

## THE ŌI RIVER POEMS AND PREFACE

by E. B. CEADEL

Ki no Tsurayuki (?-946 A.D.) holds a prominent place in the history of Japanese literature, both as a poet and as a prose-writer: but it is certain that his poems, although noteworthy for their technical skill, are outshone by his achievements in prose.

Since the introduction to Japan of writing from China, the Chinese language had been used for almost every form of written text, and became the normal medium of literary expression by the Japanese in nearly every branch of composition. There was, however, one exception, the tradition of writing poetry in the Japanese language.

By the ninth century some beginnings had been made (aided by the development of *kana*) in the use of the Japanese language for prose texts: but such early efforts show an undeveloped style, and it was only at about the period of Tsurayuki that prose composition in Japanese reached a stage where ideas could be clearly and elegantly expressed. Among the first works of this quality are the prose writings of Tsurayuki,<sup>1</sup> which undoubtedly served as a model and a standard for his contemporaries and successors.

Perhaps the best known of these writings is the Japanese preface to the *Kokin waka shū* 古今和歌集 of the year 905. This preface, in which a wealth of poetic imagery is added to a fluent prose style, has been recognized both by Japanese and Western writers<sup>2</sup> to be a turning-point in Japanese

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<sup>1</sup> It is significant but hardly surprising that it was a poet who had such an influence on the formation of Japanese prose style. In the Heian period the ability to write poetry was an indispensable part of the education of those in the court circle. But the diction and imagination derived from the writing of poetry was also needed to enable Japanese prose to establish a style of its own, independent from the style of Chinese prose.

<sup>2</sup> Michel Revon, *Anthologie de la littérature japonaise des origines au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1923 (5th ed.), p. 138, "La Préface du *Kokinshō* est la première œuvre en prose qui s'offre à nous comme ayant une valeur proprement littéraire. Depuis le *Kojiki*, dont on connaît le caractère primitif, et sans parler des *Fudoki* plus naïfs encore, deux siècles avaient passé pendant lesquels la prose japonaise n'avait été représentée que par le style tout particulier des rituels et des édits impériaux, lorsque parut . . . cette fameuse Préface où se révélèrent tout à coup les ressources de la langue nationale enfin maniée par un écrivain, et qui, après avoir servi de modèle à d'innombrables pages analogues, devait être considérée jusqu'à nos jours comme le plus merveilleux exemplaire du genre."

literature. The short introductions (題 or 小序) to the poems in the *Kokin waka shū* were also written by Tsurayuki<sup>3</sup> and display in miniature the same features.

Almost as well-known as the preface is the *Tosa nikki* 土佐日記, dated 935, in which Tsurayuki, dealing this time not with the serious theme of the history of Japanese poetry, but with the amusing and trivial day-to-day happenings of a journey he had just completed, provided a proof for those of his countrymen who still believed that a full range of expression could only be achieved in Chinese, that Japanese prose could be adapted to almost any theme or style.

The only other extant prose work in Japanese by Tsurayuki has, by contrast, received very little notice. It is the *Ōigawa gyōkō waka no jo* 大井川行幸和歌序,<sup>4</sup> "Preface to the Japanese poems composed when the Emperor visited the Ōi river". This preface has apparently been mentioned only once<sup>5</sup> by any Western writer and has been overlooked or ignored by the great majority of modern Japanese scholars: but those that have referred to it have recognized its importance. Thus Nakajima Kōfū wrote, "It is a short text, but together with the preface of the *Kokin waka shū* and the *Tosa nikki* by the same author it raised the status of *kana* writing and was a great contribution in forming a trend of style in prose literature: its historical significance is profound".<sup>6</sup>

The preface certainly merits attention on a number of grounds. It is a further specimen of Tsurayuki's much-admired style, and its similarity in this respect to the preface of the *Kokin waka shū* is striking,<sup>7</sup> since it has the same ornamentation of diction and frequently contains the same structural device whereby parallel phrases are set in pairs (a feature probably imitated from Chinese).<sup>8</sup> In its content and general plan, also, it contains features similar to some in the preface of the *Kokin waka shū* and these can provide useful evidence for the solution of problems connected with the latter work.

<sup>3</sup> Except, of course, some which are quotations from other works (e.g., the introduction to *Kokin waka shū* 411).

<sup>4</sup> Although the name is usually given with these characters it seems that 大堰 (with the same pronunciation) is a more correct form: also, 川 is sometimes replaced by 河, as in the introduction to the preface, below.

<sup>5</sup> A brief mention by Karl Florenz, *Geschichte der japanischen Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 157.

<sup>6</sup> 中島光風, article "Ōigawa gyōkō waka no jo" in *Dai hyakka jiten* 大百科事典 (published by Heibonsha 平凡社), 1937 edition.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Fujioka Sakutarō 藤岡作太郎, *Kokubungaku zenshi: Heianchō hen* 國文學全史平安朝篇, 1926, pp. 219-20.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Hagitani Boku 萩谷朴, *Tosa nikki Ki no Tsurayuki zenshū* 土佐日記紀貫之全集 (in series *Nihon koten zensho* 日本古典全書 1950), p. 33. The same use of parallel phrases had been made a deliberate feature of style by Kakinomoto no Hitomaro 柿本人麿 in his long poems.

This preface has, in addition, been justly called "valuable as material for the study of Japanese poetry",<sup>9</sup> as it gives a detailed account of the way in which "poems on given themes" *daiei* 題詠, came to be written. "Poems on given themes" were very often composed on the command of the emperor,<sup>10</sup> who announced several suitable themes to all the poets present, each of whom was expected to produce a poem on each of the themes: such poems, therefore, were composed in different circumstances from those written in free inspiration.

Lastly, the preface is of some importance since it and the poems<sup>11</sup> written on the occasion of the emperor's visit to the Ōi river became comparatively well-known in the remainder of the Heian period, as is shown by the references in later literature which are quoted below.

The introduction<sup>12</sup> to the preface states that the emperor gave nine themes and that sixty-three poems were written and submitted to him. Unfortunately, although the preface has been preserved, the collection of sixty-three poems at some stage<sup>13</sup> became detached and lost. Nevertheless most of them have been preserved (with introductions enabling them to be identified as belonging to this collection) in other, later, anthologies, so that it is possible for a large part of the collection to be restored.<sup>14</sup>

Thus restored, they provide useful specimen sets of "poems on given themes".<sup>15</sup> It is of interest to observe the different treatments of each theme by the different poets, and to note how many various ideas a single theme could suggest. The poems, too, assist in the interpretation of the preface, some passages of which would, by themselves, be obscure. Furthermore, the fact that there are several poems on any one single theme is often a help if one of these poems contains difficulties of reading or meaning: such difficulties, which might well be insoluble if the poem had to be considered by itself, can usually be solved by reference to words or ideas contained in the other poems on the same theme. (In this connection it may be mentioned that one of the greatest obstacles to the understanding of many

<sup>9</sup> Okuzato Shōken 奥里將建, *Saishin kokubungakushi jiten* 最新國文學史辭典, 1928, p. 40.

<sup>10</sup> A reference is made in the preface of the *Kokin waka shū* to this practice as having been an ancient custom: "the emperors of the days of old . . . summoned their attendants and commanded them to present poems on themes" (*inise no yoyo . . . tatematurasime tamahu*).

<sup>11</sup> The poems referred to here are, of course, *tanka* 短歌, of 31 syllables (5, 7, 5, 7, 7).

<sup>12</sup> See below, p. 79.

<sup>13</sup> See p. 76.

<sup>14</sup> Some Japanese writers give the impression that the poems are completely lost; cf. Hagitani, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Koyama Shinichi 兒山信一, *Shinkō wakashū* 新講和歌史, 1931, p. 125.

poems in such anthologies as the *Kokin waka shū* is the lack of "context": many of these poems would be far easier to understand if something were known of the circumstances in which they were written and of the ideas which the poets were trying to express.)

In the following pages the text of the preface and of the poems is given, together with translations and notes. Firstly, however, it is necessary to examine the occasion of the emperor's visit to the Ōi river, and to settle the time and date of the visit. Although, as will be mentioned later, several dates falling within a span of almost thirty years have been suggested by different modern Japanese writers, it is possible to establish the date of the visit with certainty by an examination of all the available literary evidence. This evidence, which also serves to identify the emperor who made the visit and the poets who composed on the given themes, is as follows.<sup>16</sup>

### (1) Introduction to the preface<sup>17</sup>

This brief introduction, signed by Ki no Tsurayuki, states that on the morning after the chrysanthemum festival, *i.e.*, on the morning of the 10th day of the 9th month the retired emperor Uda visited Tonase on the Ōi river in order to view the scenery (眺望). The reigning emperor<sup>18</sup> also visited the river. The poets present were instructed to compose poems on their thoughts on autumn, and sixty-three poems and the preface were accordingly written.

The signature is preceded by the rank *Naizen tenzen* 内膳典膳, which, according to the *Kokin waka shū mokuroku* 古今和歌集目録,<sup>19</sup> Tsurayuki held from the 27th day of the 2nd month of Engi 7 (907) to the 2nd month of Engi 10 (910).

### (2) The preface

The preface was written on (or as on) the 10th day of the 9th month, on which the emperor (no hint of identity is given) visited the bank of the river Ōi near mount Ogura, travelling by boat. The nine themes given to the poets are described in detail.

### (3) The poems

The poems themselves, not unexpectedly, give no additional information.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The evidence is arranged in chronological order in so far as this is possible.

<sup>17</sup> Since a full translation of the introduction and the preface is given below, only the facts that are useful as evidence of date, etc., are extracted here.

<sup>18</sup> Daigo.

<sup>19</sup> In *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従, section 285, Vol. XVI (1934 edition), p. 130.

<sup>20</sup> Yorimoto's poem on the fourth theme may, however, be considered to confirm the date given by the preface.

(4) *The short introductions* (題 or 小序) *to the poems in the sources from which they have been collected*

The poems that have been reassembled can be identified as belonging to the collection of sixty-three poems by means of the short introductions preceding them in the sources in which they have been preserved.

These sources are of two kinds, the collected works of the individual poets, and the various poetic anthologies (in which poems of various writers are grouped by subject).

### (a) *Collected works of individual poets*

Since these collected works were compiled by the poets themselves before their deaths, or by their families or intimate friends immediately afterwards,<sup>21</sup> they are usually reliable evidence.

*Mitsune shū*<sup>22</sup> (poems by Ōshikōchi no Mitsune 凡河内躬恒).

The poems (nineteen in number) are introduced by 亭子のみかどの大井に行幸せさせ給へるときの歌, "poems of the occasion when the emperor Teiji no In visited Ōi". Teiji no In was the name of the emperor Uda after his retirement in 897 until his death in 931.

*Korenori shū* (poems by Sakanoue no Korenori 坂上是則).

Each of the nine poems is introduced by 大井河の行幸に "at the emperor's visit to the Ōi river".

*Tsurayuki shū*

There are no introductions to identify poems as having been composed on this occasion.<sup>23</sup>

*Tadamine shū* (poems by Mibu no Tadamine 壬生忠岑).

Each of the seven poems is introduced by 大井行幸.

*Yorimoto shū* (poems by Ōnakatomi no Yorimoto 大中臣頼基).

The poems (eight in number) are introduced by 大井川の行幸に様々の題をよませ給ひしに "when he [the emperor Teiji no In, just mentioned] commanded us to compose on various themes on his visit to the Ōi river . . ."

No other collected works of individual poets of this period contain poems which can be identified as belonging to this collection.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Except in the cases of the Nara period poets (*e.g.*, *Hitomara shū*, *Yakamachi shū* 家持集, *Akahito shū* 赤人集). The collections compiled by the poets themselves are sometimes known as *jisenshū* 自撰集, while those compiled by others are known as *tasenshū* 他撰集.

<sup>22</sup> The poets are here arbitrarily arranged in the order in which their collected works appear in the *Sanjūrokunin shū* 三十六人集.

<sup>23</sup> See n. 96.

<sup>24</sup> As is shown later, there is strong reason to believe that Fujiwara no Korehira was one of the poets on this occasion. He was not one of the 36 poets whose collected works were preserved in the *Sanjūrokunin shū* and it is not, therefore, surprising that his collected works have not survived.

(b) *Poetic anthologies*

Many of the poems belonging to this collection are found in both the collected works of individual poets and also scattered throughout later poetic anthologies: the latter also contain a few poems not found in the collected works of individual poets.

*Kokin waka shū*<sup>25</sup>

Two poems<sup>26</sup> are introduced by 法皇西川におはしましたりける日…を題にてよませ給ひける “on the day when the retired emperor visited the western<sup>27</sup> river he ordered poems to be written on the theme . . .”

*Shūi waka shū*<sup>28</sup> 拾遺和歌集<sup>29</sup>

One poem<sup>30</sup> is introduced by 同じ御時大井に行幸ありて人々に歌よませ給ひけるに “when in the same period [Engi], the emperor visited the Ōi river and commanded those there to write poems . . .”

*Shin kokin waka shū* 新古今和歌集<sup>31</sup>

One poem<sup>32</sup> is introduced by 同じ御時大井川に行幸侍りける日 “on a day when, in the same period [Engi] the emperor visited the Ōi river”.

*Zoku gosen waka shū* 續後撰和歌集<sup>33</sup>

One poem<sup>34</sup> is introduced by 延喜七年大井河に行幸の時 “at the time of the emperor's visit to the Ōi river in Engi 7 [907]”.

<sup>25</sup> The *Kokin waka shū* was presented to the emperor in the fourth month of Engi 5 (905). The fact that this imperial visit took place in Engi 7 (907) at first sight appears to introduce an inexplicable inconsistency: it is, however, certain that the existing text of the *Kokin waka shū* contains several poems composed up to eight years after the first version was submitted in 905.

