fujiwara no Kiyosuke (1104-77), leading poet, expert, and head of the Rokujô household of waka specialists:

In waka, since the distant past there had been no instructors (*shi*). For the first time, Nôin took Nagatô (the Governor of Iga) as his instructor. Just before that time, Nôin had started to be known as the Higo Graduate.³⁴ Nôin was on his way to run errands when his carriage's wheel was damaged, right in front of Nagatô's residence. He sent for another carriage, and in the meanwhile entered the house and met with Nagatô for the first time. Nôin had meant to make himself useful to Nagatô at some point, and now as he was casually driving by, this happy accident happened. They discussed this and entered into a mutual contract (*keiyaku*).

“How should one compose waka?” Nôin asked.

Nogatô responded, “In this way:

³² In fact, after Hôshi became Consort to Emperor Murakami 村上天皇 (926-967; r. 946-61), her father Morotada received Senior First Rank and the powerful office of Minister of the Left.

³³ 藤原長能. An alternative reading for 長能 is Nagayoshi. Nagatô was the younger brother of the author of the personal diary *Kagerô nikki* 蜻蛉日記 (The Gossamer Diary, ca. 977).

³⁴ *Shinji* 進士 meant *monjôjô* 文章生, a student of the Daigakuryô learning Chinese poetry and history.

Deep in the mountains, fallen autumn leaves pile up,
Dried up and on top blown by the wintry drizzle.”³⁵
Yama fukami ochite tsumoreru momijiba no kawakeru ue ni shigure furu nari

Since then, Nôin took Nagatô as his teacher. This is why in
*Gengenshû*³⁶ there are many poems by Nagatô.

(*Fukurozôshi*)³⁷

In this passage, Kiyosuke records the creation of a pedagogical contract (*keiyaku su* 契約ス) for waka that engendered discipleship ties³⁸ independent of family relationships. The lack of preexisting ties is underscored by the fact that Nôin needed a “happy accident” (幸有如此事) as an excuse to introduce himself to Nagatô. Elsewhere, *Fukurozôshi* and other treatises describe Nôin as skillful in orchestrating “happy accidents” like this one. Accident or no accident, it is clear that Nôin and Nagatô had no common acquaintances who could arrange for an introduction. A key characteristic of the new pedagogical contract is that it occurred outside the structure of the household, sometimes even outside one’s social circle.

This new type of instructor for waka was different from the traditional instructors for Chinese literature. The Monjô-hakase, specialists in Kidendô existed as part of a state-sponsored institution like the Daigakuryô, belonged to households of specialists like the Ôe³⁹ family, and were eligible for positions in the imperial bureaucracy that translated

³⁵ This poem appears in the *Sansôbon* 三奏本 manuscript line of the imperial anthology *Kinyôshû* (1127; Winter, n. 264) and in the imperial anthology *Shikashû*, (1151; Winter, n. 144). In both cases the poem is attributed to Ôe no Yoshitoki 大江嘉言 (mid-Heian period), contemporary of Nagatô and Nôin.

³⁶ 玄玄集. Nôin’s personal poetic anthology.

³⁷ SNKBT vol. 29, p. 380 (p. 117 for Fujioka Tadaharu’s *kundoku* gloss). 和歌ハ昔ヨリ無師。而能因始長能<伊賀守也。>ヲ為師。当初肥後進士ト云ケル時、物へ行間、於長能宅前車輪損之。及車取遣之間、入彼家始面会。雖有參仕之志、自然過之間、幸有如此事。其由ヲ談相互契約ス。能因云、和歌者何様可誦哉。長能云、山フカミオチテツモレル紅葉ノカハケル上ニシクレフルナリ。如此可詠云々。自此為師。仍玄玄集ニ多ク入長能歌也。

³⁸ Mod J. *shishisôshô* 師資相承.

³⁹ For example, Shibayama Saeko discusses in her PhD dissertation the case of Ôe no Masafusa (1041-1111), heir to a household of Chinese-studies specialists. Shibayama Saeko, “Ôe No Masafusa and the

into financial support. By contrast, in seeking training under Nagatô, Nôin was moving out of his household. Moreover, by taking Buddhist vows in his mid-twenties he rendered himself ineligible to the official bureaucracy, where he had been serving at the *zuryô* 受領 level, occupied by officials dealing directly with provincial administration.⁴⁰ Until he established his reputation as a poet, Nôin subsisted as a purveyor of horses for fellow *zuryô* officials⁴¹ and by selling off his property in the capital.⁴² Nôin eventually succeeded in the waka world and became in turn the tutor of the next generation of poets, in particular a clique of *zuryô*-level bureaucrats that identified themselves as the “Clique of Six” (*rokunintô* 六人党)⁴³ and who enjoyed high-level patronage from powerful figures close to Regent Fujiwara no Yorimichi (992-1074).⁴⁴ It is possible that taking the vows allowed Nôin to cross social boundaries and associate more freely with the higher-level people who would become his patrons.⁴⁵ Nôin sought waka knowledge as part of a career change fueled by individual ambition over blood relations or family ties.⁴⁶

Convergence of the “Ways”: the Twilight of Early Chinese Literary Studies and the Rise of Waka Studies in the Long Twelfth Century in Japan,” PhD Diss., Columbia University, 2012, p. 208. ProQuest.

⁴⁰ *Zuryô* 受領 were lower level public officials who traveled to the provinces to superintend administrative activities in lieu of the slightly higher-level *yônin* 遥任, actual holders of the office of provincial governor (*kami* 守) who stayed behind in the capital. Nagatô belonged to this later group, serving as Governor of Iga.

⁴¹ Mezaki Tokue, *Heian bunka shiron* (Tokyo: Ofusha, 1968).

⁴² Stephen Forrest, “The Model Life of an Eccentric Poet: Nôin Hôshi and Nôin Shû,” PhD Diss., Harvard University, 2005, p. 22. ProQuest.

⁴³ According to Kiyosuke’s *Fukurozôshi*, the Clique of Six included Fujiwara no Norinaga 藤原範永, Taira no Munenaka 平棟仲, Minamoto no Yorizane 源頼実, Minamoto no Kanenaga 源兼長 (aka Shigenari 重成), Fujiwara no Tsunehira 藤原経衡, Minamoto no Yoriie 源頼家. Starting in the 1040’s, this group of *zuryô* level poets was active during the tenure of the Regent Fujiwara no Yorimichi (992-1074), who also had his own poetry circle.

⁴⁴ Forrest, “The Model Life of an Eccentric Poet,” p. 37.

⁴⁵ Forrest lists them as Fujiwara no Kanefusa, Fujiwara no Sukenari, Minamoto no Morofusa, Tachibana no Toshitsuna.

⁴⁶ It is possible that the character 能 in the Buddhist name he adopted, Nôin 能因, constituted a gesture of filiation towards his waka instructor, Nagatô 長能. During Heian it was common for parents to give their children one of the two characters in their given name as a token of filial bonds.

In the next couple hundred years waka pedagogy underwent considerable changes. By the thirteenth century, students who entered a pedagogical contract were given poetry treatises written by professional instructors. These instructors belonged to established, rival households. They vied for status, patronage, and commissions to compile imperial anthologies. Receiving imperial commissions was the best way to impose one's preferred mode of composing waka and in this way secure the future prestige of one's household. The paradigmatic example of the waka instructor at the turn of the thirteenth century is Shunzei (1114-1204), patriarch of the Mikohidari poetry house, and forefather to many generations of compilers of imperial anthologies. His son and heir Fujiwara no Teika (1162-1241) wrote treatises like *Eiga no taigai* (Essentials of Poetic Composition, 1213-9) for GoToba's son, Imperial Prince Sonkai 尊快 (1204-1246), and *Kindai shūka* (Supreme Poems of Our Time, 1209) for Kamakura shogun Minamoto no Sanetomo (1192-1219).⁴⁷ His was the waka pedagogy that would dominate the rest of the medieval period. It was characterized by a methodology centered on treatises, a stable body of professional specialists, and an established institutional structure based on the household. It involved two different types of transmission: from father to son within one's household, and from specialist to external powerful patron under a pedagogical contract. This was a situation starkly different from that of the tenth century, which lacked a pedagogical method, a professional instructor or an institution devoted to teaching waka.

Why did waka pedagogy change so drastically in the course of only two centuries? How did the pedagogical, intellectual, institutional, technical, and social dimensions of waka reflect this transformation? I posit that a tipping point for this process of change can

⁴⁷ Teika also tutored Emperor Juntoku (1197-1242).

be found in the first half of the twelfth century. By then the canon of waka had grown exponentially with the addition of new imperial anthologies, new famous poets, and many records of poetry contests, which included the judgments passed on poems by expert poets. This meant that simply memorizing the *Kokinshû* was no longer sufficient. At the same time, unlike music or calligraphy, a fundamental characteristic of waka was that, as forms of verbal expression, poems contained direct references to legends, court rituals, historical events, provincial geography, and local customs; sometimes they included expressions in regional dialects, and old poems were full of words of obscure etymology--in search of new poetic ideas and precedents, poets scoured old poetry collections such as *Man'yôshû*, which temporal distance had rendered hard to read and interpret.

Poetic treatises emerged both as a response to this combination of circumstances and as a way to harness it in an effort to turn the pedagogy of waka into the prerogative of a handful of professional experts. The first two comprehensive works to address this new situation, Minamoto no Toshiyori's *Toshiyori zuinô* (1111-14) and Fujiwara no Kiyosuke's *Fukurozôshi* (1159), hold the key to understanding the new social functions that waka came to hold. It was in these two texts that waka first became a way to learn about the history, customs, language, rituals, and values of the court. These two treatises are milestones in the transformation of living court praxis into a field of cultural knowledge.

Toshiyori Zuinô

Toshiyori zuinô (1111-14) was the first of a new type of poetry treatise. It was the earliest to address waka as a broader social practice. Until then, waka treatises had for the most part addressed issues pertaining to the composition and evaluation of poems. These previous texts can be grouped chronologically into two clusters.⁴⁸ The first starts with the earliest of these treatises, the Nara-period *Uta no shiki* 歌式 (The Code of Poetry, 772), composed and presented to Emperor Kōnin (709-781) by Fujiwara no Hamanari (724-790).⁴⁹ It set down “rules” (*shiki*) for poetic composition modeled on Chinese Six Dynasties (220-589) critical thought, making repeated reference to Chinese canonical prose and discussing poems that are anomalous or irregular: seven types of “poem diseases” (*kahei*), seven “poetic irregularities” (*satei*), and ten “miscellaneous styles” (*zattei*), are each illustrated with example poems, with some commentary for obscure expressions. Also the prefaces to the *Kokinshû* (905) by Ki no Tsurayuki (866-945) and by Ki no Yoshimochi (d. 919) were modeled on Chinese classical texts, in particular the “Great Preface” (*daijo*) to the *Shijing* (Book of Odes).⁵⁰ In contrast to Hamanari’s focus on technique, the prefaces by Tsurayuki and Yoshimochi contain ornate celebrations of the art rather than specific advice on composition.⁵¹ More detailed commentary on poetics appears in records of *utaawase* (poetic contests),⁵² which describe the grounds for

⁴⁸ This grouping is arbitrary and has the sole purpose of organizing the bibliographic review. For example, as *utaawase* records became only more numerous with time, they actually belong in the second group.

⁴⁹ Also known as *Kakyôhyôshiki* 歌経標式 (A Formulary for Verse Based on the Canon of Poetry).

⁵⁰ Wixted, “Chinese Influences on the *Kokinshû* Prefaces.”

⁵¹ Another source of critical appraisals of poems is Tsurayuki’s *Tosa nikki* 土佐日記 (Diary of a Journey from Tosa Province, 953), which includes several sarcastic remarks on failed poems. Recording poems for their mistakes is connected to the discussion of *kahei*, but unfortunately Tsurayuki never discusses in detail in this text what the exact problem of each poem is.

⁵² The oldest poetic contest on record was the *Minbukyô Yukihiro utaawase* (Poetic Contest of the Minister of People’s Affairs Ariwara no Yukihiro, 885-9); the first to include critical comments were *Teiji-in utaawase* (Retired Emperor Uda’s Poetic Contest at the Teiji-in, 913) and *Tentoku dairi utaawase* (Emperor Murakami’s Poetic Contest of the Tentoku Period at the Imperial Palace, 960).

many of the judge's decisions. This first group of critical texts treatises shows a progressive shift from reliance on Chinese precedent towards a poetics specific to waka.

The second group of treatises comprises a similarly diverse array of texts. *Waka teijisshu* 和歌体十種 (Ten Styles of Waka, early 11th c.), attributed to Mibu no Tadamine, presents ten different styles or subgenres.⁵³ Another schematic classification of poems appears in Fujiwara no Kintô (966-1041)'s *Waka kuhon* 和歌九品 (The Nine Levels of Waka, ca. 1008),⁵⁴ which organizes poems into nine progressive categories and provides for each two poems as illustration. Also by Kintô, *Shinsen zuinô* 新撰髓脳 (A New Selection on the Essence of Poetry)⁵⁵ provides even more examples, postulates a specific aesthetic ideal for waka, and gives explicit advice on composition,⁵⁶ together with a consideration of "poem diseases" (*kahei*). Inventories of poetic terms, in particular poetic places (*utamakura*), were another source of information for poets. Kintô produced one, which was lost. Priest Nôin (b. 988) compiled in *Nôin utamakura* 能因歌枕 (Nôin's Poetic Places) a list of poetic places and of alternative names (*imyô*) for individual poetic terms. Finally, Fujiwara no Nakazane (1057-1118)'s dictionary of poetic terms, *Kigoshô*

⁵³ The ten styles are 古歌体、神妙体、直体、余情体、写思体、高情体、器量体、比興体、華艶体、両方体. The notion of ten styles of waka (J. *waka jittei* 和歌十体) appears again in Teika's *Maigetsushô* 毎月抄 and in the possibly apocryphal *Teika jittei* 定家十体. "Wakajittei" entry in *Nihon daihyakka zensho* 日本大百科全書 (ニッポニカ) by Fujiwara Haruo (accessed online 4-12-2014).

⁵⁴ Translated also in Teele, "Rules for Poetic Elegance."

⁵⁵ Translated in Teele, "Rules for Poetic Elegance." It must be noted that the text was not preserved in its entirety, and the extant manuscripts suggest that also its layout was compromised in the course of its copying.

⁵⁶ "The soul [*kokoro*] of an uta must be profound and the form pure. Poems that have strangely beautiful souls are the most excellent. A poem that chains many images together is bad; an uta should be written with steady stress on one nerve" and "It is difficult for uta to have both profound soul and form, so first deal with the soul." (Teale, "Rules for Poetic Elegance," p. 154).

綺語抄 (Digest of Ornate Expressions, 1107-1116),⁵⁷ provided brief elucidations of terms and offered exemplary poems from anthologies like *Man'yôshû* and *Kokinshû*. Like the texts that came before, the treatises of this second group tend to be short and schematic. At the same time, they represent distinct ways of approaching poetry and poetics, all of which Toshiyori absorbed into his *Toshiyori zuinô*.⁵⁸

When compared to previous treatises, *Toshiyori zuinô* is substantially longer. It also represents the first attempt to be comprehensive, and thus stands as both a continuation and a departure from waka's critical tradition. In many ways, *Toshiyori zuinô* follows precedent. Like *Uta no shiki* and *Shinsen zuinô*, Toshiyori discusses "poetic diseases" (*kahei*). Toshiyori quotes Ki no Tsurayuki's kana preface to the *Kokinshû* as the classic source of waka criticism. He also gives specific advice on composition, records the judgments of *utaawase*, and includes lists and discussions of poetic expressions (among them *utamakura* and *imyô*). Yet none of these preexisting texts had expounded on the subtexts (*honzetsu*), provincial customs, ancient rites, etymologies, and stories that play such a central role in waka, and that *Toshiyori zuinô* discusses in detail. Toshiyori innovated also by concerning himself with the social dimensions of waka composition: the venues for composition; the social extraction of poets; their etiquette and manners; even the practical benefits of composing waka. *Toshiyori zuinô* is a handbook of waka

⁵⁷ In the medieval period, *Nôin utamakura*, *Shinsen zuinô* and *Kigoshô* would be grouped with *Toshiyori zuinô* and Kiyosuke's *Ôgishô* as the "Treatises of the Five Houses" (*goka no zuinô* 五家髓脳), as mentioned for example in Emperor Juntoku's *Yakumomishô* 八雲御抄 (1242).

⁵⁸ Toshiyori makes only vague reference to his sources, and when he does he often leaves them unnamed, mentioning them only as this or that "treatise" (*zuinô*). This suggests that he was aware of a commentarial tradition (Cfr. *Karonshû* SNKBZ, vol. 87, p. 182), even of it as constituting a distinct textual genre, but that he didn't feel compelled to identify all individual texts or authors by name. It would be interesting to tease out the implications of this for a genealogy of textual authority during Heian, in particular the shifts in the deployment of explicit gestures of intellectual filiation.

knowledge, where discussions of what we would call poetics, technical details, and advice on composition coexist with an awareness of waka as a social practice.

Toshiyori was both a courtier and a specialist in poetry. His position at court suggests that he wrote *Toshiyori zuinô* as part of a strategy of self-legitimization against the opposition of rival specialists such as Fujiwara no Mototoshi (ca. 1056-1142). Toshiyori was the son of an accomplished poet, Tsunenobu (1016-97). The ultimate official accolade of an imperial commission, which then came only once in a poet's lifetime, had escaped Tsunenobu. He saw this honor go to a younger rival, Fujiwara no Michitoshi (1047-99), in spite of his high courtly rank and his reputation as master of the "three accomplishments" (court music, kanshi, and waka). After Michitoshi compiled *GoShûishû* (Later Collection of Gleanings, 1086) for Retired Emperor Shirakawa (1053-1129, r. 1072-1086), Tsunenobu responded with a scathing essay, *NanGoShûishô* (Difficulties with the *GoShûishû*), which forced Michitoshi to issue a response rebutting Tsunenobu's criticism. Tsunenobu came from a powerful family --both his father Michikata (968-1044) and grandfather Shigenobu (922-995) had reached the upper crust of the rank hierarchy-- but his son Toshiyori received only the Upper Junior Fourth Rank.

In this context of declining family fortune, the prestige and access to powerful figures that came with expertise and authority on poetry can only have gained in importance. Ten years after composing his *zuinô*, Toshiyori prevailed over his rival Mototoshi to compile the fifth imperial anthology, *Kin'yôshû* (Collection of Golden Leaves, 1124-27; ten volumes).⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Toshiyori also left a collection of his own poems, *Sanbokuki-kashû* 散木奇歌集 (Useless Wood: A Collection of Eccentric Poems, ca. 1128; ten volumes, 1,622 poems), of which more than two hundred were subsequently included in imperial anthologies. He has a reputation as an experimental poet, in part thanks to his choice to make *Kin'yôshû* only ten volumes (half the traditional size), to give privilege to more recent

It is not inconceivable that the achievement of his *Toshiyori zuinô* played a role in securing the commission from Shirakawa to compile *Kinyôshû*. At the same time, while Toshiyori jostled to impress the court in general with his knowledge of waka, he had a more specific reader in mind for his treatise. Toshiyori tailored his *zuinô* to the requirements of one person. This important aspect of *Toshiyori zuinô* has sometimes been overlooked. For example, in her history of poetic treatises, Hilda Kato asserts that Toshiyori “recorded in his *zuinô* his thoughts about poetry and the rules he wished to transmit to his successors” for he was “mainly concerned with the technical aspects that interested him as a poet.”⁶⁰ Internal evidence suggests, however, that this was not a technical treatise composed for transmission within Toshiyori’s household --to begin with, when Toshiyori addresses his reader he uses highly honorific language.⁶¹ External evidence suggests that Toshiyori’s reader was a young lady, Kunshi 勲子 (1095-1155), a daughter of Regent Fujiwara no Tadazane (1078-1162) in her late teens, then in training to become an Imperial Consort.⁶² Later known as Taishi 泰子, she would become Retired Emperor Toba’s Empress under the official name Kaya-no-in 高陽院. One of the two main lines of manuscripts of *Toshiyori zuinô* (the *Kenshō-bon*)⁶³ includes a colophon stating that Toshiyori was commissioned to write the text by Tadazane for his daughter

and contemporary poets over the exemplary poets of the past, and to include a separate section (in book ten) on verse-capping (*tan-renga*), a subgenre which had appeared occasionally but hadn’t yet received the status of a separate heading (*budate*).

⁶⁰ Hilda Kato, “The Mumyosho of Kamo no Chomei and Its Significance in Japanese Literature,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 23.3/4 (1968), p. 336.

⁶¹ For example, in a passage where he explains that an excellent poem demands attention to both meaning (*kokoro*) and form (*kotoba*), Toshiyori includes a long list of exemplary poems taken from Fujiwara no Kintô (966-1041)’s anthology *Kinyokushû*, and says, “Upon taking a look at these, your highness will come to understand the gist” (それらを御覧じて、心を得させ給ふべきなり, SNKBZ, vol. 87, p. 64). *Goran* (to see) and the auxiliary verb *tamahu* (attached to the verb *esasu*) are honorifics.

⁶² Hashimoto Fumio, Ariyoshi Tamotsu, and Fujihira Haruo, eds., *Karonshû. Shinpen nihon koten bungaku zenshû* (SNKBZ), vol. 87 (Tokyo: Shôgakukan, 2002), p. 14.

⁶³ Kyûsojin Hitaku, “Shunpishô ni tsuite,” *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 16.3 (1939).

Kunshi. Also, the historical tale *Imakagami* (Mirror of the Present, 1170), attributed to the poet Fujiwara no Tametsune (aka Jakuchô), supports this claim, as it says, “people say that at the time Lady Kaya-no-in was still known as the Minister’s daughter, Head of the Carpentry Department Toshiyori composed and presented to her a text containing instruction on waka.”⁶⁴

In summary, *Toshiyori zuinô* was written for a reader in a situation not unlike Morotada’s daughter Hôshi two centuries before. At the same time, waka pedagogy had changed substantially between Hôshi’s tenth century and Toshiyori’s twelfth. The main historical change was the expansion of the required knowledge for a poet, and Toshiyori’s key innovation to deal with this challenge was the use of brief narrative vignettes to codify cultural information.⁶⁵

Vignettes about waka were not in themselves new. By “waka vignette” I refer to a poetry-prose configuration that, regardless of the type of text or literary genre in which it appears, combines one or more waka with a brief evocative description, expository account, or narrative episode. Conceptually, the waka vignette is a form of discourse, rather than a genre, a sub genre, or a characteristic unique to a determined group of texts. As I noted in the introduction, waka vignettes appear in many different genres: in poetic anthologies, where poems are often introduced by narrative headnotes, followed by postnotes, and often presented in pairs as part of poetic exchanges; in poem-tales, where one or more poems are joined by brief narrative accounts to form discrete episodes; in fictional narrative, where characters compose and exchange poems as part of their

⁶⁴木工の頭[俊頼]も、高陽院の、殿の姫君と聞え給ひし時、作り奉りたるとかや聞こゆる和歌詠むべき様、連歌など侍る文には。Kawakita Noboru, ed., *Ima kagami zenchûshaku* (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2013), p. 114.

⁶⁵ Narrative vignettes is here used to refer specifically to brief accounts of connected events, as opposed to accounts of facts or arguments, both of which appear in *Toshiyori zuinô* as well.

everyday activities; in historical chronicles and historical narratives, which include many poems composed by gods and humans; in personal diaries and personal essays, which note poems exchanged by the author and her acquaintances; in records of poetic contests, which register pairs of poems together with the critical assessment of a judge; in treatises on poetry; and in anecdotal collections, which include many episodes centred around waka. I coined the term “waka vignette” in reaction to the lack of a unified modern concept to refer to poetry-prose configurations in premodern texts in general.

Waka vignettes turned out to be an ideal media to accommodate the diverse knowledge required by poets. They could also be easily combined with expository and exegetical paragraphs. Toshiyori embraced waka vignettes as a device for the preservation and reproduction of waka knowledge. An illustration of this is his discussion of the following poem from *Man'yôshû* (book 2, n. 141).

At Iwashiro
I tie the branches of the pine;
if things go well
I will be able to return.

Iwashiro no hamamatsu ga e wo hikimusubi masashiku araba mata kaerikomu

In relation to this poem, Toshiyori explains the following:

When the sovereign known as Emperor Kôtoku was about to abdicate, his appropriate heir should have been Prince Arima. But the sovereign saw that Prince Arima didn't look like he would keep the throne safe, so he decided not to turn it over to him. Prince Arima protested and set off to wander in the wilderness. At a place called Iwashiro he tied the branches of a pine tree and composed this poem. (*Toshiyori zuinô*)⁶⁶

⁶⁶ SNKBZ, vol. 87, pp. 110. いはしろの浜松が枝をひきむすびまさしくあらばまたかへりこむ。これは、孝徳天皇と申しけるみかど、位をさり給はむとしける時、有間の皇子に、位をゆづり給ふべきを、えたもつまじきけしきをご覧じて、ゆづり給はざりければ、うらみ申して、山野にゆきまどひ給ひて、岩代といへる所にいたりて、松のえだを結びて、詠み給へる歌なり。The poem appears in *Man'yôshû* as 磐白乃濱松之枝乎引結真幸有者亦還見武 (いはしろのはままつがえをひきむすびまさきくあらばまたかへりみむ; *Man'yôshû*, Book 2, n. 141. SNKBZ, vol. 6, p. 106).

The anecdote quoted by Toshiyori throws light on the meaning of the poem. In Toshiyori's account, Prince Arima (640-658) composed it when he went into exile in the Iwashiro area (in present-day Wakayama prefecture) after having failed to seize the imperial succession from his father Kôtoku (d. 654). When the poet speaks of returning, he means the imperial capital and the center of power that he has abandoned for a self-imposed exile. Toshiyori then quotes other poems from *Man'yôshû* that combine the expressions *musubu* ("to tie"), *matsu* ("pine") and Iwashiro, and sums up his argument by explaining that:

People nowadays ignore that there is an actual place called Iwashiro. They take the expressions "iwashiro" to refer to the burial mound of a deceased person. And the expression "musubi matsu" (tied pine-tree), as referring to a tree planted there as a marker. They say that for this reason they should not be used in poems. (*Toshiyori zuinô*)⁶⁷

Toshiyori argues that the actual origin of this poetic expression is in Prince Arima's anecdote. In this light, tying a pine-tree signaled a desire to return safely to the capital. By searching for the original context of Prince Arima's poem, Toshiyori connects a technical issue of composition--whether and how is the expression "*musubu matsu*" to be used in a waka poem-- to an episode in history. Toshiyori's account of Prince Arima's exile, however, is not taken from *Man'yôshû*. The headnote in that collection doesn't

Note that the expression from the poem that *Toshiyori zuinô* records as "*masashiku*" appears in *Man'yôshû* as "*masakiku*."

⁶⁷ SNKBZ, v. 87, pp. 111-12. このごろの人は、岩代といふ所の、あるとは知らで、うせたる人の塚なり、むすび松といへるは、しるしに植ゑたる木なり、されば、祝ひの所にては、詠むまじきよしをいへる。

mention key details, like for example that the place of exile was Iwashiro.⁶⁸ The source that Toshiyori is consulting has to be *Nihonshoki* (Chronicles of Japan, c. 720) or a derivative text, for example a commentary, of *Nihonshoki*.⁶⁹

In this passage, Toshiyori connects a poetic expression to a poem in an old anthology and reveals the subtext (*honzetsu*) of the poem. Many other sections in *Toshiyori zuinô* are devoted to revealing the subtexts of poems. These subtexts can range from folk legends like Urashima Tarô's, to sections of sutras (for Buddhist *shakkyôka* poems), to Chinese historical events (like the tragedy of Yang Guifei told in Bai Juyi's Song of Everlasting Sorrow 長恨歌), to classical anecdotes (about Confucius and his disciples). For example, for a poetic exchange (*zôtôka*) from *Shuishû* (1006) that talks about confusing a horse with a deer, Toshiyori tells a story about a minister to the second emperor of the Qin dynasty (221-206 BCE), who didn't trust his lord and sought to test the loyalty of the people. The minister presented the emperor with an animal, insisting that it was a horse; the emperor countered, rightfully, that it was a deer. Many other persons insisted it was in fact a horse, and the minister knew the realm was ripe for a revolt.⁷⁰ Similarly, for a poem that included the expressions “*tsuyu no inochi*” (“dew-like transient life”), “*kusa no ne*” (“plant roots”), and “*tsuki no nezumi*” (“mouse of the

⁶⁸ These are the headnote and the postnote to the poem in *Man'yôshû*. Headnote: 後岡本宮御宇天皇代 [天豊財重日足姫天皇讓位後即後岡本宮] / 有間皇子自傷結松枝歌二首. Postnote: 右件歌等雖不挽柩之時所作<准>擬歌意 故以載于挽歌類焉.

⁶⁹ The latter is more likely the case, because according to *Nihonshoki*, Arima revolts after the death of Kôtoku and against Kôtoku's sister Saimei. Also, in *Nihon shoki* the account of Prince Arima ends with his execution (*tsui ni korosarenu koto nari* 遂被誅戮也, SNKBZ, vol. 3, p. 218, *kundoku* in p. 217). Toshiyori doesn't mention this piece of information in *Toshiyori zuinô*. By the end of the Heian period, aristocrats were seldom sentenced to death. It is possible that in retelling this anecdote Toshiyori eliminated the elements that would not have been acceptable by a late Heian-period audience. For a discussion of banishment and execution in the Heian period see Jonathan Stockdale, *Imagining Exile in Heian Japan* (University of Hawaii, 2015).

⁷⁰ SNKBZ, vol. 87, p. 131. Found also in *Konjaku monogatari shû*, Book 10.

month/moon”), Toshiyori quotes a passage from a sutra⁷¹ where the fleeting quality of life is presented as an impending menace through the metaphor of a person chased by a tiger (representing sin), who hides in a hole only to find a crocodile (representing hell), and quickly grabs the roots of a plant to stop his fall, just when a mouse (the passage of time) comes to gnaw at the plants, loosening his grasp.⁷² *Toshiyori zuinô* includes many passages like these, revealing subtexts from classical sources of history and religion, and also from local customs and ancient rites. An awareness of such subtexts had become necessary to know waka. Conversely, this had the effect of transforming waka into a vehicle of cultural preservation and the kernel of a more general process of education.

The connection between waka knowledge production and transmission, and a wider cultural, historical, and linguistic knowledge brings waka treatises close to other pedagogical genres. Among them, *ôrai-mono* are compilations of model letters used as primers in the education of courtiers. Like waka treatises, collections of models of written interaction emerged within the court and later became part of warrior culture. The first *ôrai-mono* was Fujiwara no Akihira (989-1066)’s *Meigô-ôrai* 明衡往来 (Fujiwara no Akihira’s Letter Copybook, 1040).⁷³ During Kamakura and Muromachi, *ôrai-mono* became common among the warrior class. For example, *Teikin ôrai* 庭訓往来 (Letter Copybook for the use in Home-Schooling), a primer attributed to Tendai priest Gen’e 玄慧 (1279-1350), is organized as letters for each month of the year that contain lessons in social interaction. The term *ôrai*, lit. “back and forth,” referred originally to epistles, but

⁷¹ Possibly the *Daijikyô* 大集経., which contains a similar passage with only minor differences to Toshiyori’s account.

⁷² SNKBZ, vol. 87, p. 105.

⁷³ Aka *Unshû shôsoku* 雲州消息 (*Izumo Province Letters*). Akihira is known also as the compiler of the collection of writings in Chinese *Honchô monzui* 本朝文粹.

by the Edo period *ôrai-mono* came to include *hyakushô-ôrai* 百姓往来 (guides for farmers) and *shôbai-ôrai* 商売往来 (guides for merchants). When considered in terms of their whole history, beyond my current focus on Heian and Kamakura periods, the genre of waka treatises displays a parallel development, from technical knowledge specific to one field towards a more comprehensive spectrum of social knowledge, and from individuals of the court to warriors to other social groups.

Toshiyori zuinô does not simply provide an education, in the sense of historical, linguistic, religious knowledge contained in important passages of textual works. In this treatise, Toshiyori also recounts many recent events he either witnessed or heard from his father Tsunenobu (1016-1097) and other elders. These vignettes depict how waka were performed at court, circulated, discussed, criticized, and so on. For example, the discussion of the expression “Iwashiro” discussed above is followed by a vignette that recounts how much more recently (in 1049) Fujiwara no Sukenaka (1021-87) composed a poem for a poetry contest. The poem used the expression “Iwashiro” and was pitted against a poem by Priest Nôin that contained a reference to Kasuga Shrine:⁷⁴

There are these poems from the poetry contest of the ninth day of the Eleventh Month of the fourth year of the Eishô Era (1049), during the reign of Retired-Emperor GoReizei:⁷⁵

Left, by Priest Nôin:
On Kasuga Mountain, by the foot of a big boulder,
the pine tree looks after my lord,
one thousand years, or, better, a myriad generations to come.

Kasuga yama iwane no matsu wa kimi ga tame chitose nomi kawa yorozu yo ya hemu

⁷⁴ More details about this poetry contest can be found in *Eiga monogatari* (Matsumura Hiroji and Yamanaka Yutaka, eds, *Eiga Monogatari. Nihon koten bungaku taikai* series (NKBT), vol. 76 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1967-8), p. 443; and *Imakagami* (Kawakita Noboru, ed., *Ima kagami zenchûshaku* (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2013).

⁷⁵ GoReizei (1025-68) reigned 1045-68.

Right, by Sukenaka no Ben:⁷⁶
On the mountain top of Iwashiro,
the wind blows as years go by, but
the green of the pine remains unchanged.

Iwashiro no onoe no kaze ni toshi furedo matsu no midori wa kawarazarikeri

The Regent at the time, called “Ônijô-dono,”⁷⁷ was present, and before the judge announced his decision, said “The poem that is about Kasuga, how could it lose? This is self evident.” Because of this, and without further discussion, it was announced as the winner. As it was a powerful member of the Fujiwara household who had spoken thus, they considered it a remarkable thing, and decided to leave it at that. The poem by the Right mentioned the pine of Iwashiro, but nobody said anything about it during the contest, and they left it at that. Counsellor Akizane, the son of the poet [Sukenaka], said that afterwards someone was appalled [that this infelicitous expression had been used in a congratulatory poem], and that his father retorted, “That’s what people call not knowing anything!”

I was taught⁷⁸ that even if “the pine of Iwashiro” doesn’t mean a tree planted to mark someone’s burial mound, it makes one think of the awful events that led to the wanderings of Prince Arima, and thus it should not be used in poems for poetry competitions. (*Toshiyori zuinô*)⁷⁹

With this vignette, Toshiyori makes a very important point for a court poet: linguistic knowledge had social implications, sometimes even dire consequences. This can be seen in the powerful Minister Fujiwara no Norimichi (996-1075) interrupting the judge to declare Nôin the winner of the round, arguing that a reference to Kasuga shrine, the

⁷⁶ At the time Sukenaka was Middle Controller (*chûben*) of the Right.

⁷⁷ Fujiwara no Norimichi (996-1075), son of Michinaga. At the time of this poetic contest (1049) he was still Minister of the Right.

⁷⁸ Possibly by his father Minamoto no Tsunenobu.

⁷⁹ SNKBZ, vol. 87, pp. 112-3. 後冷泉院の御時、永承四年十一月九日の歌合に詠める歌、

左 能因法師 春日山いはねの松は君がためちとせのみかはよろづ世やへむ

右 資仲の弁 岩代のをのへの風に年ふれど松のみどりはかはらざりけり

これを、大二条殿と申しし関白殿の、その座にさぶらはせ給ひて、いまだ判じ判者の定め申されぬさきに、「春日と詠まれたらむ歌は、いかが負けむ。沙汰にも及ぶまじ」と申させ給ひければ、さる事とて、また沙汰する事もなくて、勝ちにけり。藤氏の長者にて申させ給ひければ、めでたき事にてやみにけり。右の歌は岩代の松詠まれたれど、その座には、沙汰する人もなくて、やみにけり。後に、人のかたぶきければ、「ようもしらぬ事いふなり」とぞ、作者申されけると、その人の子の、顕実の宰相申されし。岩代の松は、うせたる人の塚の木にはあらずとも、有間の皇子の、よからぬ事によりて、まどひあるき給ひけることのおこりを思へば、歌合には、詠までもありぬべしとぞ、うけたまはりし。

tutelary shrine of his family, could not lose. And also in that Sukenaka was later accused of making an irresponsible reference to a place like Iwashiro, with its history of misfortune and exile. Moreover, in recording recent events of this type, Toshiyori provides an education in an even wider sense, by selecting and organizing events from the cultural memory of the court.

Toshiyori zuinô is thus much more than a guide to composing and interpreting poems. It combines knowledge from the cultural heritage --history, literature, religion, geography-- with knowledge connected to developing social skills, mastering the nuances of etiquette, and acquiring a sense of propriety. Learning waka was intimately connected to the wider processes of education, socialization, and enculturation. By contrast to the more formal aspects of education, the process of enculturation and socialization refers to internalizing the requirements--often tacit or implicit--of a culture, including its language, customs, and rituals. For example, it involves developing the ability to produce socially accepted reactions to socially determined cues. *Toshiyori zuinô* shows interest in all three undertakings --enculturation, socialization, and education--, which together conform a multi-dimensional, integrated process of cultural transmission. With *Toshiyori zuinô*, waka became the crux of a broad pedagogical and cultural project.

Vignettes have been treated with skepticism by modern scholars. Hashimoto Fumio, the editor of the most commonly read modern edition of the text,⁸⁰ suggested that the chief purpose of the narrative vignettes in *Toshiyori zuinô* is to present the required general knowledge and the specific details in a way that excited the curiosity and interest

⁸⁰ SNKBZ, vol. 87.

of a young lady.⁸¹ In her PhD dissertation, Shibayama Saeko endorses Hashimoto's view, as she states that "Toshiyori captivated the mostly female readers⁸² of the *Toshiyori zuinô* by providing entertaining yet at the same time didactic *setsuwa* narratives."⁸³ Hashimoto and Shibayama seem to suggest that anecdotal narrative is at best a didactic device, probably under the assumption that young female readers would have been less likely to pay attention without it or perhaps that narrative vignettes hinder true intellectual, critical, academic discussion of waka. In contrast to this position, I argue that in *Toshiyori zuinô* waka vignettes play a central role, and one that can't be explained by the gender of its intended reader. As a treatise written instead for a male reader, *Fukurozôshi* offers a useful point of comparison.

Fukurozôshi

Fukurozôshi was written by Fujiwara no Kiyosuke (1104-77), the head of the prestigious Rokujô house founded by his grandfather Fujiwara no Akisue (1055-1123). Kiyosuke's father Fujiwara no Akisuke (1090-1155) brought the house glory when he was commissioned by Emperor Sutoku to compile the sixth imperial anthology, *Shikashû* (1151). Kiyosuke, acting as head of the house only a few years after his father's death,

⁸¹本書の術作目的が、若い女性のための、実作の手引き書であったことによる。そのためには、和歌全般に対する知識も与えなければならないし、細かい知識の導入にも唯一の読者が興味を覚えるような、和歌説話を多分に盛り込むことも必要であったのだろう。SNKBZ. Vol 87. p. 14.

⁸² Shibayama refers to "mostly female readers" in the plural possibly because in her discussion of the readership of the work (p. 290) she mentions that the book was written for "Her Cloistered Kôyô" (an alternative pronunciation for Kaya-no-in 高陽院) according to *Imakagami* and for "the daughter of Regent Fujiwara no Tadazane (藤原忠実, 1078-1162). Isako, also known as Taishi (泰子)" according to the *Kenshō-bon*. Shibayama doesn't mention that these two women are actually the same person, Isako 勲子 (also pronounced Kunshi), aka Taishi 泰子, who later became Empress to Emperor Toba (1103-1156) under the name Kaya-no-in.

⁸³ Shibayama, "Ôe no Masafusa and the Convergence of the 'Ways,'" p. 321. Shibayama argues also that "the *Toshiyori zuinô* was a pivotal text in the transformation of waka from a mere custom to a fully-fledged academic activity" (p. 302).

distributed copies of *Fukurozôshi* to powerful patrons outside his household, as external evidence suggests. Extant manuscripts contain a colophon dated 1296 that states that Emperor Nijô (1143-1165) summoned Kiyosuke and insisted on being shown the manuscript; when Kiyosuke showed him the text, the emperor gave him a stack of paper and ordered him to make a fair copy, which Kiyosuke presented to the emperor in 1159.⁸⁴ An earlier colophon, dated 1191, states that Regent Fujiwara (Kujô) no Kanezane (1149-1207) also received a copy of the manuscript directly from Kiyosuke; the manuscript was burnt in a fire, but Kanezane soon received another copy from Empress Fujiwara no Muneko (or Ikushi, 1146-1173), who had inherited it from Emperor Nijô after his death. These two colophons suggest also that the treatise Kiyosuke presented to the Emperor and the Regent was an original composition with a different reader in mind.

Just like *Fukurozôshi*, *Toshiyori zuinô* circulated widely beyond its initial reader, Kunshi. An indication of this is that Kiyosuke quotes *Toshiyori* abundantly. Yet there are significant differences between these two texts. One of them is in their language. *Toshiyori* wrote in what we now call *wakan-konkô-bun* 和漢混交文, a style based on the grammar of the Japanese language and written with a hybrid script juxtaposing *kanji* and *kana*. *Fukurozôshi*, by contrast, is written in *hentai kanbun* 変体漢文,⁸⁵ a script preferred by male courtiers for its closer association with literary Chinese. *Hentai kanbun* is a very efficient way of writing Japanese, and in *Fukurozôshi* it serves as a sort of shorthand. Even *waka*, customarily spelled out in *kana*, are noted using the compressed grammar of

⁸⁴ Fujioka Tadaharu, introduction (*kaisetsu*) to *Fukurozôshi*. SNKBT, vol. 29 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1995), p. 489.

⁸⁵ A mixed logographic writing characterized by a combination of the grammar of literary Chinese with elements of the grammar of the Japanese, reflecting the intention that both literary Chinese and Japanese grammatical elements be successfully recuperated when the text was read according to the rules of *kundoku* 訓読. Cfr. David Lurie, *Realms of Literacy* (Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), pp. 181-2.

hentai kanbun. For example, the line *koromo utsubeki toki ya kinuramu* (I wonder if the time has come when they beat the clothes on the fulling-block...) is written 衣可打時ヤキヌラン,⁸⁶ where the Chinese-grammar expression 可打 is to be rendered via *kundoku* as *utsu beki*. This is a language associated with male courtiers and in particular with the diaries that the head of a household would keep for his descendants.

In their household diaries (*kiroku*), courtiers recorded the details of their time serving at court. These diaries preserved knowledge about official proceedings, serving as “precedent guides” (*yūsoku-kojitsu*), which covered diverse aspects of court procedure, from regulations to etiquette to attire.⁸⁷ For example, Fujiwara no Morosuke’s 藤原師輔 (908-960) *Kujō dono no yuikai* 九条殿遺誠 (Teachings Passed Down by the Ninth-Avenue Lord, after 947), written in *kanbun*, describes the etiquette and procedures for many events in the everyday life of the aristocracy. Even though *Fukurozōshi* is structured as a treatise, by topic, instead of chronologically like a diary, it includes detailed technical information on etiquette and procedure. For example, Kiyosuke details how to orchestrate a poetry contest (*utaawase*), including the responsibilities of each different role, the preparation of the required documents, the notation of poems on paper (“three lines, three characters”) and advice on how to deal with unexpected situations such as a poet submitting one poem for two or more separate set topics or a poet escaping the room without submitting a poem (a time-honored tradition, according to Kiyosuke).

⁸⁶ *Fukurozōshi* SNKBT, vol. 29, p. 374.

⁸⁷ Shibayama discusses diaries in her dissertation (p. 210-2), in particular in connection to Ôe no Masafusa (1041-1111), and quoting the research of Komine Kazuaki, Ogawa Takeo (who refers to household knowledge as *kagaku* 家学), and Matsuzono Hitoshi (who highlights the role of diaries in the construction of households). Komine Kazuaki, *Inseiki bungakuron* (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2006). Ogawa Takeo, *Chūsei no shomotsu to gakumon*. (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 2009). Matsuzono Hitoshi, *Nikki no ie chūsei kokka no kiroku soshiki* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa, 1997).

Fukurozôshi contains instruction also on how to compose congratulatory poems and poems for an imperial enthronement ritual (*daijôe*), as well as on how to select poems for an anthology (do include powerful people even if they are bad poets, and do not include lowly people even if their poems are good), and on many other aspects of court poetry that would be vital to the head of a poetry household competing against other poetry specialists. This suggests that Kiyosuke's initial intended reader could have been a man expected to inherit and continue his legacy as head of the Rokujô family. This person could be his younger half-brother Suetsune (1131-1221), who in fact became the head of the household after the death of Kiyosuke, or perhaps Kenshō (1130?-1210?), Akisuke's adopted son, about twenty-five years younger than Kiyosuke.⁸⁸ Procedural knowledge of the type found in *Fukurozôshi* does not appear in *Toshiyori zuinô*. Toshiyori, just like Kiyosuke, had served at court and at powerful households as poetry consultant, master of ceremonies of poetry contests, editor of poetry anthologies, and so on. Yet Toshiyori was not writing his treatise for an heir but for the daughter of a powerful patron.

Like Toshiyori, Fujiwara no Kiyosuke packed into his treatise a large amount of scholarly information, in an attempt to provide his reader with a comprehensive command of waka scholarship. For example, he discusses in great detail the *Man'yôshû*, the five imperial anthologies (*Kokinshû*, *Gosenshû*, *Shûishû*, *GoShûishû*, *Shikashû*), the poem-tales *Ise monogatari* and *Yamato monogatari*, and the topical anthology of anthologies, *Kokinrokujô* 古今和歌六帖 (late tenth c.), among others. Each of these texts is described in terms of their process of compilation, manuscript history, and variant

⁸⁸ Higuchi Yoshimaro shows that the text Kiyosuke presented in 1159 suffered multiple modifications and additions in the years until Kiyosuke's death, and also later by the hand of either Kenshō or Suetsune. Higuchi Yoshimaro, "Fukurozôshi Mumyîôshô no seiritsu jiki ni tuite - fu Fujiwara no Norinaga no botsunen," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* (1970).

manuscripts. *Man'yôshû* and the first four imperial anthologies in particular present specific difficulties, which Kiyosuke set himself to tackle. One of them is identifying the names of the poets of the past, and *Fukurozôshi* includes a list of poets, sometimes adding some biographical information, followed by brief entries with more information for some of the more famous poets (Akazome-Emon, Sosei, Ôtomo no Sukune, Murasaki Shikibu). Another difficulty is linguistic, as is evinced by the inclusion of a long list of official court titles and ranks written in *kanji*, for each of which a corresponding *kundoku* reading is provided (For example, Kiyosuke provides for 典藥寮 the reading *kusuri-no-tsukasa* クスリノツカサ). Also, as in *Toshiyori zuinô*, plenty of practical advice is offered on composition, including how to borrow lines from old poems (*honkadori*), how to tweak a poem, and examples of how poetic merit often hinges on changing a single sound. In this sense, *Fukurozôshi* is an expansion of many of the issues discussed previously by Toshiyori.

In both treatises waka vignettes are deployed to transmit technical knowledge as well as cultural knowledge. *Fukurozôshi* includes a large section titled “Miscellaneous Conversations” (*zôtan* 雑談). The following anecdote, for example, offers two different types of instruction:

During that period,⁸⁹ around the time of the year when clothes are beaten at the fulling-block,⁹⁰ Kanemori⁹¹ composed a poem for a folding

⁸⁹ Kiyosuke does not say what period; the historical figures that appear indicate that he refers to the mid to late tenth century.

⁹⁰ To make the cloth soft and glossy.

⁹¹ Taira no Kanemori (d. 990), poet active during the *Gosenshû* period, Governor of Suruga, and according to some accounts the real father of the famous poet Akazome-Emon (instead of Akazome Tokimochi).

screen that said, “I wonder if the time has come when they beat clothes on the fulling-block...” (...*koromo utsu beki toki ya kinuramu*).⁹²

When Ki no Tokibumi⁹³ was about to inscribe this poem on the screen, as he took the brush, he stopped and asked, “He sees the clothes being beaten in front of his eyes, and still says, “I wonder if the time has come when they beat the clothes on the fulling-block?” How can this be?”⁹⁴

When people asked Kanemori about this, he responded, “Didn’t Tsurayuki compose on the topic of Horse-Welcoming⁹⁵ on a folding screen of the Engi period,⁹⁶ a poem that went ‘I wonder if right now they are pulling the horses from the Full Moon stables’ (*ima ya hikuran Mochizuki no koma*)?⁹⁷ Did he make a mistake too? How can this be?”

This left Tokibumi at a loss for words. (*Fukurozôshi*)⁹⁸

This passage is very compressed. Taira no Kanemori (d. 990) is criticized by Ki no Tokibumi for misusing in a poem the expression *ramu*, which modern grammarians would describe as an auxiliary verb used to indicate speculation about the present. Ki no Tokibumi argues that *ramu* can’t be used for an event that is in plain sight and thus leaves no room for speculation. Taira no Kanemori, on the verge of public humiliation, rallies back with proof that actually *ramu* has been used in that way. He provides evidence in the form of a “proof poem” (*shôka* 証歌), in this case by an established poet of the past

⁹² The poem does not appear in Kanemori’s personal collection (*Kanemorishû*) or in any major anthology. This episode is retold in *Kokonchomonjû*, where the full poem is given as follows (Episode 188): “When I hear the sound of the wild geese deep in the autumn clouds, I wonder if the time has come when they beat the clothes on the fulling-block” (*akifukaki kumoi no kari no koe su nari koromo utsu beki toki ya kinuramu*). It appears also in *Jikkishô* (Episode 4.11) but with *akifukami* instead of *akifukaki*.

⁹³ Son of Ki no Tsurayuki. Member of the “Nashitsubo Five” committee that compiled the *Gosenshû* and worked on an edition of the *Man’yôshû*.

⁹⁴ Presumably the painting on the folding screen, on which Kanemori based his poem, depicted a person working at a fulling block. Tokibumi criticizes the use of *ramu* when the situation is evident and in plain sight.

⁹⁵ *Koma mukae*. Every year on the Eighth Month horses from the eastern provinces were sent to the capital and an emissary of the emperor went to meet them at Ôsaka Barrier.

⁹⁶ 901-923, during the reign of emperor Daigo (885-930. r. 897-930).

⁹⁷ *Tsurayuki-shû*, poem n. 14: At Ôsaka Barrier, a reflection on the pure waters: “I wonder if right now they are pulling the horses of the full moon.” (*ôsaka no seki no shimizu ni kage miete ima ya hikuran mochizuki no koma*). “*Mochizuki*” is the full moon, in particular during the Eighth Month, and also “*Mochizuki no Koma*” refers specifically to the Horse-Welcoming ceremony. For a discussion of this poem in context, see Joseph Sorensen, *Optical Allusions* (Boston: Brill, 2012), p. 98.

⁹⁸ SNKBT, vol. 29, p. 374. 其時御屏風歌、打衣所ニ兼盛詠、衣ウツベキ時ヤキヌラム 紀時文、件色紙形ヲ書之時、抑筆云々、見在ニ打衣ヲミテ、衣可打時ヤキヌラント詠之条、如何。仍被問兼盛之處、申云、貫之、延喜御屏風、駒迎所ニ、イマヤヒクラン望月ノ駒ト詠、有此難歎、如何。干時時文閉ロ云々。

such as Tsurayuki. With this proof poem, Kanemori defeats Tokibumi and saves his reputation as a poet.

The teaching that Kiyosuke built into this vignette is that the expression *ramu* can be used even when the situation is evident and in plain sight. This is an important lesson for a poet. But there is more to this vignette. In this passage Kiyosuke recounts a type of social interaction that appears in several waka vignettes in *Fukurozôshi*. In these vignettes, as in the passage above, someone is criticized in public, faces humiliation, and rallies back providing as proof a poem by an established poet or from an imperial anthology. The criticism tends to concern the correctness of the poem rather than its artistic merit. The poet being accused of lack of poetic knowledge can defend himself by producing proof in the shape of a “precedent poem.” This is a fundamental lesson for a professional heir. The point is that a specialist should expect to be challenged, and that command of precedent is crucial to success in the cutthroat environment of the court.⁹⁹

In passages like the one quoted above, Kiyosuke addresses the cultural requirements and tacit expectations that go with a given social role, in this case the role of poetry specialist. A detail that would not be lost to the heir of a poetic household is that Tokibumi was Tsurayuki’s son and that thus his ignorance of his father’s precedent was doubly embarrassing.¹⁰⁰ Elsewhere in the treatise, Kiyosuke tells an anecdote about a

⁹⁹ The importance of *shôka*, or proof poems, redefined the role of memorization in waka pedagogy. In Sei Shônagon’s account of the Teishi salon we learn of court ladies memorizing poems from *Kokinshû* in case a male courtier challenged them to remember the poems. This passage by Kiyosuke highlights a different mode of memorization, where a poet now needs to know many more poems than just those in *Kokinshû*, and to know them not simply to reproduce them literally, but to produce them as proof for the lexical and technical choices they display. Another two literary practices of the late Heian period related to memorization are allusive variation (*honkadori* 本歌取り) and literary allusion (*hikiuta* 引き歌), but in them the memorization involved is closer to the literal reproduction advocated by Teishi.

¹⁰⁰ Avoiding embarrassment is throughout Kiyosuke’s biggest concern. He discusses, for example, how poets often receive sarcastic sobriquets after composing a poem that revealed their ignorance and how a poet once tricked and exposed another poet who was secretly relying on a ghost-writer.

father who scolds a son for wasting a good poem on an unimportant occasion instead of saving it for a more consequential event, such as being called into the presence of the emperor. As these examples show, waka vignettes were an ideal medium to preserve the cautionary tales that codify and transmit these types of social knowledge and professional ethos.

Along with cautionary tales, *Fukurozôshi* includes more cheerful vignettes encouraging the reader to pursue waka as a career. To stress that waka can lead to appointment to rank and office, Kiyosuke narrates how he received the Upper Junior Fifth Rank from Emperor Toba (1103-1156) thanks to the sponsorship of the regent Fujiwara no Tadamichi (1097-1164); then, he was appointed to Lower Senior Fifth Rank from Retired Emperor Sutoku (1119-1164, r. 1123-1141); and finally, after many unsuccessful attempts, Sutoku's father, by now Retired Emperor Toba, granted Kiyosuke the Fourth Rank. On that occasion, Toba said of the poem Kiyosuke included in his application (*môshibumi* 申文), "Even descendants of many generations of famous poets sometimes reveal insufficient skill. This was a very interesting poem."¹⁰¹ To which Kiyosuke later adds, "Isn't this the highest honor? I have many shortcomings, but thanks to the way of poetry I have received honors repeatedly. This is the result of years of practice and effort."¹⁰² This list of personal accomplishments is neither idle talk nor the product of excessive self-satisfaction. It serves a deeper purpose: inculcating in the heir the benefits that can arise from following in the family trade.

