

# *Heart's Flower*

THE LIFE  
AND  
POETRY  
OF  
SHINKEI



*Esperanza*

*Ramirez-Christensen*

立春

わが心は花の如く  
春の風を待つ  
心は花の如く  
春の風を待つ  
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*Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen*

“This book is must-reading for anyone interested in any area of medieval Japanese history, art, or culture. The biographical study of Shinkei, who is a crucial figure in the development of *renga* as a serious genre of poetry, is the most detailed treatment in English of any medieval Japanese poet. The translations reveal that Shinkei’s poems are some of the most interesting—thematically and stylistically—in the entire canon, and they will attract the attention of specialists in a variety of fields, notably Japanese literature and religion.”

—Steven D. Carter,  
University of California, Irvine

“Ramirez-Christensen is an excellent translator, and her book is deeply engaging for the sheer pleasure of reading the poetry. She is also broadly and deeply learned in the area of her topic. Her range of poetic and critical reference is assured and sustaining. But to me the most impressive aspect of her work is its brilliance of analysis.”

—Edwin A. Cranston,  
Harvard University

Shinkei (1406-75), one of the most brilliant poets of medieval Japan, is a pivotal figure in the development of *renga* (linked poetry) as a serious art. In an age when anyone who wished to signal his denial of mundane concerns or make his way in the world with relative freedom donned the robes of a monk, Shinkei stood out by being a practicing cleric with a temple in Kyoto, the Japanese capital. His priestly duties and his devotion to Buddhist ideals are directly reflected in the intensely pure, lyrical longing for transcendence that is the most notable quality of his sensibility.

*(continued on back flap)*





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Stanford University Press, Stanford, California 1994

Stanford University Press  
Stanford, California

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by the Board of Trustees  
of the Leland Stanford Junior University  
Printed in the United States of America

CIP data are at the end of the book

The printing of this volume was  
underwritten in part by a grant  
from the Japan Foundation.



To my father  
who never ceased to wait for the book



## Acknowledgments

I should like to take this opportunity to express my abiding gratitude to the mentors who graciously extended their expertise and encouragement through the various periods of my graduate studies and research: Professors Helen Craig McCullough and William H. McCullough at the University of California, Berkeley; Olof Lidin at Copenhagen University's East Asiatic Institute; Edwin Cranston, Howard Hibbett, Itasaka Gen, and Donald Shively at Harvard; and Kaneko Kinjirō at Tōkai University's Japanese Literature Department. The memories of Professor Kaneko's Shinkei and renga seminars in 1979–80, the warm fellowship of his graduate students, the outings to Hakone, Kamakura, and the Ōyama foothills in search of Shinkei's and Sōgi's traces—all were a constant inspiration while writing this book.

I am also grateful to Statens Humanistiske Forskningsråd of Denmark for a grant during the early stages of my work on renga and to the Japan Foundation for a year's dissertation research in Japan. A faculty fellowship from the Mellon Foundation in 1986–87 enabled me to continue with the work reflected in Part Two of this book, and the Office of the Vice President for Research at the University of Michigan helped subsidize its publication.

My colleagues Robert Danly and Ken Itō read the manuscript (along with its projected sequel) and delivered encouraging reports, while Steven D. Carter, a fellow reaper in the renga vineyards—as Helen McCullough used to say—undertook the sober perusal for the Stanford University Press. Thanks are also due to Helen Tartar for tracking the manuscript from Cambridge to Ann Arbor some years later, and to my editor, John Ziemer, for his care and tact in handling it.

E.R.-C.



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## Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the text and notes. For complete citations, see under title in the Bibliography, pp. 433-43.

BT	[Teihon] <i>Bashō taisei</i>
DNCJ	<i>Dai Nihon chimei jisho</i>
FGS	<i>Fūgashū</i> (seventeenth imperial waka anthology)
Guku	Shinkei, <i>Guku Shibakusa</i>
GR	<i>Gunshō ruijū</i>
GSIS	<i>Goshūishū</i> (fourth imperial waka anthology)
GYS	<i>Gyokuyōshū</i> (fourteenth imperial waka anthology)
HD	<i>Haikai daijiten</i>
HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
KKS	<i>Kokinshū</i> (first imperial waka anthology)
KS	<i>Kichōkotenseki sōkan</i>
KT	[Shimpen] <i>Kokka taikan</i>
KYS	<i>Kinyōshū</i> (fifth imperial waka anthology)
MN	<i>Monumenta Nipponica</i>
MYS	<i>Man'yōshū</i> (first Japanese poetry anthology)
NKBT	<i>Nihon koten bungaku taikai</i>
NKBZ	<i>Nihon koten bungaku zenshū</i>
NKT	<i>Nihon kagaku taikai</i>
Oi	Shinkei, <i>Oi no kurigoto</i>
Renju	Kanera, <i>Renju gappekishū</i>
RH	<i>Rengaronshū, Hairoshū</i>
RS	Kidō, <i>Renga shironkō</i>
SIS	<i>Shūishū</i> (third imperial waka anthology)

SK	<i>Sōgi kushū</i>
SKKS	<i>Shinkokinshū</i> (eighth imperial waka anthology)
SKS	<i>Shōtetsu, Sōkonshū</i>
SKT	<i>Shinshaku kambun taikai</i>
SNKBT	<i>Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai</i>
SNKS	<i>Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei</i>
SSG	<i>Shinkei, Sasamegoto</i>
SSRS	<i>Shinkeishū ronshū</i>
SSS	<i>Shinkei sakuhinshū</i>
ST	<i>Shikashū taisei</i>
STKBS	<i>Shinsen Tsukubashū</i> (second imperial renga anthology)
Teikin	<i>Kenzai, Shinkei-sōzu teikin</i>
TKBS	<i>Tsukubashū</i> (first imperial renga anthology)
Tokoro	<i>Shinkei, Tokoro-dokoro hentō</i>
ZGR	<i>Zoku gunsho ruijū</i>



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of Shinkei



## Introduction

One of the greatest puzzles in Japanese literary history is the neglect of Shinkei (1406–75), a profoundly acute poet-priest of the medieval period who wielded a decisive influence on the conceptual grounding and artistic development of *renga* (linked poetry). Not even Bashō (1644–94), whose poetry and poetics are amazingly reminiscent of Shinkei's, mentions him, although in *Oi no kobumi* he declared the oneness of his art with that of "Sōgi in linked poetry." Sōgi (1421–1502) was Shinkei's student and friend. An excellent artist and energetic personality, he was instrumental in promoting Shinkei's vision of *renga* and its central place in Japanese poetic history. Twenty years after Shinkei's death, he compiled the second official *renga* anthology, *Shinsen Tsukubashū*, and paid homage to his mentor by giving him the highest number of verses there. But nearly two centuries would elapse before Shinkei's deeper vision of *renga* as a Way, a search for authentic being, would find its proper expression in Bashō, and by then his name had sunk into such obscurity that Bashō himself, at least as far as extant records indicate, would not recognize him as his true precursor.

One reason for Shinkei's obscurity might be his purism. Something about his thought and the whole conduct of his life seems to have distanced him from the popular *renga* milieu. His other premier disciple, Kenzai (1452–1510), confirms this picture when he writes: "In the Way of *renga* I humbly look up to the words of this priest as to the teachings of the Buddha." Indeed, if one might speak of a lonely aristocracy of the spirit in Japanese poetry, Shinkei would be its high priest for the intensely pure, lyrical longing for transcendence that is the most marked quality of his sensibility. In an age when anyone who wished to signal his denial of mundane concerns or make his way in the world with relative freedom donned the robes of a monk,

Shinkei stood out by being a practicing cleric with a temple in the capital and a considerable rank to go with it. It is thus impossible to ignore his calling in evaluating his poetic achievement. His priestly duties and his devotion to Buddhist ideals evidently conflicted quite early with his fascination with the craft of words and personal self-expression. Perhaps it was inevitable that he sought to resolve the conflict by boldly identifying the two disciplines in a single Way that has all the loftiness of a religion but is also the hard-won product of an inner struggle waged by a private individual amidst the anarchic conditions of his times.

Shinkei's temple burned in the Ōnin War (1467-77), and he died an exile in the remote foothills of distant Sagami Province before that war's end. For modern readers the subsequent darkness that befell his work has been dispelled to a degree by the publication in 1948 of Araki Yoshio's pioneering study, *Shinkei. Shinkeishū ronshū*, a collection of the poet's critical writings edited by Yokoyama Shigeru and Noguchi Ei'ichi, appeared in the same year as the first part of a complete anthology of his works. Four years later, Kidō Saizō produced *Kōchū Sasamegoto kenkyū to kaisetsu*, still the most thorough textual study and commentary on Shinkei's major treatise. In the prose of these pioneering scholars, one senses a feeling of awe toward their subject. In the shock of discovery, Araki went so far as to compare him to a lone peak towering above the vast mountain ranges of Japanese poetry. Kidō characterized his thought as the utmost development of the medieval spirit, and the Muromachi cultural historian Haga Kōshirō ranked him with the Nō artist and theorist Zenchiku (1405-68) as the loftiest representative of Higashiyama aesthetic philosophy.

It was not until the 1970's, however, against the background of a surge of interest in *chūsei* (medieval) literature in general, and renga in particular, that Shinkei studies blossomed. The Japanese are looking beyond the recent past and into the so-called dark ages of their history, seeking to find there the roots of a modern sensibility predating the ideological and institutional feudalism of the Tokugawa period. The gesture seems quixotic, for the Muromachi period was an anarchic age dominated by strong, ambitious, and warlike personalities. Yet it was also in consequence an age familiar with death and mutability, as is apparent in its artistic products, which include some of the most quintessential expressions of existential loneliness, or *sabi*, in the country's history. If there is something modern about the *chūsei* period and a sensibility like Shinkei's, perhaps it lies in the awareness of the fragility of men's works and the anarchy of the human condition. Confrontation with such verities is conducive to the formation of a strong, independent character and an apprehension of the true signifi-

cance of freedom apart from the self-perpetuating myths of an authoritarian power structure.

In the West the German scholar Wolfram Naumann's *Shinkei in seiner Bedeutung für die japanische Kettendichtung* (The significance of Shinkei for Japanese linked poetry) appeared in 1967. Based principally on Araki, it was probably Jacques Roubaud's source for his observations on Shinkei in *Renga: A Chain of Poems*, a multilingual sonnet sequence composed by Octavio Paz, Edoardo Sanguineti, Charles Tomlinson, and Roubaud himself in April 1969. Paz's introduction to this slender volume of poetry, which marks, according to one review, "the invention of a new kind of literary discourse," is a fascinating indirect comment on the significance of renga for the West at the present time. Roubaud quotes Araki on Shinkei's life thus: "Shinkei's way of life is entirely unknown to us; veiled, it merges into vagueness, into that tonality of evening light which is in keeping with renga. Only here and there, like the moon appearing through a break in the clouds, does a fragment of his existence become visible."

Without dispelling that crepuscular tonality for the harsh light of mid-day, this book is offered as a somewhat more substantial account of Shinkei's life and works than was possible for Araki in 1948. It is partly the result of a year's research with Kaneko Kinjirō in 1979–80, just two years before he published *Shinkei no seikatsu to sakuhin*, now the most authoritative biography of Shinkei. Along with the Shinkei texts themselves, Kaneko's study is the most important source for my own account, although any errors of interpretation or improper conclusions are solely my responsibility.