<sup>26</sup> For facility of reference the poems in the restored collection are quoted by a letter indicating the poet's name and a number indicating the theme. The themes are numbered in the order they are described in Tsurayuki's preface, and the poet's names are lettered as follows: O = Ōshikochi no Mitsune; S = Sakanoue no Korenori; K = Ki no Tsurayuki; M = Mibu no Tadamine; Y = Onakatomi no Yorimoto; F = Fujiwara no Korechira. If a poet wrote two or more poems on one theme they are distinguished as a, b, etc.

The two poems in the *Kokin waka shū* are O6a and K5.

<sup>27</sup> An alternative name for the Ōi river (which ran to the west of Kyoto).

<sup>28</sup> The anthologies are quoted in the successive order in which they occur in the *Hachidai shū* 八代集 and the *Jūсандai shū* 十三代集, and are followed by one privately-compiled anthology.

<sup>29</sup> It is uncertain who compiled the *Shūi waka shū*: but it has been ascribed to either the emperor Kazan 花山 (reigned 984-6) during his retirement or to Fujiwara no Kintō 藤原公任 who is said to have collected the poems between 995 and 1008.

<sup>30</sup> K9.

<sup>31</sup> Compiled in 1206 by Fujiwara no Sadaie 藤原定家 and others, but revised in the following years.

<sup>32</sup> S4.

<sup>33</sup> Compiled in 1251 by Fujiwara no Tameie 藤原爲家.

<sup>34</sup> S3.

*Zoku kokin waka shū* 續古今和歌集<sup>35</sup>

Two poems<sup>36</sup> are introduced by 同じ院にしかはにおはしましたりける日…を題にてよみ侍りける “composed at the time when Teiji no In visited the western river, on the theme . . .”

*Gyokuyō waka shū* 玉葉和歌集<sup>37</sup>

One poem<sup>38</sup> is introduced by 亭子院西川におはしましけるに “when Teiji no In visited the western river”.

*Zoku goshūi waka shū* 續後拾遺和歌集<sup>39</sup>

One poem<sup>40</sup> has the same introduction as that just quoted.

*Shin senzai waka shū* 新千載和歌集<sup>41</sup>

There is one poem<sup>42</sup> again with the same introduction.

*Shin shūi waka shū* 新拾遺和歌集<sup>43</sup>

One poem<sup>44</sup> is introduced by 延喜七年大井川に行幸の時序たてまつりて…よめる “composed, together with the preface, at the time of the emperor's visit to the Ōi river in Engi 7 [907]”.

*Fuboku waka shō* 夫木和歌抄<sup>45</sup>

One poem<sup>46</sup> is followed by 此歌は亭子院西川にみゆき有けるに…よめると云々 “Of this poem is written ‘composed when Teiji no In visited the western river, etc.’”

(5) *References in other texts*<sup>47</sup>(a) *Yamato monogatari* 大和物語, <sup>48</sup> section 95<sup>49</sup>

“When the prime minister [Fujiwara no Tadahira 藤原忠平] went to Ōi in attendance upon the emperor Teiji no In, he admired without limit the various beauties of the reddening leaves on mount Ogura, and said ‘Were there to be another imperial visit [*i.e.*, by the reigning emperor also], this is a place that would be very attractive for him: I will certainly report this and get him to make the visit’. It was then that he said,

<sup>35</sup> Compiled in 1265 by Fujiwara no Tameie.

<sup>36</sup> S9 and F9.

<sup>37</sup> Compiled in 1313 by Fujiwara no Tamekane 藤原爲兼.

<sup>38</sup> Oga.

<sup>39</sup> Compiled in 1325 by Fujiwara no Tamesada 藤原爲定.

<sup>40</sup> S2.

<sup>41</sup> Compiled in 1359 by Fujiwara no Tamesada.

<sup>42</sup> S5.

<sup>43</sup> Compiled in 1364 by Fujiwara no Tameaki 藤原爲明.

<sup>44</sup> K1.

<sup>45</sup> Compiled at the end of the thirteenth century by Fujiwara no Nagakiyo 藤原長清.

<sup>46</sup> S9.

<sup>47</sup> The following passages are arranged in chronological order insofar as possible, but in some cases the dates of composition are not certain.

<sup>48</sup> Of uncertain authorship, but written in about the middle of the tenth century.

<sup>49</sup> Quoted from *Kōchū Nihon bungaku taikai* 校註日本文學大系, Vol. II (1925), p. 128.

'Oh reddening leaves on the peak of mount Ogura, if you have a heart, wait for one more imperial visit.'<sup>50</sup>

So he went back and reported to the emperor, and said that it was very attractive, and thus brought about the visit by the emperor to the Ōi.'

(b) *Shūi waka shū*<sup>51</sup>

The above poem ("Oh reddening leaves . . .") is quoted with the introduction 亭子院の大井川に御幸ありて行幸もありぬべき所なりと仰せ給ふにことよし奏せむと申して "when Teiji no In was visiting the Ōi river, he said that it was a place to which there should be another imperial visit [*i.e.*, by the reigning emperor also]; then he [Tadahira] said he would report that to the emperor, and composed the poem".

(c) *Nihon kiriyaku* 日本紀略<sup>52</sup>

There is the following entry.<sup>53</sup>

*Engi* 7 (907)

九月十日甲申。法皇召文人。賦眺望九詠之詩。十一日其日天皇幸大堰河。

"On the 10th day of the 9th month, the retired emperor summoned literary men and had them compose poems<sup>54</sup> on nine themes about viewing the scenery. On the 11th day the reigning emperor visited the Ōi river."

There is no entry under the 10th day of the 9th month of any other

<sup>50</sup> The text of this poem is as follows:

小倉山峯のもみぢば心あらば今ひとたびのみゆき  
またなむ

wogura yama, mine no momidiba, kokoro araba, ima hitotabi no, miyuki matanamu

(Transliterations of texts in this paper follow the original *kana*, which give a sufficiently accurate representation of the pronunciation of the middle Heian period.)

This poem is also included as number 26 in the *Hyakunin issu* 百人一首 (according to tradition, compiled in 1235 by Fujiwara no Sadaie), where Tadahira is referred to as Teishinkō 貞信公.

<sup>51</sup> Book 17: the poem is number 1128 in the *Kokku taikan* 國歌大観 (1942 edition), the numberings from which are regularly adopted below.

<sup>52</sup> A work of unknown authorship but of considerable historical value and reliability. The period covered by it ends in 1036 and it may have been composed not long afterwards.

<sup>53</sup> Quoted from *Shintei zūho Kokushi taikai* 新訂増補國史大系, Vol. XI (1929), p. 12.

<sup>54</sup> The character 詩, usually signifying Chinese poetry, is apparently used here loosely for 和歌. Another possibility is that both Chinese and Japanese poems were compiled on this occasion; no trace has been preserved of any Chinese poems having been written then, but it is true that some of the themes, especially the sixth, might be more suited to Chinese poetry than Japanese.

year in this period which could relate to this occasion.<sup>55</sup> In view of references which follow to imperial visits to the Ōi river in *Enchō* 延長 4 (926), the appropriate entries may be quoted<sup>56</sup>:

*Enchō* 4

十月十日。法皇幸大井河。有詠歌事。十九日。天皇幸大井河。法皇同幸。

"On the 10th day of the 10th month, the retired emperor visited the Ōi river, and poems were composed. On the 19th day, the reigning emperor visited the Ōi river, and the retired emperor accompanied him."

(d) *Kokin waka shū mokuroku* 古今和歌集目錄<sup>57</sup>

In the section on Ōshikōchi no Mitsune<sup>58</sup> is 延喜四年大井河行幸和歌署所注。散位凡河内躬恒。件日題九。讀人六人。每題各一首。但躬恒除鶴洲立之外每題獻二首。又副一首也。

"A note in the record of the Japanese poems on the imperial visit to the Ōi river in *Engi* 4:—

"Ōshikōchi no Mitsune, holder of noble rank without office. On this day there were nine themes and six poets: they each wrote one poem on each theme, except that Mitsune offered two poems on each theme apart from 'the cranes standing on the riverside', and he added one further poem."<sup>59</sup>

(e) *Ōkagami* 大鏡<sup>60</sup>, book 8<sup>61</sup>

"Yes, there was indeed an Imperial visit<sup>62</sup> to Ōi as well. The prime minister [Tadahira], saying that he would inform the emperor that he had been commanded to report that it was a place to which there should be another visit [by the reigning emperor also], spoke with emotion,

<sup>55</sup> The 10th day of the 9th month was a fairly regular occasion for an imperial order to poets to compose poems on themes connected with autumn, as may be seen from the entries in the *Nihon kiriyaku* for that date in the years *Kampyō* 寛平 9 (897), *Shōtai* 昌泰 1 (898) and *Engi* 6 (906); but the locations and themes were different from the occasion under discussion.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> This work, containing biographies of the poets included in the *Kokin waka shū*, is of uncertain authorship, but may have been written by Fujiwara Nakazane 藤原仲實 somewhere about 1100.

<sup>58</sup> Quoted from *Gunsho ruijū*, section 285, Vol. XVI (1934 edition), p. 130.

<sup>59</sup> The same passage is included in the later work *Sanjūrokunin kasen den* 三十六人歌山傳 (see *Gunsho ruijū*, section 65, Vol. V (1939 edition), p. 373). In spite of the statement that only one poem was written by Mitsune on "the cranes standing on the riverside", two have been preserved (see below); the extra poem added may not really belong to this collection (see n. 172).

<sup>60</sup> The date of composition of the *Ōkagami* may be ascribed to somewhat before the middle of the twelfth century.

<sup>61</sup> Quoted from *Kōchū Nihon bungaku taikai*, Vol. XII (1926), pp. 311-2.

<sup>62</sup> The preceding passage of the text makes it clear that this visit was by the retired emperor.

'Oh reddening leaves on the pack of the field of Ōhara,<sup>63</sup> if you have a heart, wait for one more imperial visit.'

Well, at the visit<sup>64</sup> a number of themes were given, and Japanese poems were written. Mitsune, on the theme 'the monkeys screaming in the gorges,' wrote,

'Do not scream so piteously, you monkeys: is it not to-day that the mountain gorges are so gorgeous?'<sup>65</sup>

The preface for that day was immediately written by his excellency Tsurayuki."

(f) Notes by Fujiwara no Kiyosuke<sup>66</sup> on the *Kokin waka shū*<sup>67</sup>

此御幸如貫之假名序云延喜七年九月十日也。法皇主上相共臨幸云々。件九詠和歌 = 有忠峰假名序。兩人之條不審。若擬作歟。又如大井川行幸左近陣記者延長四年十月十九日也。相違之條不審。但件記無和歌事。若大井行幸有兩度歟。但如皇代記者一度也。

(1) "This imperial visit, as the Japanese preface by Tsurayuki says, was on the 10th day of the 9th month of Engi 7 [907]. The retired emperor and the reigning emperor both made visits."

(2) "These poems on nine themes have a Japanese preface by Tadamine. On the point of their being prefaces by two writers I am in doubt. Perhaps it [Tadamine's] may be a spurious work."<sup>68</sup>

<sup>63</sup> This poem is the same as that quoted from the *Yamato monogatari* and the *Shūi waka shū* except that in the first line おぼほらや *ohoharaya* "the field of Ōhara" is substituted for "mount Ogura". But this appears to be an error, since Ōhara, although in the same region, is not very near the Ōi river. In addition the poem is quoted in several different sources with the name of mount Ogura, but this is the only occurrence of the version containing "the field of Ōhara".

<sup>64</sup> It is difficult to state definitely whether this refers to the original visit (by the retired emperor) or to the expected visit of the reigning emperor. The former seems more probable.

<sup>65</sup> This is poem O6a, see below.

<sup>66</sup> Kiyosuke (1084-1177) was, in addition to being an eminent poet, a commentator of importance.

<sup>67</sup> Kiyosuke's notes have been preserved (with the introductory phrase 清輔云) in a large number of passages by Kenshō 顯昭 in his *Kokin shū chū* 古今集註. The present passage is preserved in Kenshō's note on poem 919 in the *Kokin waka shū* in *Zokuzoku* (續々) *gunsho ruijū*, Vol. XV (1907), pp. 149-50.

<sup>68</sup> It is stated by Nishishita Kyōichi 西下經一 in his article on *Tadamine shū* in *Nihon bungaku daijiten*, Vol. IV (1936), p. 350, that Tadamine's preface to the Ōi river poems is contained in a manuscript of the *Tadamine shū* preserved in the Zushoryō 圖書寮 library, Tokyo. The text of this manuscript has not been published, and the preface is not to be found in the published texts of the *Tadamine shū* (e.g., *Gunsho ruijū*, section 262) or in any other published work. It is not clear under what circumstances Tadamine wrote this preface, but it is apparent from all the passages quoted above that Ki no Tsurayuki's preface was the one that was officially commissioned.

(3) "Further, according to the *Sakon no jinki*<sup>69</sup> on the subject of the imperial visit to the Ōi river, it took place on the 19th day of the 10th month of Enchō 4 (926): as for the discrepancy [from Engi 7], I am uncertain, but this *jinki* has no mention of their being any Japanese poems then. Perhaps there were two visits to the Ōi river? Yet according to the *Ōdaihi*<sup>70</sup> there was only the single visit."