As this passage illustrates, educating a professional heir requires transmitting more than knowledge specific to waka. *Fukurozôshi* contains lessons applicable to other

¹⁰¹ 仰云、重代者カタホナル事タニアリ、尤有興之歌躰。p. 375 (*kundoku* in p. 104).

¹⁰² 雖不堪事、依此道度々有面目。是多年稽古之所致歟。p. 375 (*kundoku* in p. 105).

dimensions of court life too. For example, in the following passage, Kiyosuke addresses the importance of developing prudence in dealing with others:

Someone said, “Tomofusa, the Governor of Mikawa Province, composed a poem and Controller Koreie, somewhat moved, said to him, “Well done!”

Tomofusa flew into a rage and said, “Outside of *kanshi* poetry, I am no match for you. At waka you beat me by far. Having to hear something like this is outrageous. From now on I will never compose waka again.”

One must be careful even with one’s words of praise. (*Fukurozôshi*)¹⁰³

This vignette illustrates the importance of courtly tactfulness. *Fukurozôshi* contains many similar lessons on how to negotiate the challenges of court life--among them how to decline a challenge and how to provide constructive feedback. Developing adroitness in dealing with thorny social situations was of great importance for a middle-ranking courtier seeking a career as waka specialist contingent on securing favor and patronage. Simultaneously, these are skills valuable outside waka circles as well, and ones that were acquired as part of the wider processes of enculturation and socialization. Like Toshiyori before, Kiyosuke includes transferrable skills as part of an education in waka. Together with information on aesthetics and technical aspects of composition, waka treatises transmitted not only the cultural memory of the court, also lessons in courtly behavior. The effect was that now if one knew how to behave in the waka world one knew how to behave in the world of the court in general.

It is only natural that while *Fukurozôshi* was written for Kiyosuke’s professional heir it soon found a readership outside the Rokujô household. As I showed, the first to obtain a copy were Kiyosuke’s direct and powerful patrons, Regent Kanezane and Emperor Nijô.

¹⁰³ Section ‘*Zôtan*.’ SNKBT, vol. 29, p. 379. 或人語云、三河守知房詠之歌、伊家卿感歎云、優誦給へリト云々。知房立腹云、予ハ非詩事は非敵。而和歌頗劣彼。如此被仰云尤奇怪也。自今以後不可誦和歌云々。優詞可用意事歟。 SNKBT, vol. 29, p. 379 (*kundoku* in p. 114).

It is conceivable that Kiyosuke was initially unwilling to circulate this internal document. The 1296 colophon, discussed above, suggests that Emperor Nijō had to insist repeatedly to be shown the text.¹⁰⁴ Even if Kiyosuke presented the copy begrudgingly, this “secondary circulation” must have helped cement his reputation as a poet. His treatise was also proof of his competence as head of household, one who could transmit valuable knowledge to the next generation and thus secure his family’s position for the future. Through channels unknown to us, *Fukurozōshi* was soon available to other poets, even from competing families, and by the middle of the next century, passages from Kiyosuke’s treatise started to appear in a variety of new works. Among these are the anecdotal collections (*setsuwashū*) I discuss in the second chapter.

This “third wave of circulation” (after the initial intended reader, and the secondary circulation to waka specialists at court) would make available to an even wider audience the different types of information synthesized by Kiyosuke: scholarly, linguistic, technical, aesthetic, and on precedent, procedure, language, and savoir fare. This third wave of circulation was indirect, as it consisted in works such as anecdotal collections borrowing vignettes from Kiyosuke’s treatise, often without citing it as the source for the material.

The text we today call *Fukurozōshi* is composed of two different texts. One of them is the treatise that Kanezane and Nijō received from Kiyosuke. A different but related text is contained in a set of manuscripts with a separate history of circulation that end with a colophon from 1442. This second treatise as well seems to have been written for fellow male specialists from the Rokujō household. The two treatises are different in content, but both reflect a similar interest and approach to waka knowledge, and both are written

¹⁰⁴ 此書、日有風聞、尋召從内裏、懋重之。SNKBZ, vol. 29, p. 401 (*kundoku* in p. 170).

in *hentai kanbun*. Modern editions of *Fukurozôshi*¹⁰⁵ collate these two texts as if they were part of the same original work, presenting them as “book one” (上巻) and “book two” (下巻) respectively. The court titles used for the historical characters that appear in the texts suggest that both treatises were written between the end of 1157 and the end of the following year.¹⁰⁶ It is possible that both stem from a common source, now lost, from which Kiyosuke extracted passages for each; conversely, they might be successive, complementary attempts at covering the diverse aspects of waka knowledge. In any case, they suggest that we should see *Fukurozôshi* not as a self-contained magnum opus, but as successive iterations of an ongoing process of research and transmission of knowledge.

Mikohidari Treatises

The pedagogical project that *Toshiyori zuinô* and *Fukurozôshi* embody had as one of its most distinctive traits the use of waka vignettes to transmit knowledge. These two treatises circulated widely in poetry circles, and became works of reference and counterpoint for subsequent generations of poets, but later treatises did not necessarily replicate their emphasis on waka vignettes. This is especially pronounced in the works of the rival Mikohidari house. A good case in point is Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114-1204)’s only extant critical treatise, *Korai fûteishô* (Poetic Styles from the Past, 1197),¹⁰⁷ written for Priest Shukaku 守覚法親王 (1150-1202)’s sister Imperial Princess Shokushi 式子内親王 (ca. 1153-1201) when she was 45 years old. In this work, Shunzei quotes both

¹⁰⁵ For example, Sasaki Nobutsuna, ed., *Fukurozôshi. Nihon kagaku taikai*. Vol. 2. (Tokyo: Kazama Shobô, 1957); Fujioka Tadaharu, ed., *Fukurozôshi. Shin nihon koten bungaku taikai*. Vol. 29 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1995).

¹⁰⁶ Higuchi, “Fukurozôshi Mumyôshô no seiritsu jiki ni tuite”. Kyûsojin Hitaku, “Fukurozôshi oyobi dôihen ni tsuite,” *Kokugo to kokubungaku* (1936).

¹⁰⁷ In SNKBZ, vol. 87.

Toshiyori and Kiyosuke,¹⁰⁸ but includes very few narrative vignettes. Shunzei offers a history of waka composition and many poems to be used as models when developing one's own compositional skills. Shunzei opens the essay with an often-quoted conceptual parallel between waka and the Buddhist path, which he soon connects to a discussion of key concepts for waka composition --*kotoba*, *kokoro*, *sugata*, *moto no kokoro*, *hon'i*. Shunzei also offers a brief history of waka composition, which he organizes into three main historical periods. The main objective of this treatise is to help the reader compose better poems, and Shunzei offers many example poems taken from *Man'yôshû* and from all the imperial anthologies up to his own edited *Senzaishû* (1187).

Shunzei's pedagogical approach focuses on what we would today call intertextuality. The long lists of poems in *Korai fûteishô* is part of an approach to composition marked by the importance of gestures that connect a poem on a topic (*dai* 題) to the precedent created by previous poems on that same topic. Shunzei's concepts *moto no kokoro* 本の心 and *hon'i* 本意 (both translatable as "original heart"), refer to the poetic "essence" of a traditional topic (*dai*).¹⁰⁹ This "essence" could be distilled from the many previous instantiations of a topic in the poems of the past. The technique of allusive variation (*honkadori* 本歌取り), which had already appeared in treatises by earlier poets, among them *Toshiyori zuinô*, took on a central role for Shunzei and his heir Teika. A successful "appropriation" of a line from an old poem and its recontextualization in a new poem depended on the poet's grasp of the "essence" (*hon'i*) of the poem's topic. Given that

¹⁰⁸ Shunzei quotes from *Ôgishô* 奥義抄 (c. 1126), another of Kiyosuke's treatises, not from *Fukurozôshi*.

¹⁰⁹ The standard discussion of Shunzei's poetics of intertextuality is in Shirane, "Lyricism and Intertextuality."

poetic essences reside in the textual poetic heritage, learning waka becomes an exercise in textual analysis and close reading.

By contrast, Toshiyori and Kiyosuke had stressed the connections between poems and the world from which they arose: history, customs, language, and rituals. This is not to say that they disregarded the intertextual dimension of waka. When they quote vignettes, for example, from works of history such as *Nihonshoki*, they are expounding on waka's intertextual dimension as well. What makes Shunzei's approach different is the precise definition of a discrete group of texts that command intertextual authority for waka, chief among them the imperial anthologies (*chokusenshū*), together with very few works of prose rich in poems, such as *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji, 1008) and *Ise monogatari* (The Tales of Ise, 951). In Shunzei's treatise the connections between word and world, between the practice of poetry and all other practices that were part of courtly life are attenuated, if not severed. This approach to waka composition makes waka vignettes unnecessary. Consequently, the predominant discursive mode in *Korai fūteishō* is expositional, not narrative.

The move away from vignettes would become even more pronounced in the work of his son and heir Teika (1162-1241). The treatises that Teika wrote for his patrons are distinctly devoid of waka vignettes. Among Teika's most prominent texts are *Kindai shūka* (Supreme Poems of Our Time, 1209) and *Eiga no taigai* (Essentials of Poetic Composition, 1213-9). *Kindai shūka* was written in *wakan-konkōbun* for Minamoto no Sanetomo (1192-1219), when Sanetomo was 17 years old. *Eiga no taigai* was written in *kanbun* for GoToba's son Imperial Prince Sonkai 尊快 (1204-1246), when Sonkai was 15 years old. The two treatises consist in brief conceptual prefaces focusing on poetics and

technical issues of composition, followed by a list of poems. As in *Korai fûteishô*, in these two essays by Teika the emphasis is not on the actual local customs or legends but rather on how they have been referenced in the poems of the past.

The lack of narrative vignettes in the work of Teika and his successors suggest a tacit skepticism of the use of narrative in teaching poetry. This can be gleaned from works such as *Maigetsushô* (Monthly Notes, 1219), a treatise in the form of a letter sent to one of his disciples, possibly Fujiwara no Ieyoshi (1192-1264) or perhaps Sanetomo.¹¹⁰ To this student, Teika sent *Maigetsushô* when returning a list of poems that the student had previously sent for the teacher to mark. In this work there are sections where Teika references events of the past, which could have been told in the shape of a waka vignette. Instead, Teika opted for providing schematic descriptions or brief summaries of events. In them, narrative and nonessential information has been stripped away. For example, Teika summarizes in one line an anecdote that *Toshiyori zuinô* records at length and with great attention to protagonists, poems, circumstances, drama, and so on:¹¹¹ “I heard of a man who, after receiving strong criticism, died of distress.”¹¹² This, it seems to Teika, suffices for the purposes of a serious student of waka. Narrative details are superfluous and should be avoided.

Toshiyori had been similarly invested in teaching poetics and poetic language, but in *Toshiyori zuinô* poetic technique is combined with an interest in cultural lore, history, and geography beyond their representation in poems. In Toshiyori’s work, these different types of waka knowledge coexist in a symbiotic unit. Toshiyori’s comprehensive,

¹¹⁰ Robert Brower, “Fujiwara Teika’s *Maigetsushô*,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 40. No. 4 (Winter 1985), p. 401. For the problems of attributing this text to Teika see my note supra in the section revising the English bibliography.

¹¹¹ SNKBZ, vol. 87, p. 227.

¹¹² SNKBZ, vol 87. p. 496. 或は難を負ひ果てて思ひ死にまかりしたぐひも聞こえ侍り。

undifferentiated approach became the starting point of a process of speciation that gave birth to different texts, depending on what type of waka knowledge was emphasized.¹¹³ In *Fukurozôshi*, Kiyosuke relied on narrative vignettes, but in his earlier treatise *Ôgishô* 奥義抄 (A Digest on Deep Principles, 1135-44), written for Emperor Sutoku (1119-1164) and later for Emperor Nijô (1143-65), Kiyosuke had mostly provided commentaries on a long list of poems, an approach that Kenshō took even further in *Shûchûshô* 袖中抄 (Pocket Notes, 1180), which focuses on clarifying difficult poetic expressions. In his primer *Waka shogakushô* 和歌初学抄,¹¹⁴ Kiyosuke provides an introduction to poetic expressions, poetic places, and traditional themes, together with examples of poetic precedent from *Man'yôshû*, the imperial anthologies and the poem-tale *Ise monogatari*. *Ôgishô* and *Waka shogakushô* represent the philology that modern scholars commonly associate with the Rokujō house,¹¹⁵ but Teika adopted a similar philological focus in *Kenchû mikkan* 顕注密勘 (A Secret Enquiry into Kenshō's Commentary, 1221), his examination of Kenshō's *Kokinshû-chû* (Commentary to *Kokinshû*, 1191). Each of these treatises emphasizes different aspects of waka knowledge, sometimes overlapping with each other and sometimes veering away.

The differences between treatises are likely connected to the fact that they were originally conceived as pedagogical devices, each written for a different intended reader. Regardless of their later wide circulation, an important distinction can be made between

¹¹³ I am borrowing the notion of “speciation” from Biology, where it denotes the formation of new, distinct species from a common origin in the course of evolution. While the notion of “species” suggests distinct and discrete entities, “speciation” lays stress on the slow and gradual process of differentiation, where small differences coexist initially with huge commonalities.

¹¹⁴ Fujiwara no Kiyosuke, *Wakashogakushô*. *Nihon kagaku taikei*, vol. 2, Sasaki Nobutsuna, ed. (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1957).

¹¹⁵ Cfr. the influential Robert Brower and Earl Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry* (Stanford University Press, 1961).

treatises written originally for specialists (like *Fukurozôshi*) and treatises for patrons and students (like *Toshiyori zuinô*, *Korai fûteishô*, *Kindai shûka*, *Eiga no taigai*). A treatise for a male heir to a poetic household like *Fukurozôshi* will cover different aspects of waka practice than a treatise for a young aristocratic lady in the capital or for the heir of a warrior household in Kamakura.

Another aspect that must be taken into account when considering the differences in each treatise's approach is that in the same way that the leaders of poetic households vied with each other to receive an imperial commission to compile a poetic anthology, they had to compete with each other to secure students and patronage. The treatises that waka instructors wrote for their students were one of the most important ways in which they could earn a reputation as an expert. In this context, it is hardly unthinkable that waka experts chose to overemphasize their own approach to composing and teaching in contrast to that of other poets, as a means of distancing themselves from their competitors. Rokujô and Mikohidari poets were highly aware of each other's approach to waka. That the latter chose to reduce the importance or prominence given to waka vignettes by the former has to be understood in the context of their rivalry.

The Treatise as a Genre – *Karon & Kagaku*

The treatises that modern scholarship considers as paradigmatic (for example *Korai fûteishô* or *Kindai shûka*) are texts that the winners of this confrontation, the Mikohidari, wrote for their patrons. At the same time, and to some extent, modern scholarship acknowledges the textual diversity behind poetic treatises. This is reflected in the conceptualization of two distinct genres. On the one hand, treatises on poetics that

discuss waka composition in more abstract terms are referred to as *karon* 歌論. On the other, *kagaku* 歌学, handbooks on poetry, refers to works that contain comprehensive information on the history of waka, its language, and its poets. The term *kagaku* already appears in early Edo-period works of reference like the Japanese-Portuguese dictionary *Vocabulario de Lingoa de Iapam* (*Nippôjisho* 日葡辞書, 1604-4); *karon* is a Meiji period coinage. In their modern senses, *karon* and *kagaku* group texts that since the Heian period circulated under different denominations--*zuinô* 随脳 (essentials), *kikigaki* 聞書 (notes), or *shô* 抄 (digest, selections) among others--and which varied greatly in terms of content, structure, approach, and intended reader. In this dissertation I use “waka treatise” as a general term; this is not to further efface differences but to avoid forcing artificial distinctions.

Broadly speaking, Mikohidari treatises, in which waka vignettes are rare, tend to fall on the side of *karon*, while Toshiyori and Kiyosuke’s are on the side of *kagaku*. This is not an accident. The modern distinction between *karon* and *kagaku* is the product of an underlying skepticism about the role of waka vignettes that is very similar to Teika’s. The historiography of waka treatises has a tendency towards emphasizing conceptualization and abstraction. Ariyoshi Tamotsu, the general editor of the *Karonshû* volume of the authoritative *Shinpen Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshû* series, titled his introductory essay “From Kagaku Towards Karon” 歌学から歌論へ.¹¹⁶ Ariyoshi draws a distinction between works that inquire into the essence of waka (*karon*) and works that focus on methods for composition, including criticism of poems, and on general education

¹¹⁶ SNKBZ, vol 87, pp. 3-12.

(*kagaku*).¹¹⁷ Ariyoshi sees the history of waka treatises as a progression from the very general *kagaku*-esque *Toshiyori zuinô* to the more *karon*-esque treatises by Teika. Along the way, he celebrates conceptual innovations such as Shunzei's notion of *yûgen* ("mysterious depth"), which he deployed in judgments to poetic contests¹¹⁸ and Shunzei's approach to the history of waka composition that divides it into three stylistic periods in *Kôraifûteishô*.

In the literature in English, this view appears for example in Brower and Miner's presentation of the rivalry between the Rokujô and the Mikohidari houses as a clash between parochial conservatism and artistic freedom.¹¹⁹ Also, Hilda Kato, in her history of waka, states that Shunzei "opened the way for a new approach to poetry. He did not go very far however in the analysis and elaboration of his ideas and their consolidation into a comprehensive theory; this task he left to his son, Sadaie [Teika], and his contemporary, Kamo no Chômei."¹²⁰ This interpretation is teleological, as it takes the final stage as a necessary result and explains previous developments as accumulative steps in a linear evolution. Furthermore, this evolution is conceptualized as an exclusively intellectual process--independent of the social and cultural aspects of waka practice--from a state of conceptual vagueness to a state of theoretical cohesiveness.

According to this view, for waka treatises to progress from general *kagaku* to more sophisticated *karon*, they had to drop waka vignettes and with them the ballast of general

¹¹⁷ For example, Ariyoshi opens his essay by arguing 歌論書といっても、平安じだいまでに成立した多くのものは、和歌の本質を論じたものはすくなく、和歌に関する評論を含んだ作歌方法や教養に関する内容のほうが主力であった。SNKBZ, vol 87, pp. 3.

¹¹⁸ For example, in the *Hirotaasha utaawase* 広田社歌合 (Poetic Contest of the Hirota Shrine, 1172).

¹¹⁹ Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*.

¹²⁰ Kato, "The Mumyosho of Kamo no Chomei and Its Significance in Japanese Literature," p. 338.

knowledge. That they were included at all in *Toshiyori zuinô*,¹²¹ the work of a sophisticated poet, can be explained according to this approach because Toshiyori needed to provide more general knowledge and rouse the interest of the young lady who was his intended reader (as I discussed above, such is the argument of, for example, Hashimoto Fumio). The assumption here is that if Toshiyori had been writing for a man, he would not have included waka vignettes, and that waka vignettes had no part in a proper waka treatise. It is entirely possible that the Mikohidari moved away from vignettes in part because this was the hallmark of their prominent rivals, the Rokujô lead by Kiyosuke. Yet to this day modern scholars still interpret Mikohidari waka pedagogy as a move from the more amorphous, vignette-laden *kagaku*, to the intellectual rigor of *karon*.¹²²

During the Kamakura period (1185-1333), Rokujô poets remained active but would never again win a commission to compile imperial anthologies, which went without exception to the Mikohidari and their later off-shoots: the Nijô, Kyôgoku, and Reizei. This poses a risk for historians of waka, that of overemphasizing the preferences of the winning side. The intellectual hazard is that waka histories, while acknowledging exceptions, nevertheless became uncritical celebrations of the poetic and pedagogical modes championed by Shunzei and Teika. In contrast to these teleological narratives, I argue that the development of waka treatises was, rather than a slow progress to conceptual clarity and technical prowess, a process in which professional concerns, rivalries connected to securing patronage, and the practice of writing treatises with the needs of specific individuals in mind carried great weight.

¹²¹ SNKBZ, vol. 87.

¹²² Not all treatises associated with Teika's descendants follow this pattern. *Shôtetsu monogatari* 正徹物語 (Conversations with Shôtetsu, 1448-5), for example, was written by Reizei Tametada's student and Teika admirer Priest Shôtetsu 正徹 (1381-1459). In this work Shôtetsu embraces waka vignettes to the point that his treatise takes the shape of an anecdotal collection (*setsuwashû*).

In the next section, I look at a treatise written well into the Kamakura period by Kamo no Chômei (ca. 1155-1216; Nagaakira), a poet of great renown who was affiliated neither with the Mikohidari nor with the Rokujō. In *Mumyōshō* (Untitled Notes, 1211), Chômei juxtaposes waka vignettes with expository passages as part of a rhetorical strategy to secure the patronage of students. Chômei's self-promotion reveals to us a crucial dimension of the transmission of knowledge in early medieval Japan.

Mumyōshō

A salient characteristic of *Mumyōshō* is that many of its vignettes recount Chômei's own successes, the praise he received, and the challenges from which he emerged triumphant. While *Toshiyori zuinō* and *Fukurozōshi*--works from which Chômei drew a great deal of material--already contained vignettes that showed off their author's position and achievements, Chômei goes further in giving self-aggrandizement a central role. For example, Chômei remarks in Dan 12 that in spite of not being the heir of a poetry household he had a poem included in *Shinkokinshū* (1205) and that the poet Nakahara no Ariyasu (d. 1194) had ranked him above other people with more poems included in that imperial anthology. Later, in Dan 66, Chômei recounts how he became a member of GoToba (1180-1239)'s inner circle of poets and was invited to an intimate poetry gathering together with the powerful Fujiwara no Yoshitsune (1169-1206; Kanezane's son), Priest Jien (1155-1225), and the high-ranking poets Fujiwara no Ietaka (1158-

1237)¹²³ and Fujiwara no Teika. Self-promotion seems to have been one of Chômei's main objectives in composing *Mumyôshô*.

Building a reputation was particularly decisive in the case of a poet not affiliated with a household of specialists such as the Mikohidari or the Rokujô. Chômei came from a family that had traditionally been employed as wardens (*negi* 禰宜) to the Lower Kamo Shrine (Shimogamo Jinja 下鴨神社). He studied waka under Toshiyori's son Shun'e (b.1113), but was advised against becoming a professional poet. For example, in Dan 13 of *Mumyôshô*, the same Nakahara no Ariyasu tells Chômei that as the heir to a household of shrine wardens, he should not try to make waka into his profession. That Chômei composed *Mumyôshô* suggests that in the end he chose not to follow Ariyasu's advice. His treatise is in part an effort at emphasizing and promoting his standing as poet, his social credentials, and his connections at court. All of these would have bolstered his appeal as a waka expert and instructor, and with it his chances of receiving political favors and financial resources from powerful students. Chômei's building a poetic reputation paid off, for example, when GoToba interceded on Chômei's behalf after he had lost to a rival the bid to succeed his father as the next Lower Kamo Shrine warden (Chômei still didn't get the job).

In this context, Chômei's recourse to vignettes to show off his accolades serves a purpose similar to Shunzei and Teika's abandoning the use of vignettes: advantage in the strategic competition for patronage.¹²⁴ Poetics are inseparable from pedagogy. Scanning treatises exclusively for information on the evolution of a pure poetics risks neglecting

¹²³ In Episode 66 of *Mumyôshô*, Chômei recounts a very intimate poetry contest held in 1202, to which only the poets closest to GoToba were invited.

¹²⁴ *Mumyôshô* makes no direct reference to material from Shunzei's *Korai fûteishô*. ("Critical introduction" in Kubota Jun, ed., *Mumyôshô* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Bunko, 2013), p. 284). Chômei is critical of Shunzei, for example in Dan 60.

this basic aspect of waka practice. For all the self-promotion, *Mumyôshô* reveals Chômei as a teacher who strives to present waka knowledge in a way that his student can relate to it. One of the main pedagogical resources he uses is analogy. For example, in Dan 41, Chômei discusses a rhetorical technique of waka known as “pillow-words” (*makura-kotoba*), which are not always clear in their meaning, and are used for their sonorousness, often in the first line of a poem. In this dan, Chômei quotes a poem where the pillow-word *mubatama* is used in the third line to introduce the expression *kurokami* (“black hair”)¹²⁵ in the fourth. After the poem, Chômei quotes his teacher Shun’e on the novel use of a pillow-word in the third line:

Used in the first line, this expression is not interesting. Placed in the third line, they create a pause, bringing out the best qualities of the poem and serving as an accomplished decoration. People of old called this “the *hampi* line.” *Hampi* (sleeveless robe) have no purpose, but when worn as part of formal court attire (*shôzoku*) they play a decorative role. (*Mumyôshô*, Dan 41)¹²⁶

Dan 41 compares the use of a rhetoric device that has no other purpose than decoration to a sleeveless robe that works as an accessory when worn over formal clothes. In the next dan, 42, Chômei extends the analogy further, referring to a piece in court music (*gagaku* 雅楽) called *sogô* 蘇合, which includes a section that is not danced fully but where only the feet follow the beat of the drum. *Sogô*, like pillow-words in the third-line of a poem, is exclusively ornamental. The reader learns this rule of poetic composition, and with it, interesting facts about court attire and court music.

¹²⁵ By convention, each pillow-word can be used to introduce a specific set of expressions. *Mubatama*, a variant of *nubatama*, is a pillow-word that connotes darkness and is conventionally applied to “black” (*kuro*), “hair” (*kami*), “evening” (*yû*) or “night” (*yo*).

¹²⁶ されど、始めの五文字にてはさせる興なし。腰の句によく続けて言葉の休めに置きたるはいみじう歌の品も出でき、ふるまへるけすらひともなるなり。古き人は、これをば半臂の句とぞいひ侍りける。半臂はさせる用なき物なれど、装束の中に飾りとなるものなり。Kubota, *Mumyôshô*, p. 57.

There are many other episodes in *Mumyôshô* where Chômei combines knowledge about waka with other types of knowledge. In Episode 15, a quote from the Lotus Sutra serves to explain the correct approach to composition: Old material and innovation are both necessary and should find a balance, just like the children of King Myôshôgon 妙莊嚴,¹²⁷ which in the Lotus Sutra are said to adjust conveniently, growing until they covered the sky or shrinking until they occupied a mustard seed. Dan 68 compares the divide between conservative and innovative poets to a religious debate between Buddhist sects. And Dan 69 quotes Shun'e on composition: a refined poem is like a cloth woven not too tight, where the pattern emerges from the background; artificiality should be avoided, because it makes the poet resemble a person who, unable to procure a big rock for his garden, made do with a pile of smaller rocks. These analogies work pedagogically because they lend concreteness to Chômei's abstract argument. At the same time, they provide bits of information on other interesting disciplines: Buddhism, clothing, weaving, and garden-building.

Chômei's use of analogies for a pedagogical purpose can be connected back to the work of Shunzei. In *Kôrai fûteishô*, Shunzei establishes an analogy between waka and *shikan* 止観, a three-fold meditation practice. *Shikan* consists in a dialectic movement, where emptiness (*kû* 空) and provisionality (*ke* 仮) are transcended by the middle way (*chû* 中), in the same way that in waka diction, Shunzei argues, the apparent duality of *kotoba* (diction) and *kokoro* (meaning) should be transcended by *sugata* (poetic style).¹²⁸

¹²⁷ According to the Lotus Sutra, a king of the past who converted to Buddhism after his wife and kids encouraged him to listen to the Lotus Sutra.

¹²⁸ Cfr. the critical introduction to the partial translation of *Korai fûteishô* in Shirane, *Traditional Japanese Literature*, p. 590.

Shunzei's intended reader, Shokushi, was a Buddhist nun in her forties. She was surely familiar with the text that Shunzei quotes, the *Maka shikan* 摩訶止観 (The Marvelous Calm-and-Contemplation, 594), which was considered fundamental to Tendai practice. This analogy between waka and *shikan* is often emphasized as further evidence of Shunzei's investment in establishing an equivalence between waka and Buddhism.¹²⁹ Yet Shunzei might only have intended it as a pedagogical analogy, as he added that "considering the difficulty in expressing the style and meaning of waka, I have resorted in particular to analogies from the Buddhist path and quoted Buddhist scriptures."¹³⁰ In this passage, Shunzei, like Chōmei, blends knowledge about waka with other types of knowledge.

In *Mumyōshō*, the use of vignettes is first and foremost a pedagogical choice connected to the role given to cultural knowledge in the composition of waka. Chōmei devotes many sections to general waka knowledge. For example, he expounds on lore (Dan 77), manners (Dan 35-36), customs (Dan 74-75), and geography (Dan 3, 19-26, 37-40). He also covers aspects of waka practice that have more to do with the appropriate behavior in poetic gatherings and contests. For example, in Dan 10:

During the time Emperor Nijō was fond of poetry, when Okazaki
Third Rank [Fujiwara no Norikane] was serving as the Emperor's Tutor,

¹²⁹ For example, in William LaFleur, *The Karma of Words* (University of California Press, 1983); Jacqueline Ilyse Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (University of Hawaii Press, 2003); Keller Kimbrough, "Reading the Miraculous Powers of Japanese Poetry: Spells, Truth Acts, and a Medieval Buddhist Poetics of the Supernatural," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 32.1 (2005). In a presentation at the 2014 Waka Workshop at Stanford, Ethan Bushelle argued that Shunzei deployed the parallel between waka poetry and *shikan* as a strategic move in the context of competition for patronage. In the Q&A after the presentation someone suggested that Shunzei, instead, was trying to find a metaphor that his reader would have found easy to grasp. For a discussion of the *Maka shikan* in the context of Tendai soteriology cfr. Paul Swanson, *Foundation of T'ien-t'ai Philosophy: The Flowing of the Two Truths Theory in Chinese Buddhism* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1989).

¹³⁰ それによりて、歌の姿心、申し述べ難しとて、ことに仏道に通はし、法文に寄せて申しなすことなり。SNKBZ, vol. 87, p. 253

Lord Kiyosuke was summoned to court because of his high reputation in the field of waka. Something very interesting happened then. At some point during a poetry gathering, Kiyosuke used the expression “here and there” (*konomo kanomo*) when composing a poem about a mountain, I don’t remember which. Third Rank criticized him, saying, “The expression “here and there” applies exclusively to Mount Tsukuba. You can’t use it for any other mountain.” When he saw himself thus criticized, Kiyosuke muttered, “It goes without saying that it applies to Tsukuba. But it can be used more generally, even for rivers.” Third Rank sneered at him, “Show me a proof-poem.” Kiyosuke replied, “When Mitsune wrote the preface to the poetic gathering by the Ôigawa River, he wrote ‘Here and there in the Ôigawa River.’ This is a fact.” After he said this, everybody kept their silence, and that was the end of the matter. One should not criticize others rashly. (*Mumyôshô*, Dan 10)¹³¹

This waka vignette describes an incident during the reign of Emperor Nijô (1143-1165), between Fujiwara no Norikane 藤原範兼 (1107-1165), a poet and waka expert, and Fujiwara no Kiyosuke. In this episode, Norikane criticizes Kiyosuke, and Kiyosuke answers by providing proof, this time not with a poem but with a prose preface written by the poet Ôshikôchi no Mitsune 凡河内躬恒 (early Heian-period), one of the compilers of *Kokinshû*. This anecdote illustrates the maxim that one should not be too rash when criticizing; at the same time, as many waka vignettes that Kiyosuke himself had included in *Fukurozôshi* show, it conveys the lesson that a poet should expect to be challenged, and that to survive the challenge using precedent is paramount. Chômei includes similar episodes in Dan 5, 6 and 13.

¹³¹ Kubota, *Mumyôshô*, p. 21-22. 二条院和歌好ませおはしましける時、岡崎の三位、御侍読にて候はれけるに、この道の聞こえ高きによりて、清輔朝臣召されて、殿上に候ひけり。いみじき面目なりけるを、ある時の御会に清輔、いづれの山か、「このもかのも」といふことを詠まれたりければ、三位これを難じていはく、「筑波山にこそ『このもかのも』とは詠め。おほかた山ごとにいふべきことにはあらず」と難ぜられければ、清輔申していはく、「筑波山までは申すべきならず。川などにも詠み侍るべきにこそ」とつぶやきければ、三位あざ笑ひて、「証歌をたてまつれ」と申されけるに、清輔のいはく、「大井川の会に躬恒が序書ける時、『大井川のこのもかのも』と書けること、まさしく侍るものを」と言ひ出でたりければ、諸人口を閉じてやみにけり。荒涼にものをば難ずまじきことなり。

Chômei's *Mumyôshô* is one more example of how the knowledge transmitted in treatises informed the very practice from which they stemmed. *Mumyôshô* reveals waka as a field in which, on any given day one could win or one could lose. The stakes were as high and the challenges as pressing in Chômei's time, the early Kamakura period, as they had been centuries before when Fujiwara no Morotada was grooming his daughter Hôshi to enter the court of Emperor Murakami. The pedagogical methods were different. Hôshi was simply advised to memorize *Kokinshû*. A student of waka under Toshiyori, Kiyosuke, or Chômei would need to master a wide range of fields and disciplines, but she could rely on the help of an instructor, the advantages of detailed and comprehensive treatises, and many opportunities to test her knowledge in poetic gatherings and contests at court and elsewhere.

Conclusion

As I have argued in this first chapter, waka treatises are a key to understanding the changes that the practice of waka underwent in the Heian (784-1185) and Kamakura periods (1185-1333). Waka was transformed from an elegant pastime and courtly practice without pedagogical articulation, into the core of a broad pedagogical and cultural project built around an integrated process of knowledge production and transmission. As the required knowledge for a poet expanded, waka vignettes emerged as a way to select, codify, preserve, and transmit cultural information. Waka vignettes were at the center of a pedagogical enterprise defined by the emergence of the social role of the waka instructor, the creation of an explicit pedagogical contract between master and disciple, and the

fierce competition for patronage between waka specialists variously affiliated with poetry households.

In my analysis of waka treatises I have established a distinction between two types of transmission: from father to son within one's household (such as *Fukurozôshi*) and from specialist to external patron under a pedagogical contract (such as *Toshiyori zuinô*, *Korai fûteishô*, *Kindai shûka*, *Eiga no taigai*, *Mumyôshô*). In light of the prominence that treatises produced by the Mikohidari household of waka experts have in modern scholarship, I have analyzed a treatise by a renowned poet from the time before the consolidation of poetic households (*Toshiyori zuinô*), a treatise by the head of the Rokujô household (*Fukurozôshi*), and a treatise by a renowned poet that remained unaffiliated even after the Mikohidari had emerged winners (*Mumyôshô*). I have compared these three treatises to seminal Mikohidari works such as Shunzei's *Korai fûteishô*, to reveal how poets differed in their approach to waka pedagogy and in the importance they put on opening waka knowledge to other types of social and cultural knowledge.

In the following chapter I will discuss how in the Kamakura period, works like *Toshiyori zuinô*, *Fukurozôshi*, and *Mumyôzôshi* became a source of information about court culture for diverse sociocultural spaces. I show that waka vignettes from these waka treatises appear in *Jikkenshô* (A Ten-Lesson Digest, 1252), a handbook of practical advice with Confucian overtones where waka vignettes are included as exemplary or cautionary tales. Material from these treatises appears also in *Kokonchomonjû* (A Collection of Tales Written and Heard in the Past and Present, 1254), an encyclopedia of court culture organized into thematic chapters. In this work, waka vignettes serve to outline different aspects of life at court. And even *Shasekishû* (A Collection of Sand and Pebbles, 1283), a

handbook on Buddhism, which I discussed in the third chapter, uses waka vignettes to illustrate the unity of Buddhist truth and poetry. None of these texts were intended as waka treatises or even general handbooks of waka. In fact, they select from waka treatises only the narrative passages that are more useful and interesting to readers without detailed knowledge of the court and its culture.

In summary, waka treatises are milestones in the transformation of living court praxis into a field of knowledge, and if their later reception during Kamakura is a crucial step in bringing waka knowledge to newer audiences, this is mainly because waka as a field of knowledge had been made more diverse and heterogeneous by authors of treatises. And if waka knowledge had become wide enough to contain much of the social knowledge and the cultural memory of the court, this was thanks to the emergence of versatile, modular waka vignettes as a way to preserve this knowledge by offering readers a medium for learning about the cultural past and for acquiring transferable skills.

Chapter 2 – A Courtly Education in Anecdotal Collections (*setsuwa-shû*) of the Kamakura Period

Introduction

During the Kamakura period (1192-1333) waka emerged as one of the preferred means for non-aristocrats to acquire the cultural knowledge associated with the aristocracy. Already by the end of the Heian period (784-1185), authors of poetic treatises had started to employ waka vignettes as a versatile vehicle for the transmission of social knowledge and cultural memory. Their students had been predominantly aristocrats, plus a few elite warriors. Now, political and social changes led to a dramatic increase in the number of warriors from the eastern provinces desiring to learn and practice waka as part of their efforts to become conversant in the culture of the capital. An important genre during this period was the *setsuwa-shû* (anecdotal collection), voluminous compendia of brief discrete narrative episodes (*dan*), which are sometimes arranged into thematic chapters. Kamakura-period anecdotal collections contain a wealth of waka vignettes taken from poetic treatises, as well as from Heian-period courtly genres such as imperial anthologies of waka (*chokusenshû*), private diaries (*nikki*), and poem-tales (*utamonogatari*). Once again, waka vignettes would play a crucial role in the dissemination of court culture.

In contrast to poetic treatises, collections of anecdotal narrative do not contain much information on the actual techniques of composition. *Jikkinshô* (A Ten-Lesson Digest, 1252) is a handbook of practical career advice for ambitious youths. Rich in Confucian

and Buddhist didactic formulas, it repurposes waka vignettes from poetic treatises as examples of desirable conduct or as cautionary tales of harmful mistakes. *Kokonchomonjû* (A Collection of Tales Written and Heard in the Past and Present, 1254), a handbook of court culture edited by a low-ranking aristocrat, includes waka vignettes taken from preexistent texts, as well as courtly gossip and hearsay about the everyday life of the court. One of its chapters is devoted entirely to waka practice, and waka vignettes are present in many of the other chapters, which range in topic from governance to food to the arts. While poetic treatises offered knowledge about court culture to an audience intent on mastering waka poetics, anecdotal collections brought detailed knowledge about waka as a social practice to readers interested in learning about court culture.

I look at the dissemination of waka into new social spaces at a time when the imperial court struggled to recover from a series of severe political defeats. During the twelfth century the capital (Kyoto) and the imperial court were the arena of armed conflict between warrior factions. The Genpei war (1180-85) between the Minamoto and Taira warrior households ended with the establishment of a warrior government (*bakufu* 幕府) in Kamakura. The first Kamakura shogun Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147-1199) strategically left in place the old imperial court bureaucracy in the capital. Three decades later, after the failure of the Jôkyû uprising (1221) started by Retired Emperor GoToba 後鳥羽 (1180-1239) against the Kamakura government, the bakufu again let the imperial bureaucracy survive and retain administrative functions. This time, however, a stronger warrior presence was felt at the court, as a branch office of the bakufu government was established in the capital and staffed by Kamakura deputies in permanent residence. Warriors travelling from Kamakura to the capital to serve as comptrollers, liaisons, or

representatives, as well as their retainers and administrative staff, had now to interact on an everyday basis with the court bureaucracy staffed mostly by aristocrats.¹

During this complex period of transition, repeated military and political defeats did not impair the court's cultural prestige. Warriors coming to the capital were expected to be conversant in the etiquette and customs of the aristocracy and the court. In this dynamic context, a warrior who could quickly assimilate the expectations and preferences of the aristocracy would gain a competitive edge against other warriors with whom he was competing for appointments. This fueled a complex process of transmission of the knowledge that had been traditionally distinctive of court life. In this chapter, I show how the waka vignettes that had come to encode the social knowledge and cultural memory of the court in poetic treatises for aristocrats and elite warrior were repurposed in Kamakura-period anecdotal collections to reach a much more diverse audience.

Jikkinshô

Like many other Kamakura-period anecdotal collections, *Jikkinshô* (1252) was compiled anonymously. It is impossible to say for certain who the editor or editors were, to describe the social and institutional setting in which they worked, or to determine whether the work was compiled for a specific person in particular. The work, however, contains a preface in which the editor makes explicit the general aims and intended audience of this collection:

The people of this world behave in many different ways, but in all cases, regardless of whether they are mighty or humble, the wise gain much and the foolish lose much. I have here taken a few examples of each from what I have

¹ Jeffrey Mass, *The Development of the Kamakura Rule*. (Stanford University Press, 2012). Michael McCarty, "Divided Loyalties and Shifting Perceptions the Jokyu Disturbance and Courtier-Warrior Relations in Medieval Japan," PhD Diss., Columbia University, 2013. ProQuest.

seen and heard --which have the tales of the past and of the present as seed, and a myriad of words as leaves-- to help build the character of young people who haven't yet received instruction in this Way, by encouraging the good choices and reproving the mistakes. I have tentatively divided them into ten chapters and gave them the title *Jikkinshô* (A Ten-Lesson Digest). Its text consists in three scrolls, to be studied at the three times of leisure (winter, rainy days, and evenings). (*Jikkinshô*. "Preface," opening section)²

In this passage, the editor argues that people succeed or fail on the basis of their ability. He explains that success is independent of social class ("mighty or humble"). To prove his point, he arranged *Jikkinshô* into ten chapters, each dealing with one lesson and containing vignettes as illustrations of it. The protagonists of these vignettes are, however, mostly aristocrats and courtiers. Moreover, this preface makes clear the significance accorded to court culture by the editor of *Jikkinshô*, as it contains two allusions to the most important collection of waka, the first imperial anthology *Kokinshû* (905). The phrases "The people of this world behave in many different ways" (世の中にある人、ことわざしげき) and "which have the tales of the past and of the present as seed, and a myriad of words as leaves" (物語を種として、よろずの言の葉) paraphrase the opening lines of the *Kokinshû* preface: "Japanese poems have the human heart as seed and myriads of words as leaves. The people of this world behave in many different ways..."³ The editor of the *Jikkinshô* is suggesting that worldly success is independent of one's belonging to the cultural elite ("mighty or humble") but dependent on mastering the

² SNKBZ, vol. 51, p. 17. それ世の中にある人、ことわざしげき振舞いにつけて、高き賤しき品を分かず、賢なるは得多く、愚なるは失多し。しかるに、今なにとなく聞き見るところの昔・今の物語を種として、よろずの言の葉の中より、いささかその二つのあとをとりて、良き方をばこれをすすめ、悪しき筋をばこれを誡めつつ、いまだこの道を学び知らざる少年のたぐひをして、心をつける便りとなさしめむがため、こころみに十段の篇を別けて、十訓抄と名づく。すなはち、三卷の文として、三余の窓に置かむとなり。

³ やまとうたは、人のこころをたねとして、よろづのことはとぞなれりける、世中にある人、ことわざしげきものなれば

cultural knowledge of that elite. In spite of this pedagogical frame, *Jikkinshô* is not laid out as a manual of court culture. Rather, its ten maxims, which double as titles for the ten chapters, suggest a moral and didactic focus:

Scroll I

1. One Must Grant Benevolence to People (人に恵を施すべき事)
2. One Must Avoid Arrogance (驕慢を離るべき事)
3. One Must Avoid Despising People (人倫を侮らざる事)
4. One Must Be Careful When Talking to People (人の上を戒むべき事)

Scroll II

5. One Must Choose One's Friends Carefully (朋友を選ぶべき事)
6. One Must Be Loyal and Honest (忠実を存すべき事)
7. One Must Be Thoughtful and Careful (思慮を専らにすべきこと)

Scroll III

8. One Must Be Patient in All Situations (諸事を堪忍すべき事)
9. One Must Refrain from Desire (懇望を停むべき事)
10. One Must Aspire to Develop Knowledge and Skills (才芸を庶幾すべき事)

How were people to make the most of life? Judging by the structure and content of the chapters of *Jikkinshô*, it was by learning about the particular worldview of the court. Chapter 6, for example, refers to moral values such as “loyalty” (忠) and “honesty” (実) that stem from the Chinese classics. For this reason scholars have described the work as “a manual of Confucian virtue.”⁴ Other chapters, for example chapter 9, expound on Buddhist teachings such as admonitions against attachment or “desire” (懇望). Similarly, the last chapter, titled “One Must Aspire to Develop Knowledge and Skills,” argues that to succeed in life it is fundamental to learn to compose waka. This chapter includes a great number of waka vignettes recounting episodes that support this claim. The editor of

⁴ Hirao Yûko, “Katoku setsuwa no kenkyû: so no teigi wo megutte,” *Kokugo kokubungaku kenkyû* 40 (2005), p. 32.

Jikkinshô doesn't really go into a learned, technical discussion of moral values or religious teachings or rules of waka composition. He simply offers evidence of their utility through many brief anecdotes. As he emphasizes the pragmatic value of learning about Confucian thought, Buddhism, and waka, *Jikkinshô* has been described also as “a guide to making practical advantage in daily life.”⁵

Waka appears prominently in *Jikkinshô*: 154 poems in 282 episodes. In this text waka vignettes are deployed in two different roles. In chapter 10 (“One Must Aspire to Develop Knowledge and Skills”), they are meant to illustrate the utility of learning waka; in all the other chapters they are meant to illustrate events in court life, and the poems often have a secondary role. I will start my analysis with the waka vignettes in chapter 10, by discussing an episode in which the editor reshapes material from poetic treatises. Most of the waka vignettes in chapter 10 recount events in which composing poems brings good results. For example, episode 10 contains two waka vignettes that illustrate two different benefits brought by waka.

When Priest Nôin traveled together with Governor of Iyo Province Sanetsuna from the capital to that province at the beginning of the summer, there had been dry weather for a long time, and people were enduring no little hardship. The Gods are fond of waka. The Governor pleaded insistently that Nôin composed a poem and offered it at Mishima Shrine.

Dam up the river of heavens
and divert the water down to our rice paddies.
Oh God, if you are a God that, like rain, comes down from heaven.
Ama no gawa nawashiro mizu ni seki kudase ama kudarimasu kami naraba kami

Nôin composed this poem and wrote it on an offering of paper and had the head priest present it. Clouds suddenly covered the dry skies and it

⁵ John Brownlee, “Jikkinshô. A Miscellany of Ten Maxims,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 29, no. 2 (1974): 129. Cfr. also Ward Geddes, “A Partial Translation and Study of the ‘Jikkinshô,’” PhD diss., Washington University, 1976. ProQuest. Ward Geddes, “The Buddhist Monk in the ‘Jikkinshô,’” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 9.2/3 (1982): 199–212. Ward Geddes, “The Courtly Model. Chômei and Kiyomori in Jikkinshô,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 42.2 (1987): 157–166.

rained heavily. The scorched leaves of the rice plants all turned green again.

As for soothing natural disasters on the spot, this is in no way inferior to when in the past the Chinese Emperor of the Jōgan Era swallowed a locust.⁶

Nōin was an unequalled poetry aficionado (*sukimono*), he composed this poem:

I left the capital
with the spring haze as my companion;
arrived at Shirakawa Barrier
with the autumn winds.⁷

Miyako wo ba kasumi to tomo ni tachishikado akikaze zo fuku Shirakawa no seki

He was in the Capital when he composed it. Thinking that it would have been a waste to make it public then, he stayed confined at home without telling anybody, for a long time, basking in the sun until his skin got deeply tanned. He then made his composition public, calling it “a poem composed while on a pilgrimage to Michinoku Province.” (*Jikkinshō*, 10.10)⁸

This episode consists in two waka vignettes stitched together. In the first one, Priest Nōin (b. 988) appeals to the gods for rain with a waka poem and this results in a miracle; in the second one, he cunningly deceives people to create a suitable backstory for one of his poems. What both vignettes have in common is that as a result, Nōin gained fame as a waka poet. Here the editor of *Jikkinshō* is repurposing material from poetic treatises. He created this episode by combining waka vignettes taken from different sources. The

⁶ The emperor of the Jōgan era (627-649) was the second Tang ruler, Emperor Taizong 太宗 (598-649). A legend has it that in the belief that an ongoing plague of locusts was a divine punishment to the population, he swallowed a locust to have the gods punish him instead and soon the locusts disappeared.

⁷ Shirakawa Barrier is on the limit between Michinoku Province and Shimotsuke Province.

⁸ SNKBT, vol. 51, p. 397. 能因入道、伊予守実綱にともなひて、かの国に下りたりけるに、夏の初め、日久しく照りて民の嘆き浅からざりけるに、神は和歌にめで給ふものなり。こころみによみて、三島に奉るべき由を、国司しきりにすすめければ、天の河苗代水にせき下だせあま下ります神ならば神とよめるを、みてぐらに書いて、社司をして申しあげさせたりければ、炎旱の天、にはかにくもりわたりて、大きな雨降りて、枯れたる稲葉、おしなべて緑にかへりけり。たちまちに天災を和らぐるごと、唐の貞観の太宗の、蝗を吞めりしまつりごとにも、劣らざりけり。能因はいれたる数寄者なり。都をば霞とともにたちしかど秋風ぞ吹く白河の関とよめりけるを、都にありながら、この歌を出さむこと、無念と思ひて、人にも知られず、久しく籠り居て、色を黒く、日にあぶりなしてのち、「陸奥の方へ修行のついでによみたり」とぞ披露しける。

original reference for the first vignette (the rainmaking poem) is the anthology of Nôin's poetry, *Nôin hôshi shû* (Priest Nôin's Poems, after 1050). In this collection, the poem is presented with a headnote that reads,

In the summer of the second year of the Chôkyû Era (1041), when there was a drought and it hadn't rained in a long time, [Nôin] composed a waka poem and offered it at a shrine. The God was moved and made it rain day and night, moistening the plants.⁹

Later, Minamoto no Toshiyori gave this anecdote canonical status when he included it in the fifth imperial anthology, *Kin'yôshû* (Collection of Golden Leaves, 1124-27) under the headnote,

When together with Lord Norikuni, he traveled from the Capital to Iyo Province, the situation was that since the First Month not one drop of rain had fallen. Three or four months had gone by. Work on the rice paddies couldn't be carried out. Many prayers were offered but to no avail. The Governor read Nôin's poem and told him to visit the Ichi no Miya Shrine to pray for rain. Nôin went and prayed, offering this poem.¹⁰

And followed it with this postnote,

The God was moved. It rained abundantly, without a break for three days with their three nights, as we read in Nôin's poetry collection.¹¹

As is apparent, these passages from *Nôin hôshi shû* and *Kin'yôshû* lack many of the details given in *Jikkinshô*, suggesting that the editor was consulting a different source. The vignette had also appeared in Fujiwara no Kiyosuke's treatise *Fukurozôshi*,¹² but that, too, was told without much detail. In *Toshiyori zuinô*, on the other hand, there is greater

⁹ Poem n. 211. 長久二年之夏、有天早無降雨、仍詠和歌獻靈社、有神感、廻施甘雨一昼夜。

¹⁰ Poem n. 625, Book X, Miscellaneous. 範圍の朝臣にぐして伊豫國に罷りたりけるに正月より三四月までいかにも雨のふらざりければなほはしもせでよろづに祈りさわぎけれどかなはざりければ守、能因歌よみて一宮にまゐらせて雨祈れと申しければまゐりて祈り申しける歌。

¹¹ 神感ありて大雨ふりて三日三夜やまずと家集にみえたり。

¹² SNKBT, vol. 29, p. 157.

detail and added drama. Furthermore, Toshiyori gives specific information that matches the *Jikkinshô* version.¹³ This suggests that it is the source consulted by the editor of *Jikkinshô*. Yet in *Toshiyori zuinô* this vignette had played a significantly different role than in *Jikkinshô*.

Toshiyori used this vignette as an illustration of one of the several social uses of poetry. He arranged it as part of a cluster of waka vignettes bracketed on both ends by sections on technical aspects of composition –a section on “poem diseases” (*kahei*) precedes it and a section on topical poems (*daiei*) follows after it. As a brief introduction to this section, Toshiyori writes, openly alluding to the preface of *Kokinshû*,

Generally speaking, of all beings with a heart, starting with the gods and buddhas, the emperors and empresses, and all the way down to the lowliest mountain beggars, which of them doesn't compose waka?¹⁴

As evidence for this statement, he lays out waka vignettes in a progression from the top of the social hierarchy to the bottom. The cluster itself has three distinct subsections. It starts with examples of different social types that compose waka (emperors, empresses, buddhas, legendary priests, and gods). It then recounts Nôin's rainmaking adventure together with a vignette where Ki no Tsurayuki appeases the wrathful god of Aridôshi Shrine with a waka poem. Finally, the cluster closes with several poems by old men, children, poor persons, beggars, thieves, etc.

¹³ SNKBZ, vol. 87, p. 49. Toshiyori states that Governor Sanetsuna appealed to Nôin saying that “the gods are fond of waka poetry” (神は、歌にめで給ふものなり), that Nôin “wrote the poem on an offering of paper” (御幣に書きつけて), and that he presented the poem at Mishima Shrine (三島の明神), not at Ichi no Miya Shrine as stated in *Kin'yôshû*. All of these specifics are identical to the *Jikkinshô* version.

¹⁴ SNKBZ, vol. 87, p. 40. おほよそ歌は、神・仏、みかど・きさきよりはじめたてまつりて、あやしの山賤にいたるまで、その心あるものは、皆詠まざるものなし。This statement resonates with Ki no Tsurayuki's line at the beginning of the kana preface to *Kokinshû*, “Every living being composes waka” (いきとしいけるもの いづれかうたをよまざりける).

In this context, the vignette about Nôin serves the purpose of exemplifying one way in which poetry circulated socially. At the same time, together with Tsurayuki's poem at Aridôshi Shrine, it also emphasizes the connection that waka establish between humans and gods, thus linking the first part of the cluster (poems by deities and emperors) with the third part (poems by common people). In *Jikkinshô*, the editor repurposes this vignette to give it a new function: showing the importance of learning waka.

The second half of the *Jikkinshô* episode recounting Nôin's fictional trip to Michinoku was not taken from *Toshiyori zuinô* (Toshiyori doesn't discuss this other poem by Nôin at all). It stems originally from *Nôin hôshi shû* and appears in many collections as a travel poem. In the imperial anthology *GoShûishû* (1086; Book IX, Travel) it follows the headnote "Composed at Shirakawa Barrier when he traveled to Michinoku Province."¹⁵ In the treatise *Korai fûteishô* (Poetic Styles from the Past, 1197),¹⁶ Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114-1204) classifies it as a travel poem. Nothing is said about Nôin's faking the trip in these texts, nor in other texts that quote the poem, such as the anecdotal collection *Hôbutsushû* (A Collection of Treasures, 1177-81)¹⁷ by the *imayô* song master Taira no Yasuyori (dates unknown) or the collection of poems *Jidai fudô utaawase* 時代不同歌合 (A Poetry Contest Unequaled Through the Ages, early thirteenth c.) edited by Retired Emperor GoToba (1180-1239).