The external sources for Shinkei's life are few and fragmentary. By far the most important for establishing the status of his temple are fifteenth-century documents in the archives of the Rokuharamitsu Temple in Kyoto. Isolated references to him occur in such contemporary journals as the *Inryōken nichiroku* of the Zen temple Shōkokuji, the *Chikamoto nikki* kept by an official of the bakufu's Administrative Council, Shōtetsu's poetic diary *Sōkonshū*, and the early Tokugawa miscellany called *Keichō kembunshū*, among others. However, the most revealing sources are Shinkei's own writings: the critical essays, including three extant letters, and renga and waka poems whose autobiographical implications become apparent when read against external data. The three *hyakushū* (hundred-poem sequences) from 1463, 1467, and 1471 are especially significant for this crucial period in his life. Many of the poems are extremely moving and give the modern reader a near and immediate sense of the man and his age. The renga manuscripts are equally revealing. Since the texts of *hyakuin* (hundred-verse renga se-

quences) invariably include the date of composition and the names of the participating poets, they are an excellent source for illuminating the renga circles in which Shinkei moved in the various stages of his career. They also reflect on a major part of the contemporary poetic milieu itself. Apart from these hyakuin texts, there exist portions of Shinkei's personal renga collections, among which the *Azuma gekō hokkugusa*, a chronological record of his *hokku* (opening verse of a renga sequence) from 1467 to 1472, is an unrivaled source for his physical circumstances and state of mind during his sojourn in the Kantō region.

Briefly then, the following biography is written around those waka poems, renga verses, and passages in Shinkei's critical essays that are autobiographical in content or implication. The events of his life create a convenient division into two major parts: the Kyoto years, from his early training for the priesthood on Mount Hiei through his residence in the Higashiyama district of the capital, which ended with the outbreak of the Ōnin War in 1467; and the Kantō years, from his departure in the same year through his stay in Shinagawa (in present-day Tokyo), and subsequent retirement in 1471 to Mount Ōyama (in modern Kanagawa), where he died in 1475. The first part comprises the first sixty-one years of his life, which culminated in a measure of fame in the four years before the war; the second part the last eight years in exile in the Kantō, where he became the leading figure in the local poetic circles. The disproportionate space accorded the latter reflects the circumstance that with the significant exception of *Sasamegoto*, his major critical statement, nearly all his prose writings stem from the Kantō years, as do three of the four extant *hyakushū*, and the *Azuma gekō*. The outbreak of the Ōnin War in 1467 is the crucial boundary in this topography; it interrupted a flourishing career in the capital and turned Shinkei into a refugee deprived of home and position. An earlier crisis in 1462–63 constitutes the other dividing line in his career, since it confirmed him in a determined pursuit of poetry as a Way, a search for existential meaning apart from the uncertainties of material circumstance. It is at this point that Part One, "Heart's Flower: A Shinkei Literary Biography," starts; the crisis presented an excellent, if not strictly chronological, opportunity to evoke a sense of the man himself as well as to sketch the historical background of the age.

My method is to utilize Shinkei's works to illumine the social and mental factors motivating his life; the numerous poems and verses quoted in the biography hence represent an arbitrary selection in terms of literary merit. Some are undeniably excellent, others are aesthetically indifferent, but all are charged with a significance that often transcends the merely personal.

A true valuation of Shinkei's poetic achievement has to be based both on the poems cited in the biography as well as the works translated and analyzed in Part Two, "Gems of the Mind-Heart: A Shinkei Reader." (I have adopted Shinkei's title for his renga collection from the Kyoto years, *Shingyokushū*.) This includes a significant portion of his hokku and *tsukeku* (the lower verse of a linked-verse pair) from the imperial renga anthology *Shinsen Tsukubashū*, presented together with Muromachi-period commentaries on them; two 100-verse sequences from 1467 and 1468; and a selection of 100 waka that I feel manifest the most characteristic aspects of his *kokoro* (mind-heart) and style. In a deliberate decision to let them stand unencumbered, I make no comments on the waka, trusting that my analysis of his poetry in the earlier sections will provide a background for reading them.

Below, for convenience, I present a descriptive list of Shinkei's works; the first source cited under each title is the edition used in this book.

## Shinkei's Works

The main surviving corpus of Shinkei's poetry—his renga and waka—consists of his own personal collections from 1463 to 1473. Aside from these, 119 verses appear in the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*, 402 in Sōgi's *Chikurinshō*, and a few hundred more in the records of the renga sessions in which he participated. The extant texts for the sessions held in Kyoto are listed and described in Chapter 3. There are only two extant texts for sessions held in the Kantō; they are described in Chapter 4. With a few notable exceptions, the modern editions of Shinkei's works as listed below have been published without annotations, and therefore present an interpretive challenge to the reader.

I. Personal Renga Collections (unless otherwise noted, all the following works appear in SSS)

1. *Shingyokushū* (Gems of the mind-heart collection) or *Shinkei-sōzu kushū* (Bishop Shinkei's verse collection), a selection of the most representative of Shinkei's verses from before the Fourth Month of 1466, that is to say during the Kantō years; 287 hokku and 361 *tsukeku* on the four seasons, love, and miscellaneous topics.

2. *Shingyokushū shūi*, a supplement to the above; includes 137 hokku composed after 1466.

3. *Shinkei-sōzu hyakku* (100 verses by Bishop Shinkei), a collection of *tsukeku* on the four seasons, love, and miscellaneous topics. A hokku introduces the verses for each season, making a total of 100 verses.

4. *Shikō Shūa hyakuban renga awase* (Renga contest in 100 rounds by Gusai and Shūa), dated the twenty-fifth day of the Sixth Month, 1468. The work originated in a linked-verse contest in which Gusai (1282–1376) and Shūa (d. 1375?) each appended a *tsukeku* to the same *maeku* (the upper verse in a linked-verse pair), and Nijō Yoshimoto (1320–88), as judge, marked appropriate points. Later, Shinkei was so impressed by the work that he composed *tsukeku* to the same *maeku*. The text is composed of the earlier contest verses and Shinkei's *tsukeku*. Text in the Seikadō Archives, no. 22 of the *Rengashūsho* manuscript collection.

5. *Renga hyakkutsuke* (100 renga linked-verse pairs), Shinkei's selection of his own *tsukeku* and the *maeku* from the preceding item, compiled at the request of the Zen priest Sōgen. Holograph in the Tenri Library.

6. *Shinkei renga jichū* (Shinkei's renga self-annotations), Shinkei's commentaries on the verses in item 5. Text in the Shōkōkan Collection.

7. *Azuma gekō hokkugusa* (Grasses of hokku from the Azuma journey), 210 hokku arranged chronologically according to the four seasons, from the summer of 1467 to the autumn of 1472. This is Shinkei's hokku collection from the Kantō years.

8. *Azuma atari iisute* (Ephemeral compositions in Azuma), 278 *tsukeku* on the four seasons; dating from 1467 and after, they constitute Shinkei's *tsukeku* collection from the Kantō years.

9. *Shinkei kushū kokemushiro* (The moss-grown abode: a Shinkei verse anthology), 171 *tsukeku* illustrative of three major poetic styles: *ushintei* (style of meditation), *yūgentei* (style of ineffable depth), and *mempakutei* (or *omoshiroki tai*; arresting style). Also included are nine hokku illustrative of the *mempakutei*. Date unknown, but definitely postdating item 4.

10. *Shibakusa kunai hokku* (Hokku from the *Wayside Grasses Anthology*), a two-part collection of 636 hokku. The first part contains verses composed before 1467; the second part is the *Azuma gekō hokkugusa* (see item 7). The work is believed to have been part of the *Shibakusa* (Wayside grasses), a sixteen-volume collection of the complete works of Shinkei, compiled by himself, but now partly lost.

11. *Goku Shibakusa* (Humble verses of wayside grasses); also known as *Iwahashi no jō* (*Iwahashi*, first section). A selection of 91 hokku and 132 *tsukeku* from the *Shibakusa* collection, including commentaries written by Shinkei for his disciple Kenzai during a sojourn in Aizu, Iwashiro Province (Fukushima) in 1470. In SSRS, pp. 3–64; variant texts on pp. 65–128, 129–93.

12. *Shibakusa-nai renga awase* (Renga contests from the *Wayside Grasses Anthology*), verses divided into a hokku contest of 50 rounds and a



tsukeku contest of 100 rounds. Undertaken for a Shirakawa monk called Jun'a in the Third Month of 1473.

## II. Waka Collections

1. *Gondaisōzu Shinkeishū* (The Bishop Shinkei anthology), three 100-poem sequences, plus another 132 poems on minutely specified topics. The first sequence, divided under the topics of the four seasons, love, and miscellaneous, was composed in 1463 as a prayer offering at the Hachiōji Shrine in Wakayama. The second sequence, similarly divided, was composed between the twenty-fifth and thirtieth day of the Eight Month, 1467. The third, dating from 1468, contains poems on the following topics: flowers, moon, dew, grievances, reminiscences, travel, and Buddhism. Included in ZGR 16a: 446.400–419; ST 6: 94–105; [*Shimpen*] KT 8: 256–63 under the title *Shinkeishū*.

2. *Hyakushu waka* (100 waka), a version of the 1463 sequence above, with Shinkei's own commentaries. In SSRS, pp. 317–47, and *Chūsei wakashū: Muromachi-ben*, SNKBT 47: 315–52 under the title *Kanshō hyakushu*.

3. *Shinkei-sōzu jittei waka* (Bishop Shinkei's waka in ten styles), 120 poems illustrating the ten styles described by Fujiwara Teika (1162–1241) in his *Maigetsushō* (1219). Probably a part of the *Shibakusa* collection. In ZGR 15a: 403.41–47; and ST 6: 106–15. The ST edition is based on a variant text from the Ise Shrine Archives and consists of 323 poems; it also includes a *chōka* with an envoi and another 8 poems entitled “The Eight Views of Hsiao-hsiang.”

4. *Iwahashi no ge* (*Iwahashi*, second section), 179 waka with commentaries written by Shinkei for Kenzai during their trip to Aizu in 1470. The companion volume to *Guku Shibakusa* (see item 11 above); the two are collectively known as *Shibakusa kunai Iwahashi* (The *Iwahashi* section of the *Wayside Grasses Anthology*). In SSRS, pp. 257–316; the preface and epilogue only are included under the title *Iwahashi no jō, batsu* in Ijichi, *Rengaronshū* 2: 331–39.

5. *Shinkei-sōzu hyakushu* (A hundred-poem sequence by Bishop Shinkei), composed in 1471 to commemorate the thirteenth anniversary of the death of Shōtetsu, Shinkei's waka mentor. In ZGR 14b: 397.913–16.

## III. Critical Works

1. *Jōhō renga* (*Renga* by Jōhō), a collection of 100 verse-pairs by Jōhō, a priest of the Tōfukuji, bearing commentaries by Shinkei and a colophon dated the fifteenth day of the Third Month, 1462. The text appears in Shimazu, *Rengashi no kenkyū*, pp. 291–307.