(g) *Hōbutsushū* 寶物集<sup>71</sup>, Vol. I<sup>72</sup>

"On the day when the retired emperor Kamyō [= Uda] went on a visit, there was written,

'Do not scream so piteously, you monkeys: is it not today that the mountain gorges are so gorgeous?'<sup>73</sup>

(h) Notes by Kenshō<sup>74</sup> in his *Kokin shū chū*<sup>75</sup>

帝王系圖云延長四年十月十九日今上與法皇行幸大井川云々

貫之假名序ニカミナツキココヌカキノフトイヒテトアリ御幸計ト見タリ

件日九首題ハ...

作者貫之ミツチ忠峯是則伊衡歟。慥不覺語可考之。頼基入歟不審。

(1) "The *Teiō keizu*<sup>76</sup> says that on the 19th day of the 10th month of Enchō 4, both the reigning and the retired emperors visited the Ōi river."

(2) "There is the phrase in the Japanese preface by Tsurayuki 'saying that the ninth of the ninth month was yesterday'<sup>77</sup>: so it appears to refer only to the visit by the retired emperor."<sup>78</sup>

(3) "The nine themes for poems on that day were . . ."<sup>79</sup>

<sup>69</sup> This work is quoted in such contemporary records as the *Seikyūki* 西宮記, but does not appear to have survived to the present.

<sup>70</sup> A work with this title is extant (see *Gunsho ruijū*, section 31, Vol. III (1933), pp. 159-213), but is in a very abbreviated form and does not contain the reference quoted here.

<sup>71</sup> A narrative covering events in the year 1178 written by Taira Yasuyori 平康頼.

<sup>72</sup> *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, section 952, Vol. XXXII, part 2 (1933 edition), p. 222.

<sup>73</sup> See n. 65.

<sup>74</sup> A poet and scholar of the beginning of the Kamakura period.

<sup>75</sup> Note on poem 919 (same reference as n. 67 above). Kenshō, in another work, the *Shūchūshō* 袖中抄, Vol. XIII (in *Kagaku bunko* 歌學文庫, Vol. I (1910), p. 163) gives almost exactly the same information as in the *Hōbutsushū* passage.

<sup>76</sup> Apparently no longer extant.

<sup>77</sup> Clearly quoted from memory, as the text is inaccurate and inferior.

<sup>78</sup> The argument is not quite clear, but seems to be that since the preface states that the visit was made on the 10th, it was nothing to do with the visit (when both emperors took part) on the 19th of the 10th month of Enchō 4, but was the visit by the retired emperor on the 10th day of the 9th month of Engi 7.

<sup>79</sup> The nine themes are listed in detail, in Japanese (not Chinese) form.

(4) "As for the writers, were they not Tsurayuki, Mitsune, Tadamine, Korenori and Korehira? I cannot remember with certainty,<sup>80</sup> but it can be looked up. Did not Yorimoto take part? I am not sure."

(i) *Kokon chomonshū* 古今著聞集,<sup>81</sup> Vol. XIV<sup>82</sup>

"In the period of Teiji no In, on the 11th day of the 9th month of Shōtai 1 [898] there was an imperial visit to the Ōi river, and Ki no Tsurayuki wrote the Japanese preface to the Japanese poems composed.

[The preface then follows in full, followed by the two poems quoted already, 'Oh reddening leaves . . .' and "Do not scream so piteously . . .']

The year of this visit and the facts concerning the poets are all uncertain. One could find out by careful research."

It will be seen that four different dates are mentioned in this evidence, 898 (11th day of the 9th month), 904 (month and day not stated), 907 (10th day of the 9th month) and 926 (19th day of the 10th month). Of these, the dates in 898, 907 and 926 have been accepted by various recent scholars,<sup>83</sup> but it is clear that the correct day is the 10th day of the 9th month of 907, since it is the only one of the alternatives which conforms with the statement in the introduction and the preface that the poems were written on the 10th of the 9th month. The 907 date is also confirmed by the *Zoku gosen waka shū* and the *Shin shūi waka shū*: although these are of late date, it will be noticed that the wording of the short introductions quoted above from the collected works of individual poets and from the poetic anthologies is remarkably uniform,<sup>84</sup> and can only be reasonably explained on the assumption that the collection of sixty-three poems written on this occasion was still in existence<sup>85</sup> until at least the fourteenth century, that most of the

<sup>80</sup> 語 may be intended for, or a mistake for, 悟.

<sup>81</sup> Written by Tachibana no Narisue 橘成季 in 1254.

<sup>82</sup> Quoted from *Kōchū Nihon bungaku taikai*, Vol. X (1926), pp. 651-3.

<sup>83</sup> The 898 date is accepted by the writer of an article in the *Nihon hyakka daijiten* 日本百科大辭典 (*Encyclopaedia Japonica*), Vol. II (1909), p. 222, and that in 926 by the editor of the *Ōkugami* in *Kōchū Nihon bungaku taikai*, Vol. XII, p. 311, n. Both these writers, however, would probably have formed different opinions if they could have referred to the collection of material published in 1925 in the invaluable *Dainihon shiryō* 大日本史料, first series, Vol. III, pp. 822-834. The date 905 given by Okuzato, *loc. cit.*, seems to be a mere slip of the pen.

<sup>84</sup> This very uniformity precludes the possibility that the poems thus scattered through these many sources belong, not to one occasion, but to a number of different imperial visits to the Ōi river.

<sup>85</sup> This assumption is strengthened by the phrase of Kenshō that "it can be looked up" and the statement in the *Kokon chomonshū* that "one could find out by careful research".

quotations were taken direct from it, and that the date was also taken from it. Furthermore, the entry in the *Nihon kiryaku* is added proof.<sup>86</sup>

Of the other dates, Engi 4 may be rejected at once: it occurs only in the *Kokin waka shū mokuroku* and is probably a confusion between Engi 7 and Enchō 4. Shōtai 1 is only mentioned in the *Kokon chomonshū* but with a specific warning that its accuracy is uncertain. There is no other evidence whatever<sup>87</sup> of an imperial visit to the Ōi river on the date quoted in this year.

The several mentions of the date the 19th of the 10th month of Enchō 4 appear to be due to a preoccupation with the question whether both the retired emperor and the reigning emperor took part in the visit. It is certain<sup>88</sup> that the visit made to the Ōi river on the morning of the 10th of the 9th month, 907, was only by the retired emperor Uda (also referred to as Teiji no In or Kamyō) and that the sixty-three poems on nine themes were composed on his command. Tsurayuki's preface, which, it may be assumed, was written on the same day, makes no mention of the reigning emperor, Daigo, being present. The introduction to the preface, however, which was probably composed a day or two later, when the preface and the poems were copied on a scroll for presentation to the retired emperor, states that the reigning emperor also visited the river,<sup>89</sup> and the *Nihon kiryaku* gives the following day as the time of his visit. In these circumstances the story in the *Yamato monogatari*, the *Shūi waka shū* and the *Ōkugami* that the prime minister, Fujiwara no Tadahira, who had attended the retired emperor, was so struck with the beauty of the view that he returned to Kyōto to persuade the reigning emperor to come too seems to tally with the known circumstances.<sup>90</sup> It would not have been easy for Daigo to have reached the scene on the same day, so he made the visit the next morning. In this way the phrase in the introduction, that both emperors visited the Ōi river, is true, even though the visits were on two successive days.

The *Nihon kiryaku*, however, may not have been available to Kiyosuke and other early scholars, who, in searching the records of the period for a visit to the Ōi river by both emperors together, found that many sources testified to a visit by both emperors together on the 19th day of the 10th

<sup>86</sup> Although the visit to the Ōi river is not mentioned in the *Nihon kiryaku* under this date, the reference to the 9 themes on viewing the scenery (眺望, compare the introduction to the preface) allows no reasonable possibility of doubt.

<sup>87</sup> See the *Dainihon shiryō*, first series, Vol. II (1923), pp. 598-600.

<sup>88</sup> The references quoted earlier all refer to the retired emperor only.

<sup>89</sup> See also the notes of Fujiwara no Kiyosuke.

<sup>90</sup> It is possible that the poem by Tadahira was written on a completely different occasion (and was associated with this visit by a later confusion): but there is no evidence to support such a suggestion. It may be mentioned, however, that the question of Tadahira's poem is a separate matter which in no way influences the dating of this visit.

month, 926. This date was accordingly accepted by several, forgetting the contrary evidence of the preface itself.<sup>91</sup>

There is one further problem connected with the same matter. In the later Heian period a distinction arose, which may be seen in some of the passages<sup>92</sup> quoted, between the characters 御幸 used of a visit by a retired emperor and the characters 行幸 used of a visit by a reigning emperor. The Tokugawa scholar Kamo Mabuchi<sup>93</sup> 加茂真淵, seeing that the title of Tsurayuki's preface is 大井川行幸和歌序 concluded that the visit must have been made by the reigning emperor. This conclusion cannot be accepted as it runs counter to all the other evidence.<sup>94</sup> In the early Heian period the characters 行幸 were used for visits by both the reigning and the retired emperors and it is likely that the distinction did not arise until later.<sup>95</sup>

Attention may now be turned to the poets who took part. The collected works of individual poets in the *Sanjūrokunin shū* contain nineteen poems on this occasion by Mitsune, nine by Korenori, seven by Tadamine and eight by Yorimoto: some of these appear again in the poetic anthologies, which also yield three poems by Tsurayuki<sup>96</sup> and one by Korehira,<sup>97</sup> but no poems by other poets. The poem "Oh reddening leaves . . ." by Tadahira does not correspond to any of the nine themes: it is clearly not part of the sixty-three poems, and was composed only incidentally. Taking

<sup>91</sup> All the evidence concerning the visits on the date is collected in the *Dainihon shiryō*, first series, Vol. V (1927), pp. 859-861. This evidence makes it clear that on this occasion the reigning emperor arranged the visit, accompanied by the retired emperor. There is no trace of Tadahira having been present, nor of 9 themes, nor indeed of any poems at all being composed.

<sup>92</sup> It must, of course, be recalled that although modern printed editions of these passages may make the distinction between the characters, the original texts may have had the *hana miyuki*, *miyuki*, in all cases. Thus in the poem of Tadahira *miyuki* refers to the reigning emperor, but in all the other poems the word refers to the retired emperor.

<sup>93</sup> In his *Uimanabi* 宇比麻奈備, Vol. II, in *Zōtei Kamo Mabuchi zenshū*, Vol. X (1930), pp. 420-422.

<sup>94</sup> Mabuchi's theory was that the sixty-three poems were written on the reigning emperor's visit on the 11th day of the 9th month of Engi 7 and that the retired emperor's visit was one or two years earlier.

<sup>95</sup> Mabuchi himself admits (*op. cit.*, p. 420) that the distinction had not yet been made by the time of the *San dai jūsurōku* 三代實錄 (completed in 908) although it occurs in the *Seikyūshō* 西宮抄 later in the same century.

<sup>96</sup> None of Tsurayuki's poems on this occasion are included in the *Tsurayuki shū* (if any are there, they are not identified as belonging to this occasion): they may have been deliberately left out on the ground that they were already in circulation in the collection of sixty-three poems. In the same way the poems in the *Tosa nikki* and many of his in the *Kokin waka shū* are not included, probably for the same reason that they were already in circulation.

<sup>97</sup> See n. 24.

these facts and the statement in the *Kokin waka shū mokuroku*, it may be regarded as probable that the latter was correct in saying that there were six poets,<sup>98</sup> each composing one poem on each of the nine themes except that Mitsune composed two<sup>99</sup> on each theme. The reason for this exception in Mitsune's favour must remain obscure, but he was the most eminent of the poets present and the emperor's request for two poems from him on each theme may have been a mark of special honour.<sup>100</sup>

After this survey, the introduction, the preface and the poems may be examined.

#### THE INTRODUCTION

The text of the introduction was first published in 1820 by Inoue Fumio 井上文雄 in his work *Ōigawa gyōkō waka kōshō* 大井川行幸和歌考證.<sup>101</sup> In spite of having received very little notice either previously<sup>102</sup> or subsequently,<sup>103</sup> it is of importance: and no reason suggests itself for doubting its genuineness. Inoue states that he took the text from a manuscript in the handwriting of Hagiwara Sōko 萩原宗固 which he himself possessed.<sup>104</sup> The text is as follows:—

重陽後朝太上法皇幸大堰河戶名瀬以眺望又今上幸河邊即有勅喚漁渚好事者各獻秋思和語六十三首應製並序  
內膳典膳正六位上紀朝臣貫之上

"On the morning after the 9th day of the 9th month, the retired emperor visited Tonase on the Ōi river in order to view the scenery. The reigning emperor also made a visit to the riverside.

"The command was given to all the literary men who were fishing on the banks<sup>105</sup> to present Japanese poems about their thoughts on autumn. Sixty-three poems were accordingly composed, together with this preface.

<sup>98</sup> Kenshō's notes also indicate that the poets numbered six.

<sup>99</sup> It seems likely that this was strictly adhered to, and that the extra poem by Mitsune is an erroneous intrusion (see n. 172). In the same way although only eight poems by Yorimoto and seven by Tadamine are preserved in their collections they are likely to have composed poems on each of the themes, even though they may have decided later not to include all of them in their collections.

<sup>100</sup> It is clear that in writing each pair of poems Mitsune took care to present the theme in two different ways, thus avoiding any dullness or repetition.

<sup>101</sup> Reprinted (1909) in the series *Kokubun chūshaku zensho* 國文註釋全書. Inoue was the first scholar of modern times to study the poems written on this occasion, and some of the notes below on the preface and poems are due to him.

<sup>102</sup> The apparent allusion in the first part of Kiyosuke's notes seems to be the only previous reference.

<sup>103</sup> It is quoted in the *Dainihon shiryō*, first series, Vol. III, *loc. cit.*, but has otherwise escaped attention.

<sup>104</sup> If this manuscript is still extant and its whereabouts known, it would be of great interest to examine it. For Hagiwara Sōko see the short article on him in the *Heibonsha Daijiten*.