The source for the Michinoku vignette is likely *Fukurozôshi*, the only contemporary text where Nôin's trick is uncovered. In *Fukurozôshi*, it appears in connection to a vignette on a later poet who worshipped Nôin and his poems:

¹⁵ みちのくに > まかり下りけるに白川の關にてよみ侍りける

¹⁶ SNKBZ, vol. 87, p. 407. The headnote classifying the cluster of poems as travel compositions is in p. 406.

¹⁷ SNKBT, vol. 40, p. 114 (poem n. 211).

When Chamberlain Takeda Kuniyuki went to Michinoku Province, the day he was to cross Shirakawa Barrier, he wore especially formal clothes and smoothed his hair with water. Someone asked him, “Do you have a reason to do this?” He replied, “This is the place that Nôin sung in his poem that says ‘arrived at Shirakawa Barrier with the autumn winds’ (*akikaze zo fuku Shirakawa no seki*), so how could I cross it in everyday clothes?”

What a strange thing! Nôin actually hadn’t travelled to Michinoku Province. Because he had come up with this poem, he secretly sequestered himself at home, and later made the poem public saying that he had composed it while he had been away from the Capital. It is recorded [in *Nôin hôshi shû*] as composed during his second trip away from the Capital. He went there once, for sure. This was recorded in *Records of the Eighty Islands (Yaso shima no ki)*.¹⁸ (*Fukurozôshi*)¹⁹

In this passage, Kiyosuke contrast Nôin’s trick with Kuniyuki’s devotion. The result is humorous, as the deception of the former sets off the blind enthusiasm of the latter, making it seem ridiculous. In *Fukurozôshi*, this vignette appears as part of a cluster of anecdotes on poets with an excessive attachment to poetry. Kiyosuke refers to these poets as “aficionados” (*sukimono* 数寄者),²⁰ persons who are too “fond” (*suku* 好く)²¹ of poetry, and caricatures them. The cluster begins with vignettes where poets brag about being included in an imperial anthology. Then, a vignette that describes how Nôin’s waka instructor Fujiwara no Nagatô (b. 949?) died of grief after Fujiwara no Kintô (966-1041) criticized one of his poems in public. About twenty vignettes follow, most of them

¹⁸ This text is not extant.

¹⁹ SNKBT, vol. 40, p. 369 (p. 89 for *kundoku*) 竹田大夫国行ト云者陸奥ニ下向之時、白川ノ関スクル日ハ殊装束テ、ミツヒムカクト云々。人間云、何等故哉、答云、古曾部入道ノ秋風ゾフク白河ノ関トヨマレタル所ヲバ、イカテケナリニテハ過ント云々。殊勝事歟。能因、実ニ不下向奥州。為詠此歌窃ニ籠居シテ、下向奥州之由を風聞云々。二度下向之由カケリ。於一度者実歟。書八十島記。(Note: 古曾部入道 was an alternative appellation for Nôin, 古曾部 being the place from which he came).

²⁰ For example in SNKBT, vol. 40, p. 369 (*kundoku* in p. 87).

²¹ In a different vignette, Nôin advises a child, “You should be fond of poetry. If are fond of it, you will compose poems.” (数寄玉へ、スキヌレハ歌ハヨム, SNKBT, vol. 40, p. 369; *kundoku* in p. 88).

portraying cases of fondness for waka.²² Again and again, Kiyosuke regards these poets with skepticism. He even calls one of them “a bit of a fool.”²³ When he later calls Nôin “a fool” too,²⁴ it becomes apparent that Kiyosuke sees in Nôin not just a foil for Kuniyuki’s exaggeration but the epitome of poetic folly.²⁵

The editor of *Jikkinshô* inverts Kiyosuke’s reading of this vignette. In *Fukurozôshi* it was meant to ridicule Nôin. In its new context in *Jikkinshô*, however, it served to illustrate the benefits of studying poetry. This example is representative of the pragmatic flexibility with which the editor of *Jikkinshô* appropriated and recontextualized material from previous works, in particular Heian-period poetic treatises.

In *Jikkinshô* these waka vignettes taken from poetic treatises appear in two big clusters of similar size in chapter 10 (“One Must Aspire to Develop Knowledge and Skills”). The Priest Nôin episode (10.10) forms part of one of these clusters, which

²² This cluster takes up pp. 80-91 (in *kundoku*) in the SNKBT edition. One of the vignettes (p. 81-2.) features a kanshi poem instead, for which Kiyosuke gives as the source Gôki 江記, the personal diary of Ôe no Masafusa (1041-1111).

²³ SNKBT, vol. 40, p. 366. 少有嗚呼氣之人。

²⁴ SNKBT, vol. 40, p. 369. (For *kundoku*, p. 87).

²⁵ Kiyosuke’s disdain for *sukimono* was not necessarily shared by other waka instructors. The vignettes that he lines up in this cluster come from several different sources, chief among them a cluster in *Toshiyori zuinô* (SNKBZ, vol. 87, pp. 227-233.). In contrast to Kiyosuke, Toshiyori doesn’t present these poets in a harsh light. For example, in the vignette about Kintô’s negative criticism of Nagatô, Toshiyori remarks, “I recorded this incident as an example of how it is better not to criticize someone who takes things to heart this much, even if there are valid grounds for the criticism” (SNKBZ, vol. 87, p. 238. されば、かばかり思ふばかりの人の歌などは、おぼつかなき事ありとも、難ずまじき料にしるし申すなり). Toshiyori’s positive take on people displaying great fondness for poetry would be shared later by Kamo no Chômei. Fujiwara no Teika, however, agreed with Kiyosuke. In *Maigetsushô* Teika openly criticized Nagatô for taking his poem too seriously. (Cfr. Brower, “Fujiwara Teika’s *Maigetsushô*,” p. 413). These contrasting takes on *sukimono* reflect divergent stances on the social roles that poetry should play; they have different ethical and professional implications as well. To avoid digressing, I will defer further discussion of these positions. The issue of the *sukimono* is fascinating and would allow me to engage with the following works: Michele Marra, “Semi-Recluses (Tonseisha) and Impermanence (Mujô): Kamo no Chômei and Urabe Kenkô,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 11.4 (1984): 313–350. Thomas Hare, “Reading Kamo no Chômei,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 49.1 (1989), p. 185 in particular. Rajyashree Pandey, “Love, Poetry and Renunciation: Changing Configurations of the Ideal of ‘Suki’,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Third Series* 5.2 (1995): 225–244. Rajyashree Pandey, *Writing and Renunciation in Medieval Japan* (University of Michigan, 1998). Edward Kamens’s review of this book in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 60.1 (2000): 318–323. Shibayama, “Ôe No Masafusa and the Convergence of the ‘Ways,’” in particular chapter 7.

focuses on the benefits of waka. The next episode (10.11) recounts how a lady-in-waiting composed a poem on heartbreak but held it secret, only releasing it some time later when her lover had conveniently left her. As in the case of Nôin, this led to the poem being included in an imperial anthology, bringing her fame. Episode 10.12 is similar to Nôin's rainmaking poem, as it narrates how an impoverished lady presented a poem at Iwashimizu Shrine, the poem moved the god, and soon an affluent young man miraculously fell in love with her. Similarly, Episode 10.13 includes a grieving poem by Izumi Shikibu 和泉式部 (active at the turn of the 11th c.) that is answered by a god, and in Episode 10.14 a poem by the same poet obtains the healing of the illness of her daughter Koshikibu. Also Episode 10.15 contains a poem by Akazome-Emon that obtains the healing of her son Ôe no Takachika. Finally, Episode 10.16 tells how Lady Kodaijin was unfairly accused of theft and after presenting a poem at Kitano Shrine the god helped her clear her name. In this cluster of episodes (10.10-10.16), waka appear as an effective means of communicating with the gods and of moving them into performing miracles.

The second group of waka vignettes in chapter 10 comprises episodes 10.35 to 10.51. In these vignettes, the benefits are granted without a god's intervention. These "secular" illustrations of the benefits of poetry open with a vignette where an exiled courtier is granted a pardon thanks to his poem:

Superintendent Lord Koretaka, serving as the Imperial Guardian of Nijô-in,²⁶ enjoyed a formidable reputation, but because of his wrongdoings,²⁷ Retired Emperor GoHorikawa-in became very angry with him, and he took the holy vows and went into exile. Some time later, people who had been exiled together with him were pardoned. When he

²⁶ Nijô Emperor (1143-65; r. 1158-65). First son of GoHorikawa Emperor.

²⁷ His machinations against Emperor Gohorikawa.

heard that for him --only for him-- it was difficult to obtain an amnesty, he composed:

When I hear that I am to sink
even in the shallows of this river of tears,
my sleeves get drenched in the current
that brought me away from the capital.²⁸

*Ko no se ni mo shizumu to kikeba namidagawa nagareshi yori mo nururu sode kana*²⁹

He sent this poem to the capital. When the Retired Emperor was told about it, perhaps his heart softened, because in spite of the atrocity of the crime, and because of this poem, he called Koretaka back to the capital, or so they say. (*Jikkinshô*, Episode 10.35)³⁰

In this passage, the poem has a practical use in communication, as a means of persuasion. Thanks to the poem, the ruler feels pity and calls back the exiled Koretaka. The rest of the cluster contains many other vignettes in which, similarly, poems are revealed to have rhetorical efficacy, and help the poet earn worldly benefits such as rank, office, and material rewards. Both groups of vignettes illustrate the theme of the chapter, “One Must Aspire to Develop Knowledge and Skills.” Waka, however, is not the only courtly skill endorsed by *Jikkinshô*.

Along with waka, chapter 10 promotes the study of song, as well as instrumental music and kanshi poetry, which together with waka comprise the three main courtly pastimes. The rhetorical strategy is analogous to that deployed for waka, as it relies on vignettes where song and kanshi poems bring benefits. For example, Episode 10.17

²⁸ Wet sleeves are a traditional symbol for tears of grief. In this poem, the shallows (se) symbolize this time of imperial pardon.

²⁹ Nagaru means both “to flow downstream” and “to be sent into exile.”

³⁰ *Jikkinshô*. SNKBZ, vol. 51, p. 426. 別当入道惟方卿は、二条院の御乳母子にて、世に重く聞えけるが、悪しく振舞ひて、後白河院の御いきどほり深かりければ、出家して、配所へおもむかれにけり。そののち、おなじく流されし人々、ゆるされけれども、身一つは、なほ浮びがたき由を伝へ聞きて、この瀬にも沈むと聞けば涙川流れしよりも濡るる袖かな とよみて、故郷へ送られたりけるを、法皇伝へ聞こしめして、御心や弱りけむ、さしも重くしめしたりけるに、この歌によりて召し返されにけり。

narrates how a person sings an *imayô* song³¹ and as a result another person, who was ill, is suddenly healed. The editor remarks, “This is not a waka, but the circumstances are similar, so I jotted it down too.”³² In Episode 10.51, a female entertainer sings an *imayô* song that helps a dying man be reborn in paradise. Similarly, in Episode 10.38, the Chinese poet Bái Jūyì (772-846) commits an offense against a military man and is scolded, but when he retorts by composing a kanshi poem, the military man is reduced to silence. As in the case of waka vignettes, the editor of *Jikkinshô* provides vignettes with illustrations of the pragmatic benefits that knowledge and skills can bring.

While waka vignettes in chapter 10 are meant to illustrate the utility of learning waka, the waka vignettes the editor included in all the other chapters of *Jikkinshô* play a different role. They are meant to illustrate events in court life, and in them the poems often have a more incidental role. As in chapter 10, they derive from poetic treatises. For example, Episode 7 in chapter 8:

Once there was a man in the province of Yamato. On the other side of the room where his wife lived, he set up a room for a new wife, a woman of extraordinary beauty. Time went by without his first wife showing any signs of jealousy. One night in autumn, when he was idling away the long hours, as he lay in bed he heard the cry of a deer.

–Can you hear it? –he asked the first wife.

She replied with a poem:

I was once loved by a person,
someone who longed for me like a yearning stag.
Now all I hear is a voice that comes from far away.

³¹ *Imayô* 今様 is a style of sung poetry in four lines of seven and five sounds that became popular from mid-Heian through Kamakura. The most active and influential advocate of the benefits of music was Retired Emperor GoShirakawa (1127-1192). He compiled *Ryôjin hishō kudenshū* 梁塵秘抄口伝集 (Collection of Secret Annotations of Oral Traditions on Music, 1169), a compendium of notes on *imayô* history and practice. There, GoShirakawa describes the efficacy of *imayô* in attaining higher courtly rank, curing illnesses, and extending life, using language that closely resembles the formulas from the prefaces of *Kokinshū* (discussed in the third chapter of this dissertation)

³² SNKBT, vol. 51, p. 406. これは和歌にあらねど、ことがら同じきによりて、書き加ふるなり。

*Ware mo shika nakite zo hito ni kohirareshi ima koso yoso ni koe wo nomi kike*³³

The man found it immensely felicitous, and sending his new wife away, he went back to living with his previous wife just like before. (*Jikkinshô*, chapter 8, Episode 7)³⁴

The topic of chapter 8 is “One Must Be Patient in All Situations.” This vignette illustrates a case where the exercise of patience brings a happy ending. The editor of *Jikkinshô* took this vignette almost verbatim from Dan 158 of the poem-tale *Yamato monogatari* (Tales of Yamato, 947-57), and arranged after it an episode taken from the poem-tale *Ise monogatari* (Tales of Ise, 951), which similarly features a woman who is deserted by her lover, bears her pain without a grudge, and recovers his affection thanks to a poem. These two episodes are followed by an editorial comment, “Holding back one’s emotions and enduring in this way the passage of time, isn’t it a wonderful stance?”³⁵ In line with the overarching theme of chapter 8, the editor of *Jikkinshô* lays stress on the women’s endurance, not their poetic prowess.³⁶ This was not the purport of the vignettes in the poem-tales, a genre that tends to emphasize the poems rather than their narrative context.

³³ This poem reads hito (person) instead of the kimi (you) of the *Konjaku monogatari shû* version. It was later included in the imperial anthology *ShinKokinshû*, in book XV, Love, as poem n. 1373, listed as anonymous and without a headnote.

³⁴ *Jikkinshô*, SNKBZ, vol. 51, p. 362. 大和の国に男ありけり。本の妻と壁を隔てて、めづらしき女を迎へて、月ごろ経れども、この妻、ねためる気色もなくて過ぎけり。秋の夜の、つくづくと長きに、鹿の音の、枕におとづるるを、本の妻に、「聞き給ふや」と問ひければ、よめる、われもしかなきてぞ人に恋ひられしいまこそよそに声のみ聞け 男、かぎりなくめでて、今の妻を送り、本の妻と住みけり。

³⁵ SNKBZ, vol. 51, p. 364. かように、忍び過ぐせるは、まことにいみじくおぼゆかし。

³⁶ A version of this same vignette appears in the Buddhist treatise *Shasekishû* (A Collection of Sand and Pebbles, 1283) as an illustration of the Buddhist teaching that the cause of suffering is attachment. It appears in Episode 5 in book 9, as part of a section titled “On Cases of People Free of Jealousy” (SNKBZ, vol. 52, p. 446. 嫉妬の心無き人の事). The *Shasekishû* version of the vignette, succinct and stripped of details, is followed by the statement, “Wasn’t it because she persevered in her deep affection, not engaging with her rival, not giving in to jealousy or envy, that she won a place in his affection?” (SNKBZ, vol. 52, p. 446. ただ妬み嫉みて仇を結ばず、まめやかに色深くは、志もあるべきにや).

In this and the other chapters of *Jikkinshô*, vignettes that depict benefits like those in chapter 10 are included for reasons that have little to do with the poems they contain. For example, Episode 1 in chapter 3 (“One Must Avoid Despising People”) recounts how Izumi Shikibu’s daughter Koshikibu 小式部 (d. 1025), having been teased and challenged by the famous poet Fujiwara no Sadayori, recites a poem on the spot and earns great fame as a poet. This leaves Sadayori awed and speechless, and makes Koshikibu famous. This anecdote appears in many waka treatises such as *Toshiyori zuinô*, *Fukurozôshi*, and *Mumyôshô*. In *Jikkinshô* this episode is included with an emphasis, not on the great poem, but on the mistake made by Sadayori in challenging Koshikibu in public, and as proof that one must avoid despising people. Similarly, Episode 6 in chapter 4 (“One Must Be Careful When Talking to People”) recounts how a famous priest recites a poem at Kitano Shrine praying to have his name cleared from malicious slander. The god, said to be the spirit of Sugawara no Michizane --himself falsely accused and exiled--, magically makes the accuser lose her mind and confess her offense. Here as well, the vignette emphasizes the misfortune brought upon himself by the slanderer, not the miracle triggered by the poem, to show how one must be careful when talking to people.

In these chapters, the editor is deploying waka vignettes from poetic treatises to illustrate the importance of developing social skills (e.g. Chapter 7, “One Must Be Thoughtful and Careful”), understanding the nuances of etiquette (e.g. chapter 4, “One Must Be Careful When Talking to People”), and acquiring a sense of propriety (e.g. chapter 6, “One Must Be Loyal and Honest”). In the first chapter I discussed how in Heian-period poetic treatises waka became a vehicle for the transmission of social knowledge and cultural memory. I showed how waka vignettes encoded knowledge of

aristocratic social skills, etiquette, and propriety. While poetic treatises do not state explicitly the connection they draw between waka and the transmission of wider knowledge, the editor of *Jikkinshô* states explicitly that waka vignettes are to be read as illustrations of the behavior that is socially appropriate. At the same time, as happened in poetic treatises, waka vignettes, independently of the function the editor of *Jikkinshô* wants them to play, contain fundamental information on the life of the court, such as aesthetic preferences, customs, and expectations.

It is very likely that *Jikkinshô* was written for mid-level warriors. Without any information on the identity of the editor of *Jikkinshô* or of the text's initial circulation, we can only work from the internal evidence provided by the text itself. For example, that the editor of *Jikkinshô* was writing for warriors and not for aristocrats is suggested by the emphasis on the importance of learning waka, which aristocrats (and warrior elites such as the Hôjô and Minamoto families) already saw as part and parcel of their cultural identity. As can be seen from the overall structure of the work, *Jikkinshô* provided the kind of guidance and education that would have been useful to mid-level warriors seeking to interact successfully with the cultural elites: the aristocracy at the imperial court and the higher ranks of the warrior hierarchy.

Jikkinshô was finished in 1252, two decades after the disastrous Jôkyû uprising (1221), which brought many warriors from the Eastern provinces in close contact with the court bureaucracy and the aristocracy. In the 1250's, the cultural life in the capital was experiencing a resurgence in activity and interest, as Retired Emperor GoSaga 後嵯峨 (1220-1272; r. 1242-1246), a figure of relatively little actual political weight, led a revival of courtly gatherings and social functions, among them poetic contests (*uta*

awase). When the editor of *Jikkinshô* speaks in the preface of his aim to “help build the character of young people,” he probably had in mind the young men from warrior households who increasingly had to interact with aristocrats in and out of the imperial court. The structure and content of *Jikkinshô* make clear the central role that *waka* played in the dissemination of court culture to these new social spaces.

Jikkinshô reflects the interest warriors had in learning about the court, and in particular transmits the social skills necessary to interact with courtiers. In the context of intense administrative, legal, and military interactions between the court in the capital and the warrior government in Kamakura, this knowledge had pragmatic uses, and could help a warrior advance his career in the service of a powerful household. It is in this context that we should read the editor’s advice that “One must aspire to develop knowledge and skills.”

Kokonchomonjû

Two year after the completion of *Jikkinshô*, an aristocrat called Tachibana no Narisue 橘成季 (active during the 13th c.) compiled another anecdotal collection that contained detailed knowledge about court culture. While *Jikkinshô* transmitted social skills needed to interact with aristocrats at the capital, Narisue’s text focused on the lore and stories that circulated at court and that informed its sense of cultural identity and cultural memory. *Kokonchomonjû* (*A Collection of Tales Written and Heard in the Past and Present*, 1254) is a collection of 726 episodes. The text is organized into thirty chapters

and divided into twenty books.³⁷ The systematic organization of this collection suggests that Narisue conceived of it as an encyclopedic work of reference rather than as a text to be read cover-to-cover.³⁸ Within each chapter, episodes are carefully arranged in chronological order, starting in the distant past but rapidly reaching the 12th c., which for Narisue's readers was the recent past. Each chapter has a topical title and a brief preface introducing its main themes. Narisue laid out the chapters of *Kokonchomonjû* according to their relative hierarchy in aristocratic culture:

1. Gods (*jingi* 神祇)
2. Buddhism (*shakkyô* 釈教)
3. Politics and Loyalty (*seidô chûshin* 政道忠臣)
4. Public Matters (*kuji* 公事)
5. Learned Texts in Chinese (*bungaku* 文学)³⁹
6. Classical Japanese Poetry (*waka* 和歌)
7. Music and Dance (*kangen kabu* 管弦歌舞)
8. Calligraphy (*nôsho* 能書)
9. Medical and Occult Conjurations (*jutsudô* 術道)
10. Filial Piety and Affection (*kôkô on'ai* 孝行恩愛)
11. Eroticism (*kôshoku* 好色)
12. Military Courage (*buyû* 武勇)
13. Bow and Arrow (*kyûsen* 弓箭)
14. Horsemanship (*bagei* 馬芸)
15. Fighting and Physical Strength (*sumô gôriki* 相撲強力)
16. Painting (*gato* 画図)
17. Kickball (*kemari* 蹴鞠)
18. Gambling (*bakueki* 博奕)
19. Theft (*tôtô* 偷盜)

³⁷ A very abridged translation can be found in Yoshiko Dykstra, "Notable Tales Old and New: Tachibana Narisue's *Kokon Chomonjû*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 47. 4 (Winter, 1992): 469-493.

³⁸ The immediate precedent for this systematic organization is in works like Minamoto no Shitagô's dictionary and linguistic treatise *Wamyô ruijushô* 倭名類聚鈔 (934), organized by topic like a dictionary. Also *Ruiju-kokushi* 類聚国史 (892), an early Heian-period work of history commissioned by Emperor Uda (867-931) and compiled by Sugawara no Michizane (845-903), recapitulates the events in the six national histories (*rikkokushi* 六国史) and is organized into categories. It follows a chronological order within each category. The systematic structure of *Ruiju-kokushi* was itself inspired in Chinese historical works organized by topic, a genre known as *ruiju* 類聚, in which the topical chapters are arranged hierarchically, starting with the most elevated and moving towards the more mundane, just like in *Kokonchomonjû*.

³⁹ Gregory Gencarello, "Bungaku in *Kokonchomonjû*: the Role of Kanshi as Presented in a Setsuwa Collection," MA thesis, Columbia University, 2008 is devoted to this chapter.

20. Celebratory Words (*shûgen* 祝言)
21. Sorrow (*aishô* 哀傷)
22. Entertainment (*yûran* 遊覽)
23. Attachment (*shukushû* 宿執)
24. Quarrels (*tôjô* 鬪諍)
25. Witticism (*kyôgenrikô* 興言利口)
26. Mysterious Events (怪異 *kai'i*)
27. Apparitions (*henge* 變化)
28. Eating and Drinking (*onshiki* 飲食)
29. Plants and Trees (*sômoku* 草木)
30. Fish, Insects, Birds, and Animals (*gyôchûkinchû* 魚虫禽獸)

The collection starts with the more lofty topics (religion, governance, scholarship, arts) and slowly progresses towards the humbler (food, animals, plants). Many of the chapters include waka vignettes, which are most abundant, as is to be expected, in chapter 6 (“Classical Japanese Poetry”).

This chapter on waka follows immediately after religion, politics, governance, and Chinese poetry, all topics featured in canonical works such as the Chinese classics and the historical chronicles of Japan. Waka lies ahead of music and calligraphy, the other two elegant accomplishments in court culture. The chapters associated with warrior culture, such as Military Courage, Bow and Arrow, Horsemanship, and Fighting and Physical Strength, appear in a relatively lower position. Curiosities such as the strange and mystifying episodes in the chapters “Mysterious Events” and “Apparitions” rank only higher than food, plants, and animals. In this respect, *Kokonchomonjû* is laid out as a dignified depiction of the culture of the court.

Throughout the collection, Narisue presents himself as a representative of the aristocracy and a refined courtier. To mark the completion of his text, he threw a banquet inspired by the galas that usually followed the compilation of imperial anthologies, the

model for which was set by *Kokinshū*.⁴⁰ He gave *Kokonchomonjū* a general preface written in the more formal *kanbun*, while most of the text, as is the case of *Jikkinshō*, is written in the more accessible *wakan-konkōbun* style. In this general preface Narisue emphasizes his origins as a scion of an aristocratic family and presents the *Kokonchomonjū* as a continuation of the work of a lineage of distinguished courtiers such as Minamoto no Takakuni 源隆国 (1004-77) and Ôe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041-1111):

This “*Chomonjū*” is a successor to Uji Major Counsellor’s skillful writings⁴¹ and comes in the wake of Governor General Ôe’s lofty discussion.⁴²

I was born to the great Tachibana lineage, and even when I look back on my unaccomplished incompetence, I have received training in the *biwa* lute from a wise master. By sheer chance I got to learn the six techniques and the six pitches of musical performance. Painting is for me a hobby I merely dabble in. Every once in a while it brings contentment to my heart for a day or an hour at a time. Ah, I feel how easy it is for excellent melodies to harmonize with the singing of the spring warbler under the (plum) blossoms and the cries of the autumn geese in front of the moon.⁴³ Refined emotions follow the ways of nature. All creation fulfills the actions of heaven. I believe that all this should be reflected by the painting brush. In this way, sometimes I join the musicians and secretly enjoy the music of the reign, at some other times I commission painters to show the marvelous landscapes of antiquity. Perhaps since I started to have more leisure time, because of the years I have spent in retirement, I have come to think about these two (music and painting) and thus sought to explore many different affairs relating to them. I compiled them and organized them into thirty chapters, arranged them into twenty scrolls, and gave them the title “*Kokonchomonjū*.”

⁴⁰ Ôsumi Kazuo, *Jiten no kataru Nihon no rekishi* (Tokyo: Kôdansha gakujutsu bunko, 2008).

⁴¹ Minamoto no Takakuni (1004-77)’s *Uji daïagon monogatari* 宇治大納言物語 (A Collection of Tales from The Uji Major Counsellor), which is not extant. It was the inspiration for *Uji shûi monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語 (A Collection of Tales from Uji, early 13th C.), thought to be an attempt at reconstructing the lost work of Takakuni.

⁴² Ôe no Masafusa (1041-1111)’s *Gôdanschô* 江談抄 (A Selection of Ôe no Masafusa’s Conversations), actually set in writing by Fujiwara no Sanekane in six books in the shape of a record of oral teachings (*kikigaki*), a popular genre since the late Heian period onwards. Like *Kokonchomonjū*, *Gôdanschô* includes passages covering the formal aspects of court life (ceremonial, etiquette, events, texts in Chinese, basic knowledge about topics like musical instruments) and intersperses them with courtly gossip.

⁴³ Tachibana writes “shunnôden” 春鶯囀, a standard metaphor for *gagaku* (classical music). The pairs spring-warbler and autumn-geese stem from poetic conventions.

Even though it is a work grand in conception but very haphazard in execution, to some extent it serves also as a faithful record of historical events. I haven't consulted the Chinese classics at all; this work was created from the manners and customs of the world. Its scope is the past and the present of Japan. It consists in gossip and rumors about events. Now, the ignorance and narrow-mindedness of its omissions and excesses are shameful. It invites the derision of full-time specialists. I won't leave this tiny room at all. It will mistakenly be compared with the great works.

The time is the middle of the Tenth Month of the sixth year of the Kenchō Era (1254). I, Useless-Throwaway-Timber Tachibana no Nan-En [Narisue], have willfully forced the young that surround me to write this chaotic outline. (*Kokonchomonjū*, preface)⁴⁴

In this passage, Narisue poses as an elegant, retired aristocrat devoting his hours to the leisurely pursuit of sophisticated arts. His relaxed attitude contrasts with the didactic, businesslike approach of the editor of *Jikkishō*. That he is taking such a stance three decades after the disastrous defeat of the court in the Jōkyū disturbance of 1221, when the court was experiencing a cultural revival led by Retired Emperor GoSoga, has led modern scholars to read his *Kokonchomonjū* text as a work of nostalgia for the age when the court had more than just cultural prestige. Ōsumi Kazuo, for example, pointed out in Narisue a “tendency toward the restitution of the past.”⁴⁵ Similarly, Yoshiko Dykstra argued that “by recording stories and episodes about art, music, and poems, the compiler obviously wished to put on record the elegance of the aristocratic life that was rapidly disappearing (...) in general, these tales reminisce about the good old days when the nobility's elegant

⁴⁴ Nishio Kōichi and Kobayashi Yasuharu, *Kokonchomonjū*. *Shinchō nihon koten shūsei* series (SNKS), vol. 75-6 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1986). 夫著聞集者、宇梶相巧語之遺類、江家都督清談之余波也。余稟芳橘之種胤、顧瓌在之樗質、而琵琶者賢師之所傳也。儻弁六律六呂之調。囿画者愚性之所好也。自養一日一時之心。於戲春鶯嚶花下、秋雁之叫月前、暗感幽曲之易和。風流之隨地勢、品物叶天為、悉憶彩筆之可寫。繇茲或伴伶客、潛樂治世之雅音、或詠画工、略呈振古之勝概。蓋居多暇景以降、閑度徂年之故、拋勘此兩端、搜索其庶事。註緝為三十篇。編次二十卷。名曰古今著聞集。頗雖為狂簡、聊又兼實錄。不敢窺漢家經史之中。有世風人俗之製矣。只今知日域古今之際、有街談巷說之諺焉。猶愧淺見寡聞之疎越。偏招博識宏達之盧胡。努不出蝸廬。謬比鴻寶。于時建長六年底鐘中旬。散木士橘南袁。□課小童猥叙大較而已。

⁴⁵ Ōsumi Kazuo, *Jiten No Kataru Nihon No Rekishi* (Tokyo: Kōdansha gakujutsu bunko, 2008).

taste and life-style predominated.”⁴⁶ At the same time, Narisue was keenly aware of the value that information on the culture of the court had in that context. In the postface to *Kokonchomonjû*, after describing in detail the banquet he threw to celebrate the completion of the work, Narisue added this injunction,

To begin with, this collection is not to be shown to other people. If one of my descendants violated this mandate and exposed this work to outsiders, then he cannot consider himself my descendant. The guardian-god of our family will surely add further punishment. However, permission should be decided on a case by case basis. The circumstances must be considered. Closest acquaintances and intimate friends should occasionally be allowed to see it. (*Kokonchomonjû*, postface)⁴⁷

In this passage, Narisue designates his text as a household asset, for which circulation had to be strategically limited, just as waka masters from poetry households such as the Rokujô and the Mikohidari did with their treatises and commentaries. As Ôsumi points out, in the Kamakura period, many middle and low ranking aristocrats started to turn to tutoring warriors in courtly pursuits such as music and kickball (*kemari*). Narisue’s self-presentation as a highly educated and culturally sophisticated courtier, as well as his awareness that his *Kokonchomonjû* had more value if access to it was limited, suggests that rather than simply lamenting the decline of the court’s power he was acknowledging that new political circumstances of Kamakura had created a market for the social knowledge and the cultural memory of the court.

While *Jikkinshô* was compiled anonymously, *Kokonchomonjû* affords us an opportunity, rare in Kamakura-period anecdotal collections, to reconstruct the life of its

⁴⁶ Dykstra, “Notable Tales Old and New,” p. 472.

⁴⁷ SNKS, vol. 76, p. 413. そもそもこの集においては、他見をゆるすべからず。若し子孫の中に、この鑑誠をそむきて閤外にいだすものあれば、我が子孫たるべからず。民の明神かならず照罰を加へ給ふべきものなり。但し人によりて許否あるべし。事にしたがひて思惟をいだすべし。織芥のへだてなく、等閑の儀あさからざらむには、間これをゆるすべし。

editor and glimpse the kinds of social interactions that might have led to its compilation. Hints about Narisue's life are spread across contemporary records and private diaries of courtiers. For the sake of clarity, I offer a sketch of Narisue's life as reconstructed by modern researchers.

Narisue was born in 1205 to the traditional but politically and financially relegated Tachibana family. At court he achieved the courtly office of Captain of the Right Gate Guard (*uemon no jô* 右衛門尉) with the relatively low Junior Upper Fifth Rank. He served, as well, as a close retainer in the house of Regent Kujô Michiie 九条道家 (1193-1252), a high-ranking aristocrat with close ties to elite warrior households in Kamakura. At that house, Narisue was regarded as expert in both kanshi and waka. He also studied the *biwa* lute under the expert Fujiwara no Takatoki (aka Hôshinbô). After an early retirement, Narisue began the compilation of *Kokonchomonjû*. He finished the work by 1254 and died three decades later, in 1172, while still in his sixties.⁴⁸

Narisue served Michiie during his late teens and early twenties. Michiie was a descendent of the powerful Kujô Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149-1207), and the son of Kujô Yoshitsune 九条良経 (1169-1206), also a powerful politician and an accomplished waka poet. Michiie served at court starting in the reign of Tsuchimikado Emperor (r. 1198-1210), and eventually attained the highest offices: Minister of the Left (*sadaijin*), Chief Adviser (*kampaku*) and Regent (*sesshō*). Michiie had close ties to the Kamakura government. After the assassination of Third Shogun Minamoto no Sanetomo, Michiie was asked to send to Kamakura his fourth son, Mitora, two years old at the time, to become the fourth shogun under the name Yoritsune (r. 1226-1244). Later in his life,

⁴⁸ Nishio, introduction to *Kokonchomonjû*. SNKS, vol. 75-6.

however, Michiie ran into political opposition and retired in 1237, becoming a monk and living away from the centers of power.

To be fair, this reconstruction of Narisue's life as a retainer of Michiie is based on very few clues scattered across several courtly diaries and historical records. This evidence was systematized by Nishio Kôichi⁴⁹ and based on the research of Ômori Shirô, Nakajima Etsuji, and Nagazumi Yasuaki. The main clue emerges from Teika's diary *Meigetsuki* 明月記, which covers the years 1180 to 1235. Teika writes that in 1230 the Regent Kujô Michiie provided five retainers as attendants for the Kamo Shrine Festival.⁵⁰ Under the headline "Captain of the Right Gate Guard Narisue" there is the interlinear comment "A retainer like there is no other; adopted son of the late Mitsusue; younger brother of Motosue and Kiyosue, all three of the same mother." Narisue is mentioned in *Meigetsuki* again the next day, and also more than a year later, as someone who took part in a horserace and was a great singer.⁵¹

Another hint lies in *Bunkidan* 文机談, a 13th-century work by Bunkibô Ryûen 文机房 隆円 on the tradition of *biwa* lute performance, modeled after works on history (*kagami mono*). Bunkibô notes a Narisue (no family-name provided) who studied the *biwa* lute under Fujiwara no Takatoki (aka Hôshinbô) and later taught other courtiers, among them

⁴⁹ Nishio and Kobayashi, *Kokonchomonjû*.

⁵⁰ In the entry for the 24th day of the Fourth Month of Kangi 2 (1230),

⁵¹ In the entries for the 25th day of the Fifth Month of Kangi 2 (1230) and for the 15th day of the Eighth Month of Kangi 3 (1231). It is possible that the Narisue in *Meigetsuki* was not a Tachibana. Gomi Fumihiko points out that in another entry of this diary a person called Nakahara no Narisue is mentioned in the entry for the 29th day of the Twelfth Month of Kangi 3 (1231). The same name appears in *Minkeiki* 民経記, Fujiwara no Tsunemitsu's diary (covers 1226 to 1272), in the entry for the 11th day of the Fourth Month of Kangi 3 (1231). The family chart in *Gunsho-ruijû* that shows the Tachibana family back to Tachibana no Norimitsu, includes Mitsusue and Kiyosue, but no mention is made of a Narisue or a Motosue. While it is possible that Narisue did not serve Michie, this does not affect our understanding of his social position and affiliations. Gomi Fumihiko, *Heike monogatari shi to setsuwa* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2011).

Grand Counselor Kazan-in Nagamasa. Bunkibô also states that after Narisue's death, Nagamasa received the secret transmission from Hôshinbô's son Takatoki. Among the many episodes in which Hôshinbô appears in *Kokonchomonjû*,⁵² Episode 276 (Chapter 6, Music) is particularly significant because in it he is mentioned together with Narisue himself.⁵³ As Nagazumi Yasuaki points out, Takatoki died soon after his father Hôshinbô, on the ninth day of the Fifth Month of the ninth year of Bun'ei (1273). Thus, if Nagamasa studied with Takayori after Narisue's death, Narisue must have died before 1273.⁵⁴

The Tachibana was a traditional aristocratic household, but its members never rose in the court hierarchy. A historical chart included in the late Edo-period collection of documents *Gunsho-ruijû* 群書類従 traces the family's genealogy back to Tachibana no Norimitsu, governor of Mutsu Province and descendent of the powerful eighth-century politician Tachibana no Moroe. Yet according to this chart, most males before Narisue's generation were provincial governors and officials who didn't advance beyond the fifth rank (Narisue as well stopped at Junior Upper Fifth Rank), which was customarily associated with the office of *kurôdo* 藏人 (Chamberlain). Chamberlains were eight officials of the fifth and sixth ranks appointed to the Chamberlains' Office (*kurôdo-dokoro*). They worked under the supervision of two Heads of the Chamberlains' office

⁵² Episodes 105, 223, 265, 276, 291, 310, 402, 426, 497, 535, 635, 664.

⁵³ After recounting a series of discussions on musical and dance performance by different experts, Narisue says that the proper way to perform the Sokô (蘇合香) song is by playing two sections (*jô* 帖), and closes the episode by stating, "During the Sixth Month of the third year of the Hôji Era (1249), there was a gathering of musicians at Sentô (the residence of Gosaga-in). The Sokô tune was performed. I joined on the drum. Two sections were played. About this issue, Hôshinbô was consulted." (Episode 276, Book 6, Chapter 6; SNKS, vol. 59, p. 335. 宝治三年六月、仙洞の御講に蘇合一具侍りしに、予、太鼓つかうまつりしにも、両帖にうち侍りき。かつこれ、法深房に申し合する所なり。)

⁵⁴ Nagazumi Yasuaki and Shimada Isao, eds. *Kokonchomonjû*. NKBT, vol. 84 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1966). Also, Fujisaki Toshishige suggests that when in the epilogue to *Kokonchomonjû*, Narisue wrote, "if I stop to think about the contents of this collection, they all resemble the absurd life of Kyo," he was referring to Kyo Hakugyoku 蘧伯玉, a Chinese personage said to have spent 49 of his 50 years in an irrational way. If Narisue was fifty years old at the time, he had been born in 1205. Fujisaki Toshishige, "Kokonchomonjû no jidaisei," *Koten kenkyû* (January 1941).

(*kurôdo-no-tô* 蔵人頭) and were assisted by many lower level workers (*hikurôdo* 非蔵人 or *kurôdo no minarai* 蔵人の見習).

Kurôdo were lower-rank aristocrats with no hope of promotion. While their bosses, *kurôdo-no-tô*, could expect an appointment as *sangi* 参議 (Imperial Advisers) and an upgrade in rank to the higher-nobility (*kugyô* 公卿; third or higher rank), a fifth-rank *kurôdo* was usually appointed instead as Controller (*ben* 弁) or Provincial Deputy Governor (*zuryô* 受領),⁵⁵ and received at most the fourth rank (usually posthumously). Sixth-rank *kurôdo* could at best expect to receive the fifth-rank.

Many *kurôdo* turned to courtly pastimes such as poetry and music. For example, Narisue's music teacher Takatoki and his father Takamichi were both *kurôdo*. Also Fujiwara no Nagatô 藤原長能, which in the first chapter I described as the first waka instructor to engage an out-of-household student under an explicit pedagogical contract, was a *zuryô*-level aristocrat. Another famous poetry instructor, Minamoto no Toshiyori, never went beyond the fourth-rank. These low ranking aristocrats with little hope of success within the court hierarchy turned to producing and transmitting knowledge and skills connected to court culture to students outside their households. They had an advantage over other low-ranking courtiers, as *kurôdo* constituted the lowest rank in the aristocracy to be admitted to the presence of the emperor, where they participated in the every day life of the court. In the Kamakura period this meant that they also had contact with warriors sent to the capital by the Kamakura government.

⁵⁵ *Zuryô* 受領 were lower level public officials who traveled to the provinces to superintend administrative activities in lieu of the slightly higher-level *yônin* 遥任, actual holders of the office of provincial governor (*kami* 守) who stayed behind in the capital.

As a retainer of Michiie, Narisue would have been in contact with warriors serving as messengers and retainers of powerful personages from Kamakura. But even if he did not serve Michiie, he had to have had close contact with mid-level warriors who, in terms of class, background, values, and career prospects, were probably the same men for whom *Jikkinshō* was compiled. To them, an expert in courtly accomplishments--music, kanshi, waka--such as Narisue must have looked like the epitome of court culture.

What type of information about waka practice did Narisue include in *Kokonchomonjū*? The many waka vignettes in chapter 6 (“Waka”) and other chapters deal with four main dimensions of waka practice. First, Narisue emphasizes that waka is an essential dimension of court culture. Second, he recounts the activity and interactions of the court poets during the last century of waka practice (from Toshiyori’s early 12th c. to Narisue’s mid-13th c.). Third, Narisue illustrates how waka was now widely practiced by social groups removed from the court, such as warriors and monks. Finally, many waka vignettes in *Kokonchomonjū* show the growth of a subgenre of waka consisting of lighthearted, humorous poems.

Narisue’s emphasis on contemporary waka practice differs from *Jikkinshō*’s focus on waka practice during the previous Heian period. Another difference lies in that *Kokonchomonjū* does not advocate the need to study poetry or the benefits of poetry at all. Instead, Narisue depicts waka practice as inseparable from the every day life of the aristocracy, and as an enjoyable, elegant pastime that slowly spread to other social groups.

Narisue emphasizes the significance of waka as courtly practice in the brief preface to chapter 6:

The poems of Yamato started with the ancient style of the Susa-no-o and for a long time have been part of the tradition of the Dragonfly

Island.⁵⁶ Through beautiful expressions in thirty-one characters they convey an endless variety of emotions. As it says in the preface to *Kokinshû*, they have the human heart as seed and myriads of words as leaves. That is why gods and buddhas do not turn their back on them. Wise monarchs and discerning subjects certainly heap praise on them. Under the blossoms of spring, in front of the moon of autumn, they bring about enjoyment and they become a companion of amusements. (*Kokonchomonjû*, chapter 6, Episode 142)⁵⁷

In this passage, Narisue presents waka as an essential feature of the imperial court, and one that has deep roots in the long history of the realm. The province of Yamato is a metonym traditionally used to refer to the court. The god Susa-no-no was traditionally regarded as the first to compose a waka poem, and appears in the historical chronicles that recount the origins of the imperial court. *Kokinshû* (905) was the first imperial anthology of waka. As in the other chapters, here Narisue progresses chronologically. He starts with an episode on the early Heian-period Emperor Saga 嵯峨 (786-842; r. 809-823), but not many episodes later Narisue is already recounting events from the 12th century.

The vast majority of the episodes in this chapter refer to the last century before Narisue's time. By contrast, the editor of *Jikkinshô* gave preference to poets and poems from the mid-Heian period such as Izumi Shikibu or Akazome-Emon. Narisue depicts the practice of waka in contemporary society, revealing the social networks of waka poets, and describing the social events in which poems were performed and circulated. For example, the following episode features some of the most famous poets of the time:

⁵⁶ *Akizu-shima* 秋津島. Another name for the land of Yamato, usually applied more generally to refer to the island of Honshû or even to the whole country. *Akizu* refers to a dragonfly.

⁵⁷ SNKS, vol. 59, p. 195. 和歌は素戔鳴の古風より起こりて、久しく秋津島の習俗たり。三十一字の麗篇をもて数千万端の心緒をのぶ。「古今」の序にいへるがごとく、人の心をたねとして、よろづのことの葉とぞなりける。これによりて神明仏陀もすて給はず。明主賢臣も必ず賞し給ふ。春の花の下、秋の月の前、これをもて豫遊のなかだちとし、これをもて賞樂の友とす。

Fujiwara no Teika, Priest Saigyô 西行 (1118-1190), and Fujiwara no Ietaka 藤原家隆 (1158-1237), a high-ranking courtier and poet who studied under Shunzei (1114-1204), and served as a compiler of the imperial anthology *Shinkokinshû* (1205) together with Shunzei's heir Teika.

Choosing from the many poems he had composed along the years, Prior En'i (Saigyô) selected seventy-two poems and arranged them in pairs resembling a poetic-contest of thirty-six rounds. He named this work the *Mimosuso Poetic Contest*. He bound many colored papers and asked Abbot Jichin to make the clean copy and Lord Shunzei to write the judgment for each pair. He also put together a work he called *Miyagawa Poetic Contest*, which similarly consisted in thirty-six pairs of poems, and asked Teika, who at the time was a Retainer of the Fifth Rank, to write the judgments. When Saigyô went on a pilgrimage through the provinces, he put these two works in his bag and kept them always close to him. When Ietaka was still young, known as the Bôjô Retainer, and living in Jakuren's house as his son-in-law, Saigyô came to visit and said, "I have come closer to departing this life. These poetic-contests contain my foolish poems, but they are very dear to me. In our age there is no other poet as accomplished as you. I have considered the matter and want you to have them." Saying this he gave Ietaka the two volumes. He really considered Ietaka to be superb.

This Lord (Ietaka) didn't descend from a lineage of distinguished poets, but he acquired a great reputation, was one of the editors of *Shinkokinshû*, and his name is still mentioned today together with that of Lord Teika, who descended from a lineage of distinguished poets, which is remarkable. Allegedly, when Retired Emperor GoToba first started to learn the way of poetry, he sought the advice of Lord GoKyôgoku (Fujiwara no Yoshitsune), who told him, "Ietaka is the Hitomaro of our age. You should learn poetry from him." If we put this together with the consideration that the Prior (Saigyô) had for him, it strikes one as extraordinary. I wonder if these two poetic-contests were passed down to the lady-in-waiting Kozaishô [Ietaka's daughter]. (*Kokonchomonjû*, chapter 6, Episode 212, excerpt)⁵⁸

⁵⁸ SNKS, vol. 59, p. 268. 円位上人、昔よりみづからが詠みおきて侍る歌を抄出して、二十六番につがひて、御裳濯歌合と名付けて、いろいろの色紙をつぎて、慈鎮和尚に清書を申し、俊成卿に判の詞を書かせけり。また一卷をば宮河歌合と名付けて、これも同じ番につがひて、定家卿の五位の侍徒にて侍りける時、判せさすけり。諸国修行の時も、おひに入れて身をはなたざりけるを、家隆卿のいまだわかくて、坊城の侍徒とて、寂蓮が婿にて同宿したりけるに、尋ね行きて言ひけるは、「円位は往生の期すでに近づき侍りぬ。この歌合は愚詠を集めたれども、秘蔵の物なり。末代に、貴殿ばかりの歌よみはあるまじなり。思ふところ侍れば、付属したてまつるなり。」と言ひて、二巻の歌合をさづけけり。げにもゆゆしくぞ相したりける。かの卿、非重代の身なれども、詠みくち、世のおぼえ人にすぐれて、『新古今』の撰者に加はり、重代の達者、定家卿に

I am quoting here only the first half of the episode; the rest consists of two exchanges of poems between Saigyô and Shunzei, featuring six poems in all. As in all other waka vignettes in *Kokonchomonjû*, aside from the poems themselves, which could potentially serve as models, this vignette offers very little in the way of instruction on waka. It opens with the backstory of two poetic collections laid out by Saigyô after the model of poetic contests, and quickly switches to a depiction of Ietaka's standing among other contemporary poets. The poets in this vignette are among the better represented in *Kokonchomonjû*: Ietaka (14 poems), Saigyô (11 poems), Fujiwara no Sanekuni 藤原実国 (8 poems), Taikaku 泰覚 (6 poems), Teika (5 poems, 7 episodes), Retired Emperor GoSaga (5 poems), and Shunzei (4 poems).

In recounting the interactions among these poets, Narisue depicts the lore that is part of the cultural memory of the field of poetry and of the court in general. At the same time, he reinforces his own standing as a sophisticated courtier. This can be seen in the precedence he gives Ietaka over Teika. Narisue had a personal relationship with Takasuke, Ietaka's son.⁵⁹ In giving more space to Ietaka than to Teika or Shunzei, Narisue seems to be stressing his own prestige as a poet connected to the Ietaka lineage.

Narisue's depiction of the field of poetry is not restricted to famous poets. It involves many of their students, and among them the powerful warrior lords of Kamakura. The following two consecutive episodes narrate how the first Kamakura Shôgun, Minamoto

つがひてその名のこせる、いみじき事なり。まことにや、後鳥羽院はじめて歌の道御沙汰ありけるころ、後京極殿に申し合はせまゐらせられける時、かの殿奏せさせ給ひけるは、「家隆は末代の人丸にて候ふなり。彼が歌を学ばせ給ふべし。」これらを思ふに、上人の相せられける事思ひ合はせられて、めでたくおぼえ侍るなり。かの二巻の歌合せ、小宰相の局のもとに伝はりて侍るにや。

⁵⁹ Sakurai Rika, "Kokonchomonjû no wakasetсуwa - Ietaka Teika setsuwa ni miru setsuwa saitaku no hôhō," *Tôyô daigaku daigakuin kiyô* 42 (2005): 55–71.

no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147-1199) wrote down a legal resolution in the form of a waka poem, and how he capped a verse by his father-in-law, Hôjô Tokimasa 北条時政 (1138-1215).

Prince Toba⁶⁰ served as Superintendent of Tennôji Temple. There was a gathering at the Gochikô-in subtemple. The Former Commander of the Right Inner Palace Guards from Kamakura [Shôgun Yoritomo] was present, accompanied by Miura Jûrô Captain of the Left Outer Palace Guards Yoshitsura and Kajiwara Kagetoki. After the meeting, when they were taking their leave, a feeble nun came out and faced the Commander of the Right Inner Palace Guards. From inside her robes she took out a one-page document and said, “A tract of land in the province of Izumi that I had inherited was taken from me by a person. Even though I filed a lawsuit, because I am weak it didn’t go as I had hoped. Since Your Highness came to the capital, I thought of bringing it to your attention. However, I had no one to act as intermediary. So I thought that perhaps you could look at it directly. That is why I came.” After saying this she held up the document, and the Commander himself took it and read it. He asked her, “Are you, like it says in the document, the rightful successor to the land?” She answered, “How could I lie to you? If you investigate the matter, you will see there is no trick.” So he said to Yoshitsura, “Go get me a writing box.” After finding one, Yoshitsura ground the ink and dipped the brush in it. After pondering it, he (Yoritomo) wrote a poem on a fan that he had brought with him.

In Izu province, the herons of Shinoda Forest
shall return to their old branches.

And so the land shall be returned to this nun.

*Izunarû Shinoda no mori no amasagi wa moto no furu-e ni tachikaerubeshi*⁶¹

After having written this, he tossed the fan to Yoshitsura, saying “Add the signature and give it to the nun.” Yoshitsura added the signature and gave it to the nun. There was no inscription of the date, but as she had received a document in the very own hand of the Commander of the Right Inner Palace Guards, how could she complain? The management rights to the land were returned to the nun.

Afterwards, during the incumbency of the Minister of the Right [Third Kamakura Shôgun Minamoto no Sanetomo], the daughter of this nun produced this decree on a fan as part of a lawsuit. The judge noted that

⁶⁰ Son of Emperor GoHorikawa.

⁶¹ *Amasagi* is a pun that means “heron” and contains the word *ama* (nun). When “*amasagi*” is written in kanji often the characters 尼鷺 are used, so it could as well be translated as “nun-heron.”

there was no inscription of the date, but it was evident that the handwriting was by Yoritomo, so he officially sanctioned her right to hold the land.

This fan had ribs of cypress carved only on the outside, and thin on the inside. This is the account of a person who actually saw it.

(*Kokonchomonjû*, chapter 6, Episode 214)⁶²

The same Commander of the Inner Palace Guards (Yoritomo) was hunting in Moruyama. Seeing that the strawberries were in full bloom, Hojô Shiro Tokimasa,⁶³ who was there with him, recited the first half of a linked-verse:

The strawberries of Moruyama are arousing people's interest, like a kid who's grown up and become wise and intelligent...

*Moruyama no ichigo sakasiku narinikeri*⁶⁴

The Commander, immediately responded:

...how happy must the briar be! And his wet nurse too!

*Mubara ika ni ureshikaruran*⁶⁵

(*Kokonchomonjû*, chapter 6, Episode 215)⁶⁶

⁶² SNKS, vol. 59, p. 271. 鳥羽の宮、天王寺の別当にて、かの寺の五智光院に御座ありける時、鎌倉の前の右大将参ぜられたりけり。三浦十郎左右衛門義連・梶原景時ぞ共には侍りける。御対面の後、退出のとき、尼一人いできたり、右大将に向ひて、ふところより文書を一枚とりだしていはく、「和泉の国に相伝の所領の候ふを、人に押しとられて候ふを、沙汰し候へども、身の弱に候ふによりて事ゆかず候ふ。たまたま君御上洛候へば、申し入れ候はんと仕り候へども、申しつぐ人も候へねば、

ただ直に見参に入り候はんとて参りて候ふ」とて、その文書を捧げたりければ、大将みづからとりて見給ひけり。「文書のごとく、一定相伝の主にてあるか」と問はれければ、

「いかでか偽りをば申し上げ候ふべき。御尋ね候はんに、さらにかくれあるまじ」と申しければ、義連に「硯たずねて参れ」と仰せられて、尋ねだして参りたりければ、

墨をしすりて墨染めて、うち案じて、わが持ち給ひたりける扇に一首の歌を書き給ひける。いづみなる信太の杜のあまさぎはもとの古枝に立ちかへるべし かく書いて、義連に「これに判加へて尼にとらせよ」とて、なげつかはしたりければ、義連、判加へて尼にたびてけり。年号月日にもおよばず、右大将自筆の御書下しなれば子細にやおよぶ、もとのごとく、かの尼領知しけるとぞ。その後、右大臣家の時、件が尼のむすめ、この扇の下文をささげて沙汰に出て侍りけるに、年号月日なきよし奉行いひけれども、かの自筆そのかくれなきによりて安堵しにけり。

件の扇、檜の骨ばかりは彫りて、そのほかは細骨にてなん侍りける。まさしく見たるとて、人の語り侍りしなり。

⁶³ Hôjô Masako's father and Yoritomo's father-in-law.