2. *Sasamegoto* (Murmured conversations), Shinkei's major treatise and his most frequently reprinted work; the first part was written in 1463 when he was in Wakayama, and the second part in the capital. A partial translation by Dennis Hirota, incorporating about half of the treatise's 62 sections, appeared in his article "In Practice of the Way: *Sasamegoto*, an Introduction Book in Linked Verse." The forthcoming companion to this book will include my complete translation and study of Shinkei's aesthetic philosophy. Sources and editors for the so-called common-edition line of *Sasamegoto* texts are the following: Kidō Saizō, *RH*; Kido Saizō, *Kōchū Sasamegoto kenkyū to kaisetsu*; Ijichi Tetsuo, *Rengaron shinshū*; Sasaki Nobutsuna, *NKT* 5, under the title *Shinkei shigo*; Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, *Chūsei karonshū*; and Suzuki Hisashi in Haga Kōshirō, ed., *Geidō shisōshū*. The variant or revised-edition line of *Sasamegoto* texts is represented in *GR* 10: 304, and Ijichi, *Rengaronshū*, *Haironshū*, *Nōgakuronshū*, *NKBZ* 51.

3. *Gikō no eisō Shinkei no tensaku* (Shinkei's critical comments on Sōgi's poetic compositions), Shinkei's commentaries on 114 *tsukeku* by Sōgi. The manuscript is undated but believed from internal evidence to have been written in or before 1466. In Yunoue Sanae, "*Gikō no eisō Shinkei no tensaku*: honkoku to kaisetsu."

4. *Tokoro-dokoro hentō* (Replies here and there), composed of three letters. In the first, dated the twenty-third day of the Third Month of 1466, Shinkei discusses the historical development of *renga*, refers to his relationship with his *waka* mentor Shōtetsu, and appraises the work of contemporary poets like Sōzei (1386?–1455) and Chiun (d. 1448); in the second (date unknown), he points to the *Shinkokinshū* period as the peak of *waka* history and indulges in some self-laudatory reminiscences; the third, dated the Eight Month of 1470 and addressed to Sōgi, is a critical appraisal of verses submitted by Sōgi for his judgment. In *SSRS*, pp. 194–227; and Ijichi, *Rengaronshū* 1: 305–30.

5. *Shinkei Yūhaku e no hensho* (Shinkei's reply to Yūhaku), a work explaining the mental preparation required of a *renga* poet and comparing the styles of Gusai and Shūa as seen in each of five corresponding verses from the *Hyakuban renga awase* (see item 4 in the first section). Undated. In Shimazu, *Rengashi no kenkyū*, pp. 308–12.

6. *Hitorigoto* (Solitary ramblings), dating from the Fourth Month of 1468. A critical essay whose opening passage recalls, and is clearly aware of, the *Hōjōki* in its pessimistic view of contemporary conditions. Its focus is the mental attitude required for composing good poetry; the student, according to Shinkei, must train his mind to perceive temporality and value depth and overtones as aesthetic ideals. It includes a brief history of *renga*

and a discussion of the poetry of Gusai and Shūa, a valuable list of the most famous practitioners of the various arts in the capital before the Ōnin War, and a celebrated panegyric on water in the four seasons. For the text as edited by Shimazu Tadao, see *Kodai chūsei geijutsuron*, pp. 466–78; also in ZGR 17: 497.1126–33, and Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, ed., *Zuihitsu bungaku, Kochū Nihon bungaku ruijū* 3 (1930): 510–25.

7. *Ichigon* (One word), a short and undated manuscript in the Osaka University Archives. It deals with the three basic methods of linking and is believed to have been written for Kenzai. Unpublished; I have relied on a handwritten copy kindly provided by Professor Kaneko Kinjirō.

8. *Shiyōshō* (Notes for private use), presented to the lord of Kawagoe Castle in the Kantō, Ōta Sukekiyo (1411–95; priestly name Dōshin), in 1471. The only work in which Shinkei deals principally with the subject of renga *shikimoku* or rules, if only to censure a literal and slavish adherence to them. He gives 305 items of description and example for *sari kirai*, the rule that forbids the recurrence of similar or closely associated words and images within specified intervals, and 17 items on the procedures for holding a renga session and of recording the verses. In Ijichi, *Rengaron shinshū, Koten bunkō* 113 (1956), pp. 53–98.

9. *Oi no kurigoto* (Old man's prattle), a treatise written in 1471 at the request of the monk at the temple on Mount Ōyama that was Shinkei's final place of retreat. He discusses the history of renga; the styles of Gusai and Nijō Yoshimoto, as well as those of Shūa and Bontō (1349–1427?); and sets forth his concept of the ideal renga poet as one who evinces artistic sensibilities, dedication to the Way as spiritual cultivation, and an attitude of detachment from worldly affairs. The treatise includes a moving description of his mountain dwelling that has been compared to Bashō's *Genjūan no ki*. Along with *Hitorigoto* above, it has been lauded as a fine representative example of medieval *zuihitsu*. For the text as edited by Shimazu Tadao, see *Kodai chūsei geijutsuron*, pp. 410–22; also in SSRS, pp. 240–56, under the title *Kokemushiro*.



PART ONE



*Heart's Flower*

A Shinkei  
Literary Biography





## Prologue: “The Seed of the Heart”

90 Miscellaneous. *A House Amidst Rice Fields*

onozukara	Was he not devoid,
kokoro no tane mo	from the very start, of the
naki hito ya	seed of the heart?
iyashiki ta'i no	Ta'i, rude village amidst
sato ni mumareshi	rice fields, gave him birth.

I was born in the place called Ta'i Village and went up to the capital when I was two. I am all too aware of the fact, while lamenting it in this way. (SSRS, p. 317)<sup>1</sup>

In the spring of 1463 when this poem was written, Shinkei, poet and head priest of Jūjūshin'in Temple in the capital, was visiting his hometown of Ta'i along the Kinokawa River in Nakusa District, Kii Province (Wakayama Prefecture).<sup>2</sup> Here two months later he would write *Sasamegoto*, his most important critical work and today an exemplary document of medieval Japanese thought.<sup>3</sup> The poem is part of a sequence of 100 composed, as he notes in the colophon, “hurriedly as a prayer offering [*hōraku*] while in religious retreat at the Ta'i village shrine.” Many other poems in the sequence illumine his personal circumstances at the time. The work, moreover, is unique in including his own annotations (*jichū*) and has since become an invaluable autobiographical source amidst the paucity of external documentary material concerning his life. As will quickly become clear, it also bears the traces of a period of personal crisis for its author, revealing itself as a figurative speech inflected with the stresses of an existence endured more than five centuries ago under a different order of being and thinking, but still eminently readable, as he intended, in our own time and place. For this reading of a life, there is no better place to start than with the 1463 sequence in Ta'i Village, lamented point of origin, fateful “seed” of an absence.

The poem is in fact our only information regarding Shinkei's birthplace. Clearly it alludes to Tsurayuki's famous opening statement in the *Kokinshū* Preface about a different origin: "Japanese poetry has its seed in the human heart, which sprouts into a myriad leaves of words."<sup>4</sup> And doubtless he intends an ironic juxtaposition between this poetic "seed" and that of humble rice plants. It would not be wise, however, to construe from the contextual metaphor that he was born to a family of farmers. The poem was composed on the fixed topic of *denka*—that is, a farmhouse—and utilizes the connotations of the placename Ta'i (lit., "well in the rice fields") to evoke an ignorant rusticity and alienation from poetic privilege. In other words, Shinkei is using the set subject as a context for lamenting his alleged "innate" (*onozukara*) lack of poetic sensibility due to his birth in the rude and lowly (*iyashiki*) countryside in contrast to the refined capital city. That fount of high culture had produced Japan's greatest waka poets heretofore, and they were as a rule of aristocratic origins. Shinkei himself clearly was not. But then ever since he was taken from Kii at the age of two to undergo clerical training on Mount Hiei, he had been living in the capital city of Kyoto and indeed gained a reputation there as a waka and renga poet, along with his considerable social position as head of Jūjūshin'in with the official title of Provisional Major Bishop (*Gondaisōzu*).

An examination of other poems in this sequence will reveal that the self-depreciating tone in the one quoted above was the product of a depressed mood. Nonetheless, its self-ironic humility is somewhat more than a conventional stance. It is a reflection of the high and absolute standards against which he measured himself, as may be seen in the interesting postscript he later appended to the text of the sequence after adding the commentaries: "An ancient has said that even the most excellent poems will become degraded and seem mediocre when expressed in plain language. What shame do I incur in foolishly explaining these crazy poems that are absolutely worthless to begin with!"<sup>5</sup>

Fortunately, despite his conviction that paraphrase diminishes poetry, Shinkei did not therefore desist from it. In fact he wrote comments on some of his other poems and renga verses as well, not to mention his evaluation of other poets' works. They testify to his belief that criticism and interpretation constitute an aspect of poetic activity just as crucial as poetic composition itself. Moreover, apart from fulfilling a pedagogical function, the *jichū* answered to his apparent need for self-explanation. Such is manifest in that significant portion of his surviving waka corpus that has private emotion and biographical circumstance as its material, constituting, as it were, a poetic autobiography. Compared to the style of objective symbolism characteristic of the *Shinkokinshū*, an anthology that he revered, and viewed



against the generic impersonality of renga poetry, the autobiographical strain in Shinkei's waka emerges as a particularly distinctive phenomenon. It represents a departure from the formal decorum of mid-classical poetics, a valorization of personal experience that employs the convention of set topics (*daiei*) as a framework or device for self-expression rather than as a subject whose essential nature (*hon'i*) is to be demonstrated.

There are a number of "excellent" poems in the 1463 sequence, and Shinkei's best work may arguably be said to belong to the wholly different mode of objective symbolism established by the *Shinkokinshū* poets. The pieces analyzed below, however, are chosen primarily for their autobiographical import, for what they reveal of the poet's reaction to the pressure of circumstance as explained by himself.

97 Miscellaneous. *A Distant View*

kyō wa kite te ni toru bakari kasumu ni mo fude o zo naguru wakanoura nami	Come today, upon a scene so poignantly outlined in the haze I could grasp it in my hand, this brush—bitterly I fling into the waves of Poetry Bay!
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Face to face with the springtime scenery along Waka sea, I am overcome with shame at how uncertain my poetry remains despite the long years I have devoted to it.<sup>6</sup> (SSRS, p. 346)

94 Miscellaneous. *Travel*

isogashi yo tabi ni samayou hodo bakari mono no aware wa itsu ka shiramashi	A fretful life— by endless journeys driven to distraction, always, would that I may yet learn the moving power of things.
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Forced by circumstances to wander about in the outskirts of the capital, I have become possessed by the dust of the world; blinded by desire, my spirit finds no rest. Amidst the distractions of such travels, predictably even the moving power of things [*mono no aware*] has died in my mind. (SSRS, p. 345)

These two poems open a window onto the psychological state of depression that also generated the lament on his "rude" origins. The reason may be gathered from the commentary to poem 94, in which he speaks of being so absorbed in worldly affairs that the sense of *mono no aware* has deserted him. In Shinkei's critical vocabulary, *mono no aware* in its broad sense of "the moving power of things" is synonymous with the poetic spirit itself, with his view of poetry as a heightened contemplation of life. His sense of inadequacy in poem 97, an expression of angry frustration at his inability to compose a suitable poem on the spring scenery along Wakanoura, was presumably occasioned by the same restlessness. All three poems ultimately

bear upon the same complaint: namely, that he was in no position, either socially or spiritually, to cultivate poetry to the degree that he desired. He was not born to the life of genteel leisure; he lacked the mental space to cultivate his sensibilities. Paradoxically the complaint throws into high relief the compelling attraction that poetry exercised upon him, as well as his considerable ambitions in this direction.