<sup>105</sup> It is difficult to judge whether this phrase was added for mere ornament or whether it was factual.



"Submitted by Ki no Tsurayuki, of the senior grade of the 6th class court rank, upper class, official of the Naizenshi."

## Notes

The 重陽, the 9th day of the 9th month in the old calendar, was celebrated as the chrysanthemum festival.

The Ōi river (to be distinguished from the river of the same name which flows into the gulf of Suruga) is the name of a section of a river which, under the name Hōzugawa<sup>106</sup> 保津川 rises in Tamba and runs through Yamashiro: in the vicinity of mount Ogura it is called the Ōigawa, and since at this point it runs due west of Kyōto it has the alternative name of Nishikawa 西川, "western river". A little to the south its name changes to Katsuragawa 桂川, and to the south of Kyōto it joins the Yodogawa.

Tonase was the name of a waterfall in the Ōi river at the foot of mount Arashi 嵐, which is on the western side of the river. Mount Ogura, which is mentioned in some of the poems, is a little to the north, on the opposite side of the river. This area is one of wonderful scenery and is still a favourite beauty spot. The Ōi river, mount Arashi, Tonase, the Katsuragawa, etc., are described in Yoshida Tōgo 吉田東伍, *Dainihon chimei jisho* 大日本地名辭書, Kamigata 上方 volume, (1938 edition), pp. 123 ff., and their position may be seen on map 25 in the map volume of the *Kokumin hyakka daijiten*. Tonase is mentioned in a number of later poems, e.g., *Shin goshūi waka shū* 453.<sup>107</sup>

The Ōi river became famous as a place of relaxation for members of the court, and visits by emperors were frequent. The visit in 907 was the best known in later literature on account of the preface and collection of poems, but visits were also made by the emperors Enyū, Ichijō and Shirakawa; and a number of poems from these later visits are preserved scattered in the anthologies.

The Naizenshi 内膳司 was a bureau in the imperial household responsible for the preparation of food for the emperor.

## THE PREFACE

The text of the preface was quoted in full in the *Kokon chomonshū*, as has already been stated. It has also been preserved in the second book of a work (of which the preface is dated 1689) by Tokugawa Mitsukuni<sup>108</sup> 徳川光圀, called *Fusō shūyōshū*<sup>109</sup> 扶桑拾葉集 and in the *Tosa nikki fuchū* 土佐日記附注, an edition (dated 1661) of the *Tosa nikki* by Hitomi Hajime 人見壹. It was published also by Inoue (*op. cit.*), who relied on the manuscript in the handwriting of Hagiwara Sōko, and another manuscript

<sup>106</sup> Alternatively pronounced "Hozugawa".

<sup>107</sup> See n. 51.

<sup>108</sup> Better known as the editor of the *Dainihon shi* 大日本史.

<sup>109</sup> A collection of works of literary excellence written in pure 和文 style.

(the variant readings of which he quotes<sup>110</sup>) of which he gave no details whatever.

Fortunately the text is sound, and the number of variant readings is small. The more important of these are listed below, under the following abbreviations:

K. *Kokon chomonshū*, quoted from *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikei*, Vol. XIX (1930), pp. 283-4.

F. *Fusō shūyōshū*, original edition.<sup>111</sup>

I. Inoue's manuscript in the handwriting of Hagiwara Sōko.

Notes on the text of the preface were added in Inoue's edition; and some are given by Hagitani Boku, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-4. The text itself has only rarely been reprinted in modern works<sup>112</sup> or collections.

The text is as follows<sup>113</sup>:

あはれわが君の御代なが月のここぬかと昨日いひての  
 これるきくおこしみたまはんまたくれぬべき秋ををし  
 みたまはんとて月のかつらのこなた春の梅津より御ふ  
 ねよそひてわたしもりをめして夕月夜小倉の山のほと  
 5 りゆく水の大井の川べにみゆきしたまへればひさかた  
 の空にはたなびける雲もなくみゆきを待ながる水底  
 にはにどれるちりなくておほん心にぞかなへる今こ  
 とのりしておほせたまふことは秋の水にうかびてはな  
 がるる木の葉とあやまたれ秋の山をみればおるひと  
 10 き錦とおもほえもみぢの葉のあらしにちりてくもらぬ  
 雨ときこえきくの花のきしにのこれるを空なるほしと  
 おどろき霜の鶴川べにたちて雲のをるかとうたがはれ  
 夕べの猿山のかひになきて人のなみだをおとしたびの  
 かり雲ぢにまどひて玉梓とみえあそぶかもめ水にすみ  
 15 て人になれたり入江の松いく世へぬらんといふことを  
 ぞよませたまふわれらみじかき心のこのもかのま  
 どひつたなきことの葉ふく風の空にみだれつつくさの  
 葉のつゆとともにもにうれしきなみだおち岩浪とともによ  
 ろこほしき心ぞたちかへるもしこのことの葉世のすゑ  
 20 までのこり今をむかしにくらべてのちの今日をきかん  
 人あまのたくなはくりかへししのぶのくさのしのばざ  
 らめや

<sup>110</sup> None of these variants is of any value.

<sup>111</sup> A copy is preserved in the Aston Collection in the University Library, Cambridge. Aston said of it (in his *Japanese Literature*, London, 1907, p. 316) that "it is a fine specimen of the block-printing of the time".

<sup>112</sup> The text can be found in only a few places (apart from the sources already quoted), for example in Mikami Sanji 三上参次, *Nihon bungaku shi* 日本文学史, Vol. I (1890 edition), pp. 386-8.

<sup>113</sup> In a text of this kind it is impossible to determine whether certain words were written in *kana* or *kanji* in the original. Here an attempt is made to restore a version using only such *kanji* as may have been used in the original.

- 1.2. おとし] omitted by K.<sup>114</sup>  
 1.5. たまへれば]たまへば K.  
 1.6. 待(mati)]さぶらひ K (clearly derived from misreading as 侍).  
 1.6. 水底には]水は底に K.<sup>115</sup>  
 1.7. 今(in cursive = 𠄎, 𠄎)] K: と F, I (in cursive 𠄎).<sup>116</sup>  
 1.9. おる]をり K.  
 1.9. ひと]ひま K.<sup>117</sup>  
 1.10. くもらぬ]もらぬ K.<sup>118</sup>  
 1.12. をる(=居)I: おる F, K<sup>119</sup>: ある K (as quoted in *Kōchū Nihon bungaku taikai*, Vol. X, p. 652).  
 1.15. なれたり]なれたる K.  
 1.16. ぞ] om. by K.  
 1.18. うれしき] om. by K.  
 1.19. もし] om. by K.<sup>120</sup>

## TRANSLITERATION

Ahare waga kimi no miyo nagatuki no kokonuka to kinohu ihite nokoreru kiku okosi mi tamahan mata kurenubeki aki wo wosimi tamahan to te tuki no katura no konata haru no umedu yori mihune yosohite watasimori wo mesite yuhudukuyo wogura no yama no hotori yuku midu no ohowi no kahabe ni miyuki si tamahereba hisakata no sora ni ha tanabikeru kumo mo naku miyuki wo mati nagaruru minasoko ni ha nigoreru tiri nakute ohon kokoro ni zo kanaheru

ima mikotonori site ohose tamahu koto ha aki no midu ni ukahite ha nagaruru ko no ha to ayamatare aki no yama wo mireba oru hito naki nisiki to omohoe momidi no ha no arasi ni tirite kumoranu ame to kikoe

<sup>114</sup> This word, omitted by K, is not easy to interpret. If K's text were more reliable, it might be best to omit the word: but the omissions by K of whole words or syllables are so numerous as to deserve no authority.

<sup>115</sup> K's variant is obviously wrong (even though accepted by Hagitani): a double には is required for the balance of phrases.

<sup>116</sup> 今 is certainly right. 𠄎 (just before) marks the approach of the end of a sentence (as it actually does in the two next following sentences also). It is also much more appropriate to regard the preceding words as a description of the scene than as an utterance by the emperor.

<sup>117</sup> If ひと were often used of space ("a brocade without any gap in it to be woven"), this reading would be possible: but it is usually used of time: and in any case the other reading is more poetical.

<sup>118</sup> K's reading is possible, "rain that does not leak through", but is inferior in meaning and lacks parallel examples.

<sup>119</sup> おる must be intended for をる. It cannot be the 終止形 of 下りる since the 連體形 is required. Hagitani gives 下る, with the reading くだる, but without any apparent justification.

<sup>120</sup> It is interesting to note that only one superior variant is due to K.

kiku no hana no kisi ni nokoreru wo sora naru hosi to odoroki simo no turu kahabe ni tatite kumo no woru ka to utagahare yuhube no masira yama no kahi ni nakite hito no namida wo otosi tabi no kari kumodi ni madohite tamadusa to mie asobu kamome midu ni sumite hito ni naretari irie no matu ikuyo henuran to ihu koto wo zo yomase tamahu

warera mizikaki kokoro no konomo kanomo ni madohi tutanaki koto no ha huku kaze no sora ni midaretutu kusa no ha no tuyu to tomo ni uresiki namida oti ihanami to tomo ni yorokobosiki kokoro zo tatikaheru

mosi kono koto no ha yo no suwe made nokori ima wo mukasi ni kurabete noti no kehu wo kikan hito ama no takunaha kurikahesi sinobu no kusa no sinobazarama ya

## TRANSLATION

Yesterday we said, "Ah, it is the ninth day of the ninth month (the long month, long as our emperor's reign)": and in order that he might view the chrysanthemums which were still lingering, and might appreciate the autumn which was about to come to an end, the royal boat was made ready at Umezu (the ferry of the spring Plum blossom) on the near side of Katsura (the Cinnamon tree, like the one in the moon). He summoned the ferryman and made a visit to the bank of the river Ōi (the river of the Great Well of running water) near mount Ogura (the mountain dim as is evening moonlight): there was not a single trailing cloud in the eternal sky and everything was awaiting his visit: there was no muddy mire at the flowing water's bottom, and everything fitted in with his desires.

Then, he gave us his commands; his orders were to compose poems on the themes of

- (1) "floating on the autumn water"; in which we might have the illusion that we were fallen leaves, flowing downstream,
- (2) "gazing at the autumn hills"; in which we might imagine that they were a silk brocade which no human hand had woven,
- (3) "the red leaves falling" in the gusts of wind; in which we might listen to them falling, as if they were raindrops in a cloudless sky,
- (4) "the chrysanthemum blooms lingering" on the banks; in which we might marvel at them, as if they were stars in the heavens,
- (5) the frost-white "cranes standing on the riverside"; in which we might wonder whether they were white clouds settled there,
- (6) "the monkeys screaming in the gorges" of the mountains in the evening, whereupon men shed tears,
- (7) "the wild geese on their journeys" becoming lost on their way through the clouds; in which we might look on them as messengers from our dear ones,
- (8) the lively "seagulls growing accustomed to men" as they rest on the water, and
- (9) "the pine-trees in the creek" living through so many generations.

While our humble emotions were groping this way and that, and our unskilled words were tossed in the emptiness of the passing breezes, tears of happiness were falling—falling with the dew on the blades of grass, and feelings of joy came flowing back—flowing back with the ripples on the rocks.

If these words survive to the end of the world, how can men of later times who may hear about today's poems fail to compare past and present and to love them (like love-grass), repeating them without end (like the strands in the fishermen's rope)?

#### Notes

*nagatuki*: the old name for the ninth month: *naga* is a *kakekotoba* 掛詞, a "pivot word", understood twice, once with what precedes and once with what follows (the *long* month, *long* as our emperor's reign).

*kokonuka*: the ninth day of the ninth month, known as the *chōyō* 重陽, was the day of the chrysanthemum festival. The lunar calendar was at this period somewhat out of step with the seasons, and this date was 18 October 907 in Europe (see William Bramsen, *Japanese Chronological Tables*, Tokyo, 1880).

*kinohu*: the visit to the Ōi river was planned on the previous day, the ninth.

*nokoreru*: the chrysanthemums that had survived from the chrysanthemum festival on the previous day.

*okosi*: apparently used in the sense of "reviving" the chrysanthemums by the emperor's presence.

*kurenubeki*: in the old calendar the ninth month was known as *banshū* 晩秋 "late autumn" and *boshū* 暮秋 "the end of autumn": and winter started at the beginning of the tenth month.

*wosimi*: this word means "to appreciate", "to be reluctant to part with", what one has, or to "regret" what one has lost—two aspects of the same idea.

*tuki no*: the first of a large number of ornamental "preface words", *joshi* 序詞, in this piece: *tuki no* is a "preface word" applied to *katura*, bringing to mind for decorative purposes another meaning of *katura* from that in which it is here used. This kind of word-play was normally confined to poetry and later drama.

*tuki no katura*: "the cinnamon tree in the moon" is our "man in the moon": it is derived from Chinese usage, and is an appropriate allusion here because the tree was believed to become most easily visible in the autumn: compare also the Japanese word *katsurao*, "the man in the moon".

*katura*: the name of a village on the Katsura river (which probably took its name from it). The village is mentioned in a fragment of the *Yamashiro fudoki* 山城風土記<sup>121</sup> (early eighth century). When Kyōto was built,

<sup>121</sup> Quoted in the edition of *Fudoki* (p. 271) by Takeda Yūkichi 武田祐吉 (in Iwanami bunko 岩波文庫, 1937).

it lay at the western end of Shichijō 七條. The present *Katsura no rikyū* 桂離宮 is nearby.

*haru no: joshi* applied to *ume*.