⁶⁴ *Ichigo* is a pun. It means "strawberry" and contains "chigo" (kid); similarly, *sakasishi* means "intelligent" and the related *sakasu* means "to arouse interest."

⁶⁵ *Mubara* means both "briar" and "wet nurse" (from *uba* 乳母 and the plural suffix *ra*).

⁶⁶ SNKS, vol. 59, p. 273. 同じ大将、守山にて狩せられけるに、いちごのさかりになりたるを見るて、共に北条四郎時政が候けるが、連歌をなんしける、もる山のいちごさかしく成にけり大将とりあえず、むばらがいかにうれしかるらん。

These two vignettes depict waka as part of the every day life of the warrior elites. They suggest that non-courtiers could learn the skills and succeed at court accomplishments, and lead lives of elegance and sophistication. Here again, Narisue is not expressing nostalgia for the past of the court but embracing the way in which court culture survived in its new milieu of elite warriors and their vassals.

The second vignette involving Yoritomo and Tokimasa features a poem exchange that differs from the standard poem-and-reply (*zôtoka* 贈答歌), where each poem consists of a full poem. Here a poet offers the upper half of a poem (*kami no ku* 上の句) as a challenge for the other poet to cap it with an appropriate lower half (*shimo no ku* 下の句). Yoritomo and Tokimasa engage in verse-capping, which Narisue calls *renga* 連歌, but which modern scholars have come to call *tan-renga* 短連歌 to distinguish it from the later medieval practice of linked-verse also known as *renga*, in which poets take turns to compose a much longer series of linked verses. Tan-renga had received official sanction as a subgenre of waka since it appeared as a separate subsection (*budate* 部立) in Toshiyori's imperial anthology *Kin'yôshû* (Collection of Golden Leaves, 1124-27). Many waka vignettes in *Kokonchomonjû* depict verse-capping as a popular pastime among courtiers, warriors, and monks.

The verse-capping between Yoritomo and Tokimasa is representative as well of the growing interest in humorous poems. Many of the poems in *Kokonchomonjû* involve humorous quips and expression that are not acceptable in the more standard rules of waka diction. Tokimasa's use of the expression *ichigo* (strawberry) and Yoritomo's *mubara* (wet nurse) fall into this category. Humorous poems were particularly popular with

warriors and monks, as in the following vignettes, which appear in a cluster in chapter 19, titled “Theft” (*tôtô* 偷盜):

Someone said that a person who was going to worship at Kurama ran into thieves at dusk, after passing Ichiharano, and had his clothes stolen and on top of that was wounded. Upon hearing this, Keisan composed:

Being hurt at dusk at Ichiharano,
should we call it the dark-chaos-of-Kurama?
*Yûgure ni Ichiharano nite ohu kizu wa kura magire to ya ihubekaruran*⁶⁷
(*Kokonchomonjû*, chapter 19, Episode 442)⁶⁸

This happened when Bishop Chôkei was still a child. An assistant monk was looking for his box of shaving tools to shave his head. The box had disappeared. However much he looked for it, it was nowhere to be seen. It turned out that the box had been stolen. Right then, this child immediately composed:

Like Futami Bay, hidden by waves rising and approaching,
the box treasured like a chest of gems is nowhere to be seen
because a thief took it.
*Shiranami no tachikuru mama ni tama kushige futami no ura no miezu narinuru*⁶⁹
(*Kokonchomonjû*, chapter 19, Episode 443)⁷⁰

This same Bishop (Chôkei)’s neighbor cultivated a field, where he grew buckwheat (*soma mugî*). Upon hearing that during the night thieves had stolen all the buckwheat, he (Chôkei) composed:

The thieves must have worn long trousers,
because they were holding the hems up
as they ran away with the buckwheat.
*Nusubito wa nagabakama wo ya kitaruran soba wo torite zo hashirisarinuru*⁷¹
(*Kokonchomonjû*, chapter 19, Episode 444)⁷²

⁶⁷ *Kuramagire* is a pun that means “confusion in the dark” and also a place-name (Kurama).

⁶⁸ SNKS, vol. 60, p. 108. 鞍馬まうでの者の、「夕暮に市原野をすぎけるに、盗人に行きあひて、きたる物はぎとられて、剩へきずを負ひて侍る」と、人の語るを聞きて、慶算かよみ侍りける、夕暮に市原野にて負ふきずはくらまぎれとやいふべからん。

⁶⁹ *Futami* is a pun that involves a place-name (Futami Bay, a poetic place-name, utamakura) and lid (*futa*). *Tama-kushi-ge* is a box of gem-encrusted combs and also a pillow-word that traditionally precedes the word *futa*; *shiranami* is a pun that means “white waves” and “thief.”

⁷⁰ SNKS, vol. 60, p. 108. 澄恵僧都、いまだ童にて侍りける時、介錯しける僧、「かみけづらん」とて、手箱をこひけるに、その手ばこ失せにけり。いかに求むれども見えず。はや盗人のとりてけるなり。その時、このちごとりもあへずよみ侍りける、白波の立ちくるまに玉くしげふたみの浦の見えずなりぬる。

⁷¹ *Soba* means both “buckwheat” and “hem” (as in hem of trousers, in particular the open sides that are often pulled up in order to move more freely).

In the mountain villa of the Kazan-in household at Awataguchi there was so much theft that Priest Yamamori Enjô composed:

As the mountain guard doesn't have enough time (and neither do I)
to protect the new shoots of bracken,
he had to entrust the key to the thieves, of all people.

*Yamamori no hima shi nakereba kagiwarabi nusubito ni koso ima wa makasure*⁷³
(*Kokonchomonjû*, chapter 19, Episode 445)⁷⁴

In the first vignette of this cluster (Episode 442), a priest composes a witty poem on a person who was attacked in Kurama, the woods north of the capital. Rather than expressing compassion, the poem pokes fun at the victim through a pun on the name of the place, Kurama, and the expression *kuramagire*, “confusion in the dark.” Similarly, in the second and third vignettes (443-444), Bishop Chôkei pokes lighthearted fun at two different people who suffered a theft. The last vignette (445) contains again a similarly witty poem on the theft of grain. As is evident from these examples, in this chapter Narisue displays little interest in recording the actual conditions of safety or the different types of theft occurring at the time, as the chapter title might have suggested. Rather, he notes anecdotes and lore that would be of significance to persons interested in waka.

In summary, the vignettes in the waka chapter and other chapters of *Kokonchomonjû* cover diverse aspects of waka practice in the late Heian and early Kamakura periods. In stressing the connection between waka and court culture while emphasizing the activity of poets of various ages and from heterogeneous social spaces --aristocratic poets within

⁷² SNKS, vol. 60, p. 109. この僧都の坊の隣なりける家の畠に、そまむぎをうゑて侍りけるを、よる盗人みなひきてとりたりけるを聞きてよめる、ぬす人は長袴をやきたるらんそばを取りてぞ走りさりぬる。

⁷³ *Yamamori* (mountain guard) is also part of the name of the poet; *kagi* is a pun that means “the new shoots of the bracken” and “key.”

⁷⁴ SNKS, vol. 60, p. 109. 花山院が栗田口殿の山の蕨を、あまりに人のぬすみければ、山守縁浄法師よみ侍りける、山守のひましなければかぎわらびぬす人にこそ今はまかすれ。

and without traditional poetic households, warriors, monks-- Narisue presents waka as a dimension of court culture that is accessible to non-courtiers. This attitude fits the description of Narisue as a *kurôdo* or *zuryô*-level aristocrat. That is, a person granted direct access to the life of the court but with little hope of upward mobility within the imperial administration, who seeks employment at a powerful household as an expert in courtly pastimes, and who has direct contact with warriors. Narisue's focus on the lore of the recent past of the court made *Kokonchomonjû* into an ideal source of information for these warriors.

The waka vignettes arranged chronologically in chapter 6 ("Waka"), combined with the many waka vignettes scattered throughout the other chapters of *Kokonchomonjû*, turn this collection into a social history of waka. Narisue foregrounds the intimate connection between waka and the imperial court, while recording the growing presence of waka practice in other social spaces. This approach to waka practice finds a parallel in Narisue's coverage of kanshi practice. In chapter 5, "Learned Texts in Chinese" (*bungaku* 文学) he takes a similar approach. After a preface on the origins of writing and learning in China, he lines up vignettes that depict the ways in which kanshi poems were created and circulated.⁷⁵ A similar treatment is given to other courtly accomplishments, for example in chapter 7, "Music and Dance" (*kangen kabu* 管弦歌舞) and chapter 8, "Calligraphy" (*nôsho* 能書). In all these cases, Narisue neither advocates the study of a discipline nor provides instruction in it. He rather focuses on lore and events concerning the social lives of the practitioners of those disciplines.

⁷⁵ Cfr. Gencarello, "Bungaku in Kokonchomonjû."

In *Kokonchomonjû*, Narisue doesn't draw any attention to the practical benefits of waka. By contrast, the editor of *Jikkinshô* devotes a whole chapter to vignettes where waka, kanshi, and song bring practical benefits. In the few cases in which vignettes of this type appear in *Kokonchomonjû*, the benefits are not highlighted. For example, in Chapter 1, "Gods," Episode 32 tells how the poet Asukai no Masatsune (1170-1211) was undergoing hardships. He was devoted to the god at Kamo Shrine and even composed a poem that mentioned this. At some point, the god quoted the poem to the main priest in a dream and, expressing sympathy, inquired into the identity of the poet. When he heard about this, Masatsune's faith only grew. Soon his fortunes changed, and he eventually reached the Second Rank.⁷⁶ In this vignette, Narisue places the emphasis not on the poem, but rather on Masatsune's faith and the god's largesse.⁷⁷

It must be noted that all extant manuscripts of *Kokonchomonjû* contain a significant number of vignettes that systematically depict benefits brought by waka. There is evidence, however, that these episodes were not part of Narisue's original text. As Nagazumi Yasuaki and Nishio Kôichi show, about 80 episodes were added by an anonymous hand. The large majority of them are taken verbatim from *Jikkinshô*. Other episodes, identifiable because they break the chronological arrangement that Narisue gave to his material, stem probably from other texts and/or oral stories that circulated at the time.⁷⁸ Episodes 171 to 177 of *Kokonchomonjû* display the same content and

⁷⁶ Nishio notes that this is a mistake. Masatsune never reached the Second Rank, but only the Third.

⁷⁷ SNKS, vol. 60, p. 66.

⁷⁸ Nagazumi and Shimada, *Kokonchomonjû*.; Nishio and Kobayashi, *Kokonchomonjû*. In two cases, episodes 17 and 255, this is suggested by explicit annotations in the back of the manuscript (*uragaki*). Episode n. 721, which narrates events that took place two months after Narisue celebrated the completion of the text. In this episode, Narisue refers to himself by his name, while in all the other episodes in which he appears he uses the pronoun yo 予 (main preface, Episode n. 164, and n. 276). Nagazumi argues that this episode was added later by someone else, but Nishio contends that the style of the narrative—in particular the repeated use of the polite auxiliary verb *haberi*—suggests that it was Narisue himself who added it.

arrangement as episodes 10.10-10.16 in *Jikkinshô*. Also, episodes 190 to 202 include many vignettes taken from *Jikkinshô* episodes 4.14-15, 10.35-36, 10.42-47, and 10.50. A third cluster of vignettes (episodes 183 to 187) stems from *Jikkinshô* episodes 3.1, 3.2, 3.4, 3.6, and 4.6. If we set aside these later additions, *Kokonchomonjû* emerges as a work that, rather than arguing that waka is important because it can bring material benefits, assumes that the reader is already invested in the practice of waka and thus interested in hearing about the lore and events that constituted the cultural memory of this field.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have looked at Kamakura-period anecdotal collections through the lens of knowledge transfer and its implication in the transformation of society. I contextualized my analysis of the expansion of waka practice among warriors by connecting collections like *Kokonchomonjû* and *Jikkinshô* to the wider social changes that characterized this historical period. These changes concerned the contact between the court and other social groups, and between the capital and other regions, in particular as warriors from the Eastern provinces that had their political and cultural center in the city of Kamakura came into contact with the aristocratic culture of the capital and were expected to learn the etiquette and customs of the aristocracy and the court.

I have argued that the compilation of collections such as *Kokonchomonjû* and *Jikkinshô* reveals the awareness of authors and editors that social changes had created a new audience for knowledge about court culture. I have also suggested that these works would be of use to mid-level warriors who served as retainers in powerful households and who wanted to assimilate the social skills, cultural preferences, and cultural memory of

the aristocracy in order to advance in the competition for office and responsibility. In Kamakura-period works, waka vignettes that had come to encode the social knowledge and cultural memory of the court in poetic treatises for aristocrats and elite warrior were repurposed to reach this new audience.

From my analysis, the Kamakura period emerges as a pivotal moment in Japanese cultural and intellectual history. It saw waka go from a cultural practice centered on the court to a preferred means for non-aristocrats to acquire cultural knowledge. *Jikkinshô* and *Kokonchomonjû* represent two different forms of knowledge transfer. The former is structured as a handbook of down-to-earth, utilitarian career advice for young warriors. The latter is organized as an encyclopedia of court culture, but closer examination reveals a focus on the social and cultural life of the court in the hundred years before the compilation. In both works, waka poetry and waka vignettes play a central role. In *Jikkinshô*, they provide a warrior readership with evidential support in the context of a pedagogy of social skills, moral values, and artistic skills associated with court culture. In *Kokonchomonjû*, waka vignettes preserve and transmit information about the everyday life of the court. In contrast to poetic treatises, these collections do not contain information on the actual techniques of composition, but they present material that had circulated throughout the Heian period in aristocratic genres such as imperial anthologies (*chokusenshû*), private diaries (*nikki*), and poem-tales (*utamonogatari*).

Chapter 3 – Waka Pedagogy and The Benefits of Waka (*katoku*) in the Heian and Kamakura periods

Introduction

As waka became an important vehicle in the transmission of court knowledge to wider audiences in the late Heian (984-1185) and Kamakura periods (1192-1333), new patterns emerged. One of them was a discourse on the practical, social, financial, and religious benefits of poetry. Premodern discussions of the benefits of poetry appear alongside waka vignettes that feature wondrous benefits and miraculous events, as well as worldly events, where poets receive material rewards, official appointments, or legal pardons due to their poems.

Katoku 歌徳 (lit. “the virtue(s) of poetry”), as this discourse is referred to in modern scholarship, has been variously interpreted. Scholars have described it as the product of an ancient belief in a comprehensive power of the Japanese language (*kotodama* 言霊);¹ other scholars, as an earnest product of efforts to amalgamate poetic practice and Buddhist thought;² others, as the underhanded attempts by impoverished medieval aristocrats serving as professional poetry instructors to build into the practice of poetry a cryptic secrecy modeled on medieval esoteric Buddhist practice.³

¹ Orikuchi Shinobu, *Nihon bungaku keimô*, vol. 24 (Tokyo: Chûô kôronsha, 1997). Herbert Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos* (New York: Brill, 1990).

² Kikuchi Megumi, “Waka-darani kô,” in Watanabe Yasuaki, ed., *Higi to shite no waka: kô to ba*. (Tokyo: Yûseidô shuppan, 1995). Kimbrough, “Reading the Miraculous Powers of Japanese Poetry.”

³ Klein, *Allegories of Desire*.

These three different approaches coincide in focusing on a thirteenth-century Buddhist treatise titled *Shasekishū* 紗石集 (A Collection of Sand and Pebbles, 1283). In this work, Ichien 一円 (1226-1312), a Rinzai-sect priest born in Kamakura to a traditional warrior household, argued that waka were identical to Sanskrit phrases known as *darani* 陀羅尼.⁴ Darani were held to have miraculous powers, because they express truth (*shingon* 真言), and were deployed as part of magical conjurations by Japanese Buddhist monks.⁵

The first part of this chapter revisits these modern approaches to *katoku* and the historical evidence that supports them. The second part of this chapter traces the emergence of *katoku* back to the poetic treatises of the late Heian period and the anecdotal collections for warriors in the Kamakura period. I show how a fully formed but heterogeneous discourse on the benefits of waka emerged already and distinctly in these earlier works, which were composed and circulated significantly earlier than Ichien connected waka to *darani* and esoteric Buddhism in the late Kamakura period. I explore this early (pre-esoteric) phase of *katoku* in works of the Nara (710-784), Heian, and Kamakura periods, to connect the compilation of waka vignettes depicting the benefits of poetry to the pedagogical practices I identified in chapters one and two. I discuss *katoku* as a case study to single out the advantages of contextualizing discourses about waka in premodern pedagogical practices connected to the production and transmission of social knowledge and cultural memory.

⁴ The Japanese term *darani* is a transliteration of the Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* धारणी via the Chinese *Tuólóuóní* 陀羅尼. This concept is often spelled “dharani” in English, but in the context of my discussion I will use the romanization of the Japanese term, *darani*.

⁵ For example, the anecdotal collection *Nihonryōiki* 日本靈異記 (c. 822) features (in Book 3, Episode 14) a Buddhist ascetic who uses *darani* to cast a spell on an enemy. For references to the use of *darani* in Japan, cfr. Kimbrough, “Reading the Miraculous Powers of Japanese Poetry,” pp. 5, n. 13.

Esoteric Katoku and the Waka-Darani Equivalence in the Late Kamakura Period

The most often quoted discussion of *katoku* in modern scholarship stems from the Buddhist treatise *Shasekishû* (A Collection of Sand and Pebbles, 1283). *Shasekishû* is a Buddhist treatise that combines expository passages with the narrative episodes common in anecdotal collections. It was compiled by Mujû Dôgyô 無住道暁 (1226-1312), a Buddhist priest otherwise known as Ichien 一円. Ichien was born in Kamakura in 1226 to the Kajiwara, a warrior household. His grandfather Kajiwara Kagetoki 梶原景時 (d. 1200) had fought in the Genpei War (1180-85) along Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147-1199) and Minamoto no Yoshitsune 源義経 (1159-1189). Kagetoki had initially sided with the Taira, but he switched sides in time and was later considered a loyal vassal by the Minamoto. He was entrusted with the administration of several provinces and remained a powerful figure under Yoritomo's heir, Second Shogun Minamoto no Yoriie 源頼家 (1182-1204). Kagetoki later turned against the bakufu, travelled to the capital to plot a coup, and was killed in fighting on the way. Ichien was raised by relatives in the provinces of Shimotsuke and Hitachi, north-east of Kamakura. He took the Buddhist vows at 18, and started practicing in seclusion ten years later. Ichien is often associated with the Rinzai sect of Zen Buddhism, which had its center in the city of Kamakura, but he trained extensively also in Tendai and Shingon doctrines in various temples in and around the capital. He was a very productive thinker, author of works such as the ten-

volume Buddhist anecdotal collection *Zôtanshû* 雜談集 (1305) and the more technical three-volume treatise titled *Shôzaishû* 聖財集 (1299).

Ichien divided *Shasekishû* into ten chapters corresponding to ten books. The first five chapters are systematically and clearly organized by topic; the second half is less tidy.⁶

The topics covered by each chapter are roughly as follows:

1. Native gods that are manifest traces of buddhas.
2. Different types of buddhas.
3. Excessive attachment.
4. Excessive attachment and the behavior of contemporary clergy.
5. Waka (divided into two subchapters).
6. Sermons and sermonizing.
7. Karmic retribution.
8. Foolish mistakes.
9. Moral virtue and proper conduct.
10. Religious awakening and taking the vows (also in two subchapters).

As this list of topics suggests, *Shasekishû* takes the shape of a religious journey. It starts by placing the gods within the Buddhist framework in chapter 1 as was common in medieval Buddhist/Shintô syncretism (mod. J. *shinbutsu shûgô* 神仏習合 or *shinbutsu konkô* 神仏混淆). Throughout the chapters, the book gradually leads the reader towards the tonsure and enlightenment, the topic of chapter 10. Along the way, there are many humorous and colorful vignettes, in particular in chapters 6 and 8, as well as miraculous tales, as Ichien strives to make his teachings more approachable. This is probably why *Shasekishû* is not written in the *kanbun* style typical of Buddhist treatises but in the *wakan konkôbun* 和漢混交文 style common to *Jikkinshô* and *Kokonchomonjû*. In the preface to *Shasekishû* Ichien expresses his intention to teach Buddhism through secular vignettes:

⁶ Kojima Takayuki, ed., SNKBZ, vol. 52.

Rough words and soft expressions both bring us back to the First Principle;⁷ the toil of everyday life is not against True Reality. Because of this, I strive to make the playful idleness of “wild words and fancy phrases” into an auspicious connection to spread the marvelous way of Buddhism, and I make ordinary events taken from the shallowness of everyday life into examples to expound on the deep truth of this lofty doctrine. (*Shasekishû*, preface)⁸

In this passage Ichien restates a fundamental tenet of Mahayana Buddhism, namely that secular life is not fundamentally inimical to the Buddhist way. He alerts his readers to approach these vignettes as records of secular events that express higher truths. He extends this nondualism to poetry, with which medieval Buddhist thinkers in general had an ambivalent relationship.⁹ On the one hand, poetry was seen as an impediment to the Buddhist path. The expression *kyôgen kigo* 狂言綺語 (“wild words and fancy phrases”), which Ichien uses in this passage, represents the fear that poetry can distract the mind from the pursuit of Buddhist truth.¹⁰ On the other hand, some saw poetry as an indirect way to reach religious awakening. Poems could be used as “expedient means” (J. *hōben* 方便, Skt. *upāya*) to teach the words of the Buddha. The phrase *kyôgen kigo* itself encapsulates this ambivalence; the term originates in a kanshi poem by the Chinese poet Bai Juyi (772-846) that takes the shape of a prayer. Bai Juyi prays that the transgressions of his poetry be turned to good causes and lead him to enlightenment.

⁷ Nirvana. This expression is taken from the Nirvana Sutra.

⁸ SNKBZ, vol. 52, p. 19. それ麁言軟語みな第一義に歸し、治生産業しかしながら実相にそむかず。然れば狂言綺語のあだなる戯れを縁として、仏乗の妙なる道を知らしめ、世間浅近の賤きことを譬として、勝義の深き理に入れしめむと思ふ。 This passage has also been translated by Robert Morrell in Mujû Ichien, *Sand and Pebbles (Shasekishû): The Tales of Mujû Ichien, a Voice for Pluralism in Kamakura Buddhism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), p. 71. See also Robert Morrell, “Mujû Ichien’s Shinto-Buddhist Syncretism--Shasekishû, Book 1,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 28, no. 4 (Winter, 1973): 447-488.

⁹ This is analogous to the sukimono debates of waka treatises (discussed supra), where one side celebrated and the other condemned a profound attachment to poetry.

¹⁰ In his study of Kamo no Chômei, Rajyashree Pandey analyzes the origin and development of this concept, and the answers of late Heian and Kamakura thinkers working within the Buddhist doctrine to this challenge to the validity of literary pursuits. Pandey, “Writing and Renunciation in Medieval Japan.”

One way in which waka and Buddhist teaching could come together was as *shakkyōka* 釈教歌 (“waka on the teachings of the Buddha”). To Ichien’s contemporaries, *Shakkyōka* poems were an accepted way for poetry to express, explore, or learn the Buddhist way and served to spread the teachings of the Buddha. Buddhist poems had appeared already in earlier collections such as *Man’yōshū* and the third imperial anthology *Shūishū* (Collection of Gleanings, 1005-7), which included ten poems of this kind.¹¹ *Shakkyōka* became a sanctioned subgenre of waka when they were marked off as a discrete section (*budate* 部立) in the *GoShūishū* (Later Collection of Gleanings, 1086; in book XX “Miscellaneous”). The next two imperial anthologies, *Kin’yōshū* (Collection of Golden Leaves, 1127) and *Shikashū* (Collection of Verbal Flowers, 1151-4), had no section devoted to *shakkyōka*, but *Senzaishū* (Collection of a Thousand Years, 1188) and *Shinkokinshū* (New Collection of Ancient and Modern Times, 1205) assign a whole subdivision to Buddhist poems, marking a renewed interest in *shakkyōka* at the turn of the thirteenth century.¹²

As *shakkyōka* poems came to be composed and incorporated into canonical genres of waka such as imperial collections, Buddhist thinkers expressed concern that poetry was incompatible with the Buddhist way. In *Shasekishū*, Ichien acknowledges the contempt that many priests felt towards poetry, but he simultaneously extends the view of poetry as

¹¹ For a survey of Buddhist poems in the imperial anthologies cfr. Ishihara Kiyoshi, *Shakkyōka no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1980). Also Robert Morrell, “The Buddhist Poetry in the Goshuishi,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 28.1 (Spring, 1973), 87-100. Morell quotes Hori Ichirō, “Shakkyōka seiritsu no katei ni tsuite,” in *Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyū* III 2 (March 1955). Also, the 2013 Waka Workshop organized by Edward Kamens at Yale was devoted to *shakkyōka*; papers presented there are available online at <http://elischolar.library.yale.edu/waka2013>.

¹² *Shakkyōka*, as a subgenre of waka, recognizes a precedent in kanshi poems of Buddhist inspiration. They can be found, for example, in the *Kaifūsō* 懷風藻 (Fond Recollections of Poetry, 751), the earliest extant collection of kanshi poems, and in *Shōryōshū* 性靈集 (Collection of the Spirit), a collection of prose and poetry in Chinese by Kūkai 空海 (774-835), the founder of the Shingon school in Japan,

“expedient means” in two new ways. First, while *shakkyōka* express a Buddhist truth through allusion, metaphor, or transliteration of a line from a sutra, it is also possible to read a waka, which was not originally a *shakkyōka*, as a Buddhist allegory. Second, Ichien adds the notion that waka can also be a direct, unmediated expression of Buddhist truth, in a way that is different from *shakkyōka*.

Ichien develops these two notions in the five episodes of section 14 of book 5a, which bears the heading “The Depth of Waka.”¹³ The first episode briefly revisits the arguments against poetry that Ichien had mentioned in the preface to the work. In the next episode (5a.14.2) Ichien offers a waka vignette with a *jukkai* poem.¹⁴

What brings me sadness
upon seeing the moon dip toward the edge of the mountain,
is having spent the days and the months in vain.
*Yama no ha ni kage katabukite kanashiki wa munashiku sugishi tsuki hi narikeri*¹⁵

This poem is drawn from the imperial collection *ShokuGosenshū* (Later Collection Continued, 1251; poem no. 1126, book 17, Miscellaneous II), compiled by Fujiwara no Tameie (1198-1275). The poem is a standard complaint about the passing of time --the setting moon functions as a metaphor for old age-- but Ichien offers a lengthy interpretation of this in which he argues that the poem is allegorically expressing a teaching from the *Yuikyōgyō Sutra* 遺教經 (The Bequeathed Teaching Sutra).¹⁶ Having thus expounded on waka’s function as “expedient means,” Ichien moves on, in Episode 4,

¹³ SNKBZ, vol. 52, p. 249. 和歌の甚深なる事。 Episode 5b14 in SNKBZ is listed as Episode 5.12 in NKBT.

¹⁴ As I discuss below in this chapter, *jukkai* 述懷 are a subgenre of waka that consists in poems where the poet laments his misfortunes.

¹⁵ 山のはに影かたふきて悲しきはむなく過し月日成けり。

¹⁶ Aka 仏垂般涅槃略説教誡經 (in 大正新脩大藏經 n. 389). This sutra is considered to contain teachings delivered by Shakyamuni to the disciples who gathered around his deathbed.

to discussing how waka can instead be a direct expression of Buddhist truth. In Episode 5a.14.4, Ichien argues,

Upon reflection, the virtue of waka (*waka no toku*) is that they put a stop to the disorder and distractions of the mind, and bring serenity and quiet. Also, their meaning (*kokoro*) is contained in few words (*kotoba*). They have the virtue (*toku*) of the all-retaining (*sôji*). The all-retaining is *darani*. The gods of our realm are local manifestations (*suijaku*¹⁷) of buddhas and bodhisattvas, the greater form of the manifested body (*ôjin*¹⁸). The god Susa-no-o was the first, with his poem in thirty-one syllables, “Izumo where eight clouds rise...” This was not different from the words (*kotoba*) of the Buddha. The *darani* of India are in the language of that country. The Buddha used it to expound on *darani*.¹⁹ For this reason, in Yi Xing’s *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana Sutra*²⁰ we read, “The languages of all lands are *darani*.” Had the Buddha come to our land, he surely would have considered that the language of our land is *darani*.²¹ (...) *Sôji* were originally without graphemes. Writing expresses *sôji*. In the writing of which country is the virtue (*toku*) of *sôji* absent?

(...)

The thirty-one chapters of the *Mahāvairocana Sutra* correspond naturally to the thirty-one syllables. Because the principles of worldly and religious life are contained in these thirty-one syllables, they provoke a response from buddhas and bodhisattvas, and they move gods and humans. Even though *darani* employ secular Indian words, when they are given the name “*darani*” they have the virtue of eliminating sin. The waka of Japan use everyday words too, but when called “waka” they can express feelings and therefore certainly provoke a response. If their meaning involves the Buddhist Law, all the more there is no doubt that they are *darani*.

India, China, Japan have different languages, but in spirit they are similar. For this reason, the teachings of the Buddha are spread and not without benefits. Regardless of the language, if one grasps this spirit and

¹⁷ 垂迹. This is the fundamental formulation of medieval syncretism, according to which native gods are a manifestation (*suijaku*) of what in their original form (*honji* 本地) are Indian buddhas.

¹⁸ 応神. The manifestation of buddhas and bodhisattvas in earthly form for the purpose of saving human beings.

¹⁹ SNKBZ, vol. 52, p. 252. 天竺の陀羅尼もその国の詞なり。仏、これを以て陀羅尼を説き給へり。

²⁰ *Dainichikyô-sho* 大日經疏 (A Commentary on the Mahāvairocana Sutra). Compiled by Yi Xing 一行 (683-727; J. Ichigyô) based on the lectures of his Indian teacher.

²¹ SNKBZ, vol. 52, p. 252. 仏、若し我が国に出で給はば、ただ我国の詞を以て、陀羅尼とし給ふべし。

puts it into words, there will be a response. (*Shasekishû*, Episode 5a14.4)

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In this passage, Ichien draws on the previous discourse on the “virtues of uta.” The core of this discourse is referenced in Ichien’s statement that “they provoke a response from buddhas and bodhisattvas, and they move gods and humans” (仏菩薩の応もあり、神明人類の感あり). This reflects the twelfth-century discourse on waka as an effective way of communication between humans, as well as between humans and deities. Starting from this premise, Ichien elaborates further. The first part of this passage juxtaposes technical terms from waka treatises with Buddhist concepts. Ichien draws from critical notions such as *kokoro*, and *kotoba*, as well as from traditional waka lore, such as the tradition of considering the poem by Susano’o as the first waka. Ichien superposes on them the concepts *sôji* 惣持 and *darani* 陀羅尼. *Sôji* is the ability to retain in one’s memory the teachings of Buddhism. *Darani*, as discussed above, are Sanskrit phrases recited as miraculous spells because the recitation of these words connect the speaker directly to the Sanskrit words of the Indian sutra or to the words of the original Buddha.

By merging waka with *sôji* and *darani* thought, Ichien inscribes poetry at the center of Buddhist thought as a direct expression of truth, not just as an indirect “expedient

²² SNKBZ, vol. 52, p. 252-3. 和歌の徳を思ふに、散乱鹿動の心をやめ、寂然静閑なる徳あり。また詞は少なくして心を含めり。惣持の徳あり。惣持は即ち陀羅尼なり。我が朝の神には、仏菩薩の垂迹、応身の随一なり。素戔鳴尊、すでに出雲八重垣の三拾一字の詠をはじめ給へり。仏の詞に異なるべからず。天竺の陀羅尼もその国の詞なり。仏、これを以て陀羅尼を説き給へり。この故に、一行禪師の大日経の疏にも「随方の詞、みな陀羅尼」といへり。仏、若し我が国に出で給はば、ただ我国の詞を以て、陀羅尼とし給ふべし。惣持は本文字なし。文学は惣持をあらはず。何れの国の文字か、惣持の徳なからむ。(…)大日経の三十一品も自ら三十一字に当たれり。世間出世の道理を三十一字の中に包みたれば、仏菩薩の応もあり、神明人類の感あり。かの陀羅尼も天竺の世俗の詞なれども、陀羅尼と名づけて此を以てば、滅罪の徳あり。日本の和歌も世の常の詞なれども、和歌と言ひて、思ひも述べれば、必ず感あり。まして、仏法の心を含めらむは、疑ひなく陀羅尼なるべし。天竺・漢朝・和国、その言異なれども、その意同じき故に、仏の教へ広まりて、利益の空しからず。言に定まれる事なし。ただ心を得て思ひを述べば、必ず感あるべし。

means.” The line “if their meaning involves the Buddhist Law” is a nod to *shakkyōka*, but the purport of the argument is that in practice any waka can be darani. In the rest of this passage, Ichien’s justification for his waka-darani equivalence takes the shape of an eminently linguistic argument in which he makes the Japanese words of waka equivalent of those of the original Sanskrit, from which Buddhism originated.²³

The bottom line of his argument is that Buddhist truth, when expressed as darani, has miraculous powers. According to Ichien, it is because waka are darani that they provoke a response from buddhas, gods, and humans. Yet, with the waka-darani equivalence, Ichien is not trying to reveal the cause behind the benefits of poetry. The case is rather the opposite: he mentions the discourse on the benefits of waka as evidential support for his argument that waka is compatible with Buddhism.

The case that Ichien makes for the compatibility of waka and Buddhist discourse is automatically extended to gods. When he writes, “the gods of our realm are local manifestations of buddhas and bodhisattvas,” Ichien is referencing a widespread interpretation of local native gods as manifestations (*suijaku* 垂迹) of what in their original form (*honji* 本地) are Indian buddhas. This form of religious syncretism (mod. J. *shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合 or *shinbutsu konkō* 神仏混淆) had roots in the Nara-period custom of worshipping native gods at Buddhist temples and building temples on the grounds of shrines, and was consolidated as a cohesive theory during the Heian period. If waka as darani can move buddhas, they can also move gods, not to mention humans as well.

²³ Cfr. Hirano Tae, “Shakkyōka of the Late Medieval Imperial Waka Anthologies,” *Waka Workshop* 2013. EliScholar.

Allegorical and esoteric readings of poems similar to those of Ichien were very common during the Kamakura and Muromachi periods.²⁴ And Ichien's specific argument for the equivalence of waka and darani had a considerable impact on waka poets and on Buddhist priests. It would appear in poetic treatises such as *Nomori no kagami* 野守の鏡 (Historical Tale of the Guard of the Fields, 1295), and in linked-verse (*renga*) treatises such as *Sasamegoto* ささめごと (Whispered Words, 1463), by the influential Muromachi-period poet Priest Shinkei 心敬 (1406-75). Also in Edo-period works, for example *Man'yô daishôki* 万葉代匠記 (Record of the Successive Teachers of the Man'yôshû, 1688-90) by the National Learning scholar Keichû 契沖 (1640-1701).²⁵ Ichien spearheaded a trend in intellectual and religious thought that looked for affinities between waka and Buddhism. He became one of the first of a long line of priests and scholars who suggest that waka have miraculous powers because it expresses a Buddhist truth in a way homologous to that of Indian darani.

In modern scholarship, the premodern discourse on the benefits of poetry was initially conceptualized as an instance of a wider phenomenon connected to a general power of language. The first scholar to investigate these waka vignettes systematically was Moriyama Shigeru, who referred to them as *katoku setsuwa* 歌徳説話. In a series of essays²⁶ on this topic, Moriyama compiled a list of works from all historical periods of

²⁴ Klein, *Allegories of Desire*.

²⁵ Torquil Duthie, "Man'yô daishôki no rekishigakuteki igi omegette," *Anahorisshu kokubungaku* (2013): 108–114.

²⁶ Moriyama Shigeru, "Katoku setsuwa ron josetsu," *Onomichi tanki daigaku kenkyû kiyô* 23 (1974); Moriyama Shigeru, "Katokusetsuwa no denshō ni tsuite," *Onomichi tanki daigaku kenkyû kiyô* 24 (1975); Moriyama Shigeru, "Katokusetsuwa no waka ni tsuite," *Onomichi tanki daigaku kenkyû kiyô* 25 (1976); Moriyama Shigeru, "Katoku no shujusō," *Onomichi tanki daigaku kenkyû kiyô* 26 (1977).

premodern Japan that contained waka vignettes depicting effective poems. He connected these vignettes to the general power of language that Orikuchi Shinobu (1887-1953)²⁷ identified in works such as *Man'yōshū*. According to Orikuchi and Moriyama, katoku vignettes are an illustration of *kotodama* 言霊 (or *kotoage* 言挙げ), an ancient belief in a power inherent to the Japanese language. In the English bibliography, Herbert Plutschow reflected this approach in *Chaos and Cosmos: Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature*.

Music gave rise to song and song in turn to poetry (...) Controlled by the order of rhythm, form and sound, language was believed to generate a magical power. (...) The ancient Japanese used the word *kotodama* to denote such power of language.²⁸

(...) What was called *kotodama* in the Shintō tradition became the *darani* and *shingon* in Japanese Buddhism.²⁹

I have grouped these passages from different sections in Plutschow's book to illustrate his tenet that the power of language posited by Orikuchi originated in instrumental music and reached waka via songs, and that this power of language from the Ancient period would reappear in the medieval period as Ichien's waka-darani equivalence, which Plutschow describes as modeled on medieval religious syncretism.

Orikuchi's *kotodama* theory has come under attack. As W. J. Boot has showed, the textual evidence to support the concept of *kotodama/kotoage* is in general very scant. Only a few cases of certain attestation of these terms are found and only in Nara-period texts. Boot argues that Orikuchi's discussion of *kotodama* is only applicable to rites and

²⁷ Moriyama, "Katoku setsuwa ron josetsu," p. 3. Moriyama quotes from Orikuchi, *Nihon bungaku keimō*, vol. 23.

²⁸ Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos*, p. 10.

²⁹ Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos*, p. 169.

incantations, not to poetry.³⁰ Ichien, like every other medieval author, makes no mention of *kotodama* or *kotoage* as an inherent power in the Japanese language. Quite the opposite, he emphasizes the similarities between the languages of Japan, China, and India as vehicles of Buddhist truth.³¹

In English scholarship, the first to have advocated an alternative to the *kotodama* approach is Keller Kimbrough. Seeking to provide an interpretation of the benefits of waka rooted in Ichien's thirteenth-century religious discourse, Kimbrough argues that "Japanese poetry is capable of supernatural effects because, as the dharani of Japan, it contains 'reason' or 'truth' in a semantic superabundance."³² As an illustration, he discusses the rainmaking poem by Nôin that I quoted in the second chapter.³³

Nôin uses wordplay (the phrase *ama kudarimasu kami*, both "a god come down from heaven" and "a god who gives us rain") to oblige the deity to make it rain. Through linking the truth of the deity's origins (that it is a god come down from heaven) with the conjecture that it is a deity who bestows rain, Nôin creates a situation in which the deity cannot deny Nôin's one statement without denying the other.³⁴

That is, waka contain truth (Kimbrough's translation of *kotowari* 理) in very few syllables (the semantic superabundance), and the buddhas (and gods) cannot ignore the request contained in them without acting against this truth. Kimbrough connects Ichien's waka-darani equivalence to an ancient Indian ritual that appears in the Pali and Sanskrit

³⁰ Willem Jan Boot, "Kotodama and the Ways of Reading the Man'yôshû," in *Florilegium Japonicum: Studies Presented to Olof G. Lidin on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday* (Kobenhavn: Akademisk Forlag, 1996).

³¹ The stress on the uniqueness of Japanese in *kotodama* theory, as Roy Andrew Miller showed, seems connected to modern, politicized discourses on Japanese identity (*Nihonjinron* 日本人論). Roy Miller, "The "Spirit" of the Japanese Language," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 3.2 (1977): 251–298.

³² Kimbrough, "Reading the Miraculous Powers of Japanese Poetry", p. 1.

³³ Dam up the river of heavens and divert the water down to our rice paddies. Oh God, if you are a God that, like rain, comes down from heaven. (*Ama no gawa nawashiro mizu ni seki kudase ama kudarimasu kami naraba kami*).

³⁴ Kimbrough, "Reading the Miraculous Powers of Japanese Poetry", p. 17-18.

Buddhist canon, known as Truth Act (Skt. *saccakiriyā*, *satyakriyā*). He describes it as a “magico-religious technology” that consists in statements of truth or logic achieved through clever wordplay and leading to miracles.

The problem with this argument is that it is circular. It argues that Ichien describes waka as the darani of Japan because waka are in fact the darani of Japan, as described by Ichien. Kimbrough concludes, for example, that “in stating that waka are the dharani of Japan, the thirteenth-century poet-priests do not appear to have been far off the mark”.³⁵ At the same time, Kimbrough’s analysis is helpful in that it emphasizes how for a poem to be effective it has to be uttered orally or be written on a piece of paper and presented at a shrine. In all cases, effective poems are part of an act of communication. In this context, the specific language of the poems seems to be less important than the role the poem plays in social interaction. This thesis is supported by the research of Moriyama Shigeru, who analyzed the language of these poems in terms of the frequency of rhetorical devices, the usage of grammatical forms, and the structure of sentences. Moriyama found that these poems tend to resemble the simple, unadorned language of everyday interactions.³⁶

As a possible step towards enhancing our hermeneutical approach to Ichien’s darani theory, it should be noted that common language that has social effects can be understood in connection to what J. L. Austin called “performative sentences” as part of a discussion of situations in which “the issuing of the utterance is the performance of an action.”³⁷ Effective poems, as depicted in waka vignettes, do not necessarily constitute performative sentences per se, but they can be interpreted in light of Austin’s concept of the performativity of language. Austin cautions that for a sentence to be performative it

³⁵ Kimbrough, “Reading the Miraculous Powers of Japanese Poetry”, p. 26.

³⁶ Moriyama, “Katoku setsuwa no waka ni tsuite,” p. 165.

³⁷ John Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 6.

has to be uttered under appropriate circumstances. Saying, “I do,” is equivalent to the action of getting married only in a very specific circumstance, which has a social as well as a ritual dimension.

I explore the ramifications of this approach in the conclusion to this chapter, where I argue that the “appropriate circumstances” for a poem to be effective seem to be that it be uttered at a specific addressee from whom a response is expected, and in a situation where the poet is in some kind of need and separated from the addressee by a disparity in rank, in class, in gender, or in age. In waka vignettes that depict the benefits of poetry, regardless of whether miracles are involved, a person in need uses a waka poem to move (*kan ari* 感あり) another into granting a benefit. These waka vignettes emerged as part of a comprehensive but internally heterogeneous discourse many decades, even centuries, before Ichien and his waka-darani equivalence.

Katoku before Ichien

Waka vignettes depicting events where poems brought positive practical consequences had appeared already in the earliest records of waka practice in the Nara period, but a cohesive discourse on the benefits of waka would only surface towards the end of the Heian period. My analysis identifies four crucial stages in this process. I start in the early tenth century with the rise of waka to the level of an officially sanctioned genre and the first formulation of the benefits of waka in the prefaces to the first imperial anthology *Kokinshû* (905). A second stage is the compilation of waka vignettes that illustrate the benefits of waka in the poetic treatises of the twelfth century. The third stage is the reception of these waka vignettes in anecdotal collections for non-aristocrats during

the middle of thirteenth century. The last stage, which I discussed in the first part of this chapter, consists in the reception of the formulation and the vignettes on the benefits of waka in Buddhist treatises such as *Shasekishū* in the late thirteenth century.

In this discussion of the early stages of katoku, I contextualize my analysis through an examination of contemporary discourses such as *jingi no uta* 神祇歌 (waka by gods or on gods) and *shakkyōka* 釈教歌 (waka on Buddhist teachings), as well as discourses on the benefits of other courtly practices such as court music and *kanshi* poetry.

Waka vignettes depicting how poems can bring benefits appeared already in the earliest records of waka practice. The provincial gazetteers *Fudoki* (Records of Wind and Earth, 713) and the historical chronicle *Nihonshoki* (Chronicles of Japan, c. 720) contain waka vignettes depicting benefits of poems. The poetic collection *Man'yōshū* (A Collection of a Ten-Thousand Leaves, c. late eighth century) included, for example, a rainmaking³⁸ poem in book XVIII, in which a vignette recounts how Ōtomo no Yakamochi (718-785) recited a long poem (*chōka* 長歌, no. 4122) and an envoy-poem (*hanka* 反歌, no. 4123) after three weeks of drought. The long poem, describing the suffering brought by the drought, is an explicit appeal to the gods. The last line reads “please give us rain” (*ame mo tamawane* 安米母多麻波祢).³⁹

³⁸ Rainmaking rituals (*amegoi* 雨請い) appear repeatedly also in *Nihonshoki*, where they are called *shō-u* 請雨 (“requesting rain”). The Shingon ritual of *shōukyō-hō* 請雨經法 involves an appeal to the gods and buddhas to provide relief during a drought. Similar events appear in a vignette in the anecdotal collection *Konjaku monogatari shū* book 14, Episode 41. SNKBZ, vol. 35, p. 506.

³⁹ A third poem (n. 4124), recited three days later, expresses gratitude for the rain. This poem has received scholarly attention because it contains the word *kotoage*, of central importance in the work of scholars of the early period like Orikuchi Shinobu. I discuss his theory of the *kotodama/kotoage* elsewhere in this chapter. For a detailed discussion of the use of the expressions *kotodama* and *kotoage* in *Man'yōshū* see Boot, “Kotodama and the Ways of Reading the *Man'yōshū*”; Miller, “The ‘Spirit’ of the Japanese Language.”

Vignettes with effective poems would appear throughout the Heian period, in poem-tales (*uta monogatari*) such as *Ise monogatari* (Tales of Ise, 951) and *Yamato monogatari* (Tales of Yamato, 947-57), imperial anthologies such as *GoShūishū* (1086) and individual collections such as *Tsurayuki-shū* (Collection of Ki no Tsurayuki) and *Akazome-emon-shū* (Collection of Akazome-Emon). Yet it was only in the twelfth century that these vignettes were combined with the assertions in the tenth-century *kana* preface to *Kokinshū* to create a clearly articulated discourse on the “virtues of poems” (*uta no toku*).

The earliest and most influential formulation of the benefits of waka is in *Kokinshū* (905). In the *kana* preface, Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (ca. 870-ca. 945) states,

What without effort moves heaven and earth, affects the invisible gods and demons,⁴⁰ softens the relationships of men and women, and consoles the heart of fierce warriors, that is waka. (*Kokinshū*, *kana* preface)⁴¹

A similar statement appears in the *mana* preface, where Ki no Yoshimochi (d. 919) argues,

Through poetry one can describe one’s frustrations and express one’s anger. Nothing moves heaven and earth, stirs the demons and gods, inculcates upright conduct, and harmonizes the relationships between husband and wife like waka.⁴² (...) For persons of an amorous disposition, they become a messenger of their passionate feelings; and for poor persons, they become a means to make a living.⁴³ (...) The vulgar contend for profit and fame, and have no need to compose Japanese verse. How sad! How sad! Although a person may be honored by being both a

⁴⁰ Tsurayuki uses the expression *onigami*, often written 鬼神 (read also “*kijin*”), which can encompass a variety of supernatural beings: scary gods, spirits of the land, spirits of dead people (*reikon* 靈魂), and other beings endowed with supernatural powers. He is lifting this expression from the “Great Preface” of the *Book of Songs*.

⁴¹ SNKBT, vol. 5, p. 4. 力をも入れずして天地を動かし、目に見えぬ鬼神をも哀れと思はせ、男女の仲をも和らげ、猛き武人の心をも慰むるは、歌なり。

⁴² SNKBT, vol. 5, p. 338. 可以述懷、可以發憤。動天地、感鬼神、化人倫、和夫婦、莫宜於和歌。

⁴³ SNKBT, vol. 5, p. 342. 至有好色之家、以此為花鳥之使、乞食之客、以此為活計之謀。

minister and general, and though his wealth may be a bounty of gold and coin, still, before his bones can rot in the dirt, his fame has already disappeared from the world. Only composers of Japanese verse are recognized by posterity. (*Kokinshû*, *mana* preface)⁴⁴

In these passages, Tsurayuki and Yoshimochi discuss the benefits of poetry explicitly but without going into details. *Kokinshû* was the first imperial anthology of waka, and as such a necessary reference for later poets, many of whom left commentaries and annotated versions of its prefaces. These commentaries circulated starting in the late Heian period. The earliest and most elaborate commentary can be found in *Kokinshû joshô* (Commentary on the Preface to *Kokinshû*, 1264), a text attributed to Fujiwara no Tameie (1198-1275), son of Fujiwara no Teika and head of the Mikohidari school.⁴⁵ Tameie writes about Tsurayuki's formulation,

This refers to the virtues of poetry. The *Shijing* says, "To move heaven and earth, to affect the gods and demons, there is nothing better than poetry (*shi*). With it, the rulers of the past managed the relations between husband and wife, instilled feelings of filiality and respect, strengthened moral behavior, embellished the act of teaching, and changed the customs of the people." This is the virtue of poetry in Chinese (*shitoku*). This also applies to waka. The poetry of China and the poetry of Japan differ in their language, but are identical in spirit. This is why [Tsurayuki] models on the spirit of Chinese poetry his description of Japanese poetry. (*Kokinshû joshô*)⁴⁶

⁴⁴ SNKBT, vol. 5, p. 346. 俗人争事栄利、不用詠和歌。悲哉々々。雖貴兼相将、富余金錢、而骨未腐於土中、名先滅世上。適為後世被知者、唯和歌之人而已。

⁴⁵ The earliest commentary is actually Fujiwara no Chikashige's *Kokin jochû* 古今序注 (Commentary on the Preface to *Kokinshû*, 1167), which deals with Yoshimochi's *mana* preface but says little about the formulation of the benefits of waka. The first commentary to refer to Tsurayuki's statement on the benefits of waka (although too briefly) was *Kokinshû jochû* 古今集序注 (Commentary on the Preface to *Kokinshû*, 1183) by the Rokujô-school poet Kenshō 顯昭 (1130-1210).

⁴⁶ これは哥の徳をあぐるなり。毛詩序曰、「動天地、感鬼神、莫近於詩。先王以是經夫婦、成孝敬、厚人倫、美教化、移風俗」云々。詩徳かくのごとし。哥又しかるべし。漢士の詩・和国の歌、ことばことなりといへども、こゝろかはることなし。これによりて、彼の詩のこゝろをとりて、この歌の事をあらはすなり。 Katagiri Yōichi, ed., *Chūsei Kokinshū chūshakusho kaidai* (Tokyo: Akao shōbundō, 1971). Quoted in Kamioka Yūji, *Waka setsuwa no kenkyū – chūko hen* (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 1986), p. 185. Watanabe Shōgo, "Katoku setsuwa no hassei," *Setsuwa bungaku kenkyū* 23.6 (1988): 4. I added brackets and extra punctuation to the Japanese text.

Tameie reads Tsurayuki's passage on the benefits of poems in light of the work considered the highest authority on kanshi poetry (*shih* 詩), the "Great Preface" 大序 to the *Shijing* 詩經 (Book of Songs, J. *Shikyô*; aka *Môshi* 毛詩). His commentary offers a direct quotation from the preface to the *Shijing*⁴⁷ to show its similarities with Tsurayuki's enumeration of the benefits of waka in *Kokinshû*. He refers to the benefits of poetry as *uta no toku* 歌の徳, and explains that this concept was modeled after that of *shitoku* 詩徳 ("virtues of Chinese poetry"). According to Tameie, in borrowing expressions from *Shijing*, Tsurayuki is reflecting a fundamental homology between waka and kanshi, a parallel that transcends the apparent linguistic differences. Because of Tameie's standing as head of the dominant poetic household, his *Kokinshû joshô* had huge influence on later commentaries, which tended to reproduce his interpretation of Tsurayuki's text.⁴⁸

This is not the only place where Tsurayuki borrowed from the "Great Preface." There are many similarities between these two texts. John Wixted has argued that Tsurayuki and Yoshimochi modeled their prefaces on Chinese precedent as an open gesture meant to grant waka the authority and prestige enjoyed in Japan by Chinese poetry.⁴⁹ In the adamant description of the benefits of waka, Wixted reads lack of confidence: "In all likelihood the very fact that the value of Japanese poetry is strongly asserted reflects a distrust of that value --at least a distrust of the acceptance of that value at the time."⁵⁰

⁴⁷ In the *Shijing* the passage reads, "To move heaven and earth, to affect the gods and demons, nothing comes close to poetry. With it, the rulers of the past managed the relations between husband and wife, instilled feelings of filiality and respect, strengthened moral behavior, embellished the act of teaching, and changed the customs of the people" (動天地、感鬼神、莫近於詩。先王以是經夫婦、成孝敬、厚人倫、美教化、移風俗).

⁴⁸ Hirao Yûko, "Katoku setsuwa no kenkyû: so no teigi wo megutte," *Kokugo kokubungaku kenkyû* 40 (2005), p. 37. Kamioka, *Wakasetsuwa no kenkyû*.

⁴⁹ John Timothy Wixted, "The Kokinshû Prefaces: Another Perspective," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 43, no. 1 (June, 1983): 215–238. Wixted, "Chinese Influences on the Kokinshû Prefaces."

⁵⁰ Wixted, "Chinese Influences on the Kokinshû Prefaces," p. 217.

Tameie draws a similar parallel between the *Kokinshû* and the *Shijing*. In this case, however, it is less likely the product of lack of confidence in the value of waka, as Tameie is building on a discourse that had circulated since the early twelfth century, and that had as its main concept the notion of an *uta no toku* 歌の徳 (“the virtue of waka”).

There is no mention of such concept in *Kokinshû* nor there is any mention of a *shitoku* 詩徳 in *Shijing* either. The first work to mention a notion of *uta no toku* was *Toshiyori zuinô* (Toshiyori’s Essentials of Poetry, 1111-14) by Minamoto no Toshiyori (1055-1129). It appears in a section of the text where Toshiyori offers examples of the different social uses of poetry,⁵¹ in the shape of a cluster of waka vignettes. It starts with the different social types that compose waka (emperors, empresses, buddhas, legendary priests, and gods).⁵² Then, Toshiyori offers two more vignettes. In the first one, Priest Nôin (b. 988) presents a poem at a shrine during a drought, the god is moved by the poem, and it soon starts raining (I discussed this vignette in the second chapter). In the second vignette, Tsurayuki offends the god at Aridôshi Shrine and is punished, but after he composes a poem the god pardons him. The cluster closes with several poems by old men, children, poor persons, beggars, and thieves.