Shinkei was fifty-seven in 1463. His priestly rank and office were no mere sinecure but a reward for diligent performance of duties, and no doubt the usual worldly compromises. As late as 1471 when he retired in the hills of Mount Ōyama and wrote his final critical essay, *Oi no kurigoto*, he would still be lamenting the destiny that made the serious, full-time pursuit of poetry impossible for him.

A long time ago I set my heart on this Way [of poetry] and even had occasion to participate in sessions with the old poets and masters of the time. But unfortunately my duties in the Way of Buddhism afforded me no leisure, and even worse, upon reaching the prime of manhood I suffered from an illness for so many years that in the end, despite my desire, all my efforts came to so much water poured through a sieve. Moreover, the persons I relied on for support were early taken from this world, leaving me in such grief that life came to seem even more insubstantial than a phantom vision. My mind became permeated with the sense of things that merely pass without a trace, like the momentary glimpse of a galloping white horse through a gap in the wall, or the trackless flight of birds in the sky. (*Oi*, p. 412)

The conflict that he apparently experienced between the demands of his priestly calling and his poetic ambitions provides an interestingly realistic counterpoint to the lofty, otherworldly orientation of *Sasamegoto*, in particular to the celebrated unity of the Ways of Buddhism and Poetry enunciated there. Indeed the contradiction—and it was not so much on the plane of ideas as a felt tension between mundane existence and an exalted, poetic mode of being—was most exacerbated in the spring of 1463. As other poems in the sequence will show, Shinkei's presence in Kii during this period was far from an ordinary visit home. In fact he was confronting a crisis that threatened his position as Jūjūshin'in's head priest, the material basis of both his religious and mundane existence.

The very poem that opens the sequence is charged with a personal exigency highly unusual for its topic and formal position as an introduction to the whole.

1 Spring. *Beginning of Spring*

aranu yo ni  
kuremadoinuru  
itonami mo

Upon a whole new world—  
even the darkly vexed struggle  
for a means to live,

hitoyo akureba	turned within a night familiar
nareru haru kana	in the dawning light of spring.

This poem should be read with a caesura after the first line, thus: “turned within a night familiar, with the dawning light of spring upon a whole new world.” “Darkly vexed” [*kuremadoinuru*] is the oppressiveness one feels under the pressure of earning a livelihood in the world. It describes a state of darkness, not the ending [of the year].<sup>7</sup> (SSRS, p. 317)

Become “familiar” and enduring in the fresh new light of spring, the struggle for existence yet casts an ominous gloom over a poem that convention dictates should be an unmixed celebration of the season and unmistakably resonates with the previously cited lament on his humble origins and deprivation of mental space for poetry. Shortly hereafter comes a poem in a strongly elegiac mood that is, to say the least, baffling.

7 Spring. *Plum Blossoms by the Eaves*

ware nakuba	When I am gone,
shinobu no noki no	plum blossoms by those eaves
ume no hana	deep with moss-fern:
hitori niowamu	the sadness of a fragrance
tsuyu zo kanashiki	drifting alone in the dew.

I was imagining the flowers blooming by the moss-deep eaves of my old cottage when I, who have had such joy in them these many years, have vainly passed on in some unknown place. . . . (SSRS, p. 319)

“My old cottage” (*Shinkei ga furuya*) refers to his hermitage back in Jūjūshin’in; the annotation suggests that his separation from it at this time is not an ordinary one. A similarly startling intimation of death away from his home in Kyoto shadows the following allegorical poem on cherry blossoms.

17 Spring. *Falling Flowers*

hana naranu	Though no flower
mi o mo izuchi e	this body, to what far corner
sasouran	shall it drift,
midaretaru yo no	in the wake of the spring wind
sue no harukaze	in these tumultuous times?

In this image [of falling flowers] I have expressed my own condition; as driven out by the rife disorders in the capital’s outlying areas, I wander here and there in confusion. (SSRS, p. 322)

This recalls the previously quoted poem 94 about being distracted by incessant journeys from the sense of *mono no aware*. The one below alludes to his lodgings in the Ta’i village Hachiōji Shrine, where he was in retreat following the disorders in the capital.

28 Summer. *Fifth Month Rains*

kakaran to	Much as I had
kanete omoishi	hoped to hang on within,
kai mo nashi	it avails not:
kaya fuku io no	the rush-thatched hut in
samidare no koro	the dark of the long rains.

Weary of living these many years on the edge of the capital with all its tumult, I desired to spend the rest of my days in some hut of straw in the remote countryside, no matter how rude and lowly. And yet now in the seclusion of this grass hut amidst the long rains, my former spirit dwindles away in misery.<sup>8</sup> (SSRS, p. 325)

As is well known, the “grass hut” is the symbol of a non-mundane eremitic existence in medieval culture. It is a moving confession that despite his former desire to turn his back on a disordered world and rely upon (*kakaran*) the “grass hut,” priest that he was, Shinkei could not at this time endure the lonely isolation of such a life. Perhaps it made a crucial difference that he left not through his own volition but due to straitened circumstances.

29 Summer. *Fishing with Cormorants*

shimatsudori	The cormorant's pain
ukaberu nami no	as it breaks upon the waves
kurushisa mo	off the distant isle,
kuga ni shizumeru	is graved deep in the mind
hito zo shiruran	of the man drowning on land.

In the painful struggles of the bird as it sinks and surfaces, I expressed the pity of my own fallen state [*waga mi no rikuchin*]. (SSRS, p. 325)

This recalls the “darkly vexed” struggle for existence in the opening poem of the sequence and is yet more striking in its tone of despair. Tied with a rope around their necks, the birds were made to dive for fish, which were then retrieved by the fishermen when they surfaced. The rope prevented them from swallowing the fish, an image of forced and unrewarded labor that powerfully figures Shinkei's sense of his own condition. His use of *rikuchin*—it occurs in the *kun*-reading *kuga ni shizumeru* in line 4—is significant, for it is normally used of officials fallen from favor or dismissed from service. The poem below clarifies the nature of his predicament.

95 Miscellaneous. *Lament*

otowayama	Otowa Mountain—
nareshi fumoto no	by those familiar foothills
yado wa arete	my abode goes to ruin;
ima ichigura ni	behind a market stall now
mi o kakusu kana	I hide self from men's eyes.

Here I openly lament my fate. When the old temple where I have lived these many years grew dilapidated amidst the rank reeds and mugwort weeds, there being no one to whom I could turn for help, I wandered out in desperation, staking my life on a rude hovel [*shizuya*] by the wayside, a stall in the marketplace [*ichigura*]. (SSRS, p. 345)

This confirms the location of Shinkei's temple at the foot of Otowa Mountain in the Higashiyama area southeast of the capital. The final two lines convey a startling image. Forced to leave the temple of which he was the head priest, Shinkei is reduced to "hiding" himself in a "stall in the marketplace." It is impossible to determine precisely what this might mean. Is it a mere figure of speech, or did he perhaps engage in commerce to raise funds to restore his temple? The period under consideration is clearly the same as in the poem immediately preceding this in the sequence (quoted above), in which he speaks of being "possessed by the dust of the world." Clearly, the circumstances in which he found himself were painful to his sensibilities both as priest and as poet.

So far, the quoted poems and annotations reveal that Shinkei left Jū-jūshin'in due to the disorders in the capital (17, 28) and because the temple itself was in a ruinous state (95). For a while, he led an uncertain existence, staying in a rude hut by the roadside and "hiding" himself in the marketplace. Deprived of the security of his former position, he considers himself fallen in the world (29) and fears that he might die in obscurity away from the capital (7, 17). He also complains of his lack of progress in poetry (97), laments the fading sense of *mono no aware* in his spirit (94), and professes his poetic ambitions doomed from the start by his lowly provincial origins (90). Since these poems were written, according to the colophon, in the last ten days of the Third Month, 1463, we may reasonably infer that they allude to certain events prior to his departure from the capital and that the prayer behind his dedication of the sequence to his home village shrine was that he might overcome his present misfortune.

The precise date of Shinkei's departure for Kii is not known. Extant renga records indicate that he participated in a flower-viewing session at Higashiyama Kurodani on 2.27.1462.<sup>9</sup> Subsequently he reappears in a renga session in the capital on 6.23.1463, just over a month after completing the first part of *Sasamegoto* during the first ten days of the Fifth Month, 1463, at the same Ta'i shrine. This means that the Kii trip occurred sometime between late spring of 1462 and midsummer of 1463.

At this point in Shinkei's life when the force of external events has begun to imperil the very basis of his social and economic position, it will be useful to map out the historical landscape of his age preparatory to examining which of its features brought about the crisis eloquently figured in the 1463

sequence. For this purpose there is no better source than his own portrait of the times in the opening passage of the critical essay *Hitorigoto*. It was written in 1468 in the Kantō the year following the outbreak of the Ōnin War, an event that would permanently alter the course of his career and mark the present crisis as merely a prelude to a greater disaster.

All the world is but a phantom vision; well do I know it, for I have seen before my very eyes the conflagration raging within the three worlds, the seething afflictions without respite.<sup>10</sup> Yet even so, how terrible it is to have been born in the last days of such an utterly degenerate age!

I have clearly seen and heard what has happened these fifty years and more. In all that time there has been no peace over the land.

It was thirty years ago [1438] that all of a sudden disorder broke out in the East. As the months stretched into years, myriads perished, their bodies torn by the sword as men fell upon each other in madness, and still the strife showed no signs of letting up. Shortly thereafter befell that incident in the Akamatsu mansion [1441]; year after year since then, the country has merely tottered along with no help in sight. Even within the powerful clans, selfish quarrels broke out between lord and retainer and among the rank and file, in which men of various stations fell in great numbers. And though they battled day and night, pitting their might against each other in their various territories, nowhere was the outcome ever decisive.

To top it all, the practice arose of issuing edicts called “acts of grace” [*tokusei*], something unheard of in former ages. Year in and year out, the peasants of the countryside would appear from the ten directions and break into the ninefold enclosure, turning the whole city into a den of thieves and striking fear in the people as they endlessly looted for treasures. And thus it came about that the people grew weary, the capital fell into ruin, and of the myriad ways of civilized men nothing remained.