*umedu*: "the Plum ferry", about one and a half miles upstream, to the north of Katsura, and at the western end of Shijō 四條. It may be deduced from the relative positions of Umezu and Katsura, and the word *konata*, that the preface was written at the time the poems were composed, at the Ōi river. For other references to Umezu, cf. *Shūi waka shū* 548 and a Chinese poem by Fujiwara Michinaga 藤原道長 (pen name Hōshōji 法性寺) in *Honchō mudai shi* 本朝無題詩, Vol. VI: 桂水梅津尤有意花如白浪月如水. "The Plum ferry on the waters of the Katsura possesses great beauty: the blossoms are like white waves, and the moon is like ice."

*mihune*: in an article on the 大堰川 by Nakajima Kōfū in the *Dai hyakka jiten* it is implied that on this occasion the boat used by the emperor was the imperial yacht called *Ryūtō gekisu* 龍頭鷁首.<sup>122</sup> There are a number of descriptions of this yacht, and the three boats 詩, 歌 and 管絃 which accompanied it, a very clear one being in the *Kokon chomonshū*, Vol. V.<sup>123</sup> The earliest references,<sup>124</sup> however, to this yacht are at least 60 years later than 907, and it is probable that it was not used until the latter half of the century.

*watasimori*: in earlier Japanese the form used was *watarimori*.

*yuhudukuyo*: *joshi* applied to mount Ogura, in exactly the same way as in a poem by Tsurayuki in *Kokin waka shū* 312. The pun is on the word *kura-i* ("dim", "dark") in the name of mount Ogura—the dimness of evening moonlight (as opposed to a pitch black night).

*yuku midu no: joshi* applied to *ohowi*.

*hisakata no*: a *makura kotoba* 枕詞, "pillow word", a kind of fixed epithet, common in poetry, and here transferred to prose for ornament.

*hisakata . . . kanaheru*: this passage describes how perfect the weather and the country were for the visit: there is no stated subject for *matu* and *kanaheru*, as is indicated in the translation by using "everything".

*tanabikeru*: a favourite word of Tsurayuki both in his poems and also in the preface to the *Kokin waka shū*.

*koto*: in the sense of "themes": cf. preface to the *Kokin waka shū*.

<sup>122</sup> Also read as "Ryūtō gekishu", "Ryūtō geisu" and "Ryūtō gekishu".

<sup>123</sup> *Kōchū Nihon bungaku taikei*, Vol. X, pp. 442-3.

<sup>124</sup> *Eiga monogatari* 榮華物語, section 御賀 (*Kōchū Nihon bungaku taikei*, Vol. XI, p. 434, l.12); *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語, section 胡蝶 (*ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 593, l.10); *Murasaki shikibu nikki* 紫式部日記 (*ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 285); *Ochikubo monogatari* 落窪物語, Vol. III (*ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 159) and *Taiheiki* 太平記, Vol. XXX (*ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 212, l.7).

*nagaruru ko no ha to ayamatare*: a similar idea is to be found in Tsurayuki's *Tosa nikki*<sup>126</sup>: 菅人々の舟出づ。これを見れば春の海に秋の木の葉しも散れるやうにぞありける。"Everybody's boats all started out, and it was just as if autumn leaves had fallen on the springtime sea."

*aki no yama*: it is clear from the poems on this theme that the mountain at which they were looking was Ogura, to the north.

*nisiki*: to fancy the reddening leaves, on a background of green leaves, were a silk brocade was a not uncommon poetic conception: cf. *Kokin waka shū* 283.

*arasi*: Arashiyama, at the foot of which the poems were composed, was so named, it is said, because it was famous for its squalls.

*kumoranu*: the same phrase "kumoranu ame to, ko no ha huritutu" is to be found in *Shin kokin waka shū* 529.

*kikoe*: compare a poem, *Zoku kokka taikan* 35431: "that which fell sounding like rain on an autumn night was the coloured leaves which scattered in the wind".

*sora naru hosi*: to fancy that the white chrysanthemum was a star in the sky was also a common poetic conception: cf. *Kokin waka shū* 269.

*simo no*: "white as hoar-frost".

*yuhube . . . otosi*: this theme is very familiar in Chinese poetry, possibly the oldest extant reference occurring in the account of the Yang-tzū gorges given by Yüan Sung 袁崧 (died 401 A.D.: *I-tu shan-ch'uan chi* 宜都山川記 quoted in *I-wên lei-chü* 藝文類聚 c. 95 and *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 太平御覽 c. 910):—

峽中猿鳴至清諸山谷傳其響冷々不絕行者歌之曰  
巴東三峽猿鳴悲猿鳴三聲淚霑衣

In the gorges the monkeys scream very shrilly, and the mountains and valleys re-echo the sound: it is chilling and unending. Travellers have made a song, "At the Three Gorges in Pa-tung, the monkeys' scream is melancholy: hardly have the monkeys screamed three times before tears soak our clothes".

(A variant of the same song is to be found in the *Shui-ching chu* 水經注 by Li Tao-yüan 酈道元, died 527, ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien (Changsha, 1892), 34, 3b, following a magnificent description of the scenery, and originating in the *Ching-chou-chi* 荊州記 of Shêng Hung-chih 盛弘之, of about 440, quoted in Liu Chün's commentary to the *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* 世說新語, ed. Wang Hsien-ch'ien (Changsha, 1891), 3B, 22b.)

A number of similar poems by Po Chü-i 白居易, and by Japanese

<sup>125</sup> Quoted from *Kōchū Nihon bungaku taikai*, Vol. III, p. 14.

writers of Chinese poems are collected in the *Wakan rōeishū* 和漢朗詠集<sup>126</sup> and the *Shinron rōeishū* 新撰朗詠集.<sup>127</sup>

The phrase *hito no namida wo otosi* cannot mean "the monkeys shed human tears" (i.e., tears such as humans would shed) as this would not comply with the point of the allusion to the story, which is that the cries of the monkeys caused humans to shed tears: nor is the meaning "caused men's tears to fall" possible, since for this "otosase" or a similar causative form would be required: *hito no* is therefore to be taken as the subject, giving the same meaning in a different manner.

*tamadusa*: the poetic fancy that the wild-geese, screaming as they fly past, bring messages from loved ones was very common—cf. a poem by Ki no Tomonori 紀友則, *Kokin waka shū* 207, "The cry of the first wild goose can be heard in the autumn breeze: from whom will it be bringing a message?", *Goshūi waka shū* 274 and *Shin shūi waka shū* 499. This fancy also had a Chinese origin, deriving from a legend about Su Wu 蘇武 sent to the Huns by Han Wu Ti 漢武帝 in 100 B.C. and detained by them. During his captivity he managed, after almost twenty years, to inform Wu's successor, Chao Ti 昭帝, of his whereabouts by attaching a letter to the leg of a wild goose which was flying south. The bird was shot by the Emperor while hunting in one of his parks, and it thus became known that Su Wu was still alive, whereupon steps were taken to have him released.<sup>128</sup>

*ikuyo henuran*: probably a quotation from *Kokin waka shū* 905, 岸の姫松  
いくよへぬらむ。

*koto no ha*: as in the preface to the *Kokin waka shū*, the phrase *koto no ha* "leaves of words" is used for *kotoba*, and here the picture is presented of the "leaves" being tossed in the breeze.

*konomo kanomo ni*: these phrases also occur in *Kokin waka shū* 1095.

*tuyu*: by poetic fancy tears are often imagined to be dew: cf. *Kokin waka shū* 470, 574, 940 and a poem in the *Sankashū* 山家集, *Zoku Kokka taikan* 7242.

*ima wo mukasi ni*: both these words are from the view of posterity, i.e., *ima* is the present time of the future, and *mukasi* is the day of the composition of the poems and preface.

*noti no kehu wo kikan*: *noti no* primarily describes *hito*, "men of later times who may hear about today", but it may also well be taken with *kehu*, "men who may hear subsequent occasions such as today's".

<sup>126</sup> Quoted in *Yūhōdō bunko* 有朋堂文庫, *Kodai kayōshū* 古代歌謠集 (1915), p. 241.

<sup>127</sup> Quoted *ibid.*, p. 357.

<sup>128</sup> From the *Ch'ien Han-shu* 前漢書 c. 54, 9a.

*ama no takunaha*: *joshi* applied to *kurikahesi*. The same phrase applied to *kurikahesi* is copied in the preface to the *Goshū waka shū*.  
*sinobu no kusa no*: *joshi* applied to *sinobazarame*.

The style of the preface shows, in addition to the features of ornamentation already described, a careful balancing of pairs of phrases and sentences, as for example "nokoreru . . . mi tamahan" balancing "kurenu-beki . . . wosimi tamahan," "hisakata no . . . mati" balancing "nagaruru . . . kanaheru," "mizikuki . . . madohi" balancing "tutanaki . . . midare" and "kusa . . . oti" balancing "ihanami . . . tatikaheru". In each of these phrases the careful parallelism of construction and correspondence of contrasting ideas are noteworthy.

The description of the nine themes presented Tsurayuki with a problem, since a mere list of the themes would sound rather bare. He therefore felt at liberty to ornament and expand each theme. In the translation above, the actual theme is placed in quotation marks, and the remainder in each case is Tsurayuki's ornamentation and expansion.<sup>129</sup> The ornamentation merely consists in the addition of colouring by a descriptive word here and there, but the expansion in most instances gives an example of a line of thought along which the theme could be developed into a poem.

These examples are most instructive in illustrating how themes for poems were developed in this period. The poem was in such cases tending to become a "word-picture" delineating a certain subject or feature of nature presented in a certain aspect or from a certain viewpoint.<sup>130</sup> The given theme provided the subject or feature of nature, and it was for the poet to present it in the aspect or from the viewpoint he thought best.<sup>131</sup>

It is important to realize that the examples Tsurayuki gives of lines of possible development are his own suggestions, and not the emperor's, since the poems themselves in all cases show that different developments of the themes were made by the poets.

The examples of possible developments are provided for themes numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 7: and they are constructed in such a uniform style, ending with the particle *to* and a verb of "wondering", "supposing", "imagining", etc., that at first sight one is tempted to wonder if the text in the other three themes should not be similar. But what counted most with Tsurayuki was not that his phrases should be *logically* absolutely parallel,

<sup>129</sup> A reader of the preface who had not consulted the poems written on this occasion would hardly realize the extent to which Tsurayuki expanded the themes.

<sup>130</sup> In this connection it is interesting to note that a proportion of poems composed in this period were intended to be written on folding screens on which various scenes were painted.

<sup>131</sup> The number of possible developments was not unlimited, since the poet was restricted by the tradition of what ideas should be included in poems.

but that they should have the appearance and sound of being parallel.<sup>132</sup> In themes numbered 6, 8 and 9 the mere statement, ornamentation and explanation of the theme itself was longer than in the other cases, and the addition of possible developments of these themes would have harmed rather than helped the parallelism.

The structure of the preface is clear and logical, and falls into four sections:—(1) the occasion, (2) the themes given by the emperor, (3) humble apology for the shortcomings of the poems and expression of delight at their composition, (4) hope for immortality for the poems. This structure is very similar indeed to that of the latter part of Tsurayuki's preface of the *Kokin waka shū*, where the corresponding sections are as follows:

- (1) the occasion (*kukaru ni ima . . . tatematurasime tamahitenamu*)
- (2) the subjects of poems in the *Kokin waka shū* (*sore ga uti ni . . . to ihu*)
- (3) expression of delight at the composition of the poems and humble apology for their shortcomings (*kaku kono tabi . . . yorokobinuru*)
- (4) hope for immortality for the poems (*hitomaro . . . the end*).

The similarity extends from the structure to the vocabulary, which in some places is almost identical; and a number of problems and difficulties in the *Kokin waka shū* preface are easily solved by comparison with this preface.

#### THE POEMS

The poems are here classified by the themes, and the themes are given in the same order<sup>133</sup> as in the preface.

The exact<sup>134</sup> titles of the themes are given in the short introductions to the poems in the sources from which they have been collected. The fact that these titles appear in so many sources in such a uniform wording is additional<sup>135</sup> reason to think that the collection of poems was still in existence until at least the fourteenth century. The only variation of importance between the different sources is that whereas the majority give the themes

<sup>132</sup> This can be illustrated in another way: in themes numbered 5, 6, 7 and 8 the subjects *uru*, *masira*, *kari* and *kamome* preceding the verbs *tutite*, *nakite*, *madohite* and *sumite* respectively are not followed by a grammatical particle indicating that they are the subjects; yet in a precisely parallel case, in theme number 2, the subject *momidi no ha* is followed by *no* before the verb *tirite*. The reason for the difference is probably entirely connected with the rhythm of the sentence.

<sup>133</sup> This was probably the order in which they were given by the emperor. The order varies somewhat in the collected works of some of the individual poets. In the *Mitsune shū* the order is 123457689; in the *Korenori shū* it is 213479586; in the *Tadamine shū* it is 2347958 and in the *Yorimoto shū* it is 12374589. In spite of these variations, however, the general trend seems to be to follow the same order. See also n. 137 below.

<sup>134</sup> As mentioned above, the versions of the themes in the preface are somewhat expanded and do not represent the exact wording given by the emperor.

<sup>135</sup> See p. 76 above.

in Japanese, some give them in Chinese form. Koyama Shinichi (*loc. cit.*) may well be right in considering that the themes were originally given out in *kanji*, although the majority of the evidence<sup>136</sup> supports the view that they were originally in Japanese.