Toshiyori refers to Tsurayuki’s preface in a passage that follows his recounting of Nôin’s rainmaking poem and Tsurayuki’s poem at Aridôshi. He remarks, “That it moves to sympathy the invisible gods and demons, and consoles the heart of fierce warriors is

⁵¹ SNKBZ, vol. 87, pp. 40-57.

⁵² Toshiyori introduces this section with a reference to the *kana* preface of *Kokinshû*. Toshiyori writes, “Generally speaking, of all beings with a heart, starting with the gods and buddhas, the emperors and empresses, and all the way down to the lowliest mountain beggars, which of them doesn’t compose waka?” (SNKBZ, vol. 87, p. 40. おほよそ歌は、神・仏、みかど・きさきよりはじめてたまつりて、あやしの山賤にいたるまで、その心あるものは、皆詠まざるものなし), which is an expansion of Tsurayuki’s line “Every living being composes waka” (いきとしいけるもの いづれかうたをよまざりける).

written in many ancient texts, but that is a thing of the past. In recent times this sort of thing doesn't happen.”⁵³ In spite of this apparent skepticism about the miraculous benefits of poetry, Toshiyori refers to them again in this cluster. As part of the group of vignettes on old men, children, and poor persons, there is this vignette:

A poem composed in a similar situation, when a person was about to be flogged:

I have grown old, and my head is white
like a mountain capped with snow.
Upon seeing your stick, I shake,
like someone chilled by the sight of frost.

Oihatete yuki no yama wo ba itadakedo shimo to miru ni zo mi wa hienikeru

Thanks to the virtues of poems he was pardoned, or so one hears.
(*Toshiyori zuinō*)⁵⁴

In this passage, an old man about to be punished composes a skillful poem. The poem hinges on a play on words between *shimo* 霜, “frost” (a metaphor for the white hair of the old man), and *shimoto* 笞, a stick used to inflict physical pain as a form of punishment. Toshiyori’s remark that the man was pardoned thanks to the “virtues of poems” (*uta no toku*) implies that the official about to carry out the sentence was moved by the skill of the poem.

While Toshiyori writes “so one hears” (とぞ聞ゆる), it is very likely that he was consulting a written source for this poem. The third imperial anthology *Shūishū* (Collection of Gleanings, 1005-7) features this same poem under the headnote, “When Tadanobu from Sakurajima Island in Ōsumi Province was serving in that province, and

⁵³ SNKBT, vol. 87, p. 50. 目に見えぬ鬼神をも、あはれと思はせ、猛きもののふの心をもなくさむと、古きものゝ書けれど、昔の事にや。この頃はさも見えず。

⁵⁴ SNKBZ, vol. 87, p. 56. また同じ事にて、背中打たれむとしける折に、詠める歌、老いはてて雪の山をばいただけどもとみるにぞ身はひえにける。この歌の徳に、ゆるされにけりとぞ聞ゆる。

was called to the District Office to punish the crime of a white-haired old man, the man composed this poem,” and followed by the statement, “He was pardoned thanks to this poem.”⁵⁵ In *Shûishû* and in *Toshiyori zuinô*, the poem --and with it waka in general-- seems to be able to move a person to the point of changing his judgment and behavior. The novelty in Toshiyori’s retelling is the explicit mention of a “virtue of poetry.”

That *Toshiyori zuinô* is the earliest text to mention the notion of the “virtues of poetry” begs the question of what Toshiyori actually meant when he wrote about Tsurayuki’s enumeration of benefits that “it is a thing of the past. In recent times this sort of thing doesn’t happen.” Can we take his comments at face value or should we see in them a rhetorical strategy deployed to polemicize against other experts in poetry? Kamioka Yûji shows that while Mikohidari poets like Tameie emphasized the notion of the virtues of poetry, their Rokujô-school rivals tended to express misgivings about it. For example, in *Kokinshû jochû* 古今集序注 (Annotations to the Preface of the *Kokinshû*, 1183), Kenshō breezes over Tsurayuki’s enumeration of benefits, while Tameie and his descendants devote much more attention to it. Toshiyori worked before the days of the Rokujô-Mikohidari, but Kamioka argues that it is still possible that by expressing disbelief in the virtues of poetry Toshiyori was mainly trying to disagree with a rival who expressed a belief in them.⁵⁶

Another way to look at it is as a product of the decline in the prestige of waka. As Hashimoto Fumio points out, after *Shûishû* (1005-7) eighty years went by without a new imperial anthology. The fourth imperial anthology, *GoShûishû* (Later Collection of

⁵⁵ *Shûishû* (poem n. 564, book 9, Miscellaneous II) 大隅守さくらしまの忠信かくにに侍ける時、こほりのつかさ、かしらしろきおきなのはへりけるを、めしかんかへんとし侍にける時、おきなのよみ侍ける。老いはてて雪の山をばいただけどしもとみるにぞ身は冷えにける このうたによりて、ゆるされ侍にける。

⁵⁶ Kamioka, *Wakasetsuwa no kenkyû*, p. 203-5.

Gleanings, 1086), compiled by Fujiwara no Michitoshi (1047-99) for Retired Emperor Shirakawa (1053-1129, r. 1072-1086), marks the efforts at restoring the cultural significance of waka.⁵⁷ In this context, Toshiyori's skepticism can be read as concern about the future of waka.

Several passages in *Toshiyori zuinô* refer to contemporary waka practice as a pale version of that in the past. For example, after quoting seven jukkai poems by old men from *Kokinshû*, Toshiyori remarks, "These are poems composed by a group of old men who gathered to lament the futile passing of time. People of the present don't think of composing such poems, as they expect to live for a thousand years; but people of the past, did they know the fleetingness of this world!"⁵⁸ Similarly, after quoting poems by children, "People of the present consider it impertinent for children to compose poetry, but in the past even children who still drank their mother's milk could compose poems!"⁵⁹ In the context of a poetic exchange between two men competing for a woman, Toshiyori remarks, "Yet people of the present do not compose poems like this."⁶⁰ About thieves who are caught and compose poems to avoid punishment, "In situations like these, people of the past composed poems, but people of the present do not seem to be like them."⁶¹

⁵⁷ Hashimoto Fumio, *Ôchô wakashi no kenkyû* (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 1972). Hashimoto connects this decline with a shift from a situational literature rooted in social occasions (until mid-Heian) towards an individual-centered poetics (during the Insei period).

⁵⁸ SNKBT, vol. 87, p. 51; これは、老いたる人どもの集まりて、いたづらに老いぬる事を、嘆き詠める歌なり。このごろの人は、歌までは思ひもかけず、千年もながらふべきさまにこそ思ひげなるに、むかし人は、はかなき事を、思ひ知りにけるにや。

⁵⁹ SNKBT, vol. 87, p. 52; このごろの人は、こごかしとやにくまむ。また、乳のむほどのこどもも、昔は歌を詠みけるにや。

⁶⁰ SNKBT, vol. 87, p. 54; このごろの人は、さらに歌詠まじものを。

⁶¹ SNKBT, vol. 87, p. 55; さる折にも、昔の人は、歌を詠みければ、このごろの人には、似ざりけるとぞみゆる。

Toshiyori's view that the practice of waka was in decline resonates with Yoshimochi's general argument in the *mana* preface that waka practice was only slowly coming out of a century of neglect. For example, Yoshimochi argues,

After Prince Ôtsu composed the first poems in Chinese, persons of skill followed his style. The shift to writing in Chinese changed the customs of our land. As the language of our people was overhauled, waka gradually declined. (*Kokinshû*, *mana* preface)⁶²

Yoshimochi states that the introduction of writing in Chinese characters and the practice of composing kanshi poems led to a disregard for waka. Toshiyori and Yoshimochi coincide in describing the state of waka practice as one of decline, but both wrote at a time when waka enjoyed great cultural significance: Yoshimochi was writing the preface to a compilation of poems sanctioned by the imperial house; Toshiyori composed his treatise not long after the compilation of *GoShûishû* (1086) and only a decade before Retired Emperor Shirokawa (1053-1129) commissioned him to compile what would be the fifth imperial anthology, *Kin'yôshû* (1127).

In any case, Toshiyori set the precedent that would shape discussions of waka in poetic treatises, anecdotal collections, and other texts for centuries. Following Toshiyori, these diverse texts speak of a “virtues of waka,” discuss it in connection to passages in the prefaces of the *Kokinshû*, and illustrate it with waka vignettes. This can be seen already in Kiyosuke's poetic treatise *Fukurozôshi*.

In his poetic treatise *Fukurozôshi* (1159), the Rokujô-school poet Fujiwara no Kiyosuke displays a similar interest for the benefits of poetry. Kiyosuke makes no explicit mention of the “virtues of waka,” but he reveals an awareness of it when he

⁶² SNKBT. Vol. 5, p. 342. 自大津皇子之初作詩賦、詞人才子慕風繼塵。移彼漢家之字、化我日或之俗。民業一改、和歌漸衰。

groups waka vignettes together, illustrating these benefits into thematic clusters. They appear in a section of the text titled *zōtan* 雑談 (“Miscellaneous Conversations”).⁶³ In these vignettes, waka appear as an effective means for a human to communicate with a god or with another, but more powerful, human.

Among the “Miscellaneous Conversations,” Kiyosuke included a subsection called *kitai no uta* 希代の歌 (“Strange Poems”). Within this subsection, and under the heading *busshin kannō no uta* 仏神感応の歌 (“Poems that Elicit a Response from Gods and Buddhas”), Kiyosuke lined up back to back the two vignettes (Tsurayuki’s poem at Aridōshi Shrine and Nōin’s rainmaking poem) that Toshiyori had linked to Tsurayuki’s preface to *Kokinshū*, together with other similar vignettes. In one of them, a god heals the illness of the son of court-lady Akazome-Emon 赤染衛門 (mid-Heian period) after she offers a poem at Sumiyoshi shrine; in another, a man receives a message from a god in a dream. At the end of this cluster, and after several other vignettes where poets are helped by gods, Kiyosuke remarks, “This has not declined even in our present times.”⁶⁴

The layout and heading of this subsection (“Poems that Elicit a Response from Gods and Buddhas”) suggests that we read it in the context of contemporary religious beliefs. Another similar hint is that immediately before this cluster of vignettes, Kiyosuke laid out vignettes with poems composed by gods and buddhas. These poems are grouped under two separate headings, *shinmei no ōn-uta* 神明の御歌 (“Poems by Gods”) and *hotoke no ōn-uta* 仏の御歌 (“Poems by Buddhas”), and followed by a series of poems by priests.

⁶³ SNKBZ, vol. 29, p. 143-171.

⁶⁴ SNKBZ, vol. 29, p. 397 (*kundoku* in p. 159). 雖末代無陵夷事也.

The notion that gods composed poems was as old as waka itself. Already the historical chronicles of the Nara period (710-784) identified a god, Susa-no-o, as the first to compose a waka poem (as I discussed in chapter two). Also, references to humans offering poems to the gods appear *Man'yōshū* (A Collection of a Ten-Thousand Leaves, c. late eighth century) as well as in *Kokinshū*, book XX, under the heading *kami asobi no uta* 神あそびのうた (“Poems to Entertain the Gods”). Similarly, it was accepted that gods could communicate with humans by sending a message through a medium (*takusen* 託宣) or directly by appearing in a dream. However, the idea that humans and gods could use poems as a way of communicating with each other was much more recent. Waka vignettes recounting such interactions appeared only with the fourth imperial anthology *GoShūishū* (Later Collection of Gleanings, 1086). For example, one of the waka vignettes that Kiyosuke included in the section on “Poems that Elicit a Response from Gods and Buddhas,” had appeared originally in *GoShūishū*, Book XX, under the heading *jingi* 神祇 (“Gods of the Heaven and the Earth”):

By Izumi Shikibu. At a time when she had been forgotten by a man, she went on a pilgrimage to Kibune, and upon seeing fireflies over the stream that run near the shrine, she composed this poem.

When I see fireflies by the mountain stream, I wonder:
Has my suffering spirit left my body
to wander about like a gem (spirit)?

*Mono omoheba sawa no hotaru mo wa ga mi yori akugare izuru tama ka to zo miru*⁶⁵

The reply:

Avoid suffering so much that your spirit
falls like the gem-like drops

⁶⁵ The most common meaning of *sawa* is swamp or marsh, but in the context of Kibune it refers to a mountain stream.

of waterfall rapids deep in the mountains.
Okuyama ni tagirite otsuru taki tsu se no tama chiru bakari mono na omohi so

This poem was the response of the god enshrined at Kibune. Izumi Shikibu heard a male voice, or so they say. (*GoShūishū*, book XX, poems no. 1162-63)⁶⁶

Izumi Shikibu's poem sketches the desperation of an abandoned lover. The voice coming from the shrine, presented as that of the god, offers words of consolation in the shape of a poem. The pun in Izumi Shikibu's poem on *tama* (spirit/gem) is twisted in the god's poem by a pun on another meaning of *tama* (drops). That the reply poem should offer a variation of the words and images of the first poem was a standard convention of courtly poetic exchanges (*zôtōka* 贈答歌). Poetic exchanges were an important subgenre of *waka* throughout the Heian period, well represented in imperial anthologies, and played a central role in private interactions between courtiers. In this vignette, human and god find a common language in the tradition and conventions of courtly *waka*. This vignette from *GoShūishū* appears as well in *Toshiyori zuinō* as part of the cluster in which Toshiyori offers examples of the different social uses of poetry.

In the subsection on “Strange Poems,” apart from interactions between gods and humans, Kiyosuke offers two other types of instances in which *waka* serves as a means of communication across separate social spaces. Under the heading *bōsha no uta* 亡者の歌 (“Poems by Dead People”), vignettes recount how dead people appear in dreams and compose poems.⁶⁷ And under the heading *senpu no uta* 賤夫の歌 (“Poems by Lowly

⁶⁶ *GoShūishū*. Book 20, poems n. 1162-63. 和泉式部 男に忘られて侍りける頃貴ぶねにまゐりて
みたらし川に螢のとび侍りけるを見て詠める 物思へば澤の螢も我身よりあくがれ出づる玉かと
ぞみる 御かへし 奥山にたぎりて落つる瀧つ瀬の玉ちるばかり物な思ひそ 此の歌はきぶねの
明神の御返しなり。男の聲にて和泉式部が耳に聞えけるとなむいひつたへたる。

⁶⁷ SNKBZ, vol. 29, p. 160.

People”), Kiyosuke includes two vignettes where low-class persons use poems to communicate with aristocrats.⁶⁸ In one of these vignettes, a young peasant composes a skillful poem to seduce Izumi Shikibu.⁶⁹ In the second, a poor man receives a reward of clothes from an aristocrat after reciting a skillful poem on the suffering brought by not having enough clothes.

Many of the waka vignettes in “Strange Poems” involve miraculous events. Even secular interactions like that of Izumi Shikibu and the young peasant have something wondrous about them --Kiyosuke even suggests that this is an event so unlikely that it is probably untrue. Nothing in these vignettes indicates, however, that Kiyosuke saw the poems themselves as magical. Their effectiveness stems from the role they can play in social communication. Kiyosuke did include in *Fukurozôshi* a few poems he deemed as magical. They appear under a different heading, *jûmon no uta* 誦文の歌 (“Poem Spells”). For example,

A poem spell for chest pain:

A tree planted on the roof will wither, as if planted on one’s chest.
Rain away, a rain of love!
So that I can grow a tree.

Mune no ue no ueki wo sureba karenikeri kohi no ame fure ueki hayasan
(*Fukurozôshi*)⁷⁰

The poem hinges on puns on *kohi*, “love” (恋) and “request” (乞ひ), and on *mune*, “ridge of a roof” (棟) and “chest” (胸). Kiyosuke introduces this poem as a generic spell that can heal chest pain regardless of the specific social circumstances in which it is

⁶⁸ SNKBZ, vol. 29, p. 165.

⁶⁹ I discuss this vignette in the fourth chapter.

⁷⁰ SNKBZ, vol. 29, p. 200 (*kundoku* p. 168). 胸病誦文歌 ムネノウヘウヘキヲスレハカレニケリ
コヒノアメフレウヘキハヤサン.

recited. By contrast, the vignettes in the rest of the subsection “Strange Poems” record the one-time, specific social interaction in which a poem was an effective means of communication. In this way, Kiyosuke suggests that the vignettes where poems bring benefits are not to be read as cases of magic or spells.

“Strange Poems” is not the only subsection of “Miscellaneous Conversations” in which Kiyosuke presents the benefits of poems as means of communication. He also discusses the inclusion of waka in documents presented to an emperor as requests of appointments to higher rank and office. Kiyosuke writes,

Waka is a thing full of interest. When presenting a document to a ruler or someone of the highest standing, one can count on the Way of poetry. The historical precedent indicates that one should compose a poem and include it in written applications for rank and office, as well as in official documents that certify the conferral of rank and office. (*Fukurozôshi*)⁷¹

This passage depicts the use of poems in official communication, and Kiyosuke illustrates it with several vignettes. Some of them concern his own experiences at court. For example,

I myself followed this historical precedent and submitted a poem together with my application for rank to the late Retired Emperor Toba.

Even those of all ages have ascended Rank Mountain.
This aged body has experienced many hardships.

Yaeyae no hito dani noboru kurai yama oinuru mi ni ha kurushikarikeri

I appealed many times, but the Fourth Rank escaped me. When I composed this poem I had in mind that while my brothers had all reached the Fourth Rank, I had not received it yet. The Retired Emperor, in his wisdom, was moved, and appointed me to the Fourth Rank. (*Fukurozôshi*)⁷²

⁷¹ SNKBZ, vol. 29, p. 375 (*kundoku* p. 103). 和歌ハ有興事也。無止事人及帝王ニモ達事ヲ其道也。所望申文若ハ名籍ニモ、制之先蹤也。

⁷² SNKBZ, vol. 29, p. 375 (*kundoku* p. 104). 予、追先蹤、叙位之時、故鳥羽院申文ニ引歌、ヤヘノヒトタニ上ル位山ヲヒヌルミニハクルシカリケリ 是有募申事、四位二度々漏シ。昆弟等ハ至四品、無聽事ヲ思テ所詠也。賢ク有御感、其後叙四品。

Kiyosuke's poem hinges on a pun on *kurai yama* 位山, a mountain in present-day Gifu Prefecture whose name means also "the mountain of ranks." This poem belongs to a subgenre of waka known as *jukkai* 述懷, where the poet laments his misfortunes. Many *jukkai* poems were addressed at a ruler as a request for upgrades in rank and office from a ruler. *Jukkai* are highly codified poems, which rely on a few conventional metaphors such as *kurai yama*. Kiyosuke recounts a few other instances where his *jukkai* poems were effective, and remarks, "Isn't this the highest honor? I have many shortcomings, but thanks to the way of poetry I have received honors repeatedly. This is the result of years of practice and effort."⁷³ In the *mana* preface to *Kokinshū*, Yoshimochi referred to *jukkai* poems when he stated, "Through poetry one can describe one's frustrations and express one's anger."⁷⁴ However, neither he nor Tsurayuki made any mention of the use of poems to obtain rank and office.

Ogawa Toyō'o has suggested that *jukkai* poems that were used as requests for rank and office can be a key to understand the wider discourse on the benefits of poetry that appears in twelfth-century works such as *Toshiyori zuinō* and *Fukurozōshi*. Ogawa argues that while *jukkai* poems express grievances and frustration at the ruler, they posit a ruler who can grant benefits. This functioned as a reinforcement of the bond between ruler and subject at a time when political turmoil destabilized the balance of power between social classes, regions, and families that had characterized the mid-Heian period. Kiyosuke, for example, lived through the reign of eight different emperors. Ogawa cites Hashimoto's

⁷³ SNKBZ, vol. 29, p. 375 (*kundoku* p. 105). 何面白如之哉。雖不堪事、依此道度々有面目。是多年稽古之所歎。

⁷⁴ SNKBT, vol. 5, p. 338. 可以述懷、可以發憤。動天地、感鬼神、化人倫、和夫婦、莫宜於和歌。

argument about the decline of waka practice between the imperial anthologies *Shûishû* (1005-6) and *GoShûishû* (1086), and suggests that a discourse on the “virtues of waka” emerged as a reaction to this decline: Just like the jukkai poems that posit a strong ruler because the court was losing ground to new political players, waka poets advocated the virtues of poetry precisely because the practice of waka was diminishing in social significance.⁷⁵

There is another way in which we can read jukkai as a key to understand this discourse. The waka vignettes in the subsection “Strange Poems” of *Fukurozôshi* depict instances of communication between gods and humans, the dead and the living, peasants and aristocrats. Analogously, the poems in this particular group of *jukkai* appear as a means of communications between a ruler and a subject. In both cases, there is a significant difference in rank between poet and addressee. The outcome of the vignettes is similar as well: poems are effective when they provoke an emotional reaction of sympathy or admiration in a god or a person. Kiyosuke repeatedly refers to this reaction as *kan ari* 感あり, which can be roughly translated as “to have an emotional reaction.” In this way, *Fukurozôshi* presents waka rhetorically as an emotional language shared by those on top and those below: poems can span diverse social spaces and domains of existence. Waka, a highly sophisticated poetic language that developed within the aristocratic court, appears in *Fukurozôshi* as a language shared also by gods and non-aristocratic humans such as peasants and laborers.

⁷⁵ Ogawa Tôyô, “Katokuron josetsu,” in Watanabe, *Higi to shite no waka: kôji to ba*. Ogawa means to emphasize the importance of accounting for the historical differences between creation of *Kokinshû* in the early tenth century and the production of poetic treatises two centuries later. However, his argument is analogous to Wixted’s argument that the *Kokinshû* prefaces stressed the benefits of poetry because its editors wanted to elevate the value of waka.

This is true as well for *Toshiyori zuinô*, where Toshiyori asserts, before introducing a cluster of vignettes with poems by different social types, from emperors to beggars, “Generally speaking, of all beings with a heart, starting with the gods and buddhas, the emperors and empresses, and all the way down to the lowliest mountain beggars, which of them doesn’t compose waka?”⁷⁶ Including poems attributed to beggars reinforces the idea of social harmony according to which waka is a shared language beyond the court and the aristocracy. In summary, in the works of Toshiyori and Kiyosuke a discourse on “the virtues of poetry” emerged that was characterized by a presentation of waka as effective in social situations because it could serve as a means of communication through shared emotional language.

In the following centuries, discussions of waka would be built roughly on this same pattern. They would include a quote of the *Kokinshû* preface and a set of illustrative waka vignettes arranged into two general categories: events involving gods and events involving secular interactions, in particular ruler-subject interactions. For example, in the anecdotal collection *Jikkinshô* (A Ten-Lesson Digest, 1252), chapter 10 (“One Must Aspire to Develop Knowledge and Skills”) includes many of these same waka vignettes grouped into two clusters. Episodes 10.10 to 10.16 comprise events where poets move gods into causing miracles. This cluster closes with the comment, “These are examples of what is written in the preface to *Kokinshû*: without effort waka moves heaven and earth, affects the invisible gods and demons.”⁷⁷ And episodes 10.35 to 10.51 show poets persuading other people with the use of poems to obtain office and rank, material rewards,

⁷⁶ SNKBZ, vol. 87, p. 40. おほよそ歌は、神・仏、みかど・きさきよりはじめてたまつりて、あやしの山賤にいたるまで、その心あるものは、皆詠まざるものなし。

⁷⁷ SNKBZ, vol. 51, p. 404. 力をも入れずして、天地を動かし、目に見えぬ鬼神をもあはれと思はずと、古今集の序に書かれたるは、これらのたぐひなり。

legal pardon, fame and honor, or romantic affection. Halfway into this cluster, Episode 10.39 contains a waka vignette about an old man who escapes punishment thanks to a poem, to which the editor comments, “Not only this, waka can also soften the relationships between husband and wife. For persons of an amorous disposition, they function as messengers of their passionate feelings. And also it is written: they act as a bridge spanning this scanty world, helping the indigent in making a living. The virtues (*toku*) of waka are diverse and many.”⁷⁸

The anecdotal collection *Kokonchomonjū* (A Collection of Tales Written and Heard in the Past and Present, 1254) edited by Tachibana no Narisue contains clusters of waka vignettes that depict the benefits of poems. Episodes 171 to 177 of *Kokonchomonjū* depict events where poets move gods into making miracles. These episodes reproduce the content and arrangement of episodes 10.10-10.16 in *Jikkishō*. Also episodes 190 to 202 depict events where poets persuade other people and obtain material benefits, reproducing episodes 4.14-15, 10.35-36, 10.42-47, and 10.50 in *Jikkishō*. A third group of waka vignettes, episodes 183 to 187, stems from episodes 3.1, 3.2, 3.4, 3.6, and 4.6 in *Jikkishō*. As I discussed in the second chapter, these episodes were added later to *Kokonchomonjū*. They are present in all extant manuscripts, which suggests that these additions were done not long after Tachibana no Narisue had finished and circulated the work. That the additions break the chronological arrangement of the work makes it very unlikely that they were done by Narisue himself. Whoever added vignettes from *Jikkishō* to depict the benefits of waka registered an awareness of the thirteenth-century discourse on the “virtues of poetry”.

⁷⁸ SNKBZ, vol. 51, p. 430. かようのこのみならず、歌は妹背の中を和らぐる媒なるによりて、色めく類、これを花鳥の使とすともあり。あるいはまた、貧しき世を渡る橋とすとも見えたり。その徳、かたがた多かるべし。

In *Jikkinshô* and *Kokonchomonjû*, as with the earlier *Fukurozôshi*, vignettes depict poems that are effective as a common emotional code in a context of differences in social rank. Much later works would reflect this same general approach, as, for example, Edo-period anecdotal collections *Waka kimyô-dan* 和歌奇妙談 (Conversations on Strange Waka, mid-Edo period), *Waka toku monogatari* 和歌徳物語 (Tales of the Virtues of Waka, mid-Edo period), and *Waka kitoku* 和歌奇徳 (The Mysterious Virtue of Waka, mid-Edo period). In *Waka itoku monogatari* 和歌威徳物語 (Tales of the Dignity and Virtue of Waka, 1689), for example, waka vignettes are arranged into three groups, under the headings *shinkan* 神感 (“Gods Emotionally Moved”), *kun'on* 君恩 (“The Patronage of the Ruler”), and *nin'ai* 人愛 (“Human Affection”). These three groups comprise, respectively, vignettes where poems move gods into making miracles, vignettes where poets persuade powerful people, and vignettes where poets of lower status (peasants, women) seduce people of higher status (aristocrats, men). These vignettes are arranged in a fashion similar to that of the vignettes in *Fukurozôshi* and *Jikkinshô*.

For his discussion of waka as *darani* in *Shasekishû*, Ichien borrowed waka vignettes from *Jikkinshô*, preserving the distinction between religious benefits and secular benefits that had appeared for the first time in *Fukurozôshi*. The two clusters of vignettes taken from *Jikkinshô* appear as a section titled “On gods that are moved by poems and help people”⁷⁹ (section 5b1) and another titled “On poems that moved people”⁸⁰ (section 5b2).⁸¹ The vignettes that appear in *Shasekishû* as evidence that waka can bring benefits

⁷⁹ SNKBZ, vol. 52, p. 259. 明神、歌を感じて人を助け給う事。

⁸⁰ SNKBZ, vol. 52, p. 261. 人の感ある和歌の事。

⁸¹ As occurs in *Kokonchomonjû* and *Jikkinshô*, *Shasekishû* contains no instruction on how to compose a waka poem –let alone how to compose a poem that can have miraculous or social efficacy. In the other sections, Ichien explores diverse aspects of waka practice not necessarily related to his waka-darani

and in support of the more general argument that these benefits occur because waka are darani, are taken for the most part from *Jikkinshô*, which like all previous texts makes no mention of waka as darani.

Waka was not the only courtly accomplishment that became relevant to non-courtiers. Professional poets tended to have skills in two other traditional disciplines as well: music (*kangen* 管弦) and kanshi poetry. At certain elegant banquets and outings, the host would prepare boats for each discipline, and guests would choose one according to their skills. The highest distinction was to have achieved excellence in all three and thus not know which boat to board. The poet Fujiwara no Kintô (966-1041) was reputed as one of these masters, and Toshiyori's father Minamoto no Tsunenobu (1016-97) was another.⁸²

The discourse on the “virtues of waka” had parallels in analogous discourses on the virtues of kanshi and of music. In *Fukurozôshi*, at the end of a cluster of vignettes where waka poets are helped by gods, Kiyosuke includes a vignette where the waka poet and an expert in Chinese studies Ôe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041-1111) composes a kanshi poem:

By the Dazai Master Ôe [no Masafusa]:

The mausoleum of Yao's mother is in disarray;
One scoop of the tears of Shun's wife draws a pattern on the spring
bamboo.

argument. For example, the next section is on “Poems that appear in dreams” (5b3 夢中の歌の事) but this is followed by two vignettes on “People who died because of a poem” (5b4 歌に依りて命を失ふ事). Similarly, in the next section (5b6), Ichien reconsiders Buddhist arguments against waka and presents new evidence to rebate them, in the shape of waka vignettes with poems on the traditional topic of grief (*aishô* 哀傷). Finally, the last section of this chapter (5b7) contains vignettes about poems composed by buddhas, bodhisattvas, and buddha-incarnates (*gongen* 権現). The heterogeneity of topics of the vignettes in this chapter suggests that for Ichien the waka-darani equivalence is just one among other useful ways to discuss the compatibility of waka with the Buddhist worldview.

⁸² This is recorded, for example, in *Jikkinshô*, chapter 10, episodes 3 and 4.

The grave of the Lord of Xu is decaying;
Three feet of frost cover the autumn pines.⁸³

He included this poem in a preface written by himself for a banquet at Anrakuji Temple.⁸⁴ It is said that when the poem was recited, a noise was heard coming from the mausoleum. People say that Higo Secretary Tadakane told the following story: “When I travelled to Higo, I met an old Provincial Official who told me that he had been the scribe for that banquet. I asked him whether it was true that a noise was heard from the mausoleum. He replied that it was true: at first the noise resonated across the mountain, but the source seemed to be somewhere in the vicinity, and as it finally moved closer it turned out that it was coming from the mausoleum.” (*Fukurozōshi*)⁸⁵

The spirit enshrined at Anrakuji in Dazaifu (Kyūshū) was that of the waka poet and scholar in Chinese studies Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845-903), exiled to Dazaifu but posthumously rehabilitated. In this vignette, the noise coming from Michizane’s mausoleum at Anrakuji suggests that the god was moved by Masafusa’s poem. As waka do in many other vignettes in *Fukurozōshi*, a kanshi poem serves as an effective means of communication between humans and divinities. And as was the case with waka vignettes, later works such as *Jikkishō* include similar vignettes about the benefits of *kanshi*.

Something similar happens with music. There is evidence of a discourse in the late Heian period about the benefits of several different genres of music: traditional court music (*kangen* 管弦), ritual shrine music (*kagura* 神樂), courtly airs based on popular

⁸³ Emperor Yao 堯 and his successor Emperor Shun 舜 are legendary wise Chinese rulers. According to legend, Jili 季礼 (ca. 561-ca. 515 BCE) of Wu Province meant to give his sword to the Lord of Xu 徐, who secretly wanted it, but the Lord of Xu died, and Jili left it on his grave. In the poem, “three feet” refers to the length of the sword.

⁸⁴ This preface appears in the collection *Honchō-shoku-monzu* 本朝統文粹, book 8.

⁸⁵ SNKBZ, Vol. 29, p. 397 (*kundoku* in p. 159). 江都督 堯母廟荒 春竹染一掬泪 徐 君墓古 秋松照三尺之霜 是、於安樂寺行曲水宴、自所書之序文也。披講之時、御廟鳴云々。肥後大進忠 兼語云、下向肥後之時、有故老之府官語云、伴曲水宴之時文人云々。仍問廟鳴実否。答云、実也。始ハ御後山方響鳴、其声近々也。而漸」近聞後ニ、御廟中ニハ聞云々。

songs (*saibara* 催馬楽), and folk songs (*fuzoku-uta* 風俗歌). A discussion of their benefits is found in a work on a musical genre known as *imayô-uta* (“songs in the contemporary style”). *Imayô* consisted in four 7/5 lines and had originally been sung by female entertainers (*kugutsu* 傀儡) at posting stations along main roads.⁸⁶ Towards the end of the Heian period, *imayô* gained popularity at court. Retired Emperor GoShirakawa (1127-92) compiled an anthology of *imayô* called *Ryôjin hishō* 梁塵秘抄 (Beam-Dust Secret Selections; after 1169) and a volume of vignettes about *imayô* called *Ryôjin hishō kuden-shū* 梁塵秘抄口伝集 (Oral Transmission of the Ryôjin hishō).⁸⁷ For this latter collection of vignettes GoShirakawa explicitly indicated that his model had been *Toshiyori zuinō*.⁸⁸

In these works, GoShirakawa extends to music the discourse on the benefits of waka that since *Toshiyori zuinō* and *Fukurozôshi* consisted of a reference to the *Kokinshū* prefaces illustrated by narrative vignettes as instances of the “virtue” (*toku*) of poetry. The preface to *Kuden-shū* states with regard to *kagura* and *saibara*, “they were passed down as songs (*uta* 謡) that move heaven and earth, appease the violent gods, govern the land, and bestow patronage on the people.”⁸⁹ This statement clearly imitates the *Kokinshū* prefaces. GoShirakawa says that this is applicable as well to *imayô* and in book 10 of *Kuden-shū* he offers evidence of this in the form of a vignette:

⁸⁶ Kim Yung-Hee, *Songs to Make the Dust Dance: The Ryôjin Hisho of Twelfth-Century Japan* (University of California Press, 1994).

⁸⁷ Only a fragment of the first and second books of *Ryôjin hishō*, and a fragment of the first and tenth books of *Kuden-shū* are extant.

⁸⁸ SNKBT, vol. 56, p. 153. 今様には未ださる事無ければ、俊頼が髓脳を倣びて、是を選ところ也。

⁸⁹ SNKBT, vol. 56, p. 151. 皆これ天地を動かし、荒ふる神を和め、国を治め、民を恵む歌立てとす。

If one makes a heartfelt pilgrimage to a shrine or temple and sings a song, surely one will receive the manifestation of a deity and one's wish will be fulfilled. Whether it is a longing for an appointment to office, for a longer life, or for an immediate cure to illness, it is impossible it won't happen. Atsuie⁹⁰, who had a great voice, received an appointment to be stationed in Mitake⁹¹ in service to the Imperial Household. When Inspector⁹² Kiyotsune fell ill and was soon to die, Mei⁹³ sang, "In this fallen Age of Semblances I have faith in the vow of the Healing Buddha..." and on the spot the illness went away. More recently, when Captain of the Left Palace Guards Michisue⁹⁴ was suffering from malaria fever and the illness worsened, he twice sang "Never ever speak ill of them!..." and the fever-induced sweating went completely away. (*Ryôjin hishō kuden-shû*)⁹⁵

In this passage, GoShirakawa depicts *imayô* songs as effective in securing rank and office at court and in healing illness. In this way, he reflects the distinction made in *Fukurozôshi* between poems that are effective in human communication and poems that are part of an interaction with divine beings. When discussing this second group, GoShirakawa offers two *imayô* as examples of miraculous songs. The first, sung by Aohaka no Mei, a late Heian female entertainer (*kugutsu*), appears in the second book of *Ryôjin hishō*, under the heading *hotoke no uta* 佛歌 ("Songs of the Buddha"):

In this fallen Age of Semblances⁹⁶
I have faith in the vow of the Healing Buddha:

⁹⁰ Fujiwara no Atsuie (1033-90), mid-ranking public official. He was famous as music teacher.

⁹¹ Kinpusen mountain range, in Yoshino, Nara Prefecture. Holy place for Shugendô practitioners.

⁹² *Oroshimono no tsukasa* or *kenmotsu* 監物. An official at the Ministry of Central Affairs (*nakazukasa shô*).

⁹³ Aohaka no Mei, late Heian female entertainer (*kugutsu*).

⁹⁴ Fujiwara no Michisue (1090-1129).

⁹⁵ SNKBT, vol. 56, p. 178. 心を致して神社仏寺に参て、謡ふに、示現を被り、望むこと叶はずといふこと無し。官職を望み、命を延べ、病を立ちどころに止めずといふこと無し。敦家、声めでたくて、御嶽に召し留められて御眷属となり、目井は、監物清経病に患ひて、限りなりけるに、「像法転じては、薬師の誓ひぞ」と謡ひて立ちどころに病を止め、近くは、左衛門督通季、瘡心地に患ひて、しゝこらかしてありけるに、「ゆめ／＼如何にも毀るなよ」と両度謡ひて、汗あえて止みにけり。

⁹⁶ *Zôbô* 像法. Second of the three ages of Buddhism: the ages of the right dharma (*shôbô*), the semblance dharma (*zôbô*), and of dharma decline (*mappô*).

that a person who hears the Holy Name even only once
will be free of illness.

*Zôbô tenjite wa
Yakushi no chikai wo tanomoshiki
Hitotabi mina wo kiku hito wa
Yorozu no yamai mo nashi to zo iu*

(*Ryôjin hishō*, book II, song n. 32)⁹⁷

The second song, by Fujiwara no Michisue (1090-1129), appears under the heading
darani-bon 陀羅尼品 (“Darani Songs”):

Never ever speak ill of them!
Yakuô, Yuse, all-knowing Jikoku-ten, and the ten Women-Devils
will protect by expounding on *darani*
all those who know the Lotus Sutra.

*Yumeyume ikanimo soshiru na yo
Ichijô hokke no jujisha woba
Yakuô yuse tamon jikoku jû rasetsu no
Darani wo toite zo mamorunaru*

(*Ryôjin hishō*, book II, song n. 160)⁹⁸

These two poems are similar in that they depict Buddhist figures as merciful, able to help humans, and responsive to invocations. In the vignette quoted above, GoShirakawa presents these songs as effective in appealing to them. The second poem makes explicit reference to *darani* 陀羅尼. The song says that powerful figures such as the bodhisattvas Yakuô 藥王 and Yuse 勇施 will expound on *darani* and protect all those who have learned about the Lotus Sutra. In this way, it suggests that *imayô* songs are effective in soliciting the help of bodhisattvas. Furthermore, in a variant manuscript of *Kuden-shû*,

⁹⁷ SNKBT, vol. 73, p. 14. 像法転じては 薬師の誓ひぞ頼もしき、一度御名を聞く人は、万の病も無しとぞいふ。

⁹⁸ SNKBT, vol. 73, p. 49. ゆめ／＼如何にも毀るなよ、一乘法華の受持者をば、薬王勇施多聞持国十羅刹の、陀羅尼を説いてぞ護るなる。

GoShirakawa mentions an *onchô no toku* 音調之徳 (“virtue of music”), clearly modeled after Toshiyori’s *uta no toku*, in the context of a discussion of people of lower rank who receive access to the presence of aristocrats and of the Emperor thanks to their skill in music.⁹⁹

GoShirakawa follows the model of the twelfth-century discourse on the “virtues of poetry” in presenting music as a shared emotional language that persons can rely on to communicate with deities and with powerful humans. It goes without saying that GoShirakawa himself, as Emperor and later Retired Emperor, was one of such rulers who could be moved by songs into granting benefits. Most of GoShirakawa’s *Ryôjin hishō* and *Kuden-shū* were lost, but the few extant fragments give such a central place to the benefits of *imayō*, suggesting that this was one of the main dimensions of contemporary discourses about music. As was the case with *waka* and *kanshi*, later works such as *Jikkinshō* include similar vignettes about the benefits of music. For example, Episode 10.51 depicts a *kugutsu* female entertainer singing an *imayō* for a dying man.¹⁰⁰ After the man passes away, strange clouds appear in the sky as a symbol that he has attained enlightenment. This episode follows an episode (10.50) about prostitutes who had their *waka* included in imperial anthologies. The editor of *Jikkinshō*, as GoShirakawa had done, makes a clear gesture towards depicting the “virtue of *waka*” and the “virtue of music” as analogous.

During the twelfth century, *waka*, *kanshi*, and music were among the main courtly accomplishments. As such, they embodied the cultural sophistication of the imperial

⁹⁹ Ogawa Tôyô, “Katokuron josetsu.”

¹⁰⁰ The song appears in *Ryôjin hishō*, as song n. 235. NKBT, vol. 73, p. 385.

court and the aristocracy. Acquiring knowledge and skill in these disciplines had social consequences in a context where the culture of the court enjoyed great prestige.

If the wondrous benefits and miraculous events in waka vignettes are an exaggerated reflection of the social value of knowledge about the court, so are the benefits of music and kanshi depicted in poetic treatises and anecdotal collections. In other words, rather than the reflection of a decline in the social significance of waka, as argued by Ogawa, I see the reinvigorated interest in waka and other courtly accomplishments as the root of the discourse on their miraculous benefits.

By contrast to Ichien's *Shasekishû*, the three early stages of the development of katoku I discuss in this second part of the chapter reveal no connection to esoteric Buddhism, to allegorical readings of waka, or to the notion that waka are the darani of Japan. Each of these three early stages, and each of the texts they comprise, reveal a different approach to waka and their benefits.

In the formula of the benefits of waka in *Kokinshû* there is an apparent awareness of Chinese discourses on poetry and its benefits. This approach would reappear in commentaries such as Fujiwara no Tameie's. In *Toshiyori zuinô*, waka vignettes depicting the benefits of waka are associated to quotations from *Kokinshû*, but appear alongside vignettes depicting composition by old men, by children, by men competing for a woman, by thieves. This suggests that Toshiyori included katoku vignettes because he conceived them as representing an important aspect of the social practice of waka. In *Fukurozôshi*, Kiyosuke emphasizes the benefits of waka as part of official applications to a former emperor for rank and office. This is connected to the fact that, as I showed in chapter 1, *Fukurozôshi* was composed for Kiyosuke's professional heir, an aristocrat who

depended on official patronage, in particular on a commission to compile an imperial anthology. In *Kokonchomonjû* there is no explicit discussion of katoku, nor any attempt at presenting the few katoku vignettes included as if they had a common theme. This contrasts with *Jikkishô*, which classifies these vignettes according to the characteristics of the benefits obtained, in particular whether they are granted by a god or by a human. Each of these instances represents a different approach to katoku vignettes.

The most apparent result of an examination of the development of katoku is that Ichien's is only one of many possible, attested views on the benefits of poetry, and a comparatively late one. This means that to understand katoku we need to look beyond (or, rather, before) *Shasekishû*.

Conclusion

Towards the end of the first part of this chapter I suggested that we can see poems in katoku vignettes as what J. L. Austin called “performative sentences.” I refer in particular to Austin's notion of the “appropriate circumstances” that an utterance needs to meet to be beneficial. What are then the “appropriate circumstances” for a poem to bring benefits?

Many of the waka vignettes that appear in texts from the Nara to the Edo period have in common that the poem is uttered to a specific addressee from whom a response is expected, and in a situation where the poet is in some kind of need and separated from the addressee by a disparity in rank, in class, in gender, or in age. In waka vignettes that depict the benefits of poetry, regardless of whether miracles are involved, a person in need uses a waka poem to move (*kan ari* 感あり) another into granting a benefit.

Compared to the intellectual ambition of previous scholarly interpretations of *katoku*, this might seem a very modest proposition: Poems are effective when they move a person or a god into helping a poet who has relatively less resources to rely on, be it because of class, rank, or wealth. That is to say, the benefits of *waka* are a subgroup of the social functions of *waka*. Significantly, vignettes depicting these benefits were compiled together for the first time in poetic treatises and anecdotal collections that attempted to preserve and transmit knowledge about the social practice of *waka*.

The wondrous benefits and miraculous events in the *waka* vignettes in these texts are a hyperbolic reflection of the social value of *waka* knowledge. These vignettes overstate these benefits --not every poet would get a chance to present a *jukkai* poem to a former emperor-- and even transpose some of them from one realm (worldly society) to another (the supernatural). But fundamentally, the story they tell is the story of the social uses of *waka*.

Chapter 4 – The *Kyôka*-esque: Parody, Satire, and Plebeian Education in Muromachi Tales (*Otogizôshi*)

Introduction

This chapter looks at the uses of waka in a genre of narrative texts known as *otogizôshi* 御伽草子 (Muromachi tales), many of which came to reflect the aesthetic sensibilities and social anxieties of townsfolk, artisans, and merchants. I argue that the many humorous waka, or *kyôka* 狂歌, in these texts provide a key to understanding the complex dynamic that emerged from the encounter of traditional classical culture and emerging popular culture in late medieval Japan.

Waka are featured in the large majority of the more than four hundred extant *otogizôshi*. For example in the Buddhist didactic tale *Isozaki* 磯崎 (The Rocky Cape), a long injunction against the dangers of harboring deep resentment, the protagonists repeatedly compose waka and quote famous old waka. The same is true for another Buddhist tale, *Aki no yonaga monogatari* 秋夜長物語 (A Tale on a Long Autumn Night). *Hachikazuki* 鉢かづき (The Bowl Girl), a tale about an evil stepmother, abounds in poems and allusions to famous old poems. *Jûnirui kassen emaki* 十二類合戦絵巻 (The War of Twelve Animals) takes the shape of a Heian-period poetic contest (*utaawase*), but the participating poets are all animals instead of humans. In *otogizôshi*, waka can appear in connection to other elevated classical genres and texts, but in many cases the poems are humorous, and appear in comedic passages full of slapstick humor.

In this chapter I analyze in depth two *otogizôshi* tales, *Menoto no sôshi* 乳母の草紙 (The Nursemaid's Booklet) and *Monokusa Tarô* 物くさ太郎 (Lazy Tarô), focusing on the functions that waka play in them. *Menoto no sôshi* is the tale of two women, each trained by a different governess, and each representing opposite approaches to education. One stands for the culture of the Heian aristocracy, the other for the emerging plebeian culture of the late Muromachi period. The latter is meant as a foil for the former, yet the tale simultaneously offers an early, comprehensive depiction of what we would now call popular culture, in which waka played a central role. *Monokusa Tarô* is the tale of a provincial beggar who travels to the capital, learns the culture of the aristocracy, and is eventually accepted into court. The protagonist is able to impress aristocrats with his knowledge of poetry, but his poems are in the *kyôka* style, not orthodox waka. My reading of *Monokusa Tarô* challenges the claims in *Menoto no sôshi* that aristocratic and popular constitute disconnected, contrasting social spaces. Read together, these two *otogizôshi* tales suggest that aristocratic culture and the emerging plebeian culture were not in opposition but in a relationship of *kyôka*-esque witty repartee.

I start with an example taken from a third work, the *otogizôshi* tale *Saru Genji sôshi* 猿源氏草子 (The Tale of Monkey Genji, early 16th century, anonymous), in which a man from Ise Province known as Monkey Genji travels to the capital to work as a sardine peddler, where he prospers and becomes rich.¹ One day he falls in love with Keiga, an elegant courtesan, after he catches a glimpse of her travelling in her palanquin. Knowing

¹ *Sarugenji zôshi* is one of the twenty-three tale published ca. 1716-35 as part of a collection titled *Otogibunko* 御伽文庫 (*Companion Tales Collection*) by the printing house of Shibukawa Seiemon 渋川清右衛門 in Osaka. Shibukawa selected the pieces from a corpus of more than three hundred similar narrative texts that had circulated since the fourteenth century, and that modern scholars refer to, by extension, as *otogizôshi* 御伽草子, or “Companion Booklets.” *Monokusa Tarô* was also published originally in *Otogibunko*.

that, as a sardine peddler, he has no chance of successfully courting Keiga, Monkey Genji pretends to be an aristocrat returning from service in the eastern provinces. Keiga falls victim to his deception and agrees to visit Monkey Genji at his house. That night Monkey Genji starts talking in his sleep, saying, “Buy fresh sardines [*iwashi*] from Monkey Genji from Akogi Beach!”² Keiga confronts Monkey Genji, who denies being a fish seller (*iwashi-uri*), and a long exchange ensues where Monkey Genji shows off his cultural literacy by quoting poems and tales about Heian-period aristocrats.

Keiga seems to buy the arguments, but presses him, and in the end she asks his reasons for mentioning sardines. Monkey Genji explains that he had been thinking of Izumi Shikibu, the Heian-period poet. He recounts how Izumi Shikibu was once caught eating a sardine, and in her embarrassment she composed a poem:

Iwashimizu Shrine, so widely celebrated in our country--
there is no one who has not paid a pilgrimage to it.
*Hi no moto ni iwaware tamau Iwashimizu mairanu hito wa araji to zo omou*³

The shrine mentioned in the poem, Iwashimizu, literally “rock-spring water,” contains the sounds *iwashi*, “sardine.” (This makes it possible to read the latter half of the poem as “there is no one who hasn’t eaten sardines in fresh water.”) This finally leads Keiga to retract her challenge of Monkey Genji’s cultural credentials. She thinks, “If he were really a sardine peddler, then surely he would not know all this about the art of poetry.”⁴ The tale concludes with, “Thus, because Monkey Genji had always devoted his

² 阿漕が浦の猿源氏が、鯛かふゑい。NKBT, vol. 38, p. 180.

³ 日のもとにいのはれ給ふいはし水まいらぬ人はあらじとぞおもふ。NKBT, vol. 38, p. 185. The source of the poem is the tale *Hachimangudōkun* 八幡愚童訓 (The Story of Hachiman Shrine Explained to Children, Kamakura period).

⁴ NKBT, vol. 38, p. 185. 螢火其時思ふやう、まことの鯛賣ならば、かやうにさまさまの歌の道をば、よも知らじ。

mind to the art of poetry not only was his embarrassment in these circumstances concealed but he also reached his end in an all but unattainable love.”⁵

The central role that poetry plays in this tale of courting led Kubota Jun to describe it in connection to *katoku* 歌徳 narratives.⁶ As I discuss in the third chapter, these narratives emerged as part of a discourse on the practical, social, financial, and religious advantages of poetry at the end of the Heian period. A subgroup of these narratives describe situations in which a person falls in love with someone of higher social standing, and is able to bridge the gap in hierarchy thanks to the composition of a skillful waka.

For example, the following *katoku* anecdote appears in the treatise *Fukurozôshi* (The Bag Booklet, 1159), as well as in the anecdotal collections *Jikkinshô* (A Ten-Lesson Digest, 1252), *Kokonchomonjû* (A Collection of Tales Written and Heard in the Past and Present, 1254), and *Shasekishû* (A Collection of Sand and Pebbles, 1283).⁷ I translate here the anecdote as it appears in *Kokonchomonjû*.

Izumi Shikibu was secretly on her way to Inari, and when she was somewhere near Tanaka Shrine it started raining, and not knowing what to do, she borrowed an *awo* straw raincoat from a boy who was working the fields and then continued on her way. On the way back to the capital, as the skies had cleared, she returned the straw raincoat to the boy.

Then, the next day, when Shikibu was sitting on the stairs and gazing at the garden, she saw a big boy standing with a letter in his hand. She asked him, “What are you up to?” He answered, “I came to present this

⁵ つねに歌の道に心がけし故、當座の恥を隠すのみならず、及ばぬ戀の本意を遂げし事。NKBT, vol. 38, p. 185.

⁶ Kubota Jun, “Otogizôshi no waka,” in Ichiko Teiji and Kôshin Noma, eds., *Otogizoshi kanazôshi* Vol. 26 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1976).

⁷ In *Fukurozôshi* this episode is included under the title “Poems by Lowly People” (*senpu no uta* 賤夫の歌) and followed by an editorial comment doubting its veracity and asserting that stories from the provinces are unreliable (inspired possibly by the huge social difference between the protagonists of the anecdote). This story is also found in the *Kokinshû* commentary *Ton'a jochû* 頓阿序注 (Ton'a's annotations to the preface, early Nanboku-chô period), where the first line of the poem is different, and instead of a boy, the poet is an adult who received the poem from a god. In *Shasekishû*, this anecdote is in Episode 5b.2.47; in the same section, there is a story (5b.2.7) where Izumi Shikibu tries to lure a renowned monk into having sex with her, and after a failed first attempt, she succeeds thanks to a poem. In both cases, reciting a poem removes obstacles that seemed unmovable at first.

letter to you.” She took it and upon opening it she found this poem written in it:

Ever since you borrowed my awo-green straw raincoat,
I have fallen for you,
turning crimson like the leaves on Inari Mountain
where the autumn showers fall.

Shigure suru Inari no yama no momijiba wa awo karishi yori omohisometeki

Shikibu was moved. She called the boy and saying, “Get inside,” she signaled for him to enter the house. (*Kokonchomonjû*, Episode 201)⁸

Here Izumi Shikibu happens to meet a peasant in the outskirts of the city. The difference in social class would make a romantic relationship inconceivable but the peasant, smitten with the lady, sends her a poem, as was the convention in courting customs between aristocrats. The poem skillfully incorporates the locale (Inari), the seasonal context (*shigure*, late autumn showers and *momiji*, tinted leaves of autumn), and includes a conventional wordplay in *some-te-ki* (from *somu* + *tsu* + *ki*) meaning both “turned colors” (the leaves) and “started” (falling for you). Moreover, it incorporates the borrowed raincoat, via the expression *awokari-shi* (“were green”; from *awoshi* + *ki*), which can be read also as *awo-kari-shi* (“borrowed a straw raincoat”; from *awo* + *karu* + *ki*). In this way, the peasant is able to display command of aristocratic wooing practices and of elegant poetic language, while weaving in the expression “straw raincoat.” *Awo*, “raincoat,” is not part of the accepted poetic vocabulary of orthodox waka, just as the peasant was not part of aristocratic culture. In *Saru Genji sôshi*, as well, Monkey Genji

⁸ SNKS, vol. 59, p. 256. 和泉式部しのびて稲荷へ参りけるに、田中明神の程にて時雨のしけるに、いかがすべきと思けるに、田刈りける童の、あをといふものを借りて来て参りけり。下向の程に晴れければ、このあをを返しとらせてけり。さて次の日 式部はしの方を見いだしてゐたりけるに、大やかなる童、文もちて佇みければ、「あれは何ものぞ」と言へば、「この御文参らせ候はむ」と言ひて差し置きたるを広げて見れば、時雨する 稲荷の山の もみじ葉は 青かいりしより 思いそめてき と書きたり。式部あはれと思ひて「おくへ」と言ひて呼び入れけるとなん。

weaves into a classical poem, which was usually restricted to elegant diction, an expression from his everyday life as a commoner, *iwashii* (*sardine*).