This was the state of affairs when just over seven years ago [1461], there ensued a prolonged drought when not a single tuft of grass grew upon the fields across the land. From the capital and the villages, thousands of starving people, both high and low, wandered out to beg on the wayside, or just sat there till they crumpled over and died. It is impossible to say how many myriads perished in just a single day. The world had turned into a hell of hungry ghosts before my eyes.<sup>11</sup> Long ago in a work called *Hōjōki* [A record of the ten-foot square hut], Kamo no Chōmei recorded the drought that befell in the Angen era [1175–77] when over twenty thousand perished in the capital within a day. A fire arose in the midst of a high wind; starting from around Higuchi-Takakura, it leaped and spread all the way to Nakamikado-Kyōgoku and reduced the city to a heap of ashes. So horrible was this account that I believed it a fabrication until this very day, when all at once it seems that the triple calamities presaging the world’s destruction are indeed upon us.<sup>12</sup> (*Hitorigoto*, p. 466)

The Buddhist metaphor of the world as a burning house, a conflagration of futile passions and suffering, acquires the force of immediacy in Shinkei’s account of the deteriorating conditions in the country before the war. It also

reflects the medieval consciousness of living in the age of the “degenerate Law” (*mappō*), the third and final stage in the steady decline of human understanding of and adherence to the Buddha’s teachings subsequent to his death. One of the most pervasive concepts in the medieval worldview, this *mappō* consciousness implicitly infects Shinkei’s dramatic accounts of the sociopolitical anarchy and natural disasters afflicting his age. It will be useful to elucidate the events alluded to here by way of annotating the passage and fleshing out Shinkei’s unusual role as a witness to history. Bearing witness to history has not been a recognizable stance for Japanese poets since the ancient days of Hitomaro and Okura in the *Man’yōshū*; here too Shinkei was breaking with a long-established tradition of pure lyricism.

The Ashikaga shogunate that ruled Japan in the Muromachi period (1392–1568) was structurally a coalition of great regional lords (*shugo daimyō*) under the central authority of the Shōgun. Reaching its peak under the third Ashikaga Shōgun Yoshimitsu (1358–1408; r. 1368–94), it continued to wield adequate control during the rule of his two sons, Yoshimochi (1386–1428; r. 1394–1423) and Yoshinori (1394–1441; r. 1428–41), before disintegrating into an impotent pawn in the power struggle among the daimyo during the incumbency of Yoshimasa (1436–90; r. 1449–73).

The rule of Yoshinori in the Eikyō era (1429–41) coincided with Shinkei’s coming of age and maturity from age twenty-three to thirty-five. The era came to an abrupt end with Yoshinori’s shocking assassination in the Sixth Month of 1441, the Kakitsu Incident to which Shinkei delicately alludes in the foregoing passage, an event marking the turning point in the bakufu’s fortunes. Yoshinori was cut down during a banquet at the mansion of Akamatsu Mitsusuke (1381–1441), Lord of Harima (Hyōgo), Bizen, and Mimasaka (Okayama). Mitsusuke was apparently driven to this crime by rumors that the Shōgun was about to dispossess him of the three provinces in favor of his rival and relative, Akamatsu Sadamura. As it turned out, neither party was destined to have these territories. They were awarded to Yamana Sōzen (1404–73), whose punitive forces besieged Mitsusuke’s castle in the Ninth Month and caused his defeat and suicide.<sup>13</sup>

The occasion for the party that saw Yoshinori’s assassination was ostensibly to celebrate the bakufu’s successes in quelling the disorders that had broken out in the Eastern provinces (the Kantō or Azuma region). These had always posed a problem to the central government as the Kantō Kubō, the Shōgun’s representative in the East and himself descended from a collateral branch of the Ashikaga, usually harbored an ambition to become Shōgun in Kyoto as well. Mochiuji (1398–1439), the fourth of this line, was no different in this regard. Frustrated in his efforts to be nominated Shōgun instead of Yoshinori, he plotted against the bakufu in 1437 and the

following year attacked the stronghold of his own Deputy, the Kantō Kanrei Uesugi Norizane (d. 1455), who was loyal to Kyoto; this is the event Shinkei marks as the beginning of the breakdown of civil order in the East. To chastise him, the bakufu ordered the Uesugi, Imagawa, Takeda, and other Eastern daimyō to move against Mochiuji, who was finally defeated in Hakone and committed suicide the following year, 1439, at the Eianji Temple in Musashi (Tokyo); this was the so-called Eikyō Incident. Matters did not end there, however, as Yūki Ujitomo (1402–41) took up the cause of Mochiuji's sons, and they were not put down by bakufu forces until the early months of 1441. This victory was the ostensible occasion for Mitsusuke's murderous banquet in the Sixth Month. As we shall see, the disorders in the Kantō were never decisively resolved. They were still raging when Shinkei, driven from the capital by the Ōnin War, went to live there from 1467 until his death in 1475.

Possibly the most overwhelming evidence of the bakufu's rapid decline after 1441 was its total inability to control the internal struggles for succession within the daimyō clans in the quarter century until the Ōnin War. Shinkei clearly had these in mind when he wrote above that "even within the powerful clans, selfish quarrels broke out between lord and retainer and among the rank and file." It was then the practice for daimyō to transmit their entire domain to a single heir, who assumed the headship of the clan upon approval by the Shōgun. Problems arose when the daimyō died without designating an heir or when the heir was too young to maintain his position or was simply unacceptable to his powerful local retainers, who might then proceed to set up a rival candidate. The clan would then split into two, with relatives, senior retainers, and the masses of local samurai aligning themselves with one or the other according to their loyalties or self-interest. For reasons to be discussed later, such internal strife within the Hatakeyama clan had momentous consequences for Shinkei's own circumstances.

It seems reasonable to assume that among the events recounted in the *Hitorigoto* passage, the peasant uprisings known as *doikki* constituted the "rife disorders" (poem 17) that drove him from the capital in 1462 or 1463. These civil riots were particularly frequent in the capital and its environs, as well as in Nara, in the three decades before the war. Unable to meet the excessive interest charged by the moneylenders (the *dosō*), the peasants of Yamashiro and Nara organized themselves under the leadership of local samurai and staged armed revolts in the two cities, with the object of forcing the bakufu to issue the decree of amnesty called *tokusei* (act of grace), the cancellation of debts. To reinforce their demands, they often employed disruptive tactics, such as attacking brokerage houses and de-



stroying pawn receipts. Inevitably undesirable elements would infiltrate their ranks, turning, as Shinkei puts it, “the whole city into a den of thieves and striking fear in the people as they endlessly looted for treasures.” Religious institutions, being themselves estate proprietors and commercial agents, were notably not exempt from these depredations. One of the largest of the pre-Ōnin uprisings occurred in 1454, when the peasant leagues of the Yamashina and Daigo Districts destroyed the commercial barrier (*sekisho*) put up by the Tōfukuji, one of the Gozan Zen temples, and marched on to Kyoto to demand an act of grace. Located on the south-eastern edge of the city, Shinkei’s Jūjūshin’in would have been in the general vicinity of their march to the capital. Records indicate that there were uprisings nearly every year thereafter, sometimes twice a year, or lasting for months, such as those that occurred from the Ninth to the Eleventh Month of 1462.<sup>14</sup> They would have contributed to Shinkei’s fleeting desire to renounce the world, to abandon “the capital with all its tumult” for a grass hut in the countryside.

Conditions in Kyoto were further exacerbated by the famines that struck the nearby provinces in 1460–61. Writing in his diary *Hekizan nichiroku*, the Tōfukuji priest Taikyoku noted that already in the Eighth Month of 1459, there were signs of the impending disaster whose effects struck with full force the following year. In the Third Month of 1460, he encountered a woman on her way to the capital with a dead child in her arms. She had wandered from Kawachi Province (Osaka) and reported that the drought there had lasted three years. That summer, long rains fell, resulting in floods and pestilence; people were wearing winter clothes, Taikyoku observes, due to the unseasonably low temperatures. There was a massive famine in the Bishū region, Mimasaka, and Hōki (Tottori) provinces, where it was rumored that starving people were feeding on human flesh. Under these conditions, refugees flocked from the stricken areas into the capital from 1460 to the spring of 1461. In the capital alone, Taikyoku put the dead at 82,000, probably a conservative estimate, since not all the corpses could be counted and buried.<sup>15</sup> Assuming that Shinkei’s statement “It is impossible to say how many myriads perished in just a single day” includes the dead in the countryside as well, it would appear that his estimate is not wholly a literary exaggeration.

As suggested earlier, it appears that Shinkei left the capital because the tumult of the peasant uprisings had made living there intolerable and, more to the point, because his temple was in a dilapidated condition. It does not seem proper, however, to conclude that the one was a direct consequence of the other. His commentary to poem 95, for instance, makes no mention of

these disorders. In fact some recently discovered documents directly concerning Jūjūshin'in suggest a somewhat different context for his trip to Kii in 1462 or 1463, in addition to illuminating the real reasons that brought about the financial and personal crisis shadowing the Ta'i poem sequence. Belonging to the archives of Kyoto's Rokuharamitsu Temple, these documents consist of five official letters issued by the bakufu to Jūjūshin'in. The oldest, signed by the first Ashikaga shōgun Takauji (1305–58; r. 1338–58) and dated 1354, grants steward's rights (*jitōshiki*) to the temple over estate villages in Kii Province for the performance of religious rites to ensure "peace in the realm" and the bakufu's "enduring military fortunes." The second, issued by Takauji's son Motouji (1340–67) in 1356, enjoins Jūjūshin'in to the devout and thorough performance of rites and confirms its status as a prayer temple (*kigandera*) of the bakufu. The same message is repeated in the remaining three letters, signed respectively by the shōguns Yoshimitsu in 1384, Yoshimochi in 1422, and Yoshinori in 1438.<sup>16</sup>

The dilapidated "old temple" (*furudera*) in Shinkei's commentary to poem 95 is thus revealed to have had a considerable formal status as an official bakufu temple, with a history going back a century to the very beginnings of the Ashikaga shogunate. This explains why he describes his condition in poem 29 as *rikuchin*, a fall from official favor, and measures the height from which he had indeed sunk as the temple's head priest. While there is no evidence to show that he had in fact been dismissed, the facts that the temple had been allowed to deteriorate and that no official support was forthcoming apparently amounted to the same thing in his mind. In this connection, the first document signed by Takauji is specially relevant because it reveals that Jūjūshin'in derived its financial sustenance from its position as steward of estates located in Kii, Shinkei's own province. This means that from 1400, when Kii was included among the domains of the Hatakeyama clan, these lands too would have fallen under their jurisdiction as constable daimyō of the province. Under these circumstances, it would have been natural for the temple, in its own interest, to serve the religious needs of the Hatakeyama along with its functions as a bakufu temple. That this is indeed what happened is borne out by a Muromachi-period lexicon called *Meisū goi*, which gives the following entry under Jūjūshin'in: "Hatakeyama temple, located south of Kiyomizu-zaka in the Higashiyama district of the capital."<sup>17</sup> Particularly after Yoshinori's assassination in 1441, which marked the bakufu's rapid decline until the Ōnin War, Jūjūshin'in would have had to depend on the goodwill and patronage of the Hatakeyama. Its fortunes, in short, were crucially linked to this clan, and it is against this newly discovered background that Shinkei's trip to Kii in 1463, when the temple was in dire financial difficulties, should be viewed.