In the following list of themes<sup>137</sup> both Japanese and Chinese versions are given:—

- |            |       |  |
|------------|-------|--|
| 1. 秋の水に浮ぶ  | : 泛秋水 | : "floating on the autumn water";                |
| 2. 秋の山をのぞむ | : 望秋山 | : "gazing at the autumn hills";                  |
| 3. 紅葉おつ    | : 紅葉落 | : "the red leaves falling";                      |
| 4. 菊の花残り   | : 菊花殘 | : "the chrysanthemum blooms lingering";          |
| 5. 鶴洲に立てり  | : 鶴立洲 | : "the cranes standing on the riverside";        |
| 6. 猿かひに鳴く  | : 猿鳴峽 | : "the monkeys screaming in the gorges";         |
| 7. 旅の雁行く   | : 旅雁行 | : "the wild geese on their journeys passing by"; |
| 8. 鷗人に馴れたり | : 鷗馴人 | : "the seagulls growing accustomed to men";      |
| 9. 江の松老いたり | : 江松老 | : "the pine trees in the creek growing old".     |

All these themes referred to things that could be seen and heard at the Ōi river on the day of the visit,<sup>138</sup> or that, by tradition, were appropriately connected with the scenery of the visit even if they could not actually be seen or heard. The poets were not bound, however, to interpret the themes according to the scene before them, but could treat them in a general or imaginary manner.

Although the identity of the six poets taking part is definite, the available evidence gives no hint of how they were selected to take part except that they were summoned by the emperor. Of the six, Ōshikōchi no Mitsune was the most eminent: he was one of the compilers of the *Kokin waka shū*, in which fifty-nine of his poems are included. Besides being one

<sup>136</sup> The variant readings may be traced by reference to the sources of the poems, of which details follow.

<sup>137</sup> There appears to be a logical order in the arrangement of the themes: the first two refer to the landscape (river and hills); the next two to trees and flowers; the next two to birds and animals; the next two (7 and 8) to the reaction of human beings to nature, and the last affords an opportunity to offer to the emperor wishes for long life.

<sup>138</sup> The third theme may not seem appropriate to the scene, as the leaves did not usually fall until later in the autumn. But beneath mount Arashi (see p. 86) the leaves probably had started falling earlier, in the gusts of wind.

of the "36 poets",<sup>139</sup> he was one (number 29) of the "100 poets" in the *Hyakunin issu*.<sup>140</sup> Sakanoue no Korenori is represented by seven poems in the *Kokin waka shū*, was one of the "36 poets" and one (number 31) of the "100 poets". Ki no Tsurayuki, as the main compiler of the *Kokin waka shū*, inserted there 102 of his own poems: he was one of the "36 poets" and one (number 35) of the "100 poets". Mibu no Tadamine, another of the compilers<sup>141</sup> of the same anthology, inserted there thirty-eight of his own poems: he was one of the "36 poets" and one (number 30) of the "100 poets". The other two poets were less outstanding. Ōnakatomi no Yorimoto and Fujiwara no Korehira had no poems in the *Kokin waka shū*: the former was one of the "36 poets".

The source of the poems quoted is the collected works of the respective poets,<sup>142</sup> if no other source is given. All other sources are specifically mentioned in the notes.

#### FIRST THEME

##### "FLOATING ON THE AUTUMN WATER"

O1a. 此の川に紅葉と浮きてさし返り身は今日よりそ水馴れそめぬる

kono kaha ni, momidi to ukite, sasika heri, mi ha kehu yori zo, mi nare somenuru

Floating on this stream like the coloured<sup>143</sup> leaves, we punt along: from today we begin getting used to being in the water.

*i.e.*, the poet fancies that they are floating leaves and states that they are beginning to get the feeling of always being in the water: *somenuru* also contains a pun, "we are dyed" the colour of the red leaves.

O1b. 秋の波いたくな立ちそ思ほえず浮木にのりて行く人のため

aki no nami, itaku na tati so, omohoezu, uki ki ni norite, yuku hito no tame

Oh autumn wavelets, do not toss too much, for the sake of us who, not expecting you, are sailing on this floating tree.

"floating tree" = boat (made out of a tree).

<sup>139</sup> See n. 22 above.

<sup>140</sup> See n. 50 above.

<sup>141</sup> The fourth compiler, Ki no Tomonori 紀友則, had died in 905: he might well have attended this visit had he lived.

<sup>142</sup> Poems from the *Mitsune shū*, *Korenori shū*, *Tadamine shū* and *Yorimoto shū* are quoted from *Kōchū Kokka taikai 校註國歌大系*, Vol. XII (1929), pp. 36-38, 178-182, 754-757 and 555-556 respectively.

<sup>143</sup> *Momidi* can mean specifically the brilliantly red leaves of the maple, or in general the coloured leaves of other trees which are "turning".

Sl. いづ方かとまりなるらむ山風の拂ふ紅葉に舟路惑ひぬ  
 idukata ka, tomari naruramu, yama kaze no, harahu momidi ni, hunadi  
 madohinu

Where will our stopping-place be? the course of our boat has got lost  
 in the coloured leaves which the mountain winds are sweeping  
 down.

The poet exaggerates the thickness of the cloud of falling leaves brought  
 down by the *arashi* from *Arashiyama* and pretends that he cannot see  
 his way as a result.

Kl. 浪の上を漕ぎつつゆけば山近み嵐に散れる木の葉と  
 や見む<sup>144</sup>

nami no uhe wo, kogi tutu yukeba, yama tikami, arasi ni tireru, ko no  
 ha to ya minu

When we go rowing over the wavelets perhaps we look like tree leaves  
 fallen in a gust of wind—for the hill is near.

Apart from the obvious meaning, *yama tikami* may imply *Arashiyama*,  
 an allusion to the meaning of the name of the hill.

Yl. 色々にうける心も秋の水もみぢながすと人やみるらむ  
 iroiro ni, ukeru<sup>145</sup> kokoro mo, aki no midu, momidi nagasu to, hito ya  
 miruramu

Will people watch our emotions, too, floating among various colours,  
 and say that the autumn waters, bored with our variously fickle  
 hearts, are washing away the coloured leaves?

A very complicated poem: the above translation is in part an explana-  
 tion as well. The words *iroiro ni ukeru* have a double meaning: literally the  
 poets (and their emotions) are floating among the various colours of the  
 fallen leaves on the water: they too (*mo*) are floating in addition to the  
 floating leaves. The pun rests in the phrase *ukeru kokoro*, "a floating, fickle  
 heart", in which case *iroiro ni* means "variously" (fickle in changing ways).  
 Furthermore *aki* is a *kakekotoba*, being a pun on *aku* 飽く "to be bored  
 with" (cf. *Kokin waka shū* 683). The general meaning is, "People will say  
 of us, who look like red leaves in the water, that the autumn river (like a  
 man), being bored with our very fickle women's hearts, is washing us away  
 just as if we were red leaves (= personification of women)". The construc-  
 tion in full might be:—*iroiro ni ukeru kokoro wo mo iroiro ni ukeru kokoro wo*  
*aku aki no midu ha momidi wo nagasu to hito ya miruramu.*

<sup>144</sup> From *Shin shūi waka shū* (Vol. XVIII), 1670.

<sup>145</sup> The variant *uturu* (for *ukeru*) is incorrect since it does not comply with the  
 theme of the poem.

## SECOND THEME

## "GAZING AT THE AUTUMN HILLS"

O2a. 今日なれば小倉の山のもみぢ葉もそこさへ照りて見  
 え渡るらむ

kehu nareba, wogura no yama no, momidiba mo, soko sahe terite, mie  
 wataruramu

Since it is today, even the coloured leaves of Ogura hill can be seen  
 far into the distance, with the bottom too, shining forth.

"Since it is today" means "since it is the day of the emperor's visit,  
 all nature puts on its most brilliant appearance". Again there is a pun  
 on the name of mount Ogura: even the red leaves on "Dim" hill are so  
 bright that they can also be seen from afar. The word *soko* probably  
 means the bottom<sup>146</sup> of the mountain, since the colouring of the leaves  
 starts at the peak of mountains and spreads downwards (cf. *Kokin*  
*waka shū* 260).

O2b. 秋霧の晴るるまにまに見渡せば山の錦は織り果て  
 てけり

akigiri no, haruru manimani, miwataseba, yama no nisiki ha, ori  
 hatetekeri

When we look across as the autumn mist clears, the brocade on the  
 mountain is fully woven.

Compare *Kokin waka shū* 291.

S2. 秋の色は千種ながらにさやけきを誰か小倉の山とい  
 ふらむ

aki no iro ha, tikusa nagara ni, sayakeki wo, tare ka wogura no, yama  
 to ihuramu<sup>147</sup>

Since its autumn colours, with all their thousand hues, are so brilliant,  
 who would name it mount Ogura?

i.e., who would name it the "Dim" hill? The same pun as in Ōshukōchi  
 no Mitsune's first poem.

M2. 秋山の紅葉見しまに日もくれて立田姫にや宿はか  
 るらむ

akiyama no, momidi misi ma ni, hi mo kurete, tatuta hime ni ya, yado  
 ha karuramu

While we have been looking at the coloured leaves on the autumn hills,  
 the day is growing dusk: should we borrow a lodging from the  
 goddess of autumn?

<sup>146</sup> Possibly it could refer to the bottom of the water (where it was believed that a  
 reflection was formed), i.e., "with a reflection coming from the water too".

<sup>147</sup> Also in *Zoku goshūi waka shū* (Vol. V), 386.

The poet asks himself whether they should return to the capital or stay on the spot (and spend the night there) in order to be able to continue gazing on the scene. *Tatuta hime* is the goddess of autumn (cf. *Kokin waka shū* 298).

Y2. 白露はわきておかじを秋の山などか紅葉もうらこがるらむ  
siratuyu ha, wakite okazi wo, aki no yama, nado ka momidi mo, ura kogaruramu<sup>148</sup>

Since the white dew does not fall on them especially, why, oh autumn hills, are the maple leaves also scorched below?

The verb *kogaruramu* means "to be burnt, scorched", and is often used to mean "to be burnt with passion". Both meanings are present here in the phrase *ura kogaruramu*: literally, the coloured leaves are described as being "scorched below", but, as a secondary meaning, the *momidi*, personifying women,<sup>149</sup> are "burnt in heart with passion". For the latter significance, cf. *Shūi waka shū* 218. The secondary meaning is aided by *siratuyu*, since, by a common poetical device, "dew" suggests "tears" (see above, p. 87). The poet is thus thinking, "Human girls, when they weep in thwarted love, are burnt in their hearts with passion: why are the coloured leaves also scorched, since dew (tears) does not fall on them especially?"

### THIRD THEME

#### "THE RED LEAVES FALLING"

O3a. 水の面の唐紅になるまでに秋にもあへず落つるもみぢ葉  
midu no omo no, karakurenawi ni, naru made ni, aki ni mo ahezu, oturu momidiba<sup>150</sup>

See! the red leaves, unable to withstand the autumn, falling, until the water's surface turns scarlet.

Cf. *Kokin waka shū* 294.

O3b. 風にある岸の紅葉は後つひに瀧の水こそ落しはてつれ  
kaze ni tiru, kisi no momidiba, noti tuhini, taki no midu koso, otosi hateture

The splash of the waterfall has at long last swept down the coloured leaves on the bank, where they had fallen in the breeze.

The poet describes how even the leaves which have fallen on the bank at the side of the river are sooner or later swept down by the spray into the water.

<sup>148</sup> The variant 薄くこがるらむ gives eight syllables to the last line. The *Kokku taikan* has 薄くこがるむ, an impossible form.

<sup>149</sup> See p. 91 above.

<sup>150</sup> The variant *mama* (for *made*) gives an inferior meaning.

S3. 紅葉のおちて流るる大井河せぜの棚かけも止めなむ<sup>151</sup>  
momidiba no, otite nagaruru, ohowigaha, seze no sigarami, kake mo tomenamu<sup>152</sup>

May the pile-barriers at the rapids of the Ōi river, where the red leaves are falling and floating along, hold them up and keep them here.

The sight of the red leaves in the water is so attractive that the poet appeals to the *sigarami* (piles driven in the river reinforced by wickerwork to prevent erosion of the banks) to hold up the leaves and not let them flow away. Compare *Kokin waka shū* 303, which is very similar.

M3. 色々の木の葉落ちつむ山里は錦にとめる無き名立つらむ  
iroiro no, ko no ha oti tumu, yamazato ha, nisiki ni tomeru, naki na taturamu<sup>153</sup>

In the mountain villages where the various many-coloured tree leaves fall and pile up, the false reputation will spring up that they are rich in brocade.

The pile of coloured leaves looks like rich silk brocade. Most of the poems are based on an aspect of the theme that was visible before the eyes of the poets, but this poem may possibly be unrelated to the actual scene. Mountain villages were usually thought of as deserted and poor: hence the contrast with the imaginary silk brocade is the greater.

Y3. もみぢ葉の流れ渦まく淵をこそくれ行く秋の泊りと  
はみれ  
momidiba no, nagare udumaku, huti wo koso, kure yuku aki no, tomari to ha mire<sup>154</sup>

We must look upon the pool where the coloured leaves are streaming and whirling as the destination of autumn which is drawing to a close.

The coloured leaves are one of the most significant symbols of autumn, and when they have fallen into the water and been washed away, people realise that autumn is really coming to an end. Very similar to this poem is

<sup>151</sup> Also in *Zoku gosen waka shū* (Vol. VIII), 464.

<sup>152</sup> The text accepted here is that of the *Zoku gosen waka shū*; the variant 散りて *tirite* (for *otite*) in the *Kurenori shū* is less in keeping with the wording of the theme. The *Korenori shū* also has 白波 *siiranami* (for *sigarami*) and 影とどめなむ *kage todomenamu* in the last line which make the poem very difficult to interpret. It is interesting to note that the correct text is preserved in the anthology and not in the collected works of the poet.