Saru Genji sôshi is at the same time a parody and an expansion of the conventions of *katoku* anecdotes into a larger narrative tale. In this context it is important to draw a distinction between parody and satire. The scholar of parody Linda Hutcheon remarks that the target of parody is a codified form--such as a literary genre--that can be treated in terms of repetition with critical distance. Satire, unlike parody, has a social focus. It chastises the flaws of specific individuals, groups, or social types. While parody is essentially a literary or aesthetic gesture, satire points to social, moral, or historical circumstances. Hutcheon illustrates this difference by noting how *Don Quixote*, for example, can work as a parody of the conventions of the genre of epic romances and as a satire of those readers who try to embody in their life the adventures depicted in that genre.

Saru Genji sôshi can be seen as a parody of *katoku* narratives, as well as a satire of people who take these narratives too literally. This satirical element is not present in traditional *katoku* narratives, which emphasize the skill of the poetic composition rather than the differences in social class. *Saru Genji sôshi*, by contrast, foregrounds the contrast in the standing of the protagonists, revealing a more pronounced social and cultural dimension to their interactions.

It takes Monkey Genji more than just a poem to cross the gap between his and Keiga's social spaces. The tale includes many references to poems in Heian-period aristocratic tales such as *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji, 1008) and *Yamato*

monogatari (Tales of Yamato, 947-57). Monkey Genji's witty play on Iwashimizu/iwashi is not a singlehanded deciding factor in the outcome of the narration, but one among other elements in a display of cultural literacy. As such, it needs to be read in the context of contemporary social, cultural, and historical developments.

The Muromachi period was a period of political instability, during which the capital was razed to the ground, particularly in the Ōnin Wars (1467-77), and there were repeated large-scale peasant uprisings. Elite warrior leaders, chief among them the Ashikaga, progressively lost their system of alliances and surrendered control of the provinces to coalitions of lesser warriors, and a new class of wealthy townspeople rose in economic importance in Kyoto and Sakai (south of Osaka). These wealthy commoners enjoyed relative autonomy and formed alliances with the warrior leaders that eventually succeeded in unifying the land, Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊富秀吉 (1536-1598).

The new autonomous collectives of wealthy urban commoners were known as *machishû* 町衆 (townspeople). The *machishû* emerged from the Nanbokuchō-period *dosō* 土倉 (lit. "earthen warehouse"), a group of urban moneylenders who charged high rates of interest. Hayashiya Tatsusaburō argues that the *machishû* represent a preliminary stage in the creation of a distinct class of townsmen, but that unlike the later Edo-period *chōnin* 町人, they should be seen rather as local communities or collective bodies rather than as a fully developed, distinct social class.⁹ The *machishû* relied on two main sources of income, the brewing of alcoholic drinks and the lending of money. Often it was the

⁹ Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, "Kyoto in the Muromachi Age," in John Hall and Toyoda Takeshi, eds. *Japan in the Muromachi Age* (University of California Press, 1977), p. 30.

capital obtained through the manufacture and commercialization of alcohol that was turned to loans for elite groups, such as aristocrats, Buddhist priests, and powerful warrior households.¹⁰ *Machishû* could serve as well in the collection and retention of tax revenue due to elite institutions. These wealthy commoners sought, as the top-level warriors had done throughout the medieval period, to assimilate the culture and lore associated with the court.

The late medieval period, known by modern scholars as *gekokujô* 下克上, or “the lower overcomes higher,” offered opportunities for rapid social mobility. As had happened in the late Heian period, this mobility was primarily restricted to a few households that displayed military prowess, as in the case of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, a soldier of obscure origin who was eventually welcome at the imperial court. Fantastical tales of social mobility circulated widely. Many *otogizôshi* tales, among them *Saru Genji sôshi*, *Monokusa Tarô*, and to some extent *Menoto no sôshi*, address the hopes and anxieties brought by the (for the most part far-fetched) perception that social mobility was possible, and that its main vehicle was the accumulation of wealth and the acquisition of a solid education in aristocratic culture.

Most of the extant *otogizôshi* from the Muromachi period (1333-1467) and Warring States period (1467-1600) seem to have been written by aristocrats. Some were geared to an aristocratic or elite warrior audience, but many address the interests and aspirations of merchant townsfolk, who embraced the study of waka as a carrier of courtly knowledge. I argue that *otogizôshi* tales offer a new formulation of waka knowledge. They play the elegance (*ga* 雅) of the court culture transmitted by waka against new popular (*zoku* 俗)

¹⁰ Suzanne Gay, *The Moneylenders of Late Medieval Kyoto* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).

sensibilities. Or more precisely, they incorporate new *zoku* elements into a high and elegant (*ga*) genre, creating both humor and a two-way street between elite and popular culture. In the example above, extracted from *Saru Genji sôshi*, this dynamic between the *ga* and the *zoku* can be seen in the Iwashimizu (shrine)/*iwashi* (sardine) twist.

Otogizôshi tales carried material that was intended both to entertain and to inform. Throughout the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, cultural knowledge carried by *waka* spread to social spaces far removed from the court, but the aristocratic and warrior elites never stopped placing Chinese learning at the core of their pedagogical practices, in particular for males. Furthermore, elite training on the aesthetic and technical aspects of *waka* composition was monopolized by a handful of specialist families, led by the Nijô, Kyôgoku, and Reizei offshoots of the Heian-period Mikohidari household. In this context, *otogizôshi* tales offer a glimpse of peripheral pedagogical practices. Through them, persons of both genders from warrior and wealthy merchant households gained access to a whole body of knowledge valued and necessary to function in medieval society. This secondary, informal pedagogy represents a fundamental step in the transmission of cultural knowledge to more diverse social spaces.

Otogizôshi tales tend to be anonymous and of uncertain date. Some of the more than three hundred extant tales, ranging from the 14th century to the early 17th century, bear signs of having originated in a tradition of oral storytelling, while others betray more writerly predecessors.¹¹ Some of their authors were also diverse--from aristocrats to Buddhist monks to wealthy merchants. One of the major characteristics of *otogizôshi*

¹¹ Virginia Skord, *Tales of Tears and Laughter: Short Fiction of Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991), pp. 3-4. Barbara Ruch, "Medieval Jongleurs and the Making of a National Literature," in Hall and Toyoda, *Japan in the Muromachi Age*. On medieval *etoki*-style storytelling see for example Kaminishi Ikumi, *Explaining Pictures* (University of Hawaii Press, 2006).

texts is their potential appeal to commoner readers, although it is very likely that they were also read by aristocrats.¹² Part of this appeal is the pedagogical value and function of these texts, which addressed the interests and aspirations of this broader audience.¹³

Pedagogy, Satire, and Parody in *Menoto no sôshi*

The most widely read instructional text for women during the Late Medieval period (1336-1573) originated in a letter written in the Kamakura period by the aristocratic nun Abutsu 阿仏尼 (d. 1283). The letter was addressed to her daughter Ki no Naishi, who had entered service in the salon of the powerful court lady Saionji Kôji 西園寺公子 (1232-1304; aka Higashi-Nijô). The mother wrote it as a way to pass down knowledge about court culture and tips for a successful career that she had acquired while in service as a young woman at the elegant cultural salon of Princess Ankamon-in 安嘉門院 (1209-1283). Abutsu's letter was the earliest attempt at composing a comprehensive, organized set of instructions for women serving at court as attendants and ladies-in-waiting. In this respect it is unique, but in choosing an epistolary form Abutsu inscribed her work in a genre of pedagogical texts (*ôrai-mono*) that had a long history at court.¹⁴

¹² Cfr. Ichiko Teiji, *Otogizôshi* (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 1972), p. 8; Hayashiya Tatsusaburô, *Chûsei bunka no kichô* (Tokyo: Tôkyô daigaku shuppankai, 1953), pp. 241-242. Referenced in Suzanne Gay, *The Moneylenders of Late Medieval Kyoto* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).

¹³ Chigusa, Steven, "A Muromachi Short Story," *Monumenta Nipponica* 32.3 (1977): 303-331. Shirane, *Traditional Japanese Literature*, p. 1099.

¹⁴ As I discussed in the first chapter, during the Heian and medieval periods aristocrats used compilations of model letters (*ôrai-mono* 往来物) as pedagogical material. While the term *ôrai* literally means "back and forth," and thus referred originally to epistles, *ôrai-mono* comprise a wider group of pedagogical texts, not necessarily written for a specific individual addressee. Another work of this subgenre is an epistolary text roughly contemporaneous to Abutsu's, attributed to Tendai priest Gen'e 玄慧 (1279-1350), *Teikin ôrai* 庭訓往来 (Letter Copybook for the use in Home-Schooling). Works of the *ôrai-mono* genre continued to be produced throughout the Muromachi period. For example, *Mi no katami* 身のかたみ (Muromachi period), a didactic work that borrows from Abutsu's letter but is framed as an invitation to embrace Buddhism, describes female makeup, clothing, and pastimes as well as social etiquette. In

Abutsu's letter covers two fundamental dimensions of court life. The first is the cultural skills required of women. Abutsu advises her daughter to develop skill in musical instruments such as *koto*, *biwa*, and *wagon*; incense and scenting; composing *waka*; and drawing. It is necessary too, argues Abutsu, to acquire scholarly knowledge on courtly tales such as *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji, ca. 1008) and to memorize imperial *waka* anthologies such as the *Kokinshū* (905) and *Shinkokinshū* (1205). The second dimension consists in the required social and interpersonal deportment. Abutsu writes, for instance, "Acting on your heart's whim is terrible. For example, if you face other people's hostility, remember that 'it is shameful to let one's feelings show.' Keep your face composed and your words sparse."¹⁵ In inculcating the importance of such artistic skill and social grace Abutsu is not simply following aesthetic and didactic preferences, but taking into consideration the material needs of her daughter.

Throughout her letter, Abutsu aims at helping her daughter succeed in a social space where success for women sometimes meant establishing sexual ties with a powerful male patron.¹⁶ Some of her advice regarding interpersonal skills deals openly with this circumstance. For instance, Abutsu writes that "When it comes to a person's taking an interest in you, even superficially, regard it as a positive development and comport

choosing to write her injunctions in the shape of a letter Abutsu is aware of the expectations associated with this genre, among them the transmission of cultural knowledge.

¹⁵ "Menoto no fumi ichimei niwa no oshie," in *Gunsho-ruijū*, vol. 477 (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho-ruijū kansei kai, 1931), section 32. 心のまゝなるが返々あしきことにて候。たとへひとのいみじうつらき御事候とも、「いろに出て人に見えんははづかしかりぬべきこと。」とおぼしめして、さらぬかほにてはありながら、さすがに「えやは。」と覺えて、ことずくななるやうに御もてなし候へ。

¹⁶ Throughout the Heian period, aristocratic women had tended to depend on securing sexual ties with men and bearing them children to obtain financial stability. Within this context, women could still achieve a certain economic independence and function as owners of land-right. Starting in the Kamakura period, however, and with a few exceptions, these opportunities for financial independence became scarcer.

yourself accordingly.”¹⁷ To encourage a daughter she had placed in a competitive environment, where many women vied with each other to secure the patronage of a few men, Abutsu writes further, “Before you were born, I had a strange and auspicious dream. In it, I saw vividly that you would be born a woman, achieve a high rank, and from it bestow your assistance to those around you.”¹⁸ Injunctions on the importance of developing social graces and artistic skills need to be read in the context of Abutsu’s specific hopes for her daughter at court.

Abutsu’s letter offers a wealth of information about the social and cultural life at the court during the first century of warrior rule. For this reason, it has received considerable attention in recent scholarship. Mary Miller’s doctoral dissertation describes the letter as a work of moral instruction (*kyôkun*) but highlights its aesthetic dimension. This refers in particular to the wealth of learned allusions and intertextual gestures that Abutsu built into her letter, chiefly to the Heian-period tale *Genji monogatari*. By the mid-Kamakura period, this tale had been elevated to the category of a classic, in particular by the poets of the Mikohidari school such as Fujiwara no Shunzei and his son Teika (which I discuss in the first chapter). Late in life, Abutsu married Fujiwara no Tameie 藤原為家 (1198-1275), Teika’s son, a renowned poet, and acting head of the Mikohidari household. In Miller’s analysis, Abutsu’s letter is to be read as a literary work through which Abutsu seeks to inscribe herself onto the prestigious Mikohidari lineage.¹⁹

¹⁷ “Menoto no fumi ichimei niwa no oshie,” in *Gunsho-ruijû*. また、御心むけはさる事にて、はかなきわざにも、とりふれさせたまひ候はんずる物ごとに「よしあるさまに。」とおぼしめし候へ。

¹⁸ “Menoto no fumi ichimei niwa no oshie,” in *Gunsho-ruijû*. その御身いまだむまれさせ給はず候しほどに、あやしうたのもしき夢を見て候ひしにも、かならず女にて、かたじけなきくらみに世をてらすさまに、さやかにみえさせ給候し。

¹⁹ Mary Miller, “Intertextual Strategies in Abutsu Ni’s ‘the Wet Nurse’s Letter’ and ‘Precepts of Our House,’” PhD Diss., Indiana University, 2006. ProQuest.

Abutsu's letter, written at the middle of the 13th century, circulated initially in two different versions. An extended version (today called *kô-hon*) that came to be known as *Menoto no fumi* 乳母の文 (The Governess' Letter) coexisted with a digest (*ryaku-hon*) titled *Niwa no oshie* 庭の訓え (Domestic Lessons).²⁰ In its abridged form, Abutsu's advice becomes a reference manual for aristocratic women in general on the practical aspects of everyday court life.

Miller argues that the extended version is the original text, and that the digest was created later by one of Abutsu's sons. Furthermore, Miller interprets the reference in the title *Menoto no fumi* as an indication that Abutsu intended to adopt the voice of the court *menoto* (wet nurse). In the late Heian and Kamakura periods, wet nurses could play an important role in the education of aristocratic offspring, and, according to Miller's argument, Abutsu wanted to appropriate the stature and influence of the role of the *menoto* to make her letter more persuasive.

In contrast with this interpretation, a more recent study of these texts by Christina Laffin shows how the title *Menoto no fumi* was given to the extended version of the letter a century and a half after the death of Abutsu. Laffin stresses the role that gender plays in the work of Abutsu, in particular to stress how she appropriated patriarchal discourses on femininity to negotiate--and ultimately claim--cultural, political, and legal authority. In this context, what is important is not the moral or aesthetic didacticism but the transmission of knowledge about court culture, as an instrument of empowerment for Ki

²⁰ The extended letter contains a fair amount of redundancy and repetition, as well as personal asides. At about one-third of its length, *Niwa no oshie* offers a more concise version but differs very little in content.

no Naishi and the scores of court women who in the course of time came to read Abutsu's letter.²¹

The letter soon found a larger readership and circulated widely, both in the capital and in the provinces.²² In the late medieval period (1336-1573), Abutsu's letter became one of the most widely read instructional texts for women.²³ The version in which this letter circulated more widely, however, is neither the extended *Abutsu no fumi* nor the abridged *Niwa no oshie*, but a tale known as *Menoto no sôshi* 乳母の草紙 (The Governess' Booklet), written in the late 14th or early 15th century as an adaptation of Abutsu's letter for a different audience.²⁴ In *Menoto no sôshi*, passages from *Niwa no oshie* appear in a letter that a governess writes for her ward. During the medieval and early modern periods, *Abutsu no fumi*, *Niwa no oshie*, and *Menoto no sôshi* were perceived as variants of Abutsu's text.

²¹ Laffin, Christina, *Rewriting Medieval Japanese Women* (University of Hawaii Press, 2013).

²² This can be gleaned, for example, from the diary of another court lady, GoFukakusa-in Nijô (b. 1258), or Lady Nijô, a contemporary of Ki no Naishi. In her diary *Towazu-gatari* 問わず語り (Unrequested Tales, ca. 1308), she attributes to her dying father a series of injunctions that seem to have been adapted from Abutsu's letter. At the same time, not all readers were female courtiers. A variant of the text appeared, for example, in the records of collections held by male aristocrats in places as far away as Kyûshû by the mid-15th century. Also, the male courtier Yamashina no Tokitsugu 山科言継 (1507-1579) mentioned Abutsu's letter in his diary, along a didactic text called *Saimyô-dono kyôkun* 最明殿教訓 (Lord Saimyôji's teachings) attributed to the powerful warrior Hôjô Tokiyori 北条時頼 (1227-1263). Laffin, *Rewriting Medieval Japanese Women*, p. 56-58. Cfr. Nakajima Ayako et al, *Fujiwara Michinobu ason shû. Fujiwara Yoshitaka shû. Menoto no fumi* (Kumamoto: Zai Kyûshû kokubun shiryô eiin sôsho kankôkai, 1979).

²³ Ichiko Teiji, *Mikan chûsei shôsetsu II*. Vol. 18 (Koten bunko, 1948), p. 10.

²⁴ Ichiko Teiji, ed., *Muromachi monogatari shû ge*. Vol. 55 (Iwanami Shoten, 1992), pp. 339-360 (the section on *Menoto no sôshi* was edited by Akiya Osamu). A variant of the text (in Ichiko, *Mikan chûsei shôsetsu II*) was translated by Virginia Skord as "A Tale of Two Nursemaids" in Shirane, *Traditional Japanese Literature*, pp. 1112-22; also in Skord, *Tales of Tears and Laughter*. Teji gave the tale the title *Menoto no sôshi*; the manuscript has for a title *Naka goro no koto*, which is also the opening line of the text ("In recent times...").

Menoto no sôshi was the main form in which audiences had access to Abutsu's letter. Moreover, there is evidence that it came to "replace" it.²⁵ For example, the original Kamakura-period extended version of the letter, until then known simply as *Abutsu no fumi* 阿仏の文, was now given the title *Menoto no fumi* 乳母の文 (The Governess' Letter), in a direct reference to the Muromachi-period tale. This was in spite of the fact that Abutsu's text had made no reference to a governess, and that she had written it for her own daughter.

Abutsu's letter is unique in its description of court life. *Menoto no sôshi* is unique in its answer to the question: what is the *opposite* of elite culture? It tells the tale of two aristocratic women trained by different governesses, who represent the high culture of the Heian aristocracy, and its antithesis, the emerging commoner culture of the late Muromachi period. Abutsu's letter, by contrast, had paid little attention to life outside the social spaces of the aristocracy. The only reference to non-aristocrats is a mention of an unsophisticated country person. Abutsu states, "Since we didn't enjoy an advantageous standing in society, I thought to myself that rather than let you turn into an unsophisticated country person, I would send you to serve in court. Bear this in mind and exert yourself."²⁶ Here the term "unsophisticated country person" (*yamagatsu* 山賤) is a figurative, metaphorical exaggeration that bundles all non-courtiers as mountain rustics.

²⁵ For instance, the text preserved in *Gunsho-ruijû* records Abutsu's letter under the title "*Menoto no fumi ichi mei niwa no oshie*" ("The Governess' Letter," aka "Domestic Lessons"). The retroactive endowing on an original text of a title derived from a later adaptation is an instance of what Michael Emmerich calls the "replacement" of a work. Emmerich argues that rather than seeing later variants or parodies (such as *Menoto no sôshi*) as an instance in the reception of an original text (such as *Abutsu no fumi*), we should consider the way in which the later work can function as a superseding version, replacing or redefining retroactively the way readers approach the (often putative) original text. Michael Emmerich, *The Tale of Genji* (Columbia University Press, 2013).

²⁶ "Menoto no fumi ichime niwa no oshie," in *Gunsho-ruijû*. 身のいふかひなきやうに候へば、
「山がつになしはてまるらせ候はんよりは、おのづから世にまじらひ、人めかせおはしまさば。」
とおもひたてるとほり、ひとつにあながちに心つよくおぼしめし候へ。

In *Menoto no sôshi*, instead, we find a detailed description of non-elite cultural and aesthetic preferences. The governess who represents popular culture is nicknamed *Ryûô* 竜王 (Dragon King).²⁷ This is a reference to a passage in *Abutsu's* letter:

I am hoping that you will find your place higher than those on high, and even if it makes you think that I am mocking you, exaggerating as would someone wanting her daughter to become Empress to the Dragon King of the Sea, please do not go against my intention. (*Abutsu's letter*)²⁸

In this passage the mother addresses the concern that for a woman of relatively low standing and lacking proper family backing it would be ridiculous to enter the court hoping to become an empress. *Abutsu* is straightforward in presenting court service as an opportunity for social mobility within the aristocracy, and the mention of the Dragon King is a learned allusion to a character from *Genji monogatari*, the Akashi Lady, who succeeds in marrying up.²⁹

²⁷ The Dragon King, mentioned in the Lotus Sutra as one of the eight Naga Kings, was a popular character in folk tales and *otogizôshi*. For instance, the *otogizôshi* tale *Urashima taro* (*The Fisher Lad*) recounts the visit of a young fisher from Tamba province to the underwater Palace of the Dragon King (*ryûgû* 竜宮); this legend had circulated widely before appearing as an *otogizôshi* tale in the Muromachi period. The Nara-period chronicle *Nihonshoki* 日本書紀 (c. 720), the provincial gazetteer *Tango fudôki* 風土記 (eighth century), and the poetic anthology *Man'yôshû* 万葉集 (c. late eighth century) all contain variations of the same folk legend.

²⁸ “Menoto no fumi ichimei niwa no oshie,” in *Gunsho-ruijû*. かいりゆうわうの後とかや、あぎむきけん人の心地して、そのまねめかしく候へども、かひなき心ざしひとつには、「上がうへにも、いつきすゑて、見まゐらせばや。」とおもふすぢふかく候に、「その心をたがへじ。」とおぼしめし候へ。

²⁹ In the chapter “*Wakamurasaki*” (Young Murasaki), Genji hears that in Akashi Bay in Harima province a former provincial governor who has just taken the holy vows is rearing a daughter. The governor has turned down several marriage proposals from other governors because he, quite unreasonably, wants his daughter to marry up. To this, a person from Genji’s entourage remarks with sarcasm, “A woman reared so carefully would be a good match for the Dragon King of the Seas.” SNKBT, vol. 20, p. 204. 人々、「海龍王の後になるべきいつき女ななり」、「心高き苦しや」とて笑ふ。 This daughter, known to readers as the Akashi Lady, will reappear later in the tale and marry Genji. Christina Laffin, in her analysis of this passage from *Abutsu no fumi*, points instead to a later passage in *Genji monogatari* (Suma chapter) where Genji ponders, during a fierce sea storm, “The Dragon King of the Sea has a taste for the best, he has perhaps taken an interest in me.” In the following chapter, “Akashi,” as the storm still rages, Genji prays to the Dragon King of the Sea. (SNKBZ, vol. 21, p. 227).

In *Menoto no sôshi*, the nickname “Dragon King” is meant to satirize the governess as fierce and terrifying. This connects to her roots in commoner culture. For example, upon hearing that the other governess teaches her ward to play the koto, she reacts in this way:

“What is there to gain by playing the *koto*? Will anybody give you a prize? She is making fun of people if she is teaching this kind of tricks to her ward,” she said, adding, “I am not less than her, for I have had my own share of pulling too. For example, long ago when I left the capital to serve at a household in Echizen province, I learned to pull yarn and to pull up water from the well, for which I was complimented. I have pulled noise-makers to keep the bird away from the fields. Also, when serving at a household in Yase I pulled up timber and pulled horse’s bridles. And at Hot Water Mountain in Tsu province I spent my days pulling at a rope-and-pulley. While serving at a lumber-yard I joined everybody else in pulling logs. At a household by the sea, I pulled in nets and pulled on boats. While I lived on my own, I pulled at lamp-wicks and and at a tea-mortar. I have never wasted my time on such koto-like things.” (*Menoto no sôshi*)³⁰

The Dragon King, who instead of the koto teaches her ward arithmetic, accounting, and shop keeping, expresses in this passage pride in having earned her own living and at one point having lived on her own. This contrasts with the expectation, made explicit in Abutsu’s letter, that aristocratic women would develop graces and skills that would allow them to enter a sexual relation with a wealthy male and bear him a child.

This passage also suggests a difference in aesthetic preferences. The humor of this passage hinges on successive plays on words. When the Dragon King hears that the other governess teaches how to “pull the strings of a koto” (*koto wo hiku* 琴を弾きく), she

³⁰ SNKBT, vol. 55, p. 344. 竜王は腹立て、「その琴を弾き候へば、なんぼうの徳が候ふか。人が物をくれ候や。さよのいたづら事を訓へ候つつ、人を笑ひ候よ」とて、「我も物ひく事も劣るまじ、その故は、古、越前の殿持ちて下りし時は、糸をも引き習ひ、「田の水をもよく引く」とて、人に誉められ候。鳴子をも引く。又八瀬に殿の有りし時は、木を負ほせたりし馬をも牽き、津の国湯の山にては、轆轤をも引きて過ぎぬ。大鋸引の下に有りし時は、相手の成りても引きて候。浦に殿の有りし時は、網をも船をも引きて候。一人住みの時は、灯芯をも、或ひは茶臼をも引く。一つとしていたづら事もなし。

launches into a fast enumeration of things she has “pulled” (*hiku*) herself; her last sentence includes a similar play on words, this time on the homophones *koto* 琴 (harp) and *koto* 事 (things). What is more, in this passage the Dragon King is alluding to tunes popular at the time. She seems to be quoting from songs preserved in the anonymous collection of popular tunes *Kanginshû* 閑吟集 (Collection of Leisurely Compositions, 1518).³¹ The popular tunes to which the Dragon King alludes contrast with the *waka* that the other governess teaches her ward.

The series of binary oppositions that structure *Menoto no sôshi* are meant to emphasize the propriety of court culture over non-aristocratic or popular culture.³² These rhetorical operations become apparent in the poetic gathering that marks the turning point of the tale. It is through this exchange of poems that the Minister and his wife discover the differences between the two governesses, and decide to fire the Dragon King. The setting for this scene is the night of the fifteenth day of the Eighth Month:

The Minister’s wife said to him, “The girls are learning to play the *koto* and the *biwa* from their governesses, but we haven’t heard them yet. Tonight marks the middle of the autumn and the moon shines in a clear sky. Would you like the girls to provide entertainment for us tonight?” The Minister replied in agreement, “If that’s the case...” so the girls came over. As it was the night of the famous harvest moon, they chose “moon” as a topic to compose poems.

The wife composed:
Gazing at the moon half the autumn has gone by,
Yet nothing can compare to tonight’s moonshine.

³¹ As noted by Akitani (SNKBT, vol. 55, p. 344, n. 13), the *Kangishû* contains songs with verses strikingly similar to the Dragon King’s speech: 春の小田には苗代の水引く。秋の田には鳴子引く。… 浦には魚取る網を引けば。

³² The proper governess has all the characteristics advocated by Abutsu: she is even-tempered, tactful, chaste, and mindful of class differences; the Dragon King represents the exact opposite behavior: she is gluttonous, ill-tempered, arrogant, lascivious, and greedy. While the good governess teaches the *koto*, the other teaches the popular *biwa* lute in the style of itinerant blind minstrels. One teaches *Genji monogatari* and the other the warrior-tale *Heike monogatari*, made popular by itinerant minstrels.

Nagametsutsu aki no nakaba wa suginuredo koyoi bakari no tsukikage wa nashi

The Minister of the Left composed:
I haven't kept the count of the days, but the moonlight gives it away:
On the surface of the water, polishing it as a mirror,
this has to be the moon of mid-autumn.

Kazoenedo hikari wa shirushi mizu no omo ni kagami wo migaku aki no yo no tsuki

The younger daughter composed:
There's the moon of spring, shining among the blossoms, and yet
nothing can compare to tonight's autumn sky.

Hana sakite haru ni kasumeru tsuki wa aredo aki no koyoi no sora ni kotonaru

The elder sister composed:
However intently I look, this is useless:
it is a rice-cake moon, but only in name.
How am I supposed to put it in my mouth?

Tsukuzuku to nagamuru kai mo na nomi nite kuchi ni wa irazu mochizuki no sora

This last poem shocked all in attendance. Yet the Minister of the Left remarked, "Quite truly, it's only in name..." and laughed, which made people relax a bit. (*Menoto no sōshi*)³³

The parents and the younger sister compose poems that follow the rules of orthodox waka.³⁴ Their poems are orthodox to the point of being downright trite: they hinge on pairing autumn and spring, and are sprinkled with associated words (*engo* 縁語) that are

³³ SNKBT, vol. 55, p. 344. ある時、北の方、左大臣殿にの給はりけるは、「姫君達は、乳母の習わしにて、琴、琵琶とりどりに弾き給と申せども、いまだ聞き侍らず。殊更今宵は秋の最中、月も隈なければ、夜とともに姫君達に遊びせさせ参らせて、御慰み候へかし」と、のたまへば、「さらば」とて、姫君達渡し奉りて、折しも名月なれば、月を題にて一首とて、
北の方、眺めつつ秋の半ばは過ぎぬれど今宵ばかりの月影はなし
左大臣殿、数へねど光は著し水の面に鏡を磨く秋の夜の月
妹君、花咲きて春にかすめる月はあれど秋の今宵の空に異なる
姉君、つくづくと眺むるかい(ひ)も名のみにて口には入らず望月の影
かように読み給へば、皆呆きれたる様にて候に、左大臣殿、「まことに名のみなりけり」とて、打ち笑ひ給にぞ、人々少し心地直りける。

³⁴ As I discuss in the introduction to this dissertation, this is what Inoue Muneo terms the "proper style" (*shōfūtei* 正風体) of waka, referring to the corpus of poems recorded and canonized in imperial anthologies (*chokusenshū*). Inoue Muneo, "Waka no jitsuyōsei to bungeisei - kyōka kyōkunka to shōfūtei," in *Chūsei kadan to kajinden no kenkyū* (Kasama shoin, 2007), pp. 361–405. I mention Muneo's concept because there is no classical term for "orthodox waka" (other than the polysemic *uta* 歌) as this was the un-marked, standard form of composition, from which all other subgenres are seen to diverge, such as *tan-renga* 短連歌 (short verse capping), *renga* 連歌 (orthodox group linked verse), and *haikai* 俳諧 (playful group linked verse).

hackneyed, such as “spring” (*haru*), “to mist” (*kasumeru*), “flowers” (*hana*), and “to bloom” (*saku*). The eldest sister’s poem breaks with the rules of orthodox waka in a similarly blatant way, by including expressions related to food, a taboo topic, and by being humorous--“rice-making” (*mochi-tsuki*) is a witty pun on “full moon” (*mochizuki*)-and thus contrasts with the solemn tone of the other three poems.

On the surface, this poetic gathering seems to be one more instance of the recurrent contrast in *Menoto no sōshi* between the high culture represented by the younger sister and her governess and the low culture of the elder sister and the Dragon King. The elder sister’s mistake at the poetry gathering was not only that she knew how to compose humorous poems per se, but that she chose to compose them at a gathering that aspired to be solemn and elegant, and thus called for orthodox poems. The blunder had to do with social skills--reading social situations proficiently--as much as with cultural knowledge.

Poems that displayed humor and non-standard diction had been part and parcel of court poetry and culture since the very beginning of waka history.³⁵ In the medieval period, humorous unorthodox waka, often referred to as *kyōka* 狂歌 (crazy poems),³⁶

³⁵ As I mentioned in the introduction, humorous poems appear in *Man'yōshū* (c. late eighth century), in particular in book XVI, and in *Kokinshū* (905), where they are grouped under the subheading *haikai no uta* 俳諧歌 (playful humorous poems). After the 10th century the expression *haikai no uta* fell into disuse. For example, the scholar Minamoto no Toshiyori (aka Shunrai, 1055-1129) stated in *Toshiyori zuinō* (Toshiyori’s Essentials of Poetry, 1111-14) that nobody knew for certain anymore the meaning of “俳諧歌” and suggested it should be read *zareuta* [戯れ歌], “playful poems.” (SNKBZ, vol. 87. p. 26.) The category *haikai* reemerged later as a subheading in Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114-1204)’s imperial anthology *Senzaishū* 千載集 (1188; book XVIII). In *Korai fūteishō* (Poetic Styles from the Past, 1197), Shunzei would connect *haikai* to the poetry of the distant past, applying this category retroactively to humorous poems in books III and XVI of *Man'yōshū* (SNKBZ, vol. 87. p. 334.) Another form of humorous waka practice that gained popularity in the 12th century was *tan-renga* 短連歌 (verse capping), where a person would offer the upper section of a poem for someone else to cap with a matching, humorous lower section. *Toshiyori zuinō* includes many vignettes depicting such humorous exchanges, and Toshiyori included several verse-capping examples under the heading *renga* in his imperial collection *Kin'yōshū* (1127). As in *haikai no uta*, *tan-renga* poems also consist of an orthodox, sober upper section that contrasts with a mischievous lower section. I discussed *tan-renga* that appear in anecdotal collections in the second chapter.

³⁶ This term appeared already in ninth to eleventh century texts in reference to humorous waka and kanshi poems. It would gain currency in the Early Modern period, in particular in the Tenmei Era (1781-

progressively gained prominence and popularity. In the binary logic of *Menoto no sôshi*, the low-culture counterpart to waka should not be kyôka but the popular tunes from *Kangishû* that the Dragon King quotes in the passage I cited above. And yet *Menoto no sôshi* seems to oppose orthodox waka against kyôka. For example, extant manuscripts contain two poems that appear in a position that breaks with the flow of the narrative, thus suggesting that they correspond to captions of an illustration that the copier chose to omit. The first poem is a straight orthodox waka, which contrasts with the second, a kyôka that makes reference to food (rice-cakes and strawberries in this case).³⁷

Teasing out the incongruity of presenting orthodox waka and kyôka as representatives of the contrast between high culture and popular culture can throw light on the social anxieties and cultural negotiations that surface in this tale. *Menoto no sôshi* is a parody of the courtly genre of didactic letters (*ôrai-mono*) and satire of commoners of obscure origin who, having gained wealth and influence, attempt to insert themselves into elite society. It also offers, in maximally compressed form, a wide range of cultural references, serving thus as a guide to a vast network of texts and practices associated with the court.³⁸ The combination of parody, satire, and compression allows *Menoto no sôshi* to incorporate material from Abutsu's letter, and to reframe it to appeal to audiences outside the imperial court and the aristocratic salons. This tale is not so much about the differences between the high culture of the court and the popular culture of non-

89) thanks to the popularity of humorous waka by poets like Yomo no Akara 四方赤良 (aka Shokusanjin 蜀山人) and Yadoya no Meshimori 宿屋飯盛. Because *haikai-ka* and *tan-renga* are linked to the late Heian period, I will use the term *kyôka* in my discussion of unorthodox waka in this chapter.

³⁷ SNKBZ vol. 55, p. 345.

³⁸ Compression, often in the form of lists, appears in several other *otogizôshi* tales. For example, in *Hachikazuki* 鉢かづき (The Bowl Girl), when asked, "What are your skills?" the heroine replies, "While my mother looked after me I learned to play the koto, the biwa, the wagon, the shô, and the hichiri. I also used to read *Kokinshû*, *Man'yôshû*, *Ise monogatari*, the eight volumes of the Lotus Sutra, and other sutras. Apart from this I have no skills." (As translated in Chigusa, Steven, "A Muromachi Short Story," *Monumenta Nipponica* 32.3 (1977): 319).

aristocrats, as it is about how aristocratic culture was transmitted to and reproduced by non-aristocrats. *Kyōka* offer a suitable metaphor for this process, because they originated in aristocratic court culture but became a distinctive component of popular culture, and because they produce a humorous effect by breaking away from the rules of orthodox composition.

According to Linda Hutcheon's formula, a parodic text inscribes continuity with a literary precedent or model, while simultaneously creating critical distance, by relying on the competence of the reader. Without this competence, the reader will read it as non-parodic (as if it were of single encoding). This requirement is particularly hard to satisfy for a work that, as *Menoto no sōshi* does, parodies a courtly genre for an audience that, at least in part, was not necessarily courtly. To address this situation, *Menoto no sōshi* creates in the reader the very competence necessary to identify its parodic double encoding. It works, in this sense, as a self-supported parody.

In *Menoto no sōshi*, the Dragon King writes an outrageous letter for her ward that is a parody of *ōrai-mono* such as *Abutsu's*. The target of the parody is contained in the tale, in the shape of a letter by the other governess that reproduces at length passages from *Abutsu's* letter. For example, the proper governess writes in her letter, "No matter what happens, even if it is something disagreeable, letting your anger show on your face is disgraceful."³⁹ By contrast, the outrageous governess' letter addresses such a situation as follows:

It is often said that one shouldn't let one's anger show in front of one's husband. Nonsense. If the person you are with crosses you, however slightly, you should jump at him as if your life were at stake, just as the

³⁹ NKBT, vol. 55, p. 350. いかなる事にて、御心に合わぬ事候とも、御顔の色違へては、かえすがえず、うたてしき事にて候。

protagonist in the noh play *Kanawa*,⁴⁰ knowing that this could turn you into a vengeful spirit. Every so often you have to show him how your mood can change. (*Menoto no sôshi*)⁴¹

In this passage, the scandalous advice of the Dragon King is meant to contrast with and thus emphasize the appropriateness of the advice offered in the other goberness' letter. At the same time, the proper letter provides the reader with the target--in compressed form--for the parody contained in the Dragon King's letter.

That *Menoto no sôshi* is geared towards an audience different than that of Abutsu's letter can be seen also in the ways in which each of these two texts refers to other works, in particular those concerning literature and history. For example, Abutsu gives her daughter the following advice:

Information ranging from the lives of sagely, wise emperors to the imperial consorts and empresses of the past can be found in works of history; you should consult them meticulously. (Abutsu's letter)⁴²

The term that Abutsu uses is *yotsugi*, and is commonly written 世継ぎ, although it appears in the text in *kana*. It refers to works that recount the history of the court and are written in *wakan-konkôbun*, which required less linguistic competence than a straight *kanbun* text. The two works immediately associated with this genre are *Eiga monogatari* 栄花物語 (A Tale of Flowering Fortunes, late 11th or early 12th c.) and *Ôkagami* 大鏡

⁴⁰ *Kanawa* 鉄輪 (The Metal Trivet) is a noh play in which a woman whose husband has run away with someone else, places a metal trivet on her head and makes a pilgrimage to Kibune Shrine, where she becomes a demon.

⁴¹ SNKBT, vol. 55, p. 358. 殿などに添ひ候はん時にも、顔の色違へたるは口惜しき事のように人の申す候。それはあさましき事にて候。添へ程の人にはいささかも違ふ事あれば、食い付きても死に「鉄輪」の能のごとく、恐ろしき怨霊ともなりぬべき思ひ知るように、言ひ捨つる言の葉も念ふ、恐ろしき心のけぢめを折々に見せ給べし。

⁴² “*Menoto no fumi ichimei niwa no oshie*,” in *Gunsho-ruijû*. かしこきひじりの御代より女御・後の御うへまで、よつぎに見えて候へば、よく御覽ぜられ候へ。三でうの後の御もてなしぞ、かたはらいたき事ながら、すゑの代まであらまほしくいみじき御ふるまひにて候。

(Great Mirror of History, late Heian period). Abutsu's assumption seems to be that her daughter will know to which texts she is referring, have no problem finding a copy of them at court, and be able to read them. Abutsu's letter takes a similar approach to *Genji monogatari*:

When it comes to tales, not to know the *Genji monogatari* well is deplorable. The copy I have put together for you, you should keep it as a memento and study it well. There are also commentaries and guides for the *Genji*; so that you can study them thoroughly, until you are clear on every point, I have included copies as well in the small Chinese chest I prepared for you. (*Abutsu's letter*)⁴³

As in the case of the historical chronicles (*yotsugi*), when it comes to fictional tales (*monogatari*), Abutsu provides little contextual information. The aim of the letter is not to provide knowledge about the works but to enumerate them and stress the importance of knowing them well. This contrasts with *Menoto no sôshi*'s stance towards other texts. At one point in the narrative, the father lectures his daughters and touches on *Genji monogatari*:

There are different schools of thought on the *Genji monogatari*. According to one document, Princess Senshi, imperial consort to Murakami and known at the time as Daisai-in--or perhaps it was instead Jôtômon-in, empress to Ichijô--asked for a suitable tale to pass the idle hours of spring. Thus, the princess called in Fujiwara no Shikibu, who was the daughter of Tametoki, the governor of Echizen, and asked "Is there such a tale?" She replied, "Old tales such as the *Ochikubo monogatari* are not interesting. Please let me write a new one. I think it is worth the effort." The princess said, "Go ahead, write us one." Saying, "I will do my best," Shikibu withdrew to Ishiyama and wrote the fifty-four sections of the

⁴³ "Menoto no fumi ichimei niwa no oshie," in *Gunsho-ruijû*. さるべき物がたりども、源氏おぼえさせ給はざらんは、むげなることにて候。かきあつめてまゐらせて候へば、ことさらかたみともおぼしめし、よくよく御覽じて、源氏をば、なんぎ・もくろくなどまで、こまかにきたすべき物にて候へば、おぼめかしからぬ程に御らんじあきらめ候へば、なんぎ・もくろく、おなじくこからびつにいれてまゐらせ候。

Genji. As one of the best sections is “Young Lavender” (*Wakamurasaki*), the author received the sobriquet Murasaki Shikbu. (*Menoto no sôshi*)⁴⁴

Here *Menoto no sôshi* offers detailed information on the background of *Genji monogatari*, the circumstances of production, identity of the author, and cultural context in which it was produced. Similarly, while Abutsu’s letter is rich in allusions to the events and characters of *Genji monogatari*, these allusions are absent from *Menoto no sôshi*. This suggests that the author of *Menoto no sôshi* assumed little cultural literacy on the part of the reader, and possibly little access to commentarial texts. In other words, *Menoto no sôshi* seems to have been written for a readership that included non-elite warriors and wealthy commoners with highly limited access to the court and its cultural salons.

Scholarly analyses of later works, in particular from the Edo period (1600-1868), refer to a distinction that would emerge fully in the seventeenth century between elite genres (*ga* 雅, elegant)--including *waka* and *kanshi*-- and new popular arts (*zoku* 俗, vulgar) such as *haikai* linked-verse, *jôruri* puppet theatre and *kabuki* theatre. The opposition and interplay of *ga* and *zoku* appeared in dynamic configurations in texts, paintings, and plays for the stage. In *Menoto no sôshi*, the *ga* and the *zoku* seem to be two static polarities in a binary opposition organized around differences in social class. They play a central role in the tale’s apparent and comprehensive trashing of townsfolk culture. Yet the two series of valued oppositions they represent break down upon closer analysis.

⁴⁴ SNKBT, vol. 55, p. 348. 「源氏物語」も家／＼の説多し。一つの紀には、選子内親王、村上
の女御に大斎院と申まし／＼き。又、一条院の後、上東門院とておわします御方へ、春の徒然に
「さるべき物語侍らば給わらん」と申させ給ひし時に、越前の守為時が女、藤式部を召して、
「いづれの物語か、然るべき」と仰合わせらるるに、「『落窪』などようの古き物語は珍しげな
くや侍らん。新しく作り出して参らせられんこそ、甲斐は侍らん」と申けるを、「さては、真事
に書き出でんや」と、のたまわせければ、「心みに思ひ巡らし侍らん」とて、石山に籠もり、
「源氏」五十四帖を書きぬ。中にも、若紫の巻を優れて書きたるにより、紫式部と名付け侍りぬ。

What is *Menoto no sôshi*'s actual stance towards cultural and class differences? One possible answer is that this tale aims to reinforce cultural divides, to seal off aristocratic culture from the assault of non-elite cultural spaces. Such is Virginia Skord's interpretation of the tale: "The medieval reader would have been amused by the incongruity of an aristocratic young lady learning mathematics or strumming a lute like a blind minstrel. For the original audience, the lighthearted manner in which the story treated a serious subject by no means detracted from the weight of its message; this is a story that reaffirmed rather than disrupted traditional values."⁴⁵ In other words, the Dragon King is, however humorous, a foil that serves to emphasize the virtues of the proper governess. In this reading, a satire of commoner culture is deployed as a cautionary sampling of degenerate manners, preferences, and expectations.

At the same time, *Menoto no sôshi* contains one of the earliest comprehensive descriptions of the rising merchant class. That the tale goes to such a length to present two sets of cultural preferences for two sets of separate and well-defined spaces, suggests that this clean division was hardly the historical case. As in the case of waka and kyôka, the tale is contrasting cultural preferences that are not necessarily mutually exclusive, as enjoying kyôka requires having knowledge of waka. By the same logic, the emergent popular, commoner culture was built in part by absorbing the culture of the aristocracy, and transforming it to express the new interests and preferences of non-aristocrats. As a parody of aristocratic high genres, a satire of upstart commoners, and a compressed vehicle for the transmission of the cultural knowledge of the court, *Menoto no sôshi* is an instance of the kyôka-esque reception and transformation of court culture for new audiences in the late medieval period.

⁴⁵ Skord, *Tales of Tears and Laughter*, p. 169.

Narratives of Cultural Transformation and Social Mobility in *Monokusa Tarô*

Monokusa Tarô 物くさ太郎 (Lazy Tarô) narrates the transformation of an unsophisticated man from the country living in a remote village in Shinano province into a sophisticated aristocrat living in the capital. The story has two main sections. In the first, we encounter a man called Monokusa Tarô Hiji-Kasu, or “Lazy Dirt-and-Dregs Tarô.” We learn that Tarô dreamed of owning an elegant mansion but, lacking the means and being exceptionally slothful, he lived on charity in a makeshift hut. After a few years, the villagers chose him to fulfill a request to send a laborer to the capital. The second section narrates the adventures of Tarô in the capital. Tarô works, this time diligently, and when the time comes to return to Shinano, he starts to court an aristocratic lady he meets by chance at a temple. She initially rejects him, but after Tarô impresses her with his knowledge of poetry, they get married, and at the end it is discovered that Tarô was actually the lost son of a courtier exiled in Shinano. The emperor bestows on him the whole province of Shinano, and Tarô returns to his village transformed into a wealthy aristocrat. Tarô governs the province in peace for many years and then becomes a god of longevity, and his wife is revealed as a manifestation of a buddha.

A feature of this text that has received great scholarly attention is the transformation of Tarô from laziness (*monokusa*) into industriousness (*mame*). This has been interpreted in different ways. Satake Akihiro connects *monokusa* to *nosa* (relaxation), and *nosa* to

individualist non-conformity, which he sees as the key to Tarô's success in the capital.⁴⁶ Sakurai Yoshirô reads the whole tale as an allegory in which Tarô's laziness marks him as a sacred person. For example, Tarô's initial lying around (*fusu* 伏す) symbolizes the supine position connected to mystical practices of mountain ascetics (*yamabushi* 山伏).⁴⁷ These two contrasting readings of the tale have in common that they regard Tarô's laziness as the key to the story. In this section I argue that the turning point in the narrative is not the change from laziness to industriousness, but a series of poetic exchanges with the aristocratic lady, in which Tarô shows off his cultural literacy and savvy.

The rags-to-riches trajectory of Tarô's life suggests the pattern of other *otogizôshi* that describe tales of upward social mobility. Known as *risshin shusse* 立身出世, these narratives have in common that they describe how a poor man travels to the metropolis and returns to his village a wealthy man.⁴⁸ Indeed, after his journey to the capital, Tarô is able to build for himself the mansion he had dreamed of in the beginning of the tale. Also, the tale ends by stating that after their deaths, Tarô and his wife are enshrined and worshiped as gods. This places this text close to another subgroup of *otogizôshi*, known as *honjimonô* 本地者 ("Origin Tales"), in which a male protagonist born to noble parents under unusual circumstances suffers misfortunes but shows courage in adversity and is finally revealed to be a deity.

⁴⁶ Satake Akihiro, *Gekokujô no bungaku* (Tokyo: Chikuma, 1967). It goes without saying that here I am brutally summarizing Satake's rich and nuanced philological examination of the linguistic associations of key terms in the tale.

⁴⁷ Sakurai Yoshirô, "Gekokujô no kamigami Monokusa Tarô," in *Bungaku* 39.10 (1971): 32- 33.

⁴⁸ Ichiko Teiji, *Chusei Shosetsu no kenkyu* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1955).

Rather than a straight *honjimonō*, the tale *Monokusa Tarō* can be seen as a parody of this form.⁴⁹ Virginia Skord noted that a salient characteristic of this tale is the pervasive use of humor, which contrasts with the solemn tone of most *honjimonō*. In this reading *Monokusa Tarō* deviates from the *honjimonō* pattern, often inverting it, to create a comedic effect. For example, while the standard hero is born in a noble house, when we meet Tarō he is a pauper; rather than facing adversity, he produces his own adversity with his laziness. Skord refers to this drop from the solemn to the trivial and lowly as an “anticlimax,” and identifies it as parody.

Skord sees *Monokusa Tarō* also as a parody of two other genres: 1) as a parody of the *gunkimono* 軍記物 (warrior tales), because Tarō’s old rags contrast with the passages in warrior tales describing the armor and accoutrements of warriors, and 2) as a parody of the classic Heian romance--as found in texts such as *Ise monogatari* (The Tales of Ise, 951)--because Tarō’s early attempts at seducing an aristocratic lady end in slapstick. *Monokusa Tarō* can be read as an “attempt to deflate contemporary generic conventions” by parodying them.⁵⁰ Skord sees this parody as gentle and innocent, and thus removed from the jaded, cynical, biting wit of later Edo-period works (which I would call *satire* rather than *parody*).

In summary, this tale has been read both as the metamorphosis of a lethargic man into an industrious and dependable laborer and as the playful parody of several established genres. Yet what looks like a textual parody of specific literary genres can also be expressing a new cultural stance. A defining feature of this shift is the reevaluation or

⁴⁹ Shinoda Jun’ichi, “Monokusa Taro ron,” in *Taniyama Shigeru kyōju taishoku kinen kokugo kokubungaku ronshū* (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō, 1972). Skord, Virginia, “Monogusa Taro. From Rags to Riches and Beyond,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 44.2 (1989): 171–198.

⁵⁰ Skord, “Monogusa Taro. From Rags to Riches and Beyond,” p. 182.

transformation of classical genres in light of the rise of new cultural forms. This is connected to Tarô's progressive acquisition of cultural knowledge. The transformation that defines the significance of this tale is not so much that of a lazy man turned industrious (in the tale this is mentioned only once, and very briefly: "Tarô had now nothing lazy in him. They had never seen someone as industrious as him."⁵¹), but that of a rough country bumpkin who becomes a culturally sophisticated member of the imperial court. This transformation is gradually revealed in the course of an extended passage, which consists of a succession of humorous sketches. In the first of these sketches, a ragtag Tarô approaches an elegant lady, to her shock and horror; in the last sketch, he marries the lady and is accepted into the imperial court. This suggests that Tarô conquers the world of the capital thanks to his cultural literacy, not his industriousness.

This transformation happens in stages, and *Monokusa Tarô* offers a step-by-step description of Tarô's acquisition of cultural knowledge. In the beginning, Tarô is presented as an unsophisticated country man with a formulaic knowledge of the capital. Soon he reveals some knowledge about waka and elegant language. And in the end he shows that he can actually compose his own poems and engage in witty repartee with an elegant lady.

The first episode of this section begins with a display of stock knowledge about the capital. Tarô, still wearing the rags from his village, approaches an elegant lady who is praying at the monthly festival of Kiyomizu temple and claims that they have met before. "Hey, lady!" he says, "I remember you from way back! Haven't we met before at the villages of Ôhara, Shizuhara, and Seryô, at Kôdô, Kawasaki, and Nakayama, at Chôrakuji

⁵¹ NKBT, vol. 38, p. 192. すこしものくさげなるけしきもなし。是程にまめ成物あらじとて、三月の長夫を七月まで召し使はれ、やうやう十一月のころにもなりぬれば...

and Kiyomizu, at Rokuhara, and Rokkakudô, at Saga, Hôrinji, Daigo, Uzumasa, Kurusu, and Kohata, at Yodo, Yahata, Sumiyoshi, Kurumadera, at Gojô Tenjin and Kibune Myôjin, at Hiyoshi Sannô, Gion and Kitano, Kasuga and Kamo? How about it?”⁵² This is a hyperbolic claim, not to be taken literally.

Tarô’s inventory of famous places in and around the capital is meant to impress the capital lady with Tarô’s knowledge. It also serves the reader as a compressed guide to the capital’s main touristic spots. In the list, items are grouped by association. For example, Ôhara, Shizuhara, and Seryô are mountain villages north of the capital; Gion, Kitano, Kasuga and Kamo are among the main Shintô shrines. As Ichiko Teiji points out, this list is constructed in the style of the genre of the *michiyuki-bun* 道行文. *Michiyuki* descriptions of places rely on rhyme and alliteration to give an enumeration rhythm and movement. Tarô pairs Ôhara and Shizuhara; Rokuhara and Rokkakudô; Gojô Tenjin and Kibune Myôjin; Kohata and Yahata. The result is a list of famous places that, due to its compression, is easy to commit to memory, and that a reader unfamiliar with the capital can rely on.

Upon hearing Tarô’s toponymic list, the lady realizes that she is dealing with an unsophisticated man from the country (*inaka mono* 田舎者). This is the starting point of Tarô’s transformation. The lady, aware of the social gap, engages him in dialogue, confident that she can easily confound him and escape:

–Oh, really? Right now there are so many people watching... why
don’t you drop by my home?
–Where is it?

⁵² NKBT, vol. 38, p. 196.いかにや女房、はるかにこそおぼえて候へ、小原静原芹生の里、草堂河崎中山、長楽寺、清水六波羅、六角堂、嵯峨法輪寺、太秦醍醐、栗栖木幡山、淀八幡、住吉鞍馬寺、五条の天神、貴船の明神、日吉山王、祇園北野、賀茂春日、所々にて参りあひて候ひしは、いかに。

–At a place called Under the Pine (*matsu no moto*).
 –I know Under the Pine, that is at Bay of Light (*akashi no ura*).
 She thought there could be nothing stranger than this, but thinking that he couldn't guess one more, she continued:
 –Actually, it's at Sunset Village (*hi-kururu sato*).
 –I know Sunset Village, that is deep in Dark Place (*kurama*).
 Whereabouts?
 –Right there. Look for Lamp Lane (*tomoshihi no kôji*).
 –In Oil Lane (*abura no kôji*)? Whereabouts?
 –Right there in Embarrassment Village (*hadukaji no sato*).
 –In Concealed Village (*shinobu no sato*)? Whereabouts?
 –Right there in Top Robe (*uwagi*).
 –In Brocade Lane (*nishiki no kôji*)? Whereabouts?
 –Right there in Contentment Province (*nagusamu kuni*).
 –That would be in Ômi Province, where lovers meet (*koishite afumi no kuni*). Whereabouts?
 –In Cloudless Cosmetics Village (*keshô suru kumori naki sato*).
 –In Mirror Traveller's Lodge (*kagami no shuku*)? Whereabouts?
 –In Autumn Province (*aki suru kuni*).
 –In Rice-Leaf Province (*inaba no kuni*)? Whereabouts?
 –Right there in Twenty-Years-Old Province (*hatachi no kuni*).
 –In Young Province (*wakasa no kuni*)? Whereabouts?
 Tarô was keeping up with her, so there was no way for her to escape.
 (*Monokusa Tarô*)⁵³

This long repartee testing Tarô's knowledge is, again, hyperbolic. It consists of a series of independent humorous riddles meant to amuse the reader. In all cases, the play on words involves famous places and streets in and around the capital. Together with the

⁵³ NKBT, vol. 38, p. 196. 「それはさる事も候はん。今はこれにては、人目もしげし、わらはがさふらふ所へ、とふて入らせ給へ」とありければ、「いづくにて候ぞ」と問いければ、調子のことばをかけ、それをふくせんその内に、逃げばやと思召、「わらはが候所をば、松のもとゝいふ所にて候」。物くさ太郎是を聞き、「松のもとゝは心得たり、明石の浦の事」。かゝる希代の事はなし、是一つをこそ聞き知るとも、餘の事は知らじと思ひて、「たゞし日暮るゝ里に候ぞ」。「日暮るゝ里も心得たり、鞍馬の奥はどの程ぞ」。「これもわらはがふる里よ、ともし火の小路をたづねよや」。「油の小路はどの程ぞ」。「是もわらはがふる里よ、はづかしの里に候よ」。「しのぶの里とはどの程ぞ」。「これもわらはが故里よ、うはぎの里に候」。「錦の小路はどの程ぞ」。「是もわらはがふる里よ、なぐさむ國に候は」。「それは戀してあふみの國はどの程ぞ」。「けしやうするくもりなき里」とのたまへば、「鏡の宿はどの程ぞ」。「秋する國に候よ」。「因幡國にはどの程ぞ」。「これもわらはがふる里よ、はたちの國に候よ」。「若狭國にはどの程ぞ」。かやうにとかくいふ程に、此上はわが身のがるべきやうなし。

list of temples and shrines, they expand for the reader the inventory of famous places in the capital and its environs.