The Hatakeyama was one of the most powerful daimyō families in the Muromachi period. Apart from Kii, its domains included Kawachi and Izumi (Osaka) and two adjacent central provinces, Nōto (Ishikawa) and Etchū (Toyama), on the Japan Sea coast. Like the Shiba and Hosokawa, it was a cadet branch of the Ashikaga house and shared with these the privilege of occupying the post of Deputy Shōgun (*Kanrei*), the second highest office in the bakufu government. Unfortunately for Shinkei and his temple, the Hatakeyama became embroiled in one of those internal quarrels that he deplors in *Hitorigoto*. These disputes that were to divide the clan and wreak the havoc of war in its territories stemmed from the question of who was to succeed to the powerful family headship after Hatakeyama Mochikuni (1397–1455), Deputy Shōgun in 1442–44, and again in 1449–51. The trouble started when Mochikuni appointed his son Yoshinari (d. 1490) as heir in 1450 in violation of his previous commitment to his nephew and adopted son Masanaga (d. 1493), whom he had placed in line for the headship before Yoshinari's birth. Masanaga had the support of mighty warrior leaders such as Jimbo, Constable of Etchū, whose plot to eliminate Yoshinari was uncovered in 1454 and signaled the outbreak of the war between the two factions. Involving principally areas in Kawachi, Yamato, and Kii, these battles led to no decisive settlement. Moreover, they would later become the arena for a confrontation between Hosokawa Katsumoto (1430–73) and Yamana Sōzen, who were then emerging as the two most powerful political figures of the time. With Hosokawa supporting the claims of Masanaga, and Yamana those of Yoshinari, the Hatakeyama conflict was to escalate into the larger Ōnin War in 1467.

The circumstances just described render it highly plausible that the deterioration of Jūjūshin'in, though perhaps exacerbated by the famines and uprisings in and around the capital, was directly caused by the internecine strife within the Hatakeyama clan. In other words, the temple's income from its lands in Kii had gradually dwindled as the resources of the province were funneled into the war effort. As a matter of fact, there is no lack of contemporary sources connecting the massive starvation of 1461 itself to the warfare within the clans, as warlords forced increasingly greater rice levies upon peasants already burdened by droughts, floods, and consequent bad harvests. One of these is the head priest of the Kōfuku Temple's Daijōin, Jinson (1430–1508), who wrote that "due to the drought in the various provinces last year, and the war disturbances in Kawachi, Kii, Etchū, Echizen, and other places, the people of these provinces flocked to the capital and starved there in great numbers."<sup>18</sup>

Shinkei, as we have seen, left Jūjūshin'in in a state of distraction and was engaged for a time, it would seem, in commercial attempts to raise funds

around the capital (poem 95). Perhaps these efforts were not successful, forcing him to go directly to the temple's source of income, Kii Province. There he stayed at his home village's Hachiōji Shrine and composed as a prayer offering the hundred-poem sequence that has so tantalizingly provided the clues to his problems in 1462–63.

The Hatakeyama strife did more than weaken Shinkei's position as head of the clan temple in the capital; other poems in the 1463 sequence reveal that the casualties of the battles in Kii included his own relatives and friends and that his despair at this time sprang equally from a sense of personal bereavement.

47 Autumn. *Moon on the River*

tsuki no mi zo	Only the moon remains
katami ni ukabu	floating in the memory upon
kinokawa ya	Kinokawa River—
shizumishi hito no	pale glistening waves,
ato no shiranami	the blank wake of drowned men.

Among the hundreds and thousands who have drowned and perished in this river due to the disorders in this province were those whom I knew in former days. Often I would walk along the river, gazing at the moon. (SSRS, p. 331)

91 Miscellaneous. *Old Hometown*

tachikaeri	Time returns, and
mishi wa kazukazu	the tears fall, less to see
naki yori mo	there had gone so many,
nokori ni au zo	than to come face to face
namida ochinuru	with those who remain.

Due to the more than ten years' disorder in the Ki region, none but a few remain among the people whom I knew in former days. On those rare times when I meet one who has survived, I am overcome with the ineffableness of it all. (SSRS, p. 344)

96 Miscellaneous. *Lament for the Past*

naki wa mina	It is long past
utsutsu ni kaeru	since the dead all returned
mukashi nite	to the wholly real;
hitori ima miru	I am left alone, bereft gaze
yume zo kanashiki	upon the dream of the now.

Truly when one comprehends these things, one sees that the dead attain rest in the reality of an original enlightenment without illusions [*mujū hongaku no utsutsu*]. Left behind in the present, weaving delusive thoughts out of various affairs of little consequence—it is I who live in a dream.<sup>19</sup> (SSRS, p. 345)

The “more than ten years' disorder in the Ki region” (*Kishū jūyonen no midare*) in 91, and the “disorders in this province” (*kono kuni no midare*) in

47 refer beyond doubt to the Hatakeyama succession disputes, which erupted into open warfare in 1454 and would have been dragging on for ten years by 1463. We do not know the identity of the people whom Shinkei mourns in these poems. However, his sense of utter desolation in 96, his inexpressible feelings in 91 on encountering the few who have survived the conflict, in a word the depth and exigency of personal emotion charging these poems, suggest that he is referring to members of his family and clan, people to whom he would naturally have turned for support in his present predicament. We should recall the passage cited earlier from *Oi no kurigoto*, “Moreover, the persons I relied on for support were early taken from this world, leaving me in such grief that life came to seem even more insubstantial than a phantom vision. My mind became permeated with the sense of things that merely pass without a trace.” Its tone strongly echoes the pervasive sense of unreality in the elegiac poems, a conjunction that suggests Shinkei had the same people in mind in both instances. That is, the persons who were “early taken from this world” were casualties of the protracted battles in Kii and belonged to the local warrior class, Hatakeyama vassals whose business it was to fight wars and die in them, whose deaths in fact left Shinkei feeling wholly alone in 1463, as sequestered in religious retreat at the village shrine, he entrusted his uncertain future into his clan-god’s keeping.

98 Miscellaneous. *Shintō Gods*

hitori nao	Alone among all,
waga ujigami ya	could it be, my clan-god has
sutezaran	yet to forsake me?
sarazuba kakaru	In such times had I since
yo ni mo nokoraji	perished, were it not so.

That I have survived till now, even thus wholly cut off from people and the world, must be because, alone among all, my clan-god feels compassion for my state and still protects me against all odds. (SSRS, p. 346)

The tone of the poem is a complex one; it simultaneously expresses gratitude at his own survival, a lament at his abandonment by others, and, most hidden but most urgent, a plea for his clan-god’s continued protection in overcoming his present misfortune.

The near-decimation of Shinkei’s clan meant, in real terms, the loss of influential relatives to look out for his interests—that is, the income from Jūjūshin’in’s estates in Kii—and would have rendered him wholly vulnerable to the unpredictable turns of the Hatakeyama conflict. We should consider the poem above in relation to another whose extreme pessimism was doubtless exacerbated by his sense of having been betrayed through loss of patronage as a consequence of the Hatakeyama strife.

86 Miscellaneous. *Pines Along the Bay*

machikouru	Someone waits, longing
hito ari tote mo	for me, you say, but what of it?
nani naran	I have seen the world:
yo wa adanami no	a sea of inconstant waves
mitsu no hamamatsu	flooding the shore pines of Mitsu!

It has been common, since Yamanoue Okura's poem in the *Man'yōshū* which says, "The shore pines of Mitsu / must be waiting and longing," to employ this image thus.<sup>20</sup> Having seen through the reality of my own condition, I cannot but think that even if there were someone awaiting me in the capital, that person too would turn out to be only a dream. (SSRS, p. 342)

Grief and despair, a sense of abandonment and betrayal, these emotions as Shinkei bares them before his clan-god are no doubt sincere, yet we should not infer from them that he was wholly without recourse. As Kaneko observes, his warrior clan must have been of some considerable social status in Kii, since not every priest could aspire to promotion to Bishop, a rank second only to that of Abbot, or be appointed to the headship of a shogunal temple like Jūjūshin'in.<sup>21</sup> His staunchest supporters might have perished in the battles, but as head priest of the Hatakeyama and shogunal temple he would have retained some local authority and moral influence. There was also his reputation as a well-known poet in the capital; *Sasamegoto* was written at the request of local renga enthusiasts two months later, and indeed the 1463 sequence itself was annotated for presentation to a friend, or friends, of long standing, seeing that he signed it with his childhood name. Here we have indirect evidence that the commentaries clarifying his dire position had the particular object of mustering sympathy and support for his mission in Kii.

In this connection, it is significant to note that Kii's role in the battles was especially crucial from 1460, when the bakufu, which had heretofore recognized Yoshinari as the legitimate heir, suddenly withdrew its support and appointed Masanaga in his stead. Thus in the Ninth Month of 1460, Yoshinari fled the capital for Kawachi, first taking up a position in Wakae Castle and, when this was overwhelmed by Masanaga's forces, withdrawing to his stronghold on Mount Dake. The ensuing battle of Mount Dake was a protracted one. In 1462 the bakufu even ordered forces from twenty-eight provinces, including a contingent of the Hosokawa, to support Masanaga, but the stronghold proved impregnable to their repeated assaults. Yoshinari's forces, on the other hand, were continually reinforced by men and provisions from Kii Province.<sup>22</sup> It was not until Masanaga succeeded in blocking off the southern route to Kii, Yoshinari's lifeline, that the defense of Mount Dake began to fail. Faced with dwindling supplies, Yoshinari finally admitted defeat in the Third Month of 1463.

That Shinkei's Kii poem sequence is also from the Third Month of 1463 would not then be a simple coincidence, startling though it may be without knowledge of the important Hatakeyama connection. In other words the presence in Kii of the clan's head priest at a most crucial period in the conflict doubtless had more than private significance. What it was precisely is impossible to say. It is clear, however, that the lengthy defense of Mount Dake from 1460 to 1463 would have made heavy demands on the resources of Kii Province and that Jūjūshin'in deteriorated during the same period. Set against this is the positive turn in the temple's fortunes upon Shinkei's return to the capital after the cessation of hostilities. It has been suggested that in the poem below, Shinkei speaks in his official capacity as Hatakeyama head priest and as a loyal son of the clan who has come home to mediate and pray for the resolution of the conflicts tearing it apart.<sup>23</sup>

70 Winter. *End of the Year*

toshi samumi  
matsu no iro ni zo  
tsukaete wa  
futagokoro naki  
hito mo shiraren

To render service in  
the spirit of the pine's greenness  
in the cold of the year—  
therein is starkly manifest  
a man's singleness of heart.

X

It is said that the pine tree's stark indifference to circumstance is revealed at year's end, when it remains green against the frosty sky. I was thinking, in connection with the poem's topic, of the saying that the stalwart pine is manifest in the cold season, and the loyal minister appears when the country is in peril.<sup>24</sup> (SSRS, p. 337)

Did Shinkei have himself in mind here as the "loyal minister"? Addressed to clan members by a person of authority, the explanation would have had a purposeful ring, and the poem's valorization of loyalty upheld amidst difficulties resonates against the singularly un-uplifting spectacle of what he would later deplore in *Hitorigoto* as "selfish quarrels . . . between lord and retainer and among the rank and file." Whatever the political nature of his mission in Kii, since his own position and the temple's fortunes were so crucially linked to the Hatakeyama clan, it goes without saying that the cessation of conflict was at the forefront of Shinkei's prayer in that fateful spring of 1463.