<sup>153</sup> A poem by Tadamine, *Shūi waka shū* 212, on a similar theme, was composed at the Ōi river, according to the short introduction in that anthology. But that poem was written on another visit to the Ōi river, and does not fit the present theme accurately.

<sup>154</sup> Variant readings are 形見 *katami* for *tomari* and 見ゆ *mine* for *mire*.



one by Tsurayuki, *Kokin waka shū* 311, and one in the *Kokin waka rokujō*, Vol. I. (*Zoku kokka taikan* 31082) in both of which the phrase *aki no tomari* occurs.

## FOURTH THEME

## "THE CHRYSANTHEMUM BLOOMS LINGERING"

O4a. 菊の花今日を待つとて昨日置きし露さへ消えず今盛りなり

kiku no hana, kehu wo matu to te, kinohu okisi, tuyu sahe kiezu, ima sakari nari

The blooms of the chrysanthemums thinking they would wait for today are now in their prime and even the dew which fell on them yesterday has not yet dried.

Here and subsequently the chrysanthemums are personified. Normally it would not matter if they faded immediately after the chrysanthemum festival on the 9th day of the 9th month, but they deliberately keep fresh for the next day, when the emperor will come. In addition, the dew-drops are still on them, adding to their beauty. *Kinohu* implies "last night".

O4b. 君が爲心もしるく初霜の置きて残せる菊にぞ有りける  
kimi ga tame, kokoro mo siruku, hatuimo no, okite nokoseru, kiku ni zo arikeru

These are chrysanthemums which the first frost, when it fell, spared for you my lord, with clear devotion.

Again there is personification, this time of the hoar frost: *kimi* is the emperor.

S4. 影さへに今はと菊の移ろふは波の底にも霜や置くらむ<sup>155</sup>

kage sahe ni, ima ha to kiku no, uturohu ha, nami no soko ni mo, simo ya okuraimu<sup>156</sup>

May the fact that the chrysanthemums, which have heard "it is now", are shining even in reflection be because some hoar-frost has actually fallen on the waves?

The word *kiku* is a *kakekotoba*, being understood twice, once for "hear" and once for "chrysanthemum": "it is now" is, of course, an abbreviated phrase for "it is now that the emperor will visit". The chrysanthemums are shining with wonderful whiteness for the emperor, so much that they are clearly visible reflected in the water. The poet cannot believe that the reflection in the water could be so brilliant by itself, and fancies that it is not really a reflection but a patch of hoar-frost (which is vividly white when

<sup>155</sup> Also in *Shin kokin waka shū* (Vol. VI), 623.

<sup>156</sup> A variant reading in the *Korenori shū* is はた *hata* (for *ha to*), giving a very inferior meaning.

on the ground) in the river. The word *uturohu*, usually meaning "to change colour", sometimes, as here, means "to be reflected": *mo* is emphatic, "actually".

M4. 霜分けて咲くべき花もなき物を色を残して人を尋ぬる  
simo wakete, sakubeki hana mo, naki mono wo, iro wo nokosite, hito wo tadunuru

They are looking out for someone, keeping their colours, since they have no (new) blooms that can blossom through the hoar-frost.

"Someone" alludes to the emperor: the chrysanthemums cannot put forth new blossoms in his honour because of the frost, so they are carefully preserving the colours of the blossoms that are already out: *tadunuru*, the *rentaikei* 連體形 form is used exclamatorily as a *nomen actionis*, but such a use is usually accompanied by a subject with *no* or a particle such as *zo*.

Y4. みゆきをば今日とやかねて菊の花昨日の色のあせで  
残れる  
miyuki wo ba, kehu to ya kanete, kiku no hana, kinohu no iro no, asede nokoreru

See, yesterday's chrysanthemum blossoms have remained without fading, having heard in advance that the emperor's visit might be today.

Again *kiku* is a *kakekotoba*: *kinohu no* refers to the fact that the preceding day was the chrysanthemum festival.

## FIFTH THEME

## "THE CRANES STANDING ON THE RIVERSIDE"

O5a. 鶴のゐるかたにぞ有りける白妙のあまの濡衣ほすと  
見つるは<sup>157</sup>

tadu no wiru, kata ni zo arikeru, sirotahe no, ama no nureginu, hosu to mituru ha<sup>158</sup>

What I had regarded as the shining white wet clothes of fishermen being dried was the creek where the cranes were standing.

The poet, using a common device, pretends to have been deceived into thinking one thing was another—a device useful for making comparisons in an unobtrusive manner. The cranes, standing in a row along the riverside, were very white (cf. Tsurayuki's preface) and motionless. The word *kata* is more likely to be 潟 (cf. M5) than 方: *ama* may be intended to suggest 天<sup>159</sup> as well as 海人: *hosu* is, of course, transitive, "somebody drying the wet clothes . . ."

<sup>157</sup> Also in *Fuboku waka shō*, Vol. XXVII (*Kōchū Kokka taikai*, Vol. XXII, p. 267).

<sup>158</sup> The version in *Fuboku waka shō* has, for the last line, ほすかとおもへば.

<sup>159</sup> It is possible that there is an allusion here to the legendary 天羽衣 *ama no hagaromo*.

O5b. 浦わきて風や吹くらむ沖つ波同じ所に立ち歸りつつ  
 ura wakite, kaze ya hukuramu, oki tu nami, onazi tokoro ni, tati  
 kaheritutu

Perhaps the wind is blowing only on the shore: the waves from the deep are continually breaking in that same place.

The poet here pretends that he thinks the row of white cranes is the white foam of breaking waves: but why are the waves breaking only at one place, when there is no wind *here*? the wind must be blowing at that one place on the shore only.

Here the poet is not thinking of the scene on the Ōi river; this is an imaginary scene by the sea.

S5. 山近みおりみる雲とまな鶴の立てる河べを人や見る  
 らむ<sup>160</sup>

yama tikami, ori wiru kumo to, manaduru no, tateru kahabe wo, hito  
 ya miruramu<sup>161</sup>

People may perhaps regard the riverside where the white-naped cranes are standing as being clouds which, as the mountains are near, have come low and settled.

Here the comparison is to small white clouds forced down to the ground level by the hills, the same idea as in Tsurayuki's preface.

K5. あしたづのたてる川べを吹く風によせて歸らぬ波か  
 とぞ見る<sup>162</sup>

asitadu no, tateru kahabe wo, huku kaze ni, yosete kaheranu, nami ka  
 to zo miru.<sup>163</sup>

I imagine the riverside where the cranes are standing to be a white wave which does not ebb back after it has been driven up by the blowing wind.<sup>164</sup>

<sup>160</sup> Also in *Shin senzai waka shū* (Vol. XVI), 1644.

<sup>161</sup> The *Shin senzai waka shū* has 高み *takami* (for *tikami*), a less satisfactory variant.

<sup>162</sup> From *Kokin waka shū* (Vol. XVII), 919; also in *Kokin waka rokujō*, Vol. VI, (*Zoku Kokka taikan* 35188).

<sup>163</sup> The *Shinsen rōei shū* (*op. cit.*, p. 357) has the inferior variants *ni* (for *wo*) and *ha* (for *ni*), which were adopted by Arthur Waley, *Japanese Poetry, the Uta*, 1919, p. 68.

<sup>164</sup> The short introduction to this poem in *Kokin waka shū* 919 has been quoted (p. 70). The name of the poet, Ki no Tsurayuki, is given before the preceding poem, and in accordance with usual practice, is to be understood as the composer of the succeeding poems also unless there is any reason to the contrary. Many Japanese editors, however, mistakenly ascribe the poem to the retired emperor himself, assuming that the *yomase tamahikeru* form is an "honorific causative", but this falls to the ground in comparison with the short introduction to *ibid.* 1067, almost identically worded, where the verb cannot be an "honorific causative" since Ōshikōchi no Mitsune is there named as the poet. Furthermore it is not likely that the emperor himself composed poems on the themes he had given.

Again they are compared to motionless white foam from the breaking waves.

M5. まな鶴をたちみながせるかたのすに千年の跡を残さ  
 ざらめや<sup>165</sup>

manaduru wo, tatiwi nagaseru, kata no su ni, titose no ato wo, noko-  
 sazarama ya<sup>166</sup>

How could we fail to leave our mark for a thousand years, on the shore of the creek which is tossing and carrying along the white-naped cranes?

The crane was traditionally believed to live for a thousand years (cf. *Kokin waka shū* 355), and the poet suggests that their poems would be sure to have the same longevity since they were standing where the cranes lived. The cranes are here pictured as floating on the water, tossed up and down by the waves.

Y5. 河近み住ひすればや真鶴の流れて千年ありと云はるる  
 kaha tikami, sumahi sureba ya, manaduru no, nagarete titose, ari to  
 iwaruru

Is it because they dwell here, since the river is nearby, that the white-naped cranes will, it is said, have a thousand years of life, by floating along?

Another allusion to the long life of cranes: *nagarete* refers literally to their floating on the water, and figuratively to their "floating through life". The poet suggests that the long life of cranes may be due to their living near the river which floats on for ever. A similar idea is in *Kinyō waka shū* (Vol. V), 326 (*yoyo huredo, omo kahari senu, kahatake ha, nagarete no yo no, tamesi narikeru* the river bamboos, which are of unchanged appearance although ages have passed, are an example of "flowing" life).

#### SIXTH THEME

#### "THE MONKEYS SCREAMING IN THE GORGE"

This theme, derived from a Chinese source, was not one usually thought suitable for Japanese poetry, being inelegant and unattractive. Although it is reasonable to assume that, at the emperor's command, all the poets wrote poems about it, poems by only two of them are preserved, and

<sup>165</sup> Also in *Kokin waka rokujō*, Vol. IV, *op. cit.*, 33104.

<sup>166</sup> *Nagaseru* is here suggested for 鳴かせる *nakaseru*, the reading of the *Tadamine shū*. The fact that the *Kokin waka rokujō* has an obviously remodelled version (まな鶴のたちみ馴らせる川の瀬に千年の跡を残さざるべき *manaduru no, tatiwi naraseru, kaha no se ni, titose no ato wo, noko-sazarubeki*) suggests that the *Tadamine shū* text was regarded as corrupted.

even the *Yorimoto shū* which has poems on all the other themes omits this one, probably deliberately.<sup>167</sup>

O6a. 怪びしらに猿な鳴きそ足引の山のかひある今日にや  
は有らぬ

wabisira ni, masira na naki so, asibiki no, yama no kahi aru, kehu ni ya wa aranu<sup>168</sup>

Do not scream so piteously, you monkeys: is it not to-day that the mountain gorges are so gorgeous?

*Kahi* is a *kakekotoba*, used firstly to mean "gorge" and secondly to mean "benefit, value" (in the phrase *kahi aru* "effective", "beneficial", "worthwhile"); the pun is obtained in English, with a small change of meaning, by "gorgeous". The construction in full would be *yama no kahi (ni) kahi aru kehu*, "to-day when the gorges are effective": once again *kehu* has the implication of "the day of the emperor's visit" (cf. poem O2a).<sup>169</sup> *Asibiki no* is a common *mukurakotoba*.

This poem, while using the wording of the theme, does not allude to the story in the Chinese source, but the next one does.

O6b. 心あらば三度てふ度鳴く聲をいとど物思ふ我に聞か  
すな

kokoro araba, mitabi tehu tabi, naku kowe wo, itodo mono omohu, ware ni kikasu na<sup>170</sup>

If you have a heart, do not let me, who am more and more in sorrow, hear your cries as often as thrice.

A poem addressed directly to the monkeys.

S6. 秋山のかひにみ返り鳴く聲を夜深く聞きて袖ぞ濡れ  
ぬる

akiyama no, kahi ni mikaheri, naku kowe wo, yobukaku kikite, sode zo nurenuru

When I hear your cry uttered threefold in the gorges in the autumn hills, my sleeve is soaked.

<sup>167</sup> When quoted in the *Kokin waka shū* (see next note) it is placed in a section headed 講諧, probably because the theme was regarded as rather bizarre.

<sup>168</sup> Also in *Kokin waka shū* (Vol. XIX), 1067, *Kokin waka rokujō* (Vol. II) *op. cit.*, 31805, and in the passages of the *Ōkagami* and *Hōbutsushū* quoted above. The frequency with which this poem was quoted is likely to be due more to its strikingly unusual nature and theme than to a belief that it was of great poetic value.

<sup>169</sup> Professor Karnei Takashi 龜井孝 (who has kindly made a number of invaluable comments on certain points in this paper which were submitted to him) suggests that a further pun may have been intended between *kehu*, "today" and *kehu*, the *On* pronunciation of 峽.

<sup>170</sup> Also in *Kokin waka rokujō* (Vol. II), *op. cit.* 31806.

Again addressed to the monkeys: *mikaheri* is 三返り, "threefold".<sup>171</sup>

## SEVENTH THEME

"THE WILD GEESE ON THEIR JOURNEYS PASSING BY"

O7a. 年毎に友ひき列ね来る鴈を幾度きぬと問ふ人ぞなき  
tosigoto ni, tomo hiki turane, kuru kari wo, ikutabi kinu to, tohu hito zo naki

There is nobody one can ask about the wild geese, which come each year leading their companions in a file, how often they had come.

*Tohu hito* here amounts to almost the same as 知る人 *shiru hito*: *wo* used with *tohu* is "to ask about . . .", whereas *ni tohu* would be "to put a question to". The migrations of the wild geese, leaving Japan for the north in the spring and returning in the autumn, are a frequent theme of Japanese poetry (cf. *Kokin waka shū* 210), and poets continually express the wish to ask the wild geese where they are going to, and how often they have travelled to and fro.