In his responses, Tarô shows, moreover, that he is unfazed when confronted with educated language, and that he is able to respond with wit. This marks the first point in the narrative in which Tarô appears to be able to engage in a culturally literate dialogue. Many of the riddles hinge on terms stemming from Heian-period literary works. *Akashi no ura*, for example, is the setting for a famous episode in *Genji monogatari*; *shinobu* (to suppress one's longing for someone) is an expression that appears widely in waka. Tarô's replies are funny because they twist these traditional terms through homophony to produce more commonplace meanings. For example, *tomoshihi* 灯火 (lamp), a term traditionally (since at least *Nihonshoki*, c. 720) associated with scholarship and the study of the Chinese classics, leads Tarô to mention the ordinary oil (*abura*) that is necessary for a lamp to function. Tarô's wordplay works by twisting the lady's pompous, culturally sophisticated expressions into everyday, ordinary words.⁵⁴

In the next section, Tarô displays an even more nuanced cultural skill. This new phase in Tarô's transformation takes the shape of an exchange of poems:

Noticing that Tarô carried a staff made of Chinese-bamboo, she recited:

It's not easy to add more nodes to a staff made of Chinese-bamboo,
in the same way that it is not easy to lie next to a man holding one.
Karatake o tsue ni tsukitaru mono nareba fushi soigataki hito o miru kana

⁵⁴ Some of the riddles are a bit far-fetched: to the place-name *Matsu no Moto* 松の下 (Under the Pines), Tarô responds with the place-name *Akashi no Ura* 明石の浦 (Bay of Light), connected possibly through the word *taimatsu* 松明 (torch; written with the first characters for each place).⁵⁴ Other riddles are more straight forward: to *hi-kururu sato* 日暮るる里, a village where the sun sets, Tarô responds with a place-name, *kurama* 鞍馬, traditionally written with the characters for "saddle" and "horse," but which can be read also as "dark place" (暗間).

When Tarô heard this he was mortified that she didn't want to sleep with him, so he replied:

Myriad nights, like so many sections between the nodes of bamboo:
How come you won't lie down with my Chinese-bamboo?

Yorozu yo no take no yo goto ni sou fushi no nado karatake ni fushi nakaru beki

“What a frightening man,” she thought, “He says he wants to sleep with me, and his appearance is quite shocking, but his knowledge of poetry is admirable.” (*Monokusa Tarô*)⁵⁵

The lady's poem and Tarô's reply conform to the structure of *zôtôka* 贈答歌, exchanges of poems that played a fundamental role in courting practices during the Heian period (I discuss them in the introduction). A central feature of the *zôtôka* subgenre of waka, which can be seen in this exchange between Tarô and the lady, is that the reply poem incorporates the language of the first poem. Yet this is not just an orthodox exchange of poems in the style of Heian-period *zôtôka*. Although these two poems deploy orthodox poetic diction--such as *take* (bamboo), *fushi* (node), and *yo* (section between nodes), which appear as associated terms (*engo* 縁語) in orthodox waka--, they also call for an alternative reading of these words, as is common in *kyôka*. For example, the many sections of bamboo become countless nights spent together (*yo* can also mean “night” and *fushi*, “to lie down”).

These poems display another central feature of *kyôka* poems. In both poems, the sober first half (*kami no ku*) encourages a more orthodox reading, while the playful second half (*shimo no ku*) makes the double entendre blatant. The first half of a poem

⁵⁵ NKBT, vol. 38, p.197. いやいや此者に、歌をよみかけ、それを案ぜぬ折ふしに、逃げ去らばやと思ひて、男の持ちたる唐竹の、杖によそへてかくなん、唐竹を、杖につきたる物なればふしそひがたき人を見るかな 物くさ太郎これを聞、あな口惜しやさて、われと寝じとごさんなれと思ひ、御返事、よろづ世の竹のよごととそふふしのなど唐竹にふしなかるべき あな恐ろしや此男は、我と寝んといふ、また姿には似ず、かゝる道を知りたること、やさしさよと思召て。

uses orthodox poetic diction, which sets up the punch line of the second half, where the traditional expressions are twisted downward or outward through homophony.⁵⁶

The lady, impressed by Tarô's skill at poetic repartee, engages him in one more poetic exchange, and runs away. Before disappearing she provides Tarô with the address of her home coded into a poem as yet another puzzle.⁵⁷ Her house turns out to be that of an aristocrat serving as Governor of Buzen (Fukuoka and Oita Prefectures). Tarô sneaks into the mansion. Fearing that the guards will kill Tarô if they discover him, the lady puts him up for the night and brings him food. The following section marks the point where Tarô finally wins her affection with his poetic skill:

Tarô thought, "Let's look at this food in more detail. She gave it to me together in one bunch (*hitotsu ni*), so she must want to get together (*hitotsu ni*) with me. The chestnuts (*kuri*) she gave me reflect her intention to mend her ways (*kuri koto su na*). The pears (*nashi*) she gave me, that she wants to make (*nashi*) me her husband. The persimmons (*kaki*) and salt (*shio*)... I don't know... perhaps she wants me to compose a poem."

From Naniwa Bay in Tsu Province they came,
like oysters that cross no sea but still taste salty,
these unripe persimmons I have pickled in salt.

Tsu no kuni no Naniwa no ura no kaki nareba umi wataranedo shio wa tsukikeri

The lady thought, "The poem shows wonderful sensitivity. It's like they say, 'a lotus blooming out of the mud,' 'gold wrapped in straw.'" She gave him about ten sheets of paper. Tarô didn't know what to do with it. She had written nothing on them, but perhaps she expected him to write an answer? He wrote on them:

Are you giving me paper
as an offering for the mighty gods
brought by a messenger on a journey
because you take me for a shrine?

⁵⁶ In some *kyôka*, the whole poem as a unit is open to a double reading: first as an orthodox *waka*, then as vulgar or unrefined wordplay.

⁵⁷ If you feel like it, do come by. My house gromwells and orange blossoms at the gate. (*omou nara toi te mo kimase waga yado wa karatachibana no murasaki no kado*). NKBT, vol. 38, p. 198. 思ふならとひても來ませわが宿はからたちばなの紫の門。

Chihayaburu kami o tsukai ni tabitaru wa ware o yashiro to omou ka ya kimi

“You have done me in. Come over here,” she said, and handed him a short-sleeve robe, wide trousers, a hat, and a sword, saying “Put these on and follow me.” (*Monokusa Tarô*)⁵⁸

This section marks the crux of Tarô’s transformation into a courtier. After this poetic exchange, the lady accepts Tarô as her husband. She teaches him how to dress and comport himself, and introduces him to her father, who finds him elegant and handsome. He bestows on Tarô the name *Uta no Saemon* うたの左衛門, Left Guard of the Poetry Bureau, in acknowledgement of his poetic skill.⁵⁹ Tarô becomes known as an expert in linked verse (*renga no jôzu* 連歌の上手) and is summoned to court. There, Tarô composes poems that impress the emperor and is revealed as the lost son of an aristocrat.

In this reading, *Monokusa Tarô* is the tale of a lowly villager who wins the heart of an aristocratic lady, receives aristocratic rank and office, and rises in society due to his skill in poetry. This inscribes the text in the tradition of *katoku* narratives (which I discussed in the third chapter), together with other otogizôshi such as *Saru Genji sôshi*. At the same time, *Monokusa Tarô* is not a brief anecdote about a man who seduces a high ranking lady with a single poem, but a detailed account of the gradual transformation of an

⁵⁸ NKBT, vol. 38, p. 197. たゞし子細有(る)べし、木の實あまた一つにしくれたるは、われに一つになりあはんと思ふ心かや、栗をたびたるは、くりことすなどの心にや、梨をたびたるは、われは男もなしといふ心、柿としほとはなどやらん、いづれも歌によまばやと思ひて、津の國の難波の浦のかきなればうみわたらねどしほはつきけり 女房これを聞き、あなやさしのものゝ心や、泥の蓮、わらづとこがねとは、かやうのことにててもや侍らん、是取らせよとて、紙を十かさねばかりいだされたり。是は何事やらんと思ひけるが、水莖のあとなき返事をせよといふ心、ごさんなれと思ひてかくなん、ちはやふるかみを使にたびたるはわれを社と思ふかや君 「此上は力なし。具して参り候へ」とて、小袖一かさね、大口直垂、烏帽子刀とゝのへて、「是を召して参られよ」とぞ申(し)ける。

⁵⁹ Ichiko Teiji attempts to trace the office of *uta no saemon* to actual bureaucratic offices, such as *uta no kami* 雅楽頭, “Head of the Music Bureau,” and to documents related to Buzen Province, and suggests that *uda* could even be a place-name. NKBT, vol. 38, p. 204, n. 2. In the context of my argument, I read instead “*uta no saemon*” as a fictional office created to stress Tarô’s poetic prowess, something akin to “Mr. Poetry Master.”

uneducated provincial who travels to the capital, acquires a cultural education, and is eventually recognized as an aristocrat because of his comprehensive cultural literacy. In this sense, otogizôshi tales such as *Saru Genji sôshi* or *Monokusa Tarô* are not extolling the powers of waka in particular but rather stressing the social utility of and need for cultural literacy more broadly speaking.

Conclusion

The Muromachi period marks the entrance of large numbers of urban commoners into the circuits of circulation and consumption of literary texts. Many otogizôshi tales, often created by aristocrats or learned Buddhist priests, came to reflect the aesthetic sensibilities and social anxieties of townsfolk, artisans, and merchants. *Menoto no sôshi*, *Monokusa Tarô*, and *Saru Genji sôshi* are but a small sample of this deep pool of diverse texts. When read together, these three tales speak to an emerging popular culture in which waka and aristocratic culture played an indisputable role.

The underlying theme of all three tales is the promise or fantasy that a cultural education, including training in waka, carries the potential for social mobility. *Saru Genji sôshi* and *Monokusa Tarô* explicitly depict such an upward trajectory, as a provincial commoner marries a woman of higher social rank due to his cultural competency. *Menoto no sôshi* is a cautionary tale about the risks of not acquiring a solid cultural education. It constructs two sets of contrasting behavioral and cultural preferences, and presents them as mutually incompatible social spaces.

Monokusa Tarô and *Saru Genji sôshi* undermine this distinction. In both works, a man is able to bridge the apparently insurmountable social gap thanks to his command of

the poetic tradition. They parody the katoku narratives of the Heian and Kamakura period, where a poet obtain a benefit thanks to a poem, by swapping the orthodox poems common in katoku tales for humorous kyôka poems. Yet kyôka achieve their humorous effect only when read against the background of the tradition and conventions of orthodox waka. In this way, these tales problematize *Menoto no sôshi*'s claims that a clear-cut division separated elite culture from popular culture.

This reveals classical culture--or rather neo-classical culture, the reception in the Muromachi period of works and genres seen as characteristic of the Heian period--as part and parcel of the new emerging popular culture. Moreover, the logic behind kyôka poems is analogous to the main operations displayed by these otogizôshi texts: the compression of courtly cultural knowledge, the parody of aristocratic genres, and the satire of upstart commoners. In these texts the relationship of classical to popular culture is kyôka-esque: not of opposition but of collaboration--through creating contrast--in the production and transmission of culture.

Chapter 5 – Learning with Waka Poems (*Kyôkunka*) in the Muromachi and Edo periods

Introduction

At the end of the Heian period orthodox waka shed its social utility in private interactions between aristocrats. Waka began to assume new functions as part of pedagogical practices related to disciplines beyond poetry, and by the late medieval and early Edo period, it had assumed a variety of functions, from codifying and transmitting highly technical knowledge to teaching moral and religious precepts to facilitating the memorization of large amounts of information. This chapter traces the development of the use of waka as pedagogical tools.

The transformation of waka into a pedagogical tool cut across disciplines and practices: it was used in everything from hawking (*takagari* 鷹狩り) and courtly kickball (*kemari* 蹴鞠) to teaching literary competence and Chinese history, to moral education and the way of tea (*chanoyu* 茶の湯). It involved the repurposing and reframing of canonical orthodox waka to suit a new pedagogical setting and the composition and compilation of new poems with a clear pedagogical aim.

Collections of waka that reveal a pedagogical intent have been classified under various labels, such as *kyôkunka* 教訓歌, *dôka* 道歌, and *shodô kyôkunka* 諸道教訓歌, according to the varying nature of the content that the poems convey. Poems used as part of pedagogical practices display a wide range of stylistic and thematic configurations. Some poems are close in style to orthodox waka; they display a sophisticated use of

diction, imagery, and rhythm. Other poems shrug off the rich tradition of orthodox waka, preserving only the 5-7-5-7-7 meter.

In this chapter I discuss these poems in the context of the parallel process by which highly organized fields of knowledge associated with social practices such as hawking, kickball, and *chanoyu* came to be taught and learned.¹ The picture that emerges is that of a vibrant production and consumption of waka that codify and transmit diverse bodies of knowledge, often running hand in hand with the pedagogy of orthodox waka and the use of humorous waka (*kyōka*) in cultural education I discussed in the previous chapters.

The Uses of Waka in the Pedagogy of Hawking and Kickball

The earliest recorded use of waka in pedagogical practices are collections of poems on hawking, considered an elegant pastime among the aristocracy. Hawking itself was an established poetic topic; the novelty resided in using waka to transmit knowledge about the actual practice of hawking.² For example, the following poem, included in *GoKyōgoku-dono taka sanbyakushu* 後京極殿鷹三百首 (Three-hundred poems on Hawking by Fujiwara no Yoshitsune, early Kamakura period).

Their wings and tails so hard to tidy up,
Bell-hawks: Find them good birdseed!
Always keep them in good condition!

O ke tomo ni totonohi-gataki hashitaka ni yoki we wo motome tsune ni kahu beshi
(*GoKyōgoku-dono taka sanbyakushu*)³

¹ Inoue Muneo, “Chūsei kyōkunka ryakkai dai,” *Rikkyō daigaku Nihon bungaku* 24 (1970): 100–119.

² Yamamoto Hajime, “Taka uta bunken josetsu,” *Kenkyū to shiryō no kai* 56 (2013): 1–10.

³ *Gunsho ruijū*. Vol. 19 (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1960), p. 487. 尾毛ともにとゝのひかたき箸鷹よきゑを求め常にかふへし.

GoKyôgoku-dono taka sanbyakushu was compiled by Fujiwara no Yoshitsune (1169-1206), a powerful politician and well known poet. Yoshitsune must have had a clear understanding of how much he was bending the rules of orthodox waka in his poems on hawking, for he had studied waka under Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114-1204) and Teika (1162-1241), the founders of the Mikohidari poetic household (which I discussed in the first chapter).

The above poem illustrates a central characteristic of the poems in this collection -- the use of direct imperatives. The fourth line (with the imperative form *motome* of v. *motomu*) and the fifth line (with the aux. v. *beshi*) explicitly command the reader as to how to proceed with these birds. Many other poems in this collection display auxiliary verbs that can have an imperative function (e.g. *beshi*), as well as imperative verb inflections (*meireikei*) that indicate an explicit command or instruction. Imperative language appears frequently in orthodox waka, in grammatical constructions such as the archaic *na-verb-so*, as in *na-itohi-so*, “do not pay heed to it.” But expressions such as the imperative *beshi* and imperative verb endings, which are much closer to colloquial language, were not part of orthodox poetic diction.

The use of colloquial language is a central feature of poems deployed in pedagogy. These poems lack the arcane expressions and the rhetorical complexities that often made orthodox waka difficult to compose and interpret. The poems in *GoKyôgoku-dono taka sanbyakushu* are easy to understand for anyone with a minimum knowledge of the practice of hawking. For example, in the third line of the poem, the expression *hashitaka* is a technical term that refers to hawks with bells attached to their wings and tail, a practice common among aristocratic hunters.

The poems in *GoKyôgoku-dono taka sanbyakushu* address the listener/reader with directives, and thus take the shape of teacher's injunctions. The poems depart from orthodox waka in one other way. Regardless of whether composed as part of private interactions or on a fixed topic ahead of a poetic contest, orthodox poems were traditionally composed on the pretense that they express the poet's unmediated emotions. This pretense of spontaneous lyricism is dropped radically in Yoshitsune's *GoKyôgoku-dono taka sanbyakushu*. The poems are openly composed as a way to codify and preserve knowledge about hawking in a form that makes memorization easier.

GoKyôgoku-dono taka sanbyakushu is particularly significant because other contemporary collections on hawking contain poems still closer in style to orthodox waka. These collections, such as Yoshitsune's, were compiled by powerful, high-ranking aristocratic poets. An example of this is *Jien taka hyakushu* 慈円鷹百首 (One-hundred poems on Hawking by Priest Jien, early Kamakura period), attributed to the Priest Jien 慈円 (1155-1225), son of the powerful Fujiwara no Tadamichi 藤原忠通 (1097-1164) and younger brother of Kujô Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149-1207). Jien was a leading figure at the literary salons and a contemporary of Teika, who edited *Taka sanbyakushu waka* 鷹三百首和歌 (Three hundred waka on Hawking, early Kamakura period). Jien and Teika's collections of poems on hawking share Yoshitsune's pedagogical aims, but in style they are much closer to orthodox waka.⁴

Pedagogical waka about hawking remained common throughout the medieval period. For example, *Ryûzankô taka hyakushu* 龍山公鷹百首 (A Hundred Poems by Lord Ryûzan, Momoyama period), a manual on hawking by Konoe Sakihisa 近衛前久 (1536-

⁴ Inoue, "Chûsei kyôkunka ryakkai dai."

1612), a political operator with ties to warrior leader Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and an aristocrat who had a central role in the spread of central Kyoto culture to the provinces during the Momoyama period. A parallel and related development were collections of pedagogical poems composed in the *renga* 連歌 (linked-verse) form. For example, *Hyaku-in renga* 百韻連歌 (A Hundred Poems of Linked-verse), a compilation by the Nanboku period poet and renga master (Fujiwara) Nijô Yoshimoto (1320-88), consists of didactic poems structured as renga verses.

Collections of pedagogical waka such as *GoKyôgoku-dono taka sanbyakushu*, *Jien taka hyakushu*, *Taka sanbyakushu waka*, *Ryûzankô taka hyakushu*, and *Hyaku-in renga* have in common that the number of poems is one hundred or a multiple of one hundred. This could seem to suggest that one hundred was a convenient, feasible number of poems to memorize. However, the convention of grouping poems into hundreds was not exclusive to poems used in pedagogy, but an established form in works of orthodox waka.

The *hyakushu* form had appeared first during the Heian period in the work of Sone no Yoshitada 曾禰好忠 (active mid-Heian period). The posthumous compilation of his poems, *Sotanshû* 曾丹集, includes various texts in the *hyakushu* form such as *Yoshitada hyakushu* 好忠百首. The *hyakushu* form later gained wider significance during the Kamakura period with works such as Fujiwara no Teika's *Ogura hyakunin isshu* 小倉百人一首. That the earliest collections of pedagogical waka adopted the *hyakushu* form suggests that poets and compilers saw pedagogical waka as a subgenre of orthodox waka.

GoKyôgoku-dono taka sanbyakushu and the other collections of waka on hawking represent the earliest use of waka in the transmission of knowledge of a specific discipline. They emerged from a wider tendency to explore the pedagogical potential of

waka. An illustration of this is the contemporary *Môgyu waka* 蒙求和歌 (Poems on the Child's Treasury, 1204) by the aristocrat Minamoto no Mitsuyuki 源光行 (1163-1244), who studied waka under Fujiwara no Shunzei. *Môgyu waka* is a collection of annotations on the Chinese textbook of history *Môgyû* 蒙求 (Tang period), which was used widely in education in Japan during the Heian period. This work consists of discrete sections that open with four characters from the *Môgyû* followed by a passage of commentary. It closes with a waka poem meant to summarize and restate the commentary.

Jennifer Guest discusses *Môgyu waka* in her doctoral dissertation and provides an example that can illustrate the commonalities between *Môgyû waka* and poems carrying instruction in hawking.⁵ The entry for 車胤聚螢, “Che Yin gathers fireflies,” narrates how, as a young man, Minister of Education Che Yin had desired to study the classics but could not afford oil for his lamp, so he ingeniously trapped fireflies in a translucent bag to provide himself with light. This passage is followed by this poem:

Though they have yet to finish lighting a single volume, --
the sky on a summer night, keeping company with fireflies.
*Hitomaki o ake mo hatenu ni akenikeri hotaru wo tomo su natsu no yo no sora*⁶

The poem summarizes the passage by bringing together the images of lighting (*ake*, a pun on “opening”), fireflies (*hotaru*), night (*yo*) study, and suggests that study time is never enough, just like a brief summer night (*natsu no yo*). As in *GoKyôgoku-dono taka sanbyakushu*, the poems in *Môgyu waka* are concise and convenient pointers to the more detailed knowledge the student is meant to commit to memory.

⁵ Guest, Jennifer, “Primers, Commentaries, and Kanbun Literacy in Japanese Literary Culture, 950-1250CE,” PhD Diss., Columbia University, 2013. ProQuest.

⁶ ヒトマキヲアケモハテヌニアケニケリホタルヲトモス夏ノ夜ノソラ. Quoted in Guest, “Primers, Commentaries, and Kanbun Literacy in Japanese Literary Culture,” from an early Kamakura-period manuscript held by the Diet Library of Japan.

A notable collection of pedagogical waka from the late medieval period is on the aristocratic practice of kickball. *Kemari hyakushû* 蹴鞠百種 (One Hundred Poems on Kickball, 1506) was composed by the poet and kickball master Asukai Masayasu (aka Sôsei 宋世; aka Nirakuken 二楽軒; 1436-1509). Masayasu gave his collection a topical organization and grouped poems under subheadings:

Fundamentals of disposition (*kokoromochi no daitai*) – poems 1-10
Fundamentals of garden-building (*niwa tsukuri no daitai*) – 11-20
Fundamentals of famous places (*mari meisho no daigai*) – 21-27
Fundamentals of kick-off (*agemari no taigai*) – 28-37
Fundamentals of outfielders (*tsume no taigai*) – 38-47
Fundamentals of the 33 techniques (*sanjûsan kyoku no taigai*) – 48-70
Fundamentals of etiquette (*reihô no taigai*) – 71-100⁷

The topical organization and the use of subheadings make this text useful as a quick-reference guide. While *GoKyôgoku-dono taka sanbyakushu* and other collections based on the *hyakushu* form stemming from orthodox waka were compiled to be read in sequence, “cover-to-cover,” *Kemari hyakushu* is designed to facilitate access to clusters of poems codifying information on specific topics. Topical clusters also facilitated memorization.

Kemari hyakushu addresses quite diverse aspects of the practice of kickball. A prospective host of kickball events, for example, would find in the section “Fundamentals of garden-building” (*niwa tsukuri no daitai*) poems covering the technical specifications and approved measurements. The first poem of this cluster reads:

⁷ *Kemari hyakushu waka. Zoku gunsho ruijû* 19 chû, pp. 44-50. 心持之大體。庭作大體。鞠名所之大體。上鞠之大體。詰之大體。三十三曲之大體。禮法之大體。

The inside of the garden is a square, fourteen yards to a side.

The inside of the field is four yards and three feet.

Niwa no uchi wa shichi ken manaka shihô nari kakari no uchi wa ni jô san shaku
(*Kemari hyakushu*, poem 11)⁸

The playing field of kickball, *kakari* 掛かり, was usually located in the garden, *niwa* 庭, of a mansion. The poem specifies the standard measurements: a square inner playing field of approximately eighteen square feet surrounded by an outfield of two-hundred square feet. Orthodox poems composed on the set topic (*dai*) of kickball (*mari no uta*) had circulated since at least the beginning of the medieval period.⁹ However, the above poem does not display the standard rhetorical techniques available in orthodox waka, such as wordplay epithets, or traditional place-names. The only feature linking it to orthodox waka is the 5-7-5-7-7 syllabic meter.

The information contained in poems such as the above had been in circulation throughout the medieval period in the shape of treatises on kickball, such as *Naigai sanjishô* 内外三時抄 (Outdoors and Indoors, Morning, Afternoon and Evening Kickball) or *Yûtei hisô* 遊庭秘抄 (Secret Digest of Garden Play). In *Kemari hyakushu*, Masayasu condenses it into compact poems, further synthesizing and codifying technical specifics. Like treatises, didactic poems can serve as instruments in the standardization and codification of the conventions that regulate social practice.

Technical poems such as poem no. 11 contrast with the poems under the heading “Fundamentals of Disposition” (*Kokoromochi no daitai*), which deal more broadly with the mental and physical attitudes needed to become a successful player. For example:

⁸ *Kemari hyakushu waka*, p. 44. 庭のうちは七間まなか四方なりかかりの内は二じやう三尺。

⁹ Sasaki Takahiro, “Mikohidari-ke no mari no uta,” in Maeda Masayuki, ed., *Chûsei no bungei to koten chûshaku - chûsei bungaku to rinsetsu shogaku 5* (Tokyo: Chikurinsha, 2011).

When there is no hope the ball will come my way
it is useless to keep raising my legs in expectation
over and over again.

Wa ga kata ni konu mari tote mo tachiashi wa kaesu gaesu mo muyaku narikeri
(*Kemari hyakushu*, poem 6)

This poem incorporates some features common to orthodox waka. The expression *waga* (my), the cut after the third line with the topic marker *wa*, and the ending that combines a verb plus a double auxiliary verb *nari-keri*, contrast with colloquial expressions such as *muyaku* (useless) and with technical terms such as *tachiashi* (to raise one's legs in preparation for a kick). The point of the poem is strictly practical: do not get ready to hit a ball that is not coming your way. Many other poems in this collection, particularly under the headings "Fundamentals of the 33 techniques" and "Fundamentals of Kickoff," similarly cover basic skills and procedures needed to play kickball.

In compiling *Kemari hyakushu*, Masayasu was not just hoping to harness the potential of waka to codify, preserve, transmit, and facilitate the memorization of knowledge about kickball. Following the precedent set by the emergence of households of professional poets that monopolized waka pedagogy for elite aristocrats and warriors, Masayasu's ancestors strove to make the Asukai a hereditary kickball household. Eventually, they succeeded in also making the Asukai a major poetic household.¹⁰

There is evidence that Masayasu saw the compilation of *Kemari hyakushu* as part of a wider effort to boost his family's reputation as a household of elite kickball experts. In the postface to the collection, he wrote:

This text was written upon a request from His Excellency from Ninnaji temple, also known as Omuro-Gosho. It consists of a hundred-poem

¹⁰ Ratcliff, Christian, "The Cultural Arts in Service: the Careers of Asukai Masaari and His Lineage," PhD Diss., Yale University, 2007. ProQuest.

sequence on the fundamentals of kickball. It was finished and offered for inspection on the fifteenth day of the Third Month of the year Eishō 3 (1506). I composed these poems because it was hard to neglect this gracious commission and because I wanted to leave the teaching of this lineage for future generations. The children that study under this house should consider it a treasure of this discipline and protect it as clear proof. This must be kept as a strict secret. (*Kemari hyakushu*, postface)¹¹

This passage shows that *Kemari hyakushu* was written for a specific powerful personage as part of a pedagogical relationship. It also suggests that Masayasu kept a copy for use in his own household, which he expected to be regarded as a professional secret, as was commonly done among professional households in the medieval period.

The single attribution to the head of a traditional lineage and the requirement to keep the text secret belong to a medieval pedagogical model reflected in several of the poems in *Kemari hyakushu*. For example,

Planting two pine trees or even three pine trees,
in one's own garden:
who would dare do it without our authorization?

Futa moto mo mi moto mo matsu wa wa ga ie no yurushi no naku wa ta kaûbeki
(*Kemari hyakushu*, poem 18)

Duck kickball boots, purple skirt-trousers:
Without proper authorization,
Who would put them on? Who would wear them?

Kamogutsu mo kuzu no hakama mo yurusazuba dare ka hakimashi dare ka
hakamashi

(*Kemari hyakushu*, poem 88)¹²

Poem no. 18 refers to the convention that the playing field be marked by trees of four different varieties, only one of which should be a pine. The standard layout consists of a

¹¹ *Kemari hyakushu waka*, p. 50. 右仁和寺御室御所様御所望従被成候。蹴鞠之大体を百首之哥につらね。永正三丙寅の歳弥生之中の五日に令御書上覧に備ふ。且は上意もだしがたきにより。且は一流の者後代の当論をやめつる為に詠之侍りぬ。当家の門子遺葉之輩は。尤此道の至宝として。明鏡に守るべき者也。深く是を秘すべし。穴賢々々。

¹² *Kemari hyakushu waka*, p. 45 & 49. 二もとも三本も松は我家のゆるしのなくは誰か植うべき。鴨杓もくずのはかまもゆるさずば誰かはきまし誰かはかまし。

pine in the northwest corner, a maple in the southwest corner, a willow in the southeast corner, and a cherry tree in the northeast corner. Originally, the emperor was exempt from this limitation, for which reason the use of more than one pine became a display of cultural prestige. The poem reinforces this rule and demands that explicit authorization be acquired for it. Similar rules applied to attire on the playing field, and poem no. 88 refers to the types of garment that required explicit authorization. The privilege to issue permits of this type was a central component to the the economic sustenance of kickball households such as the Asukai, a practice that in later periods would be further formalized through the regular issue of formal certificates of permission (*menkyo-jô* 免許状).¹³

Another aspect of *Kemari hyakushu* that reveals the role it played in the context of a highly structured pedagogical practice is the inclusion of explicit references to a rival professional kickball household, the Nanba 難波:

Many are the schools that transmit this discipline,
and many the rivers that flow into them:

The wind over Asuka in Nara trumps the briny breeze of the Naniwa
Inlet.

Fukitsutau nagare wa amata Naniwae no shiokaze yori mo tada Asuka kaze
(*Kemari hyakushu*, poem 10)

Wordplay, not a common feature in *Kemari hyakushu*, is here used to assert the superiority of the Asukai over the Nanba. The Asukai acted as experts of both waka and kickball. In this poem, their expertise over the former is displayed by the use of orthodox waka diction, as the characters used to write Nanba are the same used for Naniwa, a place often featured in orthodox waka; similarly, the Asukai are represented by the near-

¹³ Sasaki Takahiro, “Kemari to menkyojô,” *Kobunsho no sekai* (2007): 35–48.

homophone Asuka 明日, also an established poetic place-name. The poem also displays orthodox rhetorical devices such as wordplay (*fukitsutau*, “to transmit a practice” contains *fuki*, “to blow”) and word association (*kaze* and *fuku* are traditionally associated with each other). Finally, the deployment of a coordinated system of symbols is also a rhetorical device common to orthodox waka: Asuka=Asukai; Naniwa=Nanba; *kaze* (wind)=reputation; *nagare* (flow)=tradition. In summary, Masayasu claims the superiority of the Asukai clan in kickball while at the same time showing off his poetic skill.

There is further evidence that Masayasu was interested in structuring the teaching of kickball after the model of professional waka households. For example, he developed a ritual that involved the worship of early kickball practitioner Fujiwara no Narimichi 藤原成通 (1097-1162), considered the father of the practice and the author of the foundational guide *Narimichi kyô kuden nikki* 成通卿口伝日記 (Diary of the Secret Teachings of Lord Narimichi).¹⁴ As Sasaki Takahiro suggests, Masayasu’s cult of Narimichi was modeled after the memorial ritual for the *Man’yôshû* poet Kakinomoto no Hitomaro, known as *Hitomaro eigu* 人麿影供 and created by the poet Fujiwara no Akisue 藤原顕季 (1055-1123) for the Rokujô poetic household at the turn of the twelfth century. It is not inconceivable that with poems such as no. 10, Masayasu was similarly working towards building the discipline of kickball after the model of orthodox waka.

Another aspect of *Kemari hyakushu* that is pertinent to the discussion of the use of waka for the transmission of cultural and discipline-specific knowledge is the inclusion of

¹⁴ Sasaki Takahiro, “Kikusei fujiwara narimichi eigu to asukai-ke no kakiku-nidô,” *Kokubungaku kenkyû shiryôkan kiyô* 20 (1994): 311–351.

poems that address the social skills expected from players. A whole section of the work is devoted to “Fundamentals of etiquette.” For example:

However many times one announces a break
and goes off the playing field,
drawing out a sword is vulgar manners.

Ikutabi mo yasumu to iite noku ori mo katana wo sasu wa zoku no hō nari
(*Kemari hyakushu*, poem 78)¹⁵

The explicit admonition against swords affects warriors in particular. In the first chapter of this dissertation I showed that in the 12th century learning waka became a means to incorporate the knowledge and the etiquette of the aristocratic court. The above poem suggests that by the 16th century the practice of kickball had similarly become a means to acquire manners and etiquette associated with the aristocracy.

In summary, *Kemari hyakushu* is a collection of pedagogical waka that display a wide stylistic range, from the diction and technique of orthodox waka to colloquial expressions. This collection was created and circulated as part of a pedagogical apparatus engineered by a professional household of experts working for specific elite personages. The choice of the waka to synthesize, preserve, and transmit knowledge about kickball is related not only to waka as a mnemonic technique, but to the cultural prestige of waka and of the institutions devoted to its pedagogy.

The Uses of Waka in Moral Pedagogy and Technical Training

In the late Muromachi period, waka was also used didactically, often in moral education. In a process roughly contemporary and parallel to the use of waka in training

¹⁵ *Kemari hyakushu waka*, p. 48. 幾度もやすむといゝてのくおりも刀をさすは俗の法なり。

for specific disciplines such as kickball, authors and compilers interested in conveying moral teaching resorted to waka as well. These Muromachi-period collections were compiled for use in the education of children, as well as young men and women. Three works in circulation by the end of the Muromachi period were *Jikyôkun* 児教訓 (Lessons for Children), *Wakashû tanka* 若衆短歌 (Poems for Young Lads), and *Miyazukae ni yoki nyôbô* 宮仕えによき女房 (Women Who Excel at Serving at Court).¹⁶ The poems in these collections are of the *chôka* type, not the short 31-syllable *tanka* form. Other collections used the shorter *tanka* form, but varied in the number of poems. For example, the collection *Iroha-uta* いろは歌 (Alphabet Poems) consists of 47 poems, each of which starts with a different sound from the *kana* syllabary.

A particularly popular collection of didactic waka, also from the Muromachi period, is *Yo no naka hyakushu* 世中百首 (One-Hundred Poem On Worldly Life, 1515). This collection, created by the master of haikai linked-verse Arakida Moritake 荒木田守武 (1473-1549), was reprinted multiple times during the Edo period. All the poems in this collection are in the 31-syllable waka form and include the expression *yo no naka*, “in this world.” For example,

In this world,
 those who have filial affection for their parents,
 regardless of whatever else happens,
 will be happy and content.

Yo no naka no oya ni kô aru hito wa tada nani ni tsukete mo tanoshiki kana
 (*Yo no naka hyakushu*, poem 1)¹⁷

¹⁶ These works were attributed (together with three other collections of moral poems) to the renga master Sôgi 宗祇 (1421-1502), in what is still probably more a gesture towards legitimization than an accurate historical attribution.

¹⁷ 世中の親に孝ある人はただ何につけてもたのしき哉. Quoted in Inoue, op. cit., p. 370.

Yo no naka is an expression that appears frequently in orthodox waka. However, the poems in *Yo no naka hyakushu* tend to avoid orthodox rhetorical devices and instead introduce unorthodox diction, usually terms of Confucian or Buddhist provenance. In this example, the expression *kô* 孝, filial affection, is not part of orthodox waka diction.

Stylistically, the poems in *Yo no naka hyakushu* are close to those in *Kemari hyakushû*. However, they reveal differences in terms of the knowledge they carry and their implied audience. The modern scholars Saitô Isao and Inoue Muneo draw a distinction between poems used in fundamental education (*kyôkunka* 教訓歌) and poems used in training specific to a discipline (*shodô kyôkunka* 諸道教訓歌). One type of *kyôkunka* are poems used in moral education, often called *dôka* 道歌, which include poems associated with Buddhist or Confucian thought.¹⁸ Collections like *Yo no naka hyakushu* and *Jikyôkun* fall under the category of *dôka*; by contrast, collections such as *Kemari hyakushu* belong in *shodô kyôkunka*.¹⁹

Discipline-specific pedagogical collections of poems in circulation during the Muromachi period covered a great diversity of disciplines, from elegant pursuits such as hawking and kickball, linked-verse composition (e.g. in *Haikai shikimoku waka* 俳諧式目和歌, Rules of Linked-Verse in Waka Form), music (*Ongyoku dôka* 音曲道歌, Pedagogical Waka on Music), court ritual (*Momotsukasa waka* 百寮和歌, Poems on One Hundred Official Appointments), court etiquette (*Shitsuke no hikka* 躰之秘歌, Secret

¹⁸ *Kyôkunka* is an expression that appears as early as the Kamakura period together with slight variations such as *kyôkun no uta* and *kyôkun hyakushu*. *Dôka* is an expression coined in Japan in the late Muromachi period to refer to poems dealing with morals, *dôtoku* 道徳. Inoue, op. cit., p. 369.

¹⁹ Inoue, “Waka no jitsuyôsei to bungeisei;” Inoue, “Chûsei kyôkunka ryakkai dai;” Saitô Isao, “Kyôkunka ni tsuite,” in Sugiyama Kazuzo, ed., *Nihon shakai-shi ronshû* (Tokyo: Kôjôsha, 1965), p. 86–102.

Poems on Manners), medicine (various collections included in the anthology of treatises *Shinhakukyô* 身白鏡, Mirror of a Pure Body), to the martial arts (mostly war strategy; in the Edo period collections on practical fighting techniques such as swordsmanship or horse-riding also circulated).

Pedagogical waka such as those in *GoKyôgoku-dono taka sanbyakushu* or *Kemari hyakushu* in particular share features with a subgenre of orthodox waka known as *shakkyôka* 釈教歌, or waka on the teachings of the Buddha, which I discussed in the third chapter. It is worth pointing out the way in which *shakkyôka* and pedagogical waka are similar. The vast majority of *shakkyôka* poems are not meant to serve a pedagogical purpose. Most *shakkyôka* express faith in the Buddha or rearticulate a Buddhist tenet, often translating a Sanskrit or Chinese phrase into vernacular Japanese. For example, a deathbed poem composed at Tennôji Temple by Fujiwara no Ietaka (1158-1237) reads:

Relying on (Amida's) vow, I take shelter at Naniwa Town;
facing the sun sinking into the waves to the west, I pray
to be reborn in the Western Paradise.

*Chigiri areba Naniwa no sato ni yadorikite nami no irihi wo wogamitsuru kana*²⁰

This poem deploys orthodox waka rhetorical devices: Naniwa is a poetic-place-name (*utamakura*), close to where Tennôji temple lay; waves (*nami*) and setting sun (*irih*) are words associated with the coast. The expression *chigiri*, which in many poems refers to promises of a meeting between lovers, here appears as a reference to the vow of the Buddha Amitabha to release all sentient beings from suffering. Moreover, Naniwa faces the water to the West, the direction of Amitabha's paradise.

²⁰ *Jikkishô*. SNKBT, vol.51, p. 443. 契りあれば難波の里に移り来て波の入り日を拝みつるかな.

The main difference between pedagogical poems and *shakkyōka* is that the latter tend to have a ritualistic dimension. Like a prayer, the composition and recitation of *shakkyōka* is an action or performance that brings the poet in contact with the object of worship and closer to salvation. At the same time, *shakkyōka* articulate tenets in a compact form, facilitating their expression and transmission. They can easily be deployed as part of Buddhist pedagogy, as can be seen, for example, in the Buddhist treatise *Shasekishū* (A Collection of Sand and Pebbles, 1283), which I discussed in the third chapter. Ichien saw waka as a vehicle for expressing and transmitting the Buddhist truth. That is, *shakkyōka* could serve a pedagogical function, but they were not by design a pedagogical genre.

Another fundamental difference between *shakkyōka* and poems used in pedagogy lies in their respective relationships to orthodox waka, and in particular its foremost genre, the imperially commissioned anthology. *Shakkyōka* became an officially sanctioned subgenre of orthodox waka, while most pedagogical poems (except for hawking) never found a way into the topical structure of imperial collections. One reason for this is that by the time pedagogical poems became more common, imperial collections had ceased to be compiled. Another reason is that pedagogical poems were perceived as occupying the lowest rung in the waka hierarchy.

Waka and the Practice of Tea

An interesting case of interpenetration between the practice of waka and the pedagogy of a specific discipline can be found in the case of *chanoyu* 茶の湯, often translated as the “tea ceremony” or the “tradition of tea.” Tea masters were students of

waka and renga.²¹ One of the earliest, Murata Jukô 村田珠光 (c. 1423-c. 1502), was active in the elegant Higashiyama salon under Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa 足利義政 (1435-1490), where he associated with *renga* masters Sôgi 宗祇 (1421-1502) and Shinkei 心敬 (1406-1475), and with the circle around the shogun's chief cultural adviser (*dôbôshu* 同朋衆) Nôami 能阿弥 (1397-1471).

Murata Jukô's incorporation of waka and renga aesthetics into his teachings on *chanoyu* can be seen in a letter he addressed to Furuichi Harima 古市播磨 (c. 1452-1508), also known as Furuichi Chôin 澄胤, who was a relatively minor warrior leader (*daimyô* 大名) from the town of Furuichi, south of Nara. The letter, known as *Jukô kokoro no fumi* 珠光心の文 (Murata Jukô's Letter on the Heart), includes the following passage:

These days, however, mere novices, thinking to exemplify the “chill and withered” (*hie-karuru*), procure pieces from [the rural kilns of] Bizen and Shigaraki, and without having gained recognition from anyone, they assume the airs of being “far advanced and seasoned;” it is unspeakably absurd. “Withered” means that, possessing splendid utensils, one has grown to appreciate their properties fully, thereby coming to attain, at the very ground of one's heart and mind, the quality of being advanced and seasoned. Thus, everything one may do thereafter manifests the character of “chill and lean” (*hie-yase*); it is this that holds power to move. (*Jukô kokoro no fumi*)²²

²¹ This section relies on the translations and the biographical research in Dennis Hirota, *Wind in the Pines* (Fremont: Asian Humanities Press, 1995). However, I am not basing my argument on Hirota's argument, nor endorsing his interpretive method nor any of his conclusions.

²² Translated in Hirota, *Wind in the Pines*, p. 198. 又、当時
ひゑかるゝと申して、初心の人躰か、ひせん物しからき物などをもちて、人もゆるさぬたけ
くらむ事、言語道断也。Original from the manuscript and transliteration by Omotesenke,
http://www.omotesenke.jp/chanoyu/7_2_1a.html#, accessed 4/6/2015.

In this discussion of the aesthetics of *chanoyu*, Jukô incorporates concepts from the practice of linked-verse. In using notions such as *hiekaruru* 冷え枯るる, translated here as “cold and withered,” and *hieyase* 冷え痩せ, “chill and lean,” Jukô is using terms that would have been familiar to his student, Furuichi Harima, who had studied linked-verse under Shinkei. At the same time, he is transferring the complex and sophisticated aesthetic developed by *renga* masters to *chanoyu*, infusing the emerging practice of *chanoyu* with the cultural prestige of linked-verse.

Takeo Jôh 武野紹鷗 (1502-1555), another early tea master, started his career as a *renga* master. Jôh studied *renga* and *waka* under Sanjônishi Sanetaka 三条西実隆 (1455-1537), a high-ranking aristocrat who had been a disciple of Sôgi and of Asukai Masachika (1417-1490; the elder brother of Asukai Masayasu, the author of *Kemari hyakushu*). Jôh and his disciple Sen Rikyû 千利休 (1522-1591; a.k.a. Sôeki 宗易) incorporated *waka* further into their teachings on *chanoyu*, although it has to be noted that most records of their practice date from later periods.

One way in which tea masters incorporated *waka* into tea pedagogy involved repurposing old orthodox *waka* as a means to explain nuanced aesthetic notions. One such episode is recorded in the treatise *Nanpôroku* 南方録 (Records of Priest Nanpô, 1690).²³

To convey the essence of *wabicha*, Jôh used to say that it was precisely the spirit embodied in this poem by Lord Teika from *Shinkokinshû*:

²³ The manuscript of *Nanpôroku* was first circulated by the tea master Tachibana Jitsusan 橘実山 (1655-1708), who maintained that it consisted in the actual records of Nanbô Sôkei 南坊宗啓 (no dates), a direct disciple of Sen no Rikyû. Scholars now generally assume that this text is a forgery and that the most likely author is Tachibana Jitsusan himself, a very accomplished tea master who had also received training in poetry, painting, and calligraphy.

*As I gaze far about — there's neither blossom nor crimson leaf.
At sea's edge: a rush hut in autumn dusk*
Miwataseba hana mo momiji mo nakarikeri ura no tomaya no aki no yûgure

Cherry blossoms and autumn leaves here are comparable to the embellished splendor of tea in the *shoin* chamber, using the *daisu*. When we have looked deeply and intently on those blossoms and leaves, a realm unfolds in which there is “not a single thing” – the rush hut on the inlet shore. One ignorant of these blossoms and crimson leaves will find it altogether impossible to dwell from the very first in the rush hut. Only through looking on them again and again will one come to apprehend the rush hut as the place where solitariness (*sabi*) has reached consummation. It is this that lies at the heart of *chanoyu*. Thus was Jôh's interpretation.

Rikyû, having discovered another poem [expressing the spirit of *wabicha*], often wrote it out with the one above, adopting them as articles of faith. The second poem is by Ietaka, from the same anthology:

To one who awaits only the cherry's blossoming I would show:
spring in the mountain village, with new herbs amid snow.
Hana wo nomi matsuran hito ni yamazato no yukima no kusa no haru wo misebaya

You should take this poem together with the first and through them come to an understanding of the nature of tea. People in the world of society spend their time wondering when blossoms will open on this hillside or in that grove, day and night turning all their attention outside themselves and never realizing that those blossoms and leaves lie within their own hearts and minds. They delight merely in colors and forms visible to the eye. The “mountain village” and “rush hut at sea's edge” point to the same solitary dwelling. As all the previous year's blossoms and leaves, the snow has buried them utterly, so that the mountain village has become a place where there is nothing; in its thoroughgoing solitariness it has the same significance as the rush hut. (*Nanpôroku*)²⁴

²⁴ This is Dennis Hirota's translation. 紹鷗ワビ茶ノ湯ノ心ハ、新古今集ノ中、定家朝臣ノ哥ニ、見ワタセハ花モ紅葉モナカリケリ浦ノトマヤノ秋ノタグレ。コノ哥ノ心ニテこそあれと被申しと也、花紅葉ハ、則書院臺子の結構にたとへたり、其花もみぢをつく／＼とながめ來りて見れば、無一物ノ境界浦ノトマヤ也、花紅葉ヲシラヌ人ノ、初ヨリトマ屋ニハスマレヌゾ、ナガメ／＼テコソ、トマヤノサヒスマシタル所ハ見立タレ、コレ茶ノ本心也トイハレシ也、又宗易、今一首先出シタリトテ、常ニ二首ヲ書付、信ゼラレシ也、同集家隆ノ哥ニ 花をのミ待らん人に山ざとの雪間の草の春を見せばや。これ又相加へて得心すべし、世上の人、その山かしの森の花が、いつ／＼さくべきかと、あけ暮外にもとめて、かの花紅葉も我心にある事をしらず、只目に見ゆる色ばかりを樂む也、山里ハ浦ノトマヤモ同前ノサビタ住居也、去年一トセノ花モ紅葉モ、コト／＼ク雪ガ埋ミ盡シテ、何モナキ山里ニ成テ、サヒスマシタマデハ浦ノトマヤ同意也。Kumakura Isao, *Nanpôroku wo yomu* (Kyoto: Kôdansha, 1983), p. 76.

As Jûkô had done before, this passage depicts Jôh and Rikyû as incorporating notions that originated in the practice of poetry into their instruction on *chanoyu*. Both poems establish a distinction between the splendor of time-honored poetic tropes such as spring blossoms and autumn leaves, and the humbleness of ordinary scenes such as a rough hut by the shore or a new shoot in early spring. This contrast serves as an analogy for the fundamental contrast at the core of the new *wabi* aesthetic promoted by Sakai merchant tea masters Jôh and Rikyû. This aesthetic made them share an interest in domestic, rustic, uneven wares such as Bizen and Shigaraki ceramics over the shiny symmetry of the Song Dynasty (960-1279) ceramics prized by the Higashiyama salon centered around Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1435-1490). In the repurposing of early Kamakura-period (1185-1333) poems by Momoyama-period (1568-98) tea masters depicted in *Nanpôroku*, spring blossoms and autumn leaves become a metaphor for treasured Chinese ceramics, while rush huts and new herbs stand for the new aesthetic often represented by domestic *raku* 楽 ceramics.²⁵

According to this passage, Jôh and Rikyû deployed orthodox waka as a way to speak metaphorically about their own aesthetic preferences. This is not necessarily an allegorical reading committed to revealing hidden symbolic meanings, but a pedagogical use of waka that embody aesthetic notions for the purpose of codifying and transmitting knowledge about *chanoyu*.

This metaphorical quotation of canonical, orthodox waka contrasts with the use of straightforwardly pedagogical waka. In a different section of the text, *Nanpôroku* records two such poems:

²⁵ Cfr. Morgan Pitelka, *Handmade Culture* (University of Hawaii Press, 2005).

Concerning flowers that should not be used in arrangements for *chanoyu*, there are the *kyōka* verses:

Among flowers banned from the flower vase
are sweet daphne, mountain anise, and cockscomb.
Hanaire ni irezaru hana wa jinchōge miyama shikimi ni keito no hana

Patrina, pomegranate, water lily, marigold, and balsam
are likewise rejected.
Ominaeshi zakuro kōbone kinsenka senreika wo mo kirau nankeri
*(Nanpōroku)*²⁶

The purpose of these two poems is to present a list of eight banned flowers in a form that facilitates memorization. In this they are very close to many poems in *Kemari hyakushu*. In *Nanpōroku* they are labeled as *kyōka* 狂歌, a loosely defined subgenre of *waka* that I discussed in detail in the third chapter. Many *kyōka* poems are humorous, but in this passage from *Nanpōroku*, the term *kyōka* refers more generally to poems that obey the 5-7-5-7-7 form but incorporate diction that is not accepted in orthodox poems. The two poems quoted above are serious and simply aim at providing a list of interdicted flowers in a form that makes memorizing easier.

Tea masters also composed humorous poems. For example, a moveable-type “kana-booklet” (*kanazōshi*) titled *Ocha monogatari* (Tales of Tea, 1630) included more than forty poems, many of them on topics taken from the various utensils (*dōgu* 道具) used in *chanoyu*. Among them:

On the topic of the tea-whisk:

The tea-whisk is like the vow to attain nirvana after just one life:

²⁶ This is Dennis Hirota’s translation. 花生にいけぬ花、狂歌に〈花入に入ざる花はちんちやうげ太山しきみにけいとうの花 〉女郎花ざくろかうほね金銭花せんれい花をも嫌なりけり。
Kumakura, *Nanpōroku wo yomu*, p. 30.

If the karmic bond is not deep enough, one is reborn in samsara.
And if the tying cord is not well fastened, the whisk gets too shaky.
Chasen dake hito yo wo komeshi chigiri sae en usukereba furare koso sure
*(Ocha monogatari)*²⁷

This poem displays a series of connected wordplays. *Dake* means “only” and “bamboo”; *yo* means “knot” and “lifetime;” *en* can mean “karmic bond” as well as “circle” or “connection;” *fururu* can mean “to whisk,” “to let go,” and “to repeat.” These double-meanings are organized along two planes of associated words related to the tea-whisk, on the one hand, and to Buddhism, on the other. There is much less pedagogical value in the poems on *chanoyu* in *Ocha monogatari*, in particular when compared to the poems in works such as *Kemari hyakushu*. Rather, they are tongue-in-chick amusing poems in which different utensils provide the poet with an opportunity to display his or her wit.