100 Miscellaneous. *Auspicious Words*

hitori tada  
mi o nagusamuru  
koto no ha mo  
mitsu no hoka naru  
tanoshihi ni shite

To sit quite alone,  
finding solace from life  
in leaves of words,  
is a pleasure beyond any  
in all the three worlds.<sup>25</sup>

Coming almost immediately after his desperate plea to his clan-god in poem 98, the close of the sequence suggests that poetry sustained Shinkei

through his severe trials at this time. Resonating against the opening poem on the “darkly vexed” struggle for existence and the previously cited construction of mundane affairs as a dream, it confirms the central place of poetry in Shinkei’s thought as a mode of being that liberates the mind from illusion and heals the soul from the wounds inflicted by the force of circumstance. Lifting the individual from the illusory hold of origins, “the seed of the heart” would mark not the physical space of an absence but a philosophy of poetry locating its genesis in the inalienable mind-ground (*shinji*) of ultimate reality.





## “A Stepchild in the Past, Now an Orphan”: Shōtetsu and Shinkei

sugi no konoma ni  
yuki zo mietaru  
akesomuru  
yokawa no ochi no  
hira no yama

Between the cedar trees,  
Glimpses of white snow!  
Beyond Yokawa  
the dawn light tints the sky  
over Mount Hira.

Someone who has not actually seen this scenery will find it difficult to visualize these verses. The fact is that on the peak of Mount Hira, which is located north of Yokawa, the snow never melts, just as on Mount Fuji. I have merely described the scenery as I was wont to see it for many long years. This is also one style of composing a verse. (*Goku* 144, p. 42)<sup>1</sup>

Shinkei's first appearance in contemporary poetic records was on the occasion of the grand Kitano Shrine Ten-Thousand-Verse (*manku*) Renga in 1433, when he was twenty-seven and already a full-fledged cleric bearing the name Priest Renkai. What were the circumstances of his life after being taken from Ta'i to the capital as a mere child of two? If, as seems likely, his family had early destined him for priesthood at the clan temple, it is most natural to assume that he was already placed at Jūjūshin'in at seven or eight, the usual age when such boys left their homes to formally enter a temple. Subsequently, as may be deduced from the verse and commentary above, he underwent “many long years” (*toshi hisashiku*) of training at the great Tendai monastery of Mount Hiei in the hills northeast of the capital. Yokawa, also called Oku-Hiei, was the innermost of the monastery's three main precincts, located north of the other two to the west and east. From its cedar-covered slopes, one could, as Shinkei states, glimpse the snowy peak of Mount Hira farther north. The course of studies at Hiei normally lasted twelve years, and this would be what *toshi hisashiku* signifies in specific terms.<sup>2</sup>

The decisive influence of this ancient monastery, training ground for Japan's learned prelates through the centuries, on a sensitive young man during the most impressionable period of his mental life can easily be imagined. It was here from his teens to his early twenties that Shinkei began to acquire that considerable knowledge of Buddhist scripture and secular classics, both Japanese and Chinese, so prodigally cited in his own writings, here where the power of the word, or more properly speaking, the mind, would have been impressed upon him. *Sasamegoto* in particular, with its central emphasis on poetic method as a "discipline in the mind-ground" (*shinji shugyō*), bears eloquent testimony to the influence of *shikan* (stillness and insight), the concept and practice of Zen meditation that constitutes, along with Esoteric doctrine, one of the twin foundations of Tendai religious philosophy.<sup>3</sup> But most decisively, by a combination of innate drift and environment, the Hiei years would have fostered in him that cloistered, inviolably purist cast of thought that remains intact and palpable behind his most apparently emotive self-confessions and that would find its highest expression in the "ineffably remote" (*yōon*) quality of his poetry of objective symbolism. Just how memorable these years were is manifest in the verse quoted above, and in at least two other waka poems evoking the scenery of Yokawa. As late as 1467 when the war had driven him from the capital to Musashi in the East, we find him recalling the once familiar mountain peak of Enryakuji, the monastery's main temple, in a verse alluding to a poem by Dengyō Daishi (Saichō; 767–822) to commemorate its founding.

kumo hiku mine ni  
 tera zo miekeru  
 omokage ya  
 waga tatsu soma no  
 ato naran

As the cloud banks lift, high on  
 the peak a temple lies revealed.  
 Memory traces  
 the timbers that he raised  
 here in image.<sup>4</sup>

By the first year of the Eikyō era (1429–41) when he was twenty-three, Shinkei had already descended from Mount Hiei to take up his appointed life and career as priest of Jūjūshin'in, the temple that he invariably locates, in his poetry, on "the foothills of Otowa Mountain." This site is confirmed in the *Sōkonshū* poem-journal of Shinkei's waka mentor Shōtetsu (1381–1459), who mentions visiting him "in Jūjūshin'in near Kiyomizu Temple" (*Kiyomizudera atari Jūjūshin'in*; *SKS*, p. 732). In other words Shinkei's temple stood right in the heart of what is now one of Kyoto's most popular tourist spots. Kiyomizu Temple still stands, as does Rokuharamitsuji, in whose archives the Jūjūshin'in documents were discovered. Rokuharamitsuji is located on Matsubara-dōri, just a few blocks from Higashiōji, the main street below Kiyomizu-zaka. It is possible that the documents were

deposited there when Jūjūshin'in burned sometime during the Ōnin War. Was it then like Rokuharamitsuji a Shingon temple? *Jūjūshin* itself is commonly taken as a Shingon term for the ten stages in the spiritual development of an aspirant toward full comprehension of the cosmic mysteries. It comes from the "Jūshinbon" chapter of the *Dainichi Sutra*, which was in turn the basis of a famous ten-volume work by Shingon's founder, Kūkai (774–835), entitled *Jūjūshinron*. Yet the evidence that Shinkei trained on Mount Hiei and not Mount Kōya is too strong; moreover, Tendai philosophy was as much rooted in Esoteric or Shingon-related doctrine as in meditation practice. Thus the name Jūjūshin'in itself does not necessarily imply membership in the Shingon sect. In short, it is not possible to make a conclusive sectarian determination at this point.

Just two blocks north of Rokuharamitsuji is the Kenninji, at the time one of the five Gozan Zen temples. It was also connected to the Hatakeyama since Mochikuni, whose successor was to be so violently contested, had a personal sanctuary there. In fact Shinkei's own nephew, the Zen monk Kiyō-shuza, who would also take refuge in the Kantō during the war, was training in the same temple. It is possible that Shinkei had other relatives living nearby who served the Hatakeyama in some capacity, among them those who would perish in the clan's internal strife.

The Eikyō era coincides with the incumbency of the sixth Shōgun, Yoshinori. The fourth son of the great Yoshimitsu, he was originally meant for an ecclesiastical career and was indeed the Tendai Abbot while Shinkei was on Mount Hiei. Yoshinori indirectly figures in Shinkei's biography during this period, the first time when he attended the Bishamon Sermon (*Bishamon-kō*) at Jūjūshin'in on 8.28.1431, as recorded in the contemporary journal *Mansai jugō nikki*.<sup>5</sup> The most important of the rituals regularly performed by Jūjūshin'in in its capacity as a shogunal temple, the Bishamon Sermon has a history going back to the first Ashikaga Shōgun, Takauji. According to the military history *Taiheiki*, Takauji and his son Yoshiakira (1330–67; r. 1358–67) had it performed for them at Iwaya Temple in Tamba in 1351 when they were fleeing the capital.<sup>6</sup> This incident must have set the precedent for the traditional performance of the same ceremony at Jūjūshin'in; it will be recalled that Takauji awarded the temple the Kii estates in 1354 and charged it with praying for "peace in the realm" and the bakufu's "enduring military fortunes." As is well known, the bakufu and the military class in general worshipped the Buddhist deity Bishamon (Skt. Vaiśravaṇa) as a war god and protector of the realm. In sculpture he was portrayed as a fiery warrior dressed in armor, bearing a miniature pagoda on one hand and a spear in the other. Of the Four Heavenly Kings (*shiten-nō*) who guarded the four directions, Bishamon was considered the most important since he had charge of the north, the direction of the greatest

peril in Buddhist cosmology. Hiei was built in the northern hills for this very reason, and within it Bishamon is enshrined in the main temple, Enryakuji, of the Yokawa precinct, where Shinkei trained for his future duties at Jūjūshin'in.

Less than two years following his attendance at the Bishamon Sermon, Yoshinori sponsored the Kitano Shrine Ten-Thousand-Verse Renga (*manku*) on the eleventh day of the Second Month, 1433. This grand event, which marked Shinkei's debut in the field of linked poetry, also heralded the beginning of a renga revival under the leadership of the seven poets—himself among them—who were to dominate the art until the end of the Ōnin War in 1477. The participants were divided into twenty groups: each group composed five *hyakuin* and was headed by formidable personages like the Shōgun himself; members of the Hosokawa, Yamana, and Akamatsu warrior clans; representatives of the noble Kujō, Ichijō, Nijō, and Hino families; and prominent monks in the service of the bakufu. There is no more impressive evidence of renga's function as a collective ritual and powerful symbol of solidarity than this annual event, which began during Yoshimitsu's time. Jūjūshin'in's special connection with the bakufu is reflected in the rather prominent place accorded Shinkei, a young priest of no rank or, as yet, poetic reputation, on this occasion. He was assigned to the group led by the Middle Counselor Hino Yoshisuke, whose sessions were held in the same Kitano Shrine building as Yoshinori's group. The Hino had become the most influential noble family in the bakufu ever since Yoshimitsu took one of their daughters as consort. This practice was followed by subsequent shōguns including Yoshinori himself, who was married to Hino Shigecko (1410–63), Yoshisuke's sister. Shinkei composed the third verse of the first sequence, right after Yoshisuke's *hokku* and the *waki* (second verse) by Fujiwara Muneari.

yorozuyo o  
shirayū kekeyo  
yaezakura  
Hino-chūnagon  
midori harumeku  
kami no misakaki  
Fujiwara Muneari  
asahidera  
terasu miyai wa  
nodoka nite  
Renkai-hōshi

Be as holy white pennants  
promising a myriad years—  
eightfold cherry blossoms!  
Hino Middle Counselor  
Truly spring-like in their green,  
the *sakaki* leaves of the gods.  
Fujiwara Muneari  
Temple of the morning sun—  
in the numinous light the garden  
is raptly tranquil.  
Priest Renkai [Shinkei]<sup>7</sup>

Composed in praise of the Kitano Shrine grounds and buildings, among which the Asahi (lit., “morning sun”) Temple was the most highly prized, Shinkei's earliest known verse is flawless and already manifests his charac-

teristic style in its combination of wit and a delicately attuned, listening sensibility.

Held nearly every year during the remainder of Yoshinori's incumbency, the Kitano Shrine *manku* provided a great stimulus to linked-verse activity in the capital. Its grandness of scale was doubtless an impressive display of bakufu power, even while attesting to Yoshinori's enthusiasm for *renga*, which is confirmed by records of monthly sessions held at the Muromachi Palace and other places.<sup>8</sup> In the field of *waka* he would also sponsor the compilation of the *Shinzoku Kokinshū*, the very last of the imperial *waka* anthologies, between 1433 and 1439. Yoshinori directly influenced Shinkei's career one last time by issuing the order, dated 3.15.1438, reconfirming Jūjūshin'in's status as an official bakufu temple.