O7b. 秋毎にくる鴈がねは白雲の旅の空にやよを過すらむ  
aki goto ni, kuru karigane ha, sirakumo no, tabi no sora ni ya, yo wo sugosuramu<sup>172</sup>

Will the wild geese which come each autumn spend their nights in the sky on their journeys in the white clouds?

*Tabi no sora* has a double application, meaning usually "in the course of a journey", but here, specifically "in the sky on the journey": *yo* here has the surface meaning of "night" since the wild geese often flew by night (cf. for example, *Kokin waka shū* 191), but it also has the secondary meaning of "(spend their) lives".

<sup>171</sup> *Mikaheri* is an alternative word for *mitabi* of the preceding poem. The sources of this poem quote it with the characters 見返り "looking back", an inappropriate sense. This is a good illustration of the point made earlier (p. 68), that the understanding of many poems is often impossible without knowledge of the context in which they were written.

<sup>172</sup> The *Mitsune shū* has the following poem between O7a and O7b: 故郷を思ひやりつつ来る鴈の旅の心は空にぞ有るらし *hurusato wo, omohi yari tutu, kuru kari no, tabi no kokoro ha, sora ni zo arurashi* (the feelings, during their flights, of the wild geese, which come, thinking of their old abodes, seem absent-minded). This is probably the extra poem mentioned in the *Kokin waka shū mukuroku* quoted above: but it is most unlikely that this poet wrote three poems on this one theme (see p. 77) and one of the three poems is probably included here by accident. Since this poem is quoted in the *Zoku senzai waka shū* (Vol. IV), 428, with the introduction 屏風の歌に "as a poem for a screen", it may be assumed that it did not belong to the occasion of the visit and was accidentally included here because of similarity of theme.

87. 幾千里ある道なれや秋ごとに雲居の旅を鴈の鳴くらむ<sup>173</sup>  
 ikuti sato, aru miti nare ya, akigoto ni, kumowi no tabi wo, kari no  
 nakuramu<sup>174</sup>

Is it because theirs is a journey that passes countless thousands of leagues that the wild geese screech on their journey in the clouds each autumn?

The poet wonders whether the screeching of the geese is because they are tired in their long journey.<sup>175</sup>

M7. 昔より春立ちかへり秋は来ぬいづこを旅のとまりといふらむ  
 mukasi yori, haru tatikaheri, aki ha kinu, iduko wo tabi no, tomari to  
 ihuramu<sup>176</sup>

From ancient times they have gone back in spring, and have come in 'autumn: what place can be called the destination of their journey?

Since the geese come and go regularly each year, the poet wonders whether they have any final destination or home. The word *tatikaheri* implies "leave Japan and return north (whence they had come the previous autumn)".

Y7. 住む里の定めなければ旅の鴈空にぞ浮きて鳴き渡るなる  
 sumu sato no, sadame nakereba, tabi no kari, sora ni zo ukite, naki  
 wataru naru

Since they have no plans about the village where they will stay, the wild geese on their flight pass by, screeching as they float in the sky.

The poet supposes that the geese are screeching in sadness because they have not yet been able to find a place where they want to stay, but have to go flying on.

#### EIGHTH THEME

##### "THE SEAGULLS GROWING ACCUSTOMED TO MEN"<sup>177</sup>

O8a. 馴れてとし沖の鷗はつけなくに後の心をいかで知りけむ<sup>178</sup>  
 narete kosi, oki no kamome ha, tugenaku ni, noti no kokoro wo, ikade  
 sirikemu

<sup>173</sup> Also in *Shin shūi waka shū* (Vol. V), 496.

<sup>174</sup> Instead of *no tabi wo*, the *Shin shūi waka shū* has *wo tabi to*, an inferior reading.

<sup>175</sup> A poem by Tsurayuki suitable to this theme, but without an introduction, is preserved in *Gosen waka shū* (Vol. VII), 357 (cf. Hagitani, *op. cit.*, pp. 290 and 132).

<sup>176</sup> The *Tadamine shū* has 光 *hikari*, for which no reasonable meaning can be given: the excellent emendation *tomari* is due to Professor Kamei Takashi. The confusion of the two words in cursive script is not difficult, to } for example being taken as *hi* へ.

<sup>177</sup> Seagulls are only rarely referred to in early Japanese poetry.

<sup>178</sup> Also in *Kokin waka rokujō*, Vol. III, *op. cit.*, 32345.

Oh seagulls from the deep which have grown used to us and come close, how could you have known our subsequent intentions without being told?

This poem is an allusion to a passage in Lieh-tzū 列子<sup>179</sup> c.2:

海上之人有好瀕鳥者每旦之海上從瀕鳥游瀕鳥之至者百住而不止其父曰吾聞瀕鳥皆從汝游汝取來吾玩之明日之海上瀕鳥舞而不下也

A man who lived by the sea loved seagulls and every morning followed them and played with them. The seagulls came to him in hundreds without cease. His father said, "I hear that the seagulls follow you and play with you: you bring them to me and I will play with them". But the next day when he went to the sea the seagulls hovered but did not land.

The point of the story, of course, is that the seagulls instinctively knew of the man's intention to catch them to take to his father. Similarly the poet here supposes that the seagulls by the same instinct, without having been told, knew of the friendly intentions of his companions towards them. For *noti no kokoro* cf. *Manyōshū* 萬葉集 (Vol. II), 98, 99, and for *tugenaku ni* cf. *Kokin waka shū* 941.

O8b. 洲にをればいさごの色に紛ふ鳥手にとるばかりなれにけるかな<sup>180</sup>

su ni woreba, isago no iro ni, magahu tori, te ni toru bakari, narenikeru kana<sup>181</sup>

Oh birds which can be confused with the colour of the sand when on the beach, how used to us you have become, so that we might take you in our hands.

S8. 行く舟になるる鷗はさす棹の返す浪にぞ過たれける  
 yuku hune ni, naruru kamome ha, sasu sawo no, kahesu nami ni zo,  
 ayamatarekeru<sup>182</sup>

The seagulls which are accustomed to our passing boat may indeed be mistaken for the wavelets which our punting pole sends back.

The white seagulls, sitting on the water, resemble the little patches of white foam made by the boat's pole.

<sup>179</sup> Also in a fragment of Chuang-tzū (Wang Shu-min 王叔岷, *Chuang-tzū chiao-shih* 莊子校釋, supplement 1, 2a) and in a number of later Chinese encyclopaedic works. Cf. also *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* 呂氏春秋, c. 18.

<sup>180</sup> Also in *Kokin waka rokujō*, Vol. III, *op. cit.*, 32343, and in *Fuboku waka shō*, Vol. XXVII, *op. cit.*, Vol. XXII, p. 282. In the former it is ascribed to Tsurayuki, apparently wrongly.

<sup>181</sup> *Narenikeru* is the reading of both the *Kokin waka rokujō* and *Fuboku waka shō*: *narinikeru* of the *Mitsune shū* is clearly an error.

<sup>182</sup> The variant *sawo ni kahesu midu koso ayamatarekeru* would have the same meaning, but is less clear.

M8. 白浪のこせども立たず群れみつつ人に懐かでみなれたるかな<sup>183</sup>

siranami no, kosedomo tatazu, mure witutu, hito ni natukade, mi naretaru kana

Grouped together, without flying up even though the white waves pass over them, they are not tame to men, but have become accustomed to the sight of them as they are to the water.

The last poem but one suggests that the seagulls were a little more tame than those described in this poem; but such variations in the observation of the different poets were only natural. For the phrase *nami kosu*, "the waves flow over (something)" cf. *Shin gosen waka shū* (Vol. XVII), 1220, etc. The *mi* of *mi naretaru* puns both 'water' (cf. Ota) and 'sight'.

Y8. 白浪や身によせ懸るとも思はで立ちも騒がず馴るる鳥かな

siranami ya, mi ni yose kakaru, to mo omohade, tati mo sawagazu, naruru tori kana

See the birds, how well-tamed they are; they do not fly up and screech, being unconcerned even though the white waves come beating down on them.

The ideas in this poem are similar to those in the two preceding: it is interesting to note how often the various poets independently thought of the same treatment of a theme, in spite of the many possible alternative treatments. The position of *to* or *to mo* at the beginning of a line is rare, but cf. *Kokin waka shū* 569 and two cases in a long poem in the *Shūi waka shū* (Vol. X), 574.

#### NINTH THEME

##### "THE PINE TREES IN THE CREEK GROWING OLD"<sup>184</sup>

Oga. 深みどり入江の松も年ふれば影さへ共に老いにけらしな<sup>185</sup>

hukamidori, irie no matu mo, tosi hureba, kage sahe tomo ni, oinikerasi na<sup>186</sup>

As the dark green pines in the creek pass through the years, their shadows as well seem to have grown old.

<sup>183</sup> *Kokin waka rokujō*, Vol. III, *op. cit.*, 32344, is the same poem, with some inferior readings, wrongly ascribed to Mitsune (cf. n. 180).

<sup>184</sup> This is the only theme for which all the seven poems originally written still survive.

<sup>185</sup> Also in *Gyokuyō waka shū* (Vol. XV1), 2182.

<sup>186</sup> The *Gyokuyō waka shū* has the inferior variant *oinikeru ka na*.

Ogb. 老いにける松ぞ知るらむ鮎河のみゆきもかくは有らずや有りけむ

oinikeru, matu zo siruramu, ayukaha no, miyuki mo kaku ha, arazu ya arikemu

The aged pines will know: surely even the imperial visit to the river Ayu could not have been like this?

Pines were also believed to live a thousand years, and thus were poetically supposed to have accumulated great knowledge: so they would be able to answer the question whether the present visit were not in fact more splendid than that to the river Ayu. For the idea of asking questions of the pines, compare the poems that follow, and also a poem in *Kokin waka rokujō*, Vol. II, *op. cit.*, 32085.

Sg. 此の川の入江の松は老いにけり古きみゆきのことや問はまし<sup>187</sup>

kono kaha no, irie no matu ha, oinikeri, huruki miyuki no, koto ya tohamasi

The pines in the creek off this river are aged: shall we ask them questions about imperial visits in ancient times?

Kg. 大井河かはべのまつにこととはむかかみゆきやありし昔も<sup>188</sup>

ohowigaha, kahabe no matu ni, koto tohamu, kakaru miyuki ya, arisi mukasi mo

Let us ask a question of the pines on the bank of the river Ōi: did such an imperial visit take place in olden times too?

The stress is on the word *kakaru*, "such a splendid, glorious visit": *mukasi mo* is inverted from its normal grammatical order for emphasis, and the *rentaikei* form of *arisi* is due to *ya*, not to an adnominal position to *mukasi*.

Mg. 年ふかくねざし入江の松なれば老のつもるは波や知るらむ

tosi hukaku, nezasi irie no, matu nareba, oi no tumoru ha, nami ya siruramu

Since they are pine trees in the creek, whose roots have gone down deep, deep in years, the waves will know their accumulation of age!<sup>189</sup>

<sup>187</sup> Also in *Zoku kokin waka shū* (Vol. XVIII), 1670, and *Fuboku waka shō*, *op. cit.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 156.

<sup>188</sup> In *Shūi waka shū* (Vol. VIII), 455.

<sup>189</sup> This poem is followed in *Tadamine shū* by the poem:

水影を得にける松はいとどしく波の上におひまさるらむ

midu kage wo, enikeru matu ha, itodosiku, nami no uhe ni ya, ohimasaruramu  
Will the pine trees which have a reflection in the water grow more and more out over the waves?

Although it is headed 同題 (i.e., 大井の行幸) it seems to be mistakenly ascribed to this occasion.

The point of the poem is that the river will know how deep the roots of the pines are, since they will project from the bank under water, and since they are very deep indeed the river will know the great age of the trees. The poem contains two *kakekotoba*, *hukaku* and *iri(e)*: the full construction would be *tosi hukaku, hukaku ne no sasi iru irie . . .* "the creek, where the root-striking (by the pines) has gone deep, deep in years (= for a long time)". For *oi no tumoru* cf. *Shin shūi waka shū* (Vol. XIX), 1789.

Y9. 江に深く年ふる松は水底の影にさへこそ色は見えけれ  
e ni hukaku, tosi huru matu ha, minasoko no, kage ni sahe koso, iro ha miekere

The colour of the pines, deep in age, deep in the creek, is visible in a reflection at the bottom of the water.

Again *hukaku* is a *kakekotoba*, meaning "deep in the creek", and, in the phrase *hukaku tosi huru*, "(the pines) which have passed deeply through the years". There is a further play of words which it is difficult to translate: the words *e ni* are, in the poem, taken as *eni* 縁,<sup>190</sup> to form the phrase *eni hukaku*, a Buddhist phrase common in the form 因縁が深い *innen ga hukai*, "to have a deep connection in or from a previous state of existence". The idea of the pun may be rendered, "which have passed deeply through the years, by the deep providence of Buddha".

F9. 江に深く年は経にける松なれどかかるとみゆきは今日や  
見るらむ<sup>191</sup>  
e ni hukaku, tosi ha henikeru, matu naredo, kakaru miyuki ha, kehu ya miruramu

Although they are pine trees deep in the creek which have passed deeply through the years, they will today see *such* an imperial visit.

The stress of the poem is on *kakaru* "such a splendid visit" as they have never seen before, although they are very old and have seen many imperial visits before<sup>192</sup>; *hukaku* is understood in three different ways, as in the preceding poem.

<sup>190</sup> A *kun* reading formed from an *on* pronunciation; cf. *Kokin waka shū* 441 (紫苑 read as *sawomi*) and *ibid.* 444 (牽牛子 read as *kenigosi*).

<sup>191</sup> In *Zoku kokin waka shū* (Vol. XVIII), 1669.

<sup>192</sup> See note on poem K9 above.