Another case of *kyōka* on *chanoyu* is in *Takuan chaki eika kashū* 澤菴茶器詠歌集 (Priest Takuan’s Collection of Poems on Tea Utensils, 1659) by Takuan 澤菴/沢庵 (1573-1645), a poet and zen priest trained in Nanshūji in Sakai who later became the abbot of Daitokuji in Kyoto and composed *kyōka* in connection to *chanoyu*. *Takuan chakieikashū* consists of a series of unorthodox *waka* placed alongside illustrations of tea utensils. In a similar vein, Takuan composed the poems in *Chagu shiika* 茶具詩歌 (Poems in Chinese and Japanese about Tea Utensils, early Edo period), a manuscript that records a series of linked verses that alternates *waka* and *kanshi* poems. The following poem, on the topic of *tenmoku* 天目 tea bowls, is one example:

Starting today, I have given up the fight.
How painful! To live in this world giving in to the suffering.
Imasara ni omohisutemu mo kurushikute uki ni makasete yo wo sugosu nari

²⁷ Quoted in Tsutsui Hiroichi, *Chanoyu Kotohajime* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1992), p. 157. ちゃせんだけ一よをこめしちぎりさへゑんうすければふられこそすれ。

On the surface, this poem seems to be an orthodox waka on the theme of suffering. However, it hides the expression *tenmoku* (in the variant spelling “temumoku”) in the tradition of orthodox waka known as *mono no na* 物の名, in which the poem wittily embeds a string of sounds that bear no necessary connection to the rest of the poem. In the kanshi poems, the utensils are referred to through homophony and wordplay; the poem under the topic “*tenmoku* teabowl,” for example, is a composition on Mt. Tenmoku (*tenmokuzan*), which could refer to a mountain in today’s Yamanashi Prefecture, as well as to a mountain in China. In Takuan’s poems, as in *Ocha monogatari*, the primary purpose of the poems is not pedagogical, but the list of utensil they offer serves to organize information about the practice of *chanoyu*.²⁹

The most comprehensive and internally diverse collection of waka for *chanoyu* pedagogy is *Chanoyu hyakushu* 茶湯百首 (One-Hundred Poems on Tea Practice, early Edo period). Alternatively called *Rikyû hyakushû* 利休百首 (Sen no Rikyû’s Hundred-

²⁸ *Takuan oshô zenshû*. Vol. 3 (Tokyo: Takuan oshô zenshû kankôkai, 1929), p. 3 (“Chagu shiika” section). 今更に思ひすてむもくるしくておきにまかせて世を過す也。

²⁹ A related collection of poems is *Chôka chanoyu monogatari* 長歌茶湯物語 (possibly ca. 1515), variously attributed to the painter Sôami 相阿弥 (d. 1525) and to Rikyû’s son Dôan 道安 (1546-1607). *Chôka chanoyu monogatari* consists of a very long waka (*chôka*), counting 139 lines, followed by an envoy poem (*hanka*). The poems are a stern admonition against the tendency to take *chanoyu* simply as a frivolous amusement. The moral tone of this work is close to that of moral poems in works such as *Jikyôkun* and *Wakashû tanka*. Along with these humorous collections on utensils, a parallel trend towards straightforward poems on utensils developed. For example, *Usoshû hyakushu* 烏鼠集百首 (Collection of Crows and Mice One-Hundred Poems, 1642) is a collection of 74 waka that enumerate and classify famous utensils. *Usoshû hyakushu* is dated 1642 but preserved only in two much later anthologies of pedagogical texts about *chanoyu*: *Chanoyu hishō* 茶湯秘抄 (1783) and *Usoshû yon-kan sho* 烏鼠集四卷書 (1802). Tsutsui Hiroichi shows that *Usoshû hyakushu* was composed as a verse version of the *chanoyu* textbook *Chagubitôshû* 茶具備討集 (A Guide to the Props and Implements of Tea, 1554; preserved also in *Usoshû yon-kan sho*). *Chagubitôshû* consists of 27 sections describing *chanoyu* utensils, and was compiled by tea-master Ichiôken Sôkin 一漚軒宗金 (no dates), known as a host of tea-meetings for wealthy merchants. The utensils appear in a similar order in both texts, suggesting that the poems in *Usoshû hyakushu* were composed to facilitate memorizing the utensils described in *Chagubitôshû*. Tsutsui Hiroichi, *Chasho no kenkyû - suki furyû no seiritsu to tenkai* (Kyoto: Tankôsha, 2003).

poems) or *Rikyû dôka* 利休道歌 (Rikyû's Waka on the Way of Tea), this collection of poems on the way of tea is traditionally attributed to the Momoyama-period politician, merchant, and tea master Sen no Rikyû 千利休 (1522-91).

Sen no Rikyû was claimed as founding father and first generation head (*iemoto*) by three households of professional tea masters formed in the seventeenth century in Kyoto, Omotesenke 裏千家, Urasenke 表千家 and Mushakôji-senke 武者小路千家, collectively known as the *Senke* 千家 (Sen no Rikyû's) lineages. As is common to other *iemoto* structures of the early modern period, these schools of *chanoyu* were vertically integrated under a household head who oversaw a centralized pedagogical practice. *Kemari hyakushu* had been composed as a secret transmission by the head of a household of professional experts in poetry and kickball. *Chanoyu hyakushu* circulated under a similar claim, that it was created by Rikyû as a way to transmit his teachings on *chanoyu* to his close disciples.

There is evidence that throughout the Edo period many readers approached these poems as a direct transmission from Sen no Rikyû. A print edition of this collection, titled *Rikyû kôji chanoyu waka hyakushu* 利休居士茶道和歌百首 (Layman Rikyû's One-Hundred Waka on the Way of Tea, 1748) contains a preface by the editor that states:

Thus, this one-hundred poems by Zen Priest Rikyû, acknowledged as the spiritual beacon of this way [discipline], reproduced here with gracious permission from the world-renowned household, printed unabridged and unedited, this poems that, as [Rikyû] states in the postface, he composed to transmit the teaching of this way... (*Rikyû kôji chanoyu waka hyakushu*, preface)³⁰

³⁰ されハかの道の和光ときこへし利休禅門のよめる百首を、よにひろめたる家よりゆるしあ
たへ給へらるゝこと有けらし、そのゆゑつけるかと／＼を、たゝありのままのことはにつゝり、

As is noted in the appendix, the collection now known as *Rikyū's Hundred-Poems* stems from a cluster of texts in circulation already by the Genroku period (1688-1704) under a variety of attributions. This indicates that these poems were used widely. Instructors with a direct connection to the Rikyū's circle and his later descendants had access to these poems. But so did people without any connections, who could acquire them in a variety of printed editions. It is likely that copiers of manuscripts and editors of printed texts attributed these texts freely to any of the early tea masters in an effort to furnish the poems with a coat of authority and authenticity. That editors liberally collated and rearranged poems to suit their needs reflects a decentralized market that contrasts with *Kemari hyakushu's* emphasis on inherited expertise and the central authority of the professional household. As a result I refer to these poems with the more generic title *Chanoyu hyakushu* to highlight its history of various attributions and the fact that these poems, along with many others, were a widespread tool in the process of learning *chanoyu* during the Edo period.

The Genroku period (1688-1704) was a time of consolidation and transformation of the pedagogy of *chanoyu*. Collections like *Chanoyu hyakushu* circulated intensely around this time in particular due to a renewed interest in the figure of Rikyū at the time of the hundredth anniversary of his death in 1690 (Genroku 3). Until recently, histories of *chanoyu* tended to focus on its development during Momoyama or very early Edo, or on its transformation during the modern period, but Genroku, in particular, is when the

道のをしへを残さまほしとよめる哥のをく書にしも、... Quoted in Tsutsui, *Chasho no kenkyū - suki furyū no seiritsu to tenkai*, p. 423.

legacy of Rikyû, who had died in disgrace after his fallout with Hideyoshi, came to be reassessed in more positive terms.³¹

Because *Chanoyu hyakushu* is a very complex text on which there is almost no research available in English,³² I now analyze its four main characteristics, which together should help me convey both the complexity and the scope of the text. Unlike *Kemari hyakushu*, *Chanoyu hyakushu* is not organized into thematic sections.

First, a fundamental feature of *Chanoyu hyakushu* is the frame the collection provides for itself. The poems are not accompanied by a preface or postface, but the first two poems of *Chanoyu hyakushu* inscribe the lessons transmitted by this text in the context of a wider pedagogical practice. The poem that opens the collection does this through an appeal for self-directed study:

A heart that desires to take this path is in itself
my own internal teacher.
So no michi ni iran to omohu kokoro koso waga mi nagara no shishô narikere
(*Chanoyu hyakushu*, poem 1)³³

The collection opens with a waka that articulates the relationship between the learning self (*wagami*), the discipline (*michi*) to be learned, and the instructor (*shishô*) as one driven by the student's desire to learn. The second poem specifies the pedagogical method:

While still learning, it is from watching that one should learn.

³¹ Pitelka, *Handmade Culture*.

³² An English translation by Gretchen Mittwer can be found in Sen Genjitsu, *Sen Genshitsu Talks About the Enjoyment of Tea* (Kyoto: Tankôsha, 2006). The poem numbers indicated in this chapter are taken from the order of the poems in this edition, which is also the source for the standard version of the poems as they are used today by Urasenke practitioners.

³³ The original text is from a set of sliding-doors at Urasenke Konnichian, and was published under the title “Chadô kyôyu hyakushu ei,” in Sen Sôshitsu, ed., *Chadô koten zenshû*. Vol. 10 (Kyoto: Tankô shinsha, 1961), p. 133–147. 其道にいらんとおも心こそわが身ながらの師匠なりけれ. I discuss the textual history of this text in the appendix.

Passing judgment before having learnt properly is sheer foolishness.
Naraitsumi mitekoso narae narawazu ni yoshi ashi iu wa oroka narikeri
(*Chanoyu hyakushu*, poem 2)³⁴

This second poem emphasizes the importance of observation and imitation in the acquisition of knowledge. As with the first poem, it points to extra-textual pedagogical instances that offer opportunities for the student to witness the performance of an expert instructor. These two poems situate the whole collection of poems as material that cannot be used as a stand-alone work of reference for self-study. Rather, it is designed as a supplement for a student already receiving practical training and guidance from an instructor. Many of the poems assume that the reader already possesses a working knowledge of the architecture, implements, procedure, and etiquette of *chanoyu*. This is another indication that this collection of poems was meant to be used as part of a wider, complex pedagogical apparatus.

The way in which *Chanoyu hyakushu* provides a frame for itself can be seen also towards the end of the work. For example, poem 92 points to the fundamentally social dimensions of this pedagogy, which lie outside the scope of the poems:

Use your eyes to see, your ears to perceive.
Smelling the incense, and while asking questions
make sure you get the point.
Me ni mo miyo mimi ni mo fureyo kô wo kagite koto wo toitsutsu yoku gaten seyo
(*Chanoyu hyakushu*, poem 92)³⁵

This poem stresses the role of the senses in the process of learning. The learner is again advised to be proactive in observing, listening, taking in the surrounding environment, and asking questions of the instructor. Read together with the poems that

³⁴ 習つつ見てこそならへならはすによしあしいふは愚かなりけり。

³⁵ 眼にも見よ耳にもふれよかをききてことをとひつつ能合點せよ。

open the collection, these poems provide a conceptual frame of reference. They assume (or, rather, construct) a reader who is engaged in a pedagogical practice that involves specialized objects (such as utensils), instructors, and physical settings. The opening and closing poems that frame the collection and focus on the roles of the learner, the senses, and learner/instructor interactions serve as meta-pedagogical organizers of the whole learning process, and provide the background against which the reader/consumer is expected to interpret the rest of the poems in the collection.

A second important feature of *Chanoyu hyakushu* is the inclusion of poems that address the nuances of social interaction and etiquette. The first of these poems refers very generally to the manners acceptable in the tearoom:

When making tea, let go of weakness and just be strong.
However, avoid vulgar manners.
Temae ni wa yowami wo sutete tada tsuyoku saredo fuzoku iyashiki wo sare
(*Chanoyu hyakushu*, poem 6)³⁶

That this poem warns against vulgar manners (*fuzoku iyashiki*) without specifying what these manners are in practice suggests the assumption that the readers/consumers either have or should have an understanding of what constitutes good manners. *Chanoyu* is a social practice that emerged from a confluence of diverse social spaces. Chief among them were the elite warrior salons led by the Ashikaga shoguns in the capital (Kyoto) and the wealthy merchant commoners in the city of Sakai (Osaka). This cultural practice centered on tea soon extended to other urban centers, in particular the city of Edo (Tokyo). *Chanoyu hyakushu* makes no explicit gesture towards a specific social space or

³⁶ 手前にはよはみを捨ててたた強みされと風俗いやしくなしそ.

region as the model for social manners. Instead, it points out a few select instances. These poems are connected to social interactions such as guesting and hosting. For example:

When making tea away from one's home, after scooping the tea
hit the bamboo spoon on the rim of the teacup
with utmost care.

*Yoso ni te wa cha wo kumite nochi chashaku nite chawan no fuchi wo kokoroshite
uke*

(poem 14)³⁷

When pouring oil into the lamp, pour plenty.
Show your guest a disposition that communicates
that he hasn't overstayed his welcome.

Tomoshihi ni abura wo tsugaba ôku tsuge kyaku ni akazaru kokoroe to shire

(poem 60)³⁸

Receive unexpected guests
with nonchalance in your mind,
and great care in your technique.

Toki narazu kyaku no kitaraba temae woba kokoro wo kusa ni waza wo tutushime

(poem 77)³⁹

All three poems are concerned with avoidance of stress on other people. Poem 14 refers to a point in the procedure when the bamboo scoop (*chashaku*) is tapped against the side of the teabowl to make the last lumps of tea powder fall into the bowl. When using someone else's teabowl one is not to tap too hard, for fear of breaking the ceramic tea bowl. Poem 60, in stressing the need to gesture to the guest that he is welcome to stay for as long as he wants, makes a point analogous to that on poem 14, but now from the perspective of the host. Similarly, poem 77 concerns the importance of projecting calm and self-possession even when surprised by unexpected guests.

³⁷ 餘所にては茶を汲て後茶杓にてちや碗のふちを心してうて。

³⁸ 燈に油をつかはおおくつけ客にあかざる心得としれ。

³⁹ In "Chadô kyôyu hyakushu ei" the text reads 不時などの客の来らは手前をはこころは艸にわさはつつしめ。I translate here a slight variation, (which is the standard text used today by Urasenke practitioners) 時ならず客の来らは手前をはこころは草にわざうを慎め。

While in collections such as *Yo no naka hyakushu* waka are used to convey moral education, these poems from *Chanoyu hyakushu* focus on much more specific behaviors, situations, and desired outcomes. What makes these social skills desirable is not that they emerge from a wider moral system but that they lead to positive practical outcomes such as making other people feel relaxed.

A third important dimension of *Chanoyu hyakushu* is the rules that govern the construction and use of the utensils and the tearoom. The following poem, for example, concerns the procedure for preparing tea formally in front of a guest (generally called *temae* 手前).⁴⁰

For thick tea the water should be hot,
and the cup should be without bubbles and free of lumps.
Koicha ni wa yu-kagen atsuku fuku wa nao awa naki yô ni katamari no naku
(poem 12)⁴¹

This poem is little more than a straightforward indication that the tea has to be whisked so that the surface is smooth and bubble-free. A similar illustration that concerns the preparation of the fire is in these two poems:

During the hearth season,
know to use a gourd as a box for charcoal, chopsticks with handles,
a ceramic incense container, and kneaded incense.
Ro no uchi wa sumitori fukube e no hibashi tôki kôgô nerikô to shire
(poem 62)⁴²

During the brazier season,

⁴⁰ The preparation of tea is the subject of a large cluster of poems at the beginning of the collection (poems 10 to 23) and at about the middle (poems 49 to 57); towards the end (poems 82-84) three poems deal with more general aspects of the preparation, in particular the rhythm and accents in the movements of the body while handling the utensils. These poems juxtapose matter of fact guidelines with advice that is both general and vague, often about the same topic. As an illustration of the latter, “Thick tea is made by forgoing the established procedure, holding one’s breath and earnestly applying oneself to that cup of tea.” (*koicha ni wa temae wo sutete hitosuji ni fuku no kagen to iki wo morasuna*, poem 11). 濃茶には手前を捨てひと筋にふくの加減と息をちらすな。

⁴¹ 濃茶には湯加減あつく服は猶浅(あわ)なきやうにかたまりもなく。

⁴² In “Chadô kyôyu hyakushu ei” the text reads 口切は(イふゆなど)炭をとりふくへ(イもおふくへに)柄の火箸陶器(イ本地)香合ねり香としれ。I translate here a slight variation, (which is the standard text used today by Urasenke practitioners) 炉のうちは炭斗瓢柄の火箸陶器香合ねり香としれ。

a woven box for charcoal, metal chopsticks,
a lacquered incense container, and burn sandalwood.
Furo no toki sumi wa sairô ni kane-hibashi nuri kôgô ni byakudan wo take
(poem 63)⁴³

Hearth (*ro*) and brazier (*furo*) symbolize the two main divisions of the year. As in poem 12, the poetic form is deployed chiefly to facilitate the memorization of the rules and of the specialized vocabulary used to make distinctions among utensils, as, for example, the kneaded incense (*neriko*) used in the cold season and the sandalwood (*byakudan*) used in the hot season.⁴⁴

Another important feature of *Chanoyu hyakushu* are the gestures made towards other bodies of knowledge. Several poems reference Buddhism and orthodox waka. These gestures are made indirectly by mentioning elements that are representative of each body of discourse. For example:

In the way of tea there's plum-blossoms and winter chrysanthemums,
there's golden autumn leaves,
and green bamboo and withered branches, and the frost at daybreak.
Chanoyu ni wa ume kangiku ni kibami ochi aodake kareki akatsuki no shimo
(*Chanoyu hyakushu*, poem 99)⁴⁵

This poem invokes natural phenomena charged with symbolic associations developed by the waka tradition.⁴⁶ The plum stands for early spring, chrysanthemums for early

⁴³ 風爐のとき炭は菜籠金火箸ぬり香合に白檀の香。

⁴⁴ A significant number of poems on utensils are devoted to measurements, many of them organized into a large cluster (poems 66-76). Some of these poems regulate the standard size of certain utensils like a wiping cloth (*chakin*: 1' by 5''; poem 67) or silk cloth (*fukusa*: 9'' by 8.8''; poem 68); or the length of a peg to hang a scroll (poem 36). Others refer to the exact placement of a utensil, as, for example, a wooden board under a flower vase (poem 69) or the height of a kettle (poems 40 & 41). The vast majority of poems on utensils, their measurements, and their handling, consist of plain sentences shaped after the 5-7-5-7-7 form of orthodox waka, for ease of memorization.

⁴⁵ 茶の湯には梅寒菊に木葉み落青竹かれ木あかつきの霜。

⁴⁶ For a discussion of the “seasonalization” of nature in Japan as a cultural construction, see Shirane Haruo, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons* (Columbia University Press, 2013).

winter and withered branches for late winter, colored leaves for autumn, green bamboo for early summer. The poem stresses the importance of the seasons in the more established body of waka knowledge, emphasizing that both *chanoyu* and waka share the same seasonal aesthetic.

Unlike the author of *Kemari hyakushu*, Asukai Masayasu, who belonged to an aristocratic poetry household, the early instructors of *chanoyu*, such as Murata Jukô, Takeno Jôô, or Rikyû, were of commoner extraction. The relationship of these tea masters to waka was not that of an authority such as the Asukai, with multiple and powerful disciples, but that of a disciple learning under a professional instructor.

This difference in status probably underlies the choice of elements from the waka tradition that appear in the above poem (99) from *Chanoyu hyakushu*. This poem uses hackneyed images: blossoms, bamboo, branches, and frost. By contrast, poem 10 in *Kemari hyakushu* (discussed above) references place-names that are highly charged with poetic associations that would be less obvious to the non-specialist, such as Asuka in Nara and the Naniwa Inlet. While *Kemari hyakushu* relies on the literary competency of a reader fully trained in waka, *Chanoyu hyakushu* assumes only elementary background.

Chanoyu hyakushu makes a similar gesture toward the practice of Buddhism. This can be seen in the following poem:

When making tea, beware of your mind
becoming distracted with distinctions
between good and bad, existence and nonexistence.
Hito temae tateru uchi ni wa yoshi ashi to umu no kokoro no wakachi wo mo shiru
(poem 83)⁴⁷

⁴⁷ In “Chadô kyôyu hyakushu ei” the text reads ひと手前たつる内には(イも)善悪の分ちをしれよ有無の心を. I translate here a slight variation, (which is the standard text used today by Urasenke practitioners) 一点手前点るうちには善悪と有無の心のわかちをも知る.

The allusion to Buddhist lore is not achieved here through a direct quotation or rephrasing of a sacred text, such as a sutra or a commentary, but through the mention of binaries such as good and bad (*yoshi ashi*) and existence and nonexistence (*umu*), which stand for the dualism that a practitioner is expected to transcend as part of religious training.

This can be seen also in a waka poem attributed to the renga poet Shôhaku 肖柏 (aka Mu-an 夢庵, 1443-1527), which appears in *Yamanoue sôji ki* 山上宗二記 (late 16th c.), the diary of Rikyû's disciple, Yamanoue no Sôji 山上宗二 (1544-1590). Sôji recorded an instance in which Rikyû quoted this poem as containing a lesson in the proper attitude of guests and hosts in a tea gathering:

My Buddha, the treasures of my neighbors,
my son-in-law and daughter-in-law, the wars of our country,
the judgments of other persons.

Waga hotoke tonari no takara muko shûto tenka no ikusa hito no yoshi ashi
(*Yamanoue sôji ki*)⁴⁸

In *Nanpôroku*, Rikyû appears quoting this poem to a student in order to illustrate the teaching that in the tearoom one is to leave behind worldly concerns, in the same way that poem 83 stresses the close association between *chanoyu* and Buddhism.

In summary, *Chanoyu hyakushu* addresses the learning strategies that a student is expected to develop, as well as the accepted forms of social interaction inside and outside the tearoom, the highly detailed rules that govern the use and construction of utensils for *chanoyu*, and the interconnection between the practice and knowledge of *chanoyu* with both waka and Buddhism.

⁴⁸ *Yamanoue sôji ki. Chadô koten zenshû*, vol. 6, p. 93. 我仏隣の宝智舅天下軍人乃善悪.

Chanoyu hyakushu, in its multiple editions and attributions, speaks to the wide interest in poems used in pedagogy during the Genroku period. Tsutsui Hiroichi argues that after the Genroku period this interest subsided, as *chanoyu* pedagogy slowly came to be dominated by booklets recording conversations about tea (*suki zôtan* 数寄雑談), a genre that began with the edition and publication in 1701 of *Chawa shigetsu shû* 茶話指月集 (Collection of Conversations on Tea Pointing at the Moon, dated 1697 in the preface).⁴⁹

Collections of poems to be used in pedagogy would, however, continue to be circulated and produced beyond the Genroku period. For example, the late-Edo manuscript *Rikyû sanbyakushu fumoto no kakehashi* 利休三百首麓の梯 picks up the colophon from *Rikyû kôji chanoyu waka hyakushu* and attributes the poems to Rikyû, but among its 300-odd poems, the first 200 are not found in any of the other collections, suggesting that they are late-Edo compositions. Other late-Edo texts include *Sadôka gojûshu* 茶道歌五十首 (Fifty Poems on the Way of Tea), which was preserved as an addition to the collection *Honchô chakei* 本朝茶経 (Classic of Tea of Japan, 1807); and also the pair of collections *Teishu hô gojûshu* 亭主方五十首 (Fifty Poems for the Side of the Host) and *Kyaku hô gojûshu* 客方五十首 (Fifty Poems for the Side of the Guest), written by a tea-master to be used by his descendants. *Chanoyu hyakushu* enjoyed popularity as a teaching aid throughout the Edo period, but did not acquire the canonical status as the main text of poems on *chanoyu* it enjoys today until the Meiji period.

⁴⁹ Among the conversations in *Chawa shigetsu shu* there are instances where poems are used as pedagogical tools. In one of them, for example, Rikyû quotes a poem by Priest Saigyô (1118-1190) in response to a question about the construction of a garden for a tearoom. Translated in Hirota, *Wind in the Pines*, p. 254-55.

In this context, collections such as *Chanoyu hyakushu* represent a break with the centralized pedagogical model of *Kemari hyakushu* and with the use of poetry to simply remember famous utensils. This is not to say that after the Genroku period professional households lost importance or that utensils vanished from tea practice. On the contrary, the number of households and lineages offering training in *chanoyu* only grew, and the practice itself stayed centered on utensils and other props. Within this continuity, *Chanoyu hyakushu* speaks to a new way of teaching and learning, based on a market and served by a printing industry.

Conclusion

Waka in the late medieval and early Edo period performed a wide range of pedagogical functions, ranging from conveying highly technical knowledge (what Inoue Muneo refers to as *shodô kyôkunka*, training in various specific disciplines) to teaching moral and religious precepts (what Inoue Muneo refers to as *dôka*). Many of these poems were perceived as distinct from the broader tradition of classical or orthodox waka. But we also find an array of poems that share certain features with orthodox waka and that have what we might call poetic value (a sophisticated use of diction, imagery, and rhythm), even if they also lend themselves to a pedagogical or religious function.

In this chapter I drew three series of distinctions. First, I contrasted collections of poems in the *hyakushu* form with poems incorporated into prose treatises, anecdotes, and conversations between instructor and student. Second, I compared texts produced as part of the vertical, centralized pedagogy of professional household of specialists, such as the late-medieval Asukai's *Kemari hyakushu*, and the decentralized profuseness of texts and

attributions that made texts such as the Genroku-era *Chanoyu hyakushu* available to a diverse market. Third, I elaborated on Inoue Muneo's distinction between poems used in the training of a specific discipline, such as hawking, and poems deployed in works of moral education. In summary, waka used in pedagogy were preserved in a variety of genres, were structured by tensions between vertical and decentralized forms of pedagogy, and displayed great thematic and stylistic diversity.

The use of waka in pedagogy went beyond the composition and compilation of poems that conveyed information and facilitated memorization. In my analysis of the pedagogy of *chanoyu* I highlighted the ways in which tea masters incorporated the tradition and pedagogical practices of waka into their instruction. This can be seen, for example, in the incorporation of waka and renga aesthetics into the teaching of Murata Jukô, or in the use by Takeno Jôh and Sen no Rikyû of famous orthodox waka as a means to explain nuanced aesthetic notions. It can also be seen in the collection *Chanoyu hyakushu*. This work frames itself as part of a wider pedagogical practice; provides lessons beyond the specifics of tea preparation (such as social interaction and etiquette); provides specifications for the construction, manipulation, and deployment of utensils and spaces; and, finally, makes both explicit and implied references to external bodies of knowledge such as the teaching of Buddhism or the tradition of orthodox waka.

The pedagogical functions of waka I discuss in this chapter are not restricted to distinct subgenres of waka such as *kyôkunka*, *dôka*, or *shodô kyôkunka*, but lie on a continuum with orthodox waka, humorous waka, and the many other roles that waka played as a vehicle for the transmission of knowledge.

Epilogue – Masaoka Shiki and the Reform of Poetry in Modern Japan

This dissertation started with the end of the Heian period (794-1185), which saw a consequential transformation in the social roles of waka. According to Kubota Utsubo's distinction, throughout the Heian period poems had had a literary and a practical dimension. The practical dimension meant that waka had a pervasive function in elite social intercourse, as poems were composed for religious rites, political ceremonies, official court functions, and private interactions. As the research of Hashimoto Fumio shows, this practical dimension of waka, where poems were composed to match and perform a specific role in a specific social occasion (*ori*), lost ground by the beginning of the Insei period (1086-1221) to waka's more "literary" dimension, that is to say, poetry on fixed topics. This meant that more and more, waka were being composed on poetic topics (*dai*) given in advance for poetic gatherings and poetic contests.

Starting in the Insei period, waka began to lose its functions in aristocratic everyday life, and teaching how to compose waka purely for their literary value became the prerogative of a very limited number of expert households. At the same time, waka discovered new social, practical functions. This dissertation traces five different trajectories covered by the practice of poetry. Chapter 1 explores the development of a pedagogy for waka in the poetic treatises of the late Heian period written by professional aristocratic instructors for elite patrons. In these works, knowledge about waka was transformed into a vehicle for the transmission of the social knowledge and cultural

memory of the aristocracy. Chapter 2 tracks down the reception of these treatises in anecdotal collections of the Kamakura period (1192-1333) geared towards non-aristocrats, particularly low- and mid-level warriors interested in acquiring a working knowledge of the court and its culture. Chapter 3 revisits medieval discourses and narratives on the material and social benefits of waka (*katoku*) to reveal their roots in poetic treatises of the late Heian period and anecdotal collections of the Kamakura period, thus connecting the benefits of poetry to the pedagogical practices identified in chapters 1 and 2. Chapter 4 outlines the function of humorous waka (*kyōka*) in Muromachi-period (1333-1467) narratives for commoners. These narratives combined satire, parody, and cultural transmission in an attempt to negotiate tensions between traditional aristocratic culture and new emerging popular cultures. Chapter 5 looks at the use of waka as pedagogical instruments for the codification, preservation, transmission, and ease of memorization of knowledge about disciplines such as hawking, kickball, and the tea ceremony.

The five chapters are laid out roughly in chronological order, starting in the Insei period and reaching well into the Edo period (1600-1868). The five trajectories of post-Heian waka practice emerged in successive historical periods, but the new did not simply replace the old. As waka practice developed new social and cultural roles, these new functions coexisted with the older functions. This concomitant circulation of texts in which waka played diverse social functions became even more pronounced in the Edo period, when works that had circulated for centuries as manuscripts became widely available for sale or lease in the shape of printed editions. Edo-period printers brought to a wider audience poetic treatises of the late Heian period, anecdotal collections of the

Kamakura period, Muromachi-period tales, and collections of pedagogical poems. Some of them were published in full, others in digest, excerpted, or abridged versions.¹

The Edo period saw other consequential developments in the practice of waka. I can only note them here briefly, as their range and complexity make it impossible to discuss them in detail in this dissertation.² One of them was the work of Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728) and other Confucian scholars, who emphasized that poetry could serve as a model of good government and social harmony. These scholars argued that as classical poetry was a repository of the language and aesthetic values of classical cultures in both China and Japan, it could guide the reformation of contemporary society.³ The related National Learning (*kokugaku* 国学) movement, led by waka poets such as Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697-1769) and Moto'ori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801), turned to the earliest Japanese texts, such as the poetic collection *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (A Collection of a Ten-Thousand Leaves, c. late eighth century) and the historical chronicle *Kojiki* 古事記 (Record of Ancient Matters, 712), in an effort to identify distinctive features of Japanese culture.⁴ Ogyū Sorai belonged to the warrior class, but other scholars, such as Moto'ori Norinaga, were of commoner origins. The process of popularization of waka that had started in the medieval period reached its apex towards the end of the Edo period, when most relevant practitioners of waka were commoners.⁵ Throughout the Edo

¹ For example, the section titled “Miscellaneous Conversations” (*zōtan* 雑談), rich in anecdotes about court culture, was printed as a separate volume.

² I intend to pursue these topics as part of my future research.

³ Peter Flueckiger. *Imagining Harmony: Poetry, Empathy, and Community in Mid-Tokugawa Confucianism and Nativism* (Stanford University Press, 2010).

⁴ Michael Marra. *The Poetics of Motoori Norinaga* (University of Hawaii Press, 2007).

⁵ Roger Thomas. *The Way of Shikishima: Waka Theory and Practice in Early Modern Japan* (University Press of America, 2008).

period, the social and practical functions of waka preserved their cultural significance, reaching an ever-wider body of practitioners.

Why does waka no longer serve such functions today? Waka (known in the modern period as *tanka* 短歌) continued to be composed, published, consumed, and evaluated widely throughout the twentieth century (modern *tanka* differ from premodern waka in that they have no restrictions in terms of their content or their diction.)⁶ In this epilogue, I would like to suggest a landing point for the historical arc drawn by the diverse social functions of waka discussed in the previous five chapters. I trace this last consequential transformation of waka practice to the literary circles around the critic and poet Masaoka Shiki (1867-1902), in particular their project of reforming the field of literary production in Japanese.

The literary reforms started by Masaoka Shiki was part of two fundamental and interconnected intellectual developments: the debates and experiments over the unification of spoken and literary languages and the disputes over the reconfiguration of Japan's literary genres in response to the introduction of European critical discourses in the late 19th century.⁷ One of the main roles that Shiki played in this context had to do with a reconfiguration of the field of literary production. He argued that waka belonged together with other premodern practices such as *renga* poetry, *haikai* poetry, *haibun* prose, narrative tales, and modern practices such as the novel to one unified field. This

⁶ *Tanka* is a very popular genre of poetry, second only to the shorter *haiku* 俳句. For example, the *tanka* collection *Sarada kinenbi* サラダ記念日 (Salad Anniversary, 1987) by Tawara Machi 俵万智 (b. 1962) sold more than 2.5 million copies.

⁷ Ueda Makoto, *Modern Japanese Poets and the Nature of Literature* (Stanford University Press, 1983); Janine Beichman, *Masaoka Shiki: His Life and Works* (Boston: Cheng & Tsui Co, 2002); Mark Morris, "Buson and Shiki: Part One," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 44.2 (1984): 381–425 and "Buson and Shiki: Part Two," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45.1 (1985): 255–321; Burton Watson, trans., *Masaoka Shiki: Selected Poems* (Columbia University Press, 1997); Donald Keene. *The Winter Sun Shines in: A Life of Masaoka Shiki* (Columbia University Press, 2013).

field he referred to as *bungaku* 文学, an expression that in the late nineteenth century came to be used as a translation for the European notion of “Literature” and that could be subdivided into poetry (*shi* 詩), prose (*sanbun* 散文), and drama (*geki* 劇).

In this epilogue I explore how Shiki arrived at his formulation, that one single aesthetic paradigm, one set of technical resources, and one artistic paradigm could serve all forms of artistic endeavor. For it was this formulation that sealed the fate of waka practice in modern Japan; to become Literature waka had to be stripped of many of its fundamental features, chief among them the social functions it had come to serve in premodern pedagogical and educational practices.

Shiki’s project to reform poetry was a response to the trials that the fields of cultural production faced during the Meiji period (1868-1911) as they attempted to find a place within the new ideology of modern literature and the modern nation state. In the 1880s it would not have been unthinkable to expect that established genres such as waka, kanshi, and haikai would lose ground to new forms modeled after European poetry. This possibility was discussed, for example, by Toyama Masakazu 外山正一 (1848-1900), Yatabe Ryôkichi 矢田部良吉 (1851-1899), and Inoue Tetsujirô 井上哲次郎 (1855-1944), who published a collection of poems in a new style preceded by three critical prefaces under the title *Shintaishi-shô* 新体詩抄 (Extracts for a New Poetic Form, 1882). *Shintaishi-sho* consisted of fourteen translations of British and French poems into Japanese followed by five original poems where the compilers explored what this “new style” of Japanese poetry could look like.⁸

⁸ The notion of a “national literature” would not emerge in full until the publication of Ôwada Tateki 大和田建樹 (1857-1910)’s literary history *Meiji bungakushi* 明治文学史 (A Literary History for the Meiji Period, 1894).

The main question *Shintaishi-shô* raised had to do with the place of waka and other traditional poetic practices in the future of Japan. In the prefaces to *Shintaishi-shô*, Inoue argued that waka was not worthy of the attention of a modern poet and that a new form of poetry had to be found to match the times. Yatabe argued that all judgements of value were culturally determined and thus relative, and consequently, it was very acceptable to compose poetry in “Western” styles. And Toyama suggested that this “new style” of poetry would become as successful as the most revered Chinese poetry of all times, that of the Tang period (618-907). *Shintaishi-shô* betrays uncertainty about what the preferred language of literary production and criticism would be in the future. For example, the prefaces were written, respectively, in styles close to *kanbun* (classical Chinese), *kanbun-kundoku* (Sino-Japanese), and *wabun* (classical Japanese). Also, the editors used the character *shi* 詩, which traditionally was short for *kanshi* 漢詩, poetry in Chinese, to refer to the new style verse they wanted to explore. This term became synonymous with the European notion of “poetry.”

It was in this context of fluidity and exploration that, on the morning of June 6th, 1892, the newspaper *Japan (Nihon)* carried the first installment of Shiki’s “Dassai-sho’oku haiwa” 獺祭書屋俳話 (Haiku Talks from the Otter’s Den).⁹ In this essay Shiki launched his reform of literature, which was to start with a popular form of poetry of the Edo period, haikai verse. The first two installments offered a digest of the historical development of haikai. It was only in the third installment, on July 18th, that Shiki discussed the wider fate of literary production in modern Japan:

Since the great transformation of the Meiji period, also Literature (*bungaku*) suffered a radical change, as translation (*honyaku*), new style

⁹ *Nihon Kindai Bungaku Taikei* series, vol. 16 (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1969-75), pp. 138-143.

poetry (*shintaiishi*), and the colloquial style (*genbun-icchi*) shook the literary world; there is no way back, and we have reached a situation of confusion. But looked at from the perspective of the people who inhabit this land, this is just a step forward in the advancement of Literature. The great authors of Literature will emerge to merge the polish of traditional Literature and also the virtues of modern Literature. Isn't this what happened already during the transformation of haikai in the Genroku period? (“Dassai-sho'oku haiwa”)¹⁰

Shiki begins by identifying the main sources of transformative influence: the efforts to translate into Japanese works coming from Europe, the exploration of new styles of verse influenced by these translations, and the expansion of poetic diction to include expressions commonly used in colloquial conversation. Shiki describes the current state of the field as *takibôyô* 多岐亡羊, a situation in scholarship or in life in which there are so many possible roads to choose that one is prey to confusion over which one to take. But he also says that this has happened before, during the Genroku period (1688-1704), when haikai verse underwent a similar transformation. From this passage it is clear that for Shiki the road ahead fundamentally involved regarding haikai as a constituent of the newly defined and still in-flux notion of *bungaku*. In the next installment, on July 25th, Shiki pushes the envelope by discussing the future of haikai together with that of *waka*, as if they were two equivalent subgenres of the field of literature.

It is by conceptualizing *waka* and haikai in this way that “Dassai-sho'oku haiwa” began a process by which *waka* would become disconnected from its diverse extra-literary social functions. The same could be said of haikai. In this first two installments

¹⁰ *Nihon Kindai Bungaku Taikei*, vol. 16, p. 141. 明治の大改革ありてより文學も亦過劇の變遷を生じ翻譯文、新體詩、言文一致等の諸體を唱ふるものありて大に文學界を騒がし其極世人をして其歸着する所を知らず竟に多岐亡羊の感を起さしむるに至れり。然れども天下の大勢より觀察し來れば是等も亦文學進歩の一段落に過ぎずして後來大文學者として現出する者は必ず古文學の粹を抜き併せて今日の新文學の長所をも採取する者なるべく而して是等は皆元祿時代に俳諧の變遷したると同じことならんと思はるゝなり。

Shiki had also pointed out that haikai originated in medieval linked verse (*renga*), and that with time what initially served as the first link in a series (called *hokku* 発句) came to be composed as a stand-alone poem, which Shiki calls *haiku* 俳句.¹¹ That is, Shiki argues that a form of social practice that involved a group of poets coming together to collaborate on a series of verses developed naturally into a form of composition that closely resembled the European model, where an individual produced a string of language in verse form.

The following year Shiki resumed his reform of haikai in a new series of articles in *Nihon* under the title “Bashô zôdan” 芭蕉雑談 (“A Conversation on Matsuo Bashô”, 1893).¹² If in “Dassai-sho’oku haiwa” Shiki paired haikai with waka as equivalent elements of *bungaku*, in “Bashô zôdan” he pairs haikai with painting. Shiki suggests that the literary artist (*bungakusha* 文学者) and the plastic artist (*gijutsuka* 技術家), together with the product of their work--poetry (*shibun* 詩文) and art objects (*bijutsuhin* 美術品)--, share the same artistic process and are shaped by similar constraints, but he stops short of inscribing poetry and painting as subcategories of *bijutsu* 美術 (Art).¹³ This he would do

¹¹ Shiki also explained that the comic effect achieved by haikai poets is not the product of everyday humor but of the juxtaposition of the high-brow (*ga*) and low-brow (*zoku*) elements in a rapid succession (I discuss *gazoku* aesthetics in the fourth chapter).

¹² Published in several installments between November 13th, 1893 and January 22nd, 1894.

¹³ Mark Morris’s article on Buson and Shiki offers a detailed historical account of Shiki’s participation in the contemporary debate over the movable borders between poetry and painting. Morris tells the story of European poetry’s divorce from painting in Lessing’s *Laocoon*, and of the subsequent and enthusiastic efforts of the men of Europe’s nineteenth century to distance themselves from Lessing’s divide, mainly through the reception and adaptation of the Sino–Japanese tradition of the *bunjin* 文人 (Ch. *wenjen*, E. *Literati*), which recognized no unavoidable discontinuity between poetry, calligraphy, and painting. Morris focuses on the *literati*’s unification of poetry with the visual arts, and doesn’t discuss the steps that Shiki took outside that tradition, chief among them the gestures towards a unification of prose and poetry as fellow genres of literature. Morris, “Buson and Shiki: Part One” and “Buson and Shiki: Part Two.”

in 1895 in another series of articles in *Nihon*, “Haikai taiyô” 俳諧大要 (“An Outline of Haikai”).¹⁴

The first section of “Haikai taiyô” opens with a forceful statement that recapitulates in explicit language what Shiki had been implying until now:

Haiku is a part of Literature. Literature is a part of the Arts (*bijutsu*). Therefore, the criteria of artistic beauty (*bi*) are those of Literature. The criteria of Literature are those of the haiku. That is, only one set of critical criteria should be applied to all Painting, Sculpture, Music, Drama, Poetry, and Fiction. (“Haikai taiyô”)¹⁵

By arguing that haiku belongs to poetry, which belongs to literature, which belongs to the arts, and that all of them should be appraised and criticized under one and the same criterion, Shiki finalizes the flattening of premodern social practices into modern, purely “literary” genres.

Where, then, do Shiki’s efforts to reform the field of literary production leave waka? Until 1894 Shiki had had no serious training in waka.¹⁶ Yet his new system of classification with Art on top opened a fluid passage between haikai and waka. In 1898 Shiki published a series of essays on waka in epistolary form in *Nihon* under the title “Utayomi ni atauru sho” 歌よみに与ふる書 (“Letters to Waka Poets”).¹⁷ These articles launched an attack on the contemporary schools of waka composition. For example, Shiki opened Letter 3 with a direct invective:

There is hardly anybody as foolish and reckless as a waka poet. When they hear the words “composing poems,” they always believe that there’s

¹⁴ Published between October 1st and December 27th, 1895.

¹⁵ *Nihon Kindai Bungaku Taikei*, vol. 16, p. 220. 俳句は文學の一部なり。文學は美術の一部なり。故に美の標準は文學の標準なり。文學の標準は俳句の標準なり。即ち繪書も彫刻も音楽も演劇も詩歌小説も皆同一の標準を以て論評し得べし。

¹⁶ Robert Brower, “Masaoka Shiki and Tanka Reform,” in Donald Shively, ed., *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese culture* (Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 387.

¹⁷ Published between February 2nd and March 4th, 1898.

nothing better than waka, but waka poets do not know anything other than waka, and that is the reason they proudly believe it to be the best. They do not understand even the closest form to waka, the haiku, and assume that as both haiku and *senryū* have seventeen syllables they must be identical; they are so reckless that they do not study Chinese poetry (*shina no shi*) and only have an illiterate and superficial knowledge of Western poetry, if they have any at all; all the more, how shocked and surprised will they be upon hearing that novels (*shōsetsu*) and the texts of dramatic plays (*inpon*) are part of Literature (*bungaku*) as much as waka is! (“Utayomi”)¹⁸

Shiki suggests that composing waka requires knowledge of the other forms of Literature: Chinese and Western poetry, but also prose narrative and drama. This means that learning waka is not longer achievable through the traditional pedagogical apparatus, which I discussed in chapters one and two of this dissertation. According to Shiki, waka demands training in Art, and particularly in the different genres of literature.

Shiki dealt a final blow to classical waka in a short essay titled “Man’yōshū maki jūroku” 万葉集卷十六 (“*Man’yōshū*, Book Sixteen,” 1899), also serialized in *Nihon*.¹⁹ This new series focused on the *Man’yōshū*, which had been hailed by National Learning scholars such as Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697-1769) as a better model for waka composition than the 10th century *Kokinshū*. Shiki argues that Mabuchi and his followers overlooked the most important section of the *Man’yōshū*. Shiki refers to book sixteen, which he describes as displaying a different poetic conception (*shukō* 趣向) from the other nineteen books of *Man’yōshū*, while maintaining the same pattern (*chōshi* 調子). This difference in conception is evinced in the book’s humor (*kokkei* 滑稽) and the use of

¹⁸ *Nihon Kindai Bungaku Taikai*, vol. 16, p. 294. 歌よみの如く馬鹿なのんきなものはまたと無之候。歌よみのいふ事を聞き候へば和歌程善き者は他に無き由いつでも誇り申候へども歌よみは歌より外の者は何も知らぬ故に歌が一番善きやうに自惚候次第に有之候。彼等は歌に尤も近き俳句すら少しも解せず十七字でさへあれば川柳も俳句も同じと思ふ程ののんきさ加減なれば、況して支那の詩を研究するでも無く西洋には詩といふものが有るやら無いやらそれも分らぬ文盲淺學、況して小説や院本も和歌と同じく文學といふ者に屬すと聞かば定めて目を剥いて驚き可申候。Original text from Aozorabunko (aozora.gr.jp), accessed March 27, 2015.

¹⁹ Published between February 2nd and March 1st, 1899.

poetic materials not allowed in waka--Chinese loan words or vulgar expressions such as *fun* 糞 (shit). Shiki argues, for example,

Humor is part of the interest afforded by literature. However, people of our country, waka poets, painters, and kanshi poets, as a matter of fact despise humor in general. They attempt to eliminate humor, whether the humor of the *Man'yôshû*, of haiku, of *kyôka* and of *kyôku*, as if it lied outside the sphere of art and literature, and in this way put themselves in a position where they can't understand the part that humor plays in beauty. There is nothing in the humor of *kyôka* and *kyôku* that is not literary. However, *kyôku* tends to veer toward logical riddles, and *kyôka* rushes into showing off (the "haikai" poems in *Kokinshû* do this too). A humor that has the interest of the humor in *Man'yôshû* or in haiku, is a humor that can combine brown miso paste and shit. ("Man'yôshû maki jûroku")²⁰

This is what Shiki understands as the role of waka in the future: a poetic form that preserves the 5-7-5-7-7 pattern (*chôshi*) but which incorporates expressions that do not belong to orthodox waka diction, and which displays the type of humor that poets and critics strived to keep out of orthodox waka for centuries. More generally, he understands waka's future role as a poetic form that subordinates its aesthetic principles to the more general aesthetic principles of Literature and of Art.

Tracing Shiki's construction of waka as a literary genre within the sphere of literature and art allows us to put into perspective the distinction that Kubota Utsubo drew between the literary and practical dimensions of waka in the Heian period. Among the many premodern genres and texts that I have examined in this dissertation in my endeavor to show the social and practical roles of waka, I have never come across a distinction between poems as works of beauty and poems as works of practical use. As my

²⁰ Masaoka Chûzaburô, ed., *Shiki zenshû*, vol. 7 (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1975-78), p. 133. 滑稽は文學的趣味の一なり。然るに我邦の人、歌よみたと繪師たると漢詩家たるとに論なく一般に滑稽を排斥し、萬葉の滑稽も俳句の滑稽も狂歌狂句の滑稽も苟も滑稽とだにいへば一網に打盡して美術文學の範圍外に投げ出さんとする、是れ滑稽的美の趣味を解せざるの致す所なり。狂歌狂句の滑稽も文學的なる者なきに非ず、然れども狂句は理窟(謎)に傾き狂歌は佗酒落に走る。(古今集の俳諧歌も佗酒落なり)これを以て萬葉及び俳句の如く趣味を備へたる滑稽に比するは味噌と糞を混同する者なり。

discussion of *katoku* in the third chapter shows, when the benefits of poems were discussed explicitly, the powers of *waka* were linked to what today we would call their “literary” attributes, in particular the way in which poems could move the addressee emotionally.

The distinction between literary and practical functions of *waka* was born in the work of Meiji-period critics and intellectuals such as Masaoka Shiki, who strived to inscribe *waka* under the aegis of Literature and the Arts. What we today call the “practical” or “social use” of *waka* had to be cast aside for *waka* to look more “literary” to modern critics and poets. In short, the social functions of poetry in the premodern period should not be understood as extra-literary uses of poems that were otherwise composed as literary works. The roles *waka* played in pedagogy, in particular in the transmission of cultural memory, social knowledge, and technical information across diverse social spaces, should be seen as an inherent feature of the practice of *waka* in premodern Japan.

The diversity of functions performed by *waka* for warriors, monks, farmers, merchants, and other social groups at each and every level of premodern society and over many centuries revolved around the value of *waka* as a vehicle for the transmission and production of knowledge. This can be seen in the development of a pedagogy for *waka* in the poetic treatises of the Heian period; in the reception of these works in anecdotal collections of the Kamakura period; in the use of *kyōka* in Muromachi-period narratives; and in the use of *waka* as pedagogical instruments in the transmission of knowledge about disciplines as diverse as hawking, kickball, and the tea ceremony in the late medieval and Edo periods.

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Appendix

The textual history of *Chanoyu hyakushu*

The collection now known as *Rikyû's Hundred-Poems* stems from a cluster of texts in circulation already by the Genroku period under a variety of attributions. One of these versions is the printed edition *Rikyû kôji chanoyu waka hyakushu* 利休居士茶道和歌百首 (Layman Rikyû's One-Hundred Waka on the Way of Tea, 1748). The editor of this collection wrote in a preface that 'this one-hundred poems by Zen Priest Rikyû, acknowledged as the spiritual beacon of this way, reproduced here with gracious permission from the world-renowned household, printed unabridged and unedited, this poems that, as [Rikyû] states in the postface, he composed to transmit the teaching of this way.'¹ In this passage the editor inscribes the poems in the lineage of direct transmission from Rikyû in two different ways. One is by including a postface attributed to Rikyû himself; the other is by acknowledging the authority of the Senke households to transmit Rikyû's teaching, and claiming that he had been granted their permission to print and sell copies of the manuscript. This passage from the preface to *Rikyû kôji chanoyu waka hyakushu* also suggests that the attribution to Rikyû carried cultural authority. This collection of poems on *chanoyu* was seen as a pedagogical instrument created initially by Rikyû and later leaked for wider publication and distribution.

¹ されハかの道の和光ときこへし利休禪門のよめる百首を、よにひろめたる家よりゆるしあたへ給へらるゝこと有けらし、そのゆゑつけるかと／＼を、たゝありのままのことはにつゝり、道のをしへを残さまほしとよめる哥のをく書にしも、... Quoted in Tsutsui, *Chasho no kenkyû - suki furyû no seiritsu to tenkai*, p. 423.

The standard version of the text used by tea masters today stems from a set of sliding doors inscribed by the 11th head of the Urasenke school, Gengensai 玄々齋 (aka Seichû Sôshitsu 精中宗室, 1810-77). These sliding doors are known as *Hôgo fusuma* 法護襖 (*Dharma-protector Sliding-Screens*) and contain a lengthy injunction on the correct preparation of tea and the proper handling of implements followed by the hundred-odd poems under the title *Rikyû-kôji kyôron hyakushu uta* 利休居士教諭百首歌 (*Layman-practitioner Rikyû's Didactic Hundred-Poems*). The screens are installed in the main teahouse complex of Urasenke in Kyoto, where they separate an anteroom called *Dairo no ma* 大炉間 (Room of the Big Sunken Hearth) from the main tearoom, called *Totsutosusai* 咄々齋 (after the appellation of the third family head, Sen Sôtan 千宗旦, 1578-1658), where the most important yearly observances and rituals take place, such as *Hatsugama* 初釜, the first tea gathering of the year. The poems on the sliding-screens of the room where affiliates to the household congregate for these events serve as a corroboration of the direct lineage that the household claims to its putative founder Sen no Rikyû.

Until Gengensai penned them on the sliding doors, these poems had had a very complex and interesting history of production, circulation, and consumption. Their textual history speaks to changes in pedagogy and in the relationship of teaching material to teaching practice.²

² The standard treatment of the manuscript history is given by Tsutsui Hiroichi, a historian of *chanoyu* who serves as Urasenke's chief advisor on history and acquisitions. He has access to many manuscripts in private hands, so in the following section I systematize some of his findings, drawing from several of his publications, before offering an analysis of these facts to connect them to the teaching praxis, audiences, and social dynamic that marked Edo period pedagogy in general and *chanoyu* practice in particular.

Collections of waka on *chanoyu* circulated since early in the Edo period in a variety of formats and presentations. All claimed some sort of direct connection to early tea masters such as Takeno Jôô, Sen no Rikyû, or Kobori Enshû 小堀遠州 (1579-1647). For example, a manuscript titled *Chanoyu hyakushu tsuki zoku chanoyu hyakushu* 茶湯百首付続茶湯百首 (*One Hundred Poems on the Tea Ceremony followed by Another Hundred Poems on the Tea Ceremony*, Genroku period),³ preserved in the archives of Urasenke Konnichian, contains a section labeled “*Chanoyu hyakushu*.” This section is attributed “*Rikyû-sei*” 利休製, “composed by Rikyû,” and consists in ninety waka, which are all identical to poems in Gengensai’s sliding-doors. That the poems in this manuscript circulated widely by the Genroku period is suggested also by the printed edition I mentioned above, *Rikyû kôji chanoyu waka hyakushu*, which contains 94 poems (including those in the Urasenke Konnichian manuscript) after a preface that describes them as a faithful copy of poems composed by Rikyû and ending in a postface signed “Rikyû, 1580.”

The attribution to Rikyû in the Edo period manuscript and printed edition is challenged by a series of texts that contain roughly the same poems but different attributions. For example, *Chanoyu hishō* 茶湯秘抄 (*A Digest of Secret Teachings on Chanoyu*, 1738), an anthology of different texts dealing with *chanoyu*, was compiled in 1738 by Domon Gensuke 土門元亮, a descendent of the lacquer-master family Matsuya. Domon compiled the same poems found in the Konnichian manuscript, plus two additional poems, for a total of 92, under the title *Chanoyu hyakushu* 茶湯百首, followed

³ The date for the poems is given as 1598 but the colophon for the whole manuscript gives as its date, however, the Genroku era (1688-1704).

by *Zoku chanoyu hyakushu* 続茶湯百首, and without any suggestion that Rikyû had composed any of the poems. Furthermore, Domon gives 1708 as the date for *Chanoyu hyakushu*. These same poems appear under the title *Jôô chanoyu hyakushu* 紹鷗茶湯百首 and are attributed to Takeno Jôô (1502-55). Like *Rikyû hyakushu*, *Jôô hyakushu* is practically identical to *Chanoyu hyakushu*. Additionally, similar content is contained in a set of three different manuscripts, all titled *Enshû hyakushu* 遠州百首 and held at Konnichian. These manuscripts are attributed to Kobori Enshû 小堀遠州 (1579-1647), a politician, landscape designer, and pottery expert who served Hideyoshi and the early Tokugawas, and who learned chanoyu from Furuta Oribe 古田織部 (1544-1615), a daimyô who studied under Rikyû. Another similar manuscript is *Nanpô nihyakushu* 南方二百首, named after the monk Nanpô, to whom the forged account of Rikyû's teachings *Nampôroku* is attributed. *Nanpô nihyakushu* contains about two hundred poems on *chanoyu*, including the same poems found in *Chanoyu hyakushu*.