There are no other datable records of Shinkei's participation in *renga* or *waka* sessions in the Eikyō era, which came to an abrupt end, as we have seen, with Yoshinori's assassination in 1441. Quite possibly, he took part in the *renga* events at Kitano Shrine subsequent to 1433; unfortunately, records of them have not survived. In *waka*, Eikyō 1 (1429) marks the beginning of that long period of training under Shōtetsu that Shinkei would later describe as a "thirty-years' tutelage" (*misotose no teikin*). And the nostalgic passage in *Hitorigoto* recalling the era indicates that he was an active participant in the capital's flourishing poetic milieu.

Truly until the years of the Eikyō era, the illustrious masters and predecessors of *waka* and *renga* still remained in the world, and brilliant poetry gatherings were held at various places. Among the noble houses, those of Ichijō Kanera, the Asukai family, and the two branches of the Reizei; among the warrior houses, those of Hosokawa Mochiyuki, Katsumoto, Dōken, Motoyuki, and Yoriyoshi, Hatakeyama Yoshitada and Mochizumi, Isshiki Norichika, Takeda Nobukata, Ise Sadakuni and Sadachika, Ogasawara Mochinaga; apart from these, the sessions at the houses of the priests Seigan [Shōtetsu] and Gyōkō. At these different places, monthly meetings, so-called poem-criticism meetings, and various other poetic gatherings were held with countless frequency. . . . I myself participated in them but being untalented and dull-witted derived even less profit than a blind man before red foliage, a cow before lute music. With Priest Seigan in particular I studied continuously for thirty years without retaining anything or acquiring the faintest understanding. Now I can only gnash my teeth in a thousand bitter regrets. (*Hitorigoto*, p. 468)

It is characteristic of the period that most of the names figuring above are of warriors belonging to the deputy shōgun and daimyō class. Comprising the most politically powerful and affluent class throughout the medieval period, these men were also interested patrons and students of poetry in their drive to acquire the high culture that was traditionally the birthright of the now impotent but still prestigious class of court nobles. In poetry,

always the art that mattered most, they were represented by the rival Nijō and Reizei families descended from Fujiwara Teika (1162–1241), then as now regarded as the country's greatest waka poet. At this time however, there was no one of exceptional talent among Teika's descendants, and the Asukai family stemming from Teika's contemporary Masatsune (1170–1221) and hereditarily aligned with the Nijō school was acknowledged as the official leader in the waka field. This is evident in the appointment of Asukai Masayo (1390–1452) as the compiler of the *Shinzoku Kokinshū*. Masayo was assisted in this task by the poet-priest Gyōkō (1391–1455), who belonged like himself to the academic Nijō school favored by the Shōgun Yoshinori. Heading Shinkei's list of nobility is Ichijō Kanera, statesman, classical scholar, and the most prominent man of culture in the mid-Muromachi period. A grandson of the distinguished Nijō Yoshimoto, Kanera was active in both waka and renga, frequently participating in Yoshinori's sessions and eventually compiling a twenty-volume renga anthology called *Shingyokushū* (New gems collection) around 1450. In this he was following the impressive precedent set by Yoshimoto in compiling, against the objections of entrenched waka interests, the first imperial anthology of renga, *Tsukubashū* (Tsukuba collection) in 1356.

Shinkei regarded the age of Yoshimoto and Gusai as the first flowering of renga, which declined subsequently, however, in the "middle period," when their aesthetic ideals were rejected in favor of a style centering on verbal wit and rhetorical technique and ignoring the principle of linking through meaning or poetic feeling (*kokoro-zuke*). Basically the contemporary renga revival announced, in effect, by Shinkei in *Sasamegoto* signaled a "return" to the practice of linked verse as a serious art, beyond its continuing popularity as a collective verbal entertainment, and as a social ritual lending grace to a particular occasion whether public or private. The harbingers of this renaissance, according to him, were his older contemporaries Sōzei and Chiun, who "having studied with Shōtetsu for many years . . . were also conversant with waka. It was from this period that the Way of renga, which had for some time lain in a moribund state, began to rise again" (SSG, p. 164).

Much has been said about Shinkei's so-called identification of waka and renga. This is not, in my opinion, a real issue. The crucial issue in his mind was the nature of poetry per se, and he had absolutely no doubt that waka, whose centuries-old history peaked in the *Shinkokinshū* age, was its exemplar, whereas in renga the best was yet to come. This is why he thought Sōzei's and Chiun's waka training under Shōtetsu was so decisive in the renga revival. More to the point, Shōtetsu is the figure who looms largest in his own poetic development. It would be no exaggeration to say that Shinkei regarded his mentor with an attitude bordering on veneration.

Again and again in his critical writings, he invokes Shōtetsu as the greatest poet of his age, the sage who rescued waka from its long stagnation subsequent to its golden age in the *Shinkokinshū* (completed 1206) period. Indeed he often implies, from the manner in which he consistently sets up the poetry of the two as models of the highest art, that Shōtetsu is on a par with the great Teika. The character of his regard for his mentor is wholly manifest in this passage from a letter dated 3.23.1466.

Of Priest Seigan [Shōtetsu] the practitioners of poetry have long said that his art is vastly different from that of Tsurayuki and Mitsune in the ancient age, but not a whit inferior to that of Lords Teika and Ietaka. Truly he seems like one of those awesome and miraculous reincarnations of the divine [*gemmyō kidoku no gonja*] that appear but once in a thousand years. What little insight I now possess regarding the language and spirit of waka and renga is due solely to his beneficent light. Once during the monthly poetry meetings at his Shōgetsuan hermitage in the New Year, I composed this poem.

*Shintō Gods*

sumiyoshi no	The god of Sumiyoshi
kami no mumarete	has been reborn and illumines
yo o terasu	the world of poetry
toki naru kana ya	in these our times—
manabe morohito	Learn, all ye mortals!

(*Tokoro I*, pp. 204–5)

Viewed in the historical perspective of the whole post-*Shinkokinshū* age, which had produced no comparable achievements in waka since the two anthologies *Gyokuyōshū* (1313 or 1314) and *Fūgashū* (1344–46), compiled by the innovative Kyōgoku-Reizei school in the first half of the previous century, Shinkei's manifestly hyperbolic, rhetorical elevation of Shōtetsu into no less than a reincarnation of the Sumiyoshi deity of poetry is quite understandable. It is also useful to keep in mind that his comments on his mentor, who died in 1459, date from 1463 on, when he was himself engaged in defining renga based on the principles and practice of the *Shinkokinshū* poets and Shōtetsu, and it was imperative to keep his teacher's reputation alive.

By 1429 when Shinkei became his disciple, Shōtetsu was already a major figure in the contemporary poetic milieu, with a social circle encompassing the Hosokawa, Hatakeyama, and other daimyō clans who were his principal patrons and the priestly class in the shrines and temples of the capital. Born to a samurai family in Bitchū (Okayama), he had become a disciple of the Reizei school's foremost spokesman, Imagawa Ryōshun (1325–1420), in his early twenties and was a priest at the Rinzai Zen temple of Tōfukuji sometime in his thirties, a career he soon abandoned, however, in order to devote all his energies to waka composition. Having

thus confirmed his vocation, Shōtetsu pursued it with total devotion, doggedly persevering despite a major setback in 1432 when a fire destroyed all his accumulated work of some 27,000 poems in 30 volumes, not to mention notes taken from lectures and manuscript copies of old literary texts. Moving references to this great loss are recorded in his poetry journal *Sōkonshū* (1449–59). The shock of finding years of labor and emotional energy reduced to ashes apparently impressed upon him the tragically ephemeral nature of literary art, at the same time that it steeled his determination to continue as an act of existential choice.<sup>9</sup>

A few years later occurred yet another great disappointment in his shocking exclusion from the imperial anthology *Shinzoku Kokinshū*. As the acknowledged leader of the *jige* (commoner) poetry circles, and on the strength of his own works, Shōtetsu had fully expected to be represented in this major enterprise ordered by Emperor Go-Hanazono in 1433 at the Shōgun Yoshinori's request. Among the factors that may have caused his exclusion, the fact of his non-noble lineage—what Shinkei termed *iyashiki* (lowly) in his own case—coupled with his lack of connection at the time to the highest echelons of the bakufu, is doubtless significant. It is true that the priest Gyōkō was also a commoner, but he was the descendant of the exceptionally famous Nijō poet Ton'a (1289–1372) and in effect the bakufu's poet laureate, even participating in poetry meetings at the court itself; seven of his poems were included in the anthology. Most decisive, however, was Shōtetsu's affiliation with the Reizei school, which Yoshinori regarded with unmistakable disfavor. The Reizei family heir, Tameyuki, had but two poems included despite being an official of the Wakadokoro, and Ryōshun, its most vocal defender, was represented with only one token poem.<sup>10</sup> The official dominance of the orthodox, correct, and academic Nijō school at this time is beyond question. Shōtetsu's prolific genius might impress, but his penchant for highly “unnatural” semantic and syntactic combinations, the minute intricacy, and ineffable ambiguity of both his poetic rhetoric and conception were obviously deemed too radical for the imperial anthology.

His keen sorrow at being thus deprived of the highest official recognition granted a Japanese poet, and what would have been an assured means of posthumous fame, may be read in, among others, a poem composed two months after the anthology's completion in 1439, when accompanied by his disciples, possibly including Shinkei, he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of the god of poetry, Tamatsushima Myōjin, in Kii.

koto no ha o  
erabu kazu ni wa  
irazu tomo

Among those whose  
leaves of words are chosen  
I do not count—



tada kabakari o  
aware to mo miyo

yet I pray you look on me  
with all the more pity!

(SKS 2298)

Shōtetsu's consciousness of exclusion from official recognition due to the lack of a proper social background and political backing and the perceived strangeness of his language—SKS 11208 laments his being regarded as an alien “Chinese” (*Morokoshibito*)—is ironic in view of the fact that he was the country's first major innovative poet of non-noble origins, and the last, along with Shinkei, to do important work in the classical waka tradition.<sup>11</sup>

Writing in a characteristic style of extreme subtlety and concentration, Shōtetsu was well aware that his poems did not conform to the orthodox simplicity approved by official taste, but retained nevertheless a strong confidence in his own talent and abilities. As Shinkei reports in *Oi no kurigoto*, Shōtetsu used to declare, “I might be the last in the line of Lords Teika and Ryōshun, but in poetry I only cherish and inquire directly into the minds of Teika and Jichin. The utterly attenuated [*kudarihatetaru*] heirs of Teika's house, the Nijō and Reizei, hold no attraction for me” (p. 417). This is an illuminating, and devastating, revelation of what the age's greatest poet really thought of his established colleagues. It is also a comment on the entrenched prestige of blood lineage in the waka milieu. Against it *jige* poets like Shōtetsu and Shinkei had to contend and justify themselves by an appeal to the autonomous and transcendent “mind” of past poets from whom they claimed a spiritual descent, a transhistorical relationship of dialogic understanding open only to those able to grasp the true achievement of the *Shinkokinshū* poets.

Shōtetsu is well known for the prodigious energies he devoted to copying and studying classical literary texts. While sheer ambition and the force of arms were constantly changing the power structure of Muromachi society, there was a deep conservative drive to preserve old writing, to commune with past voices before the spectacle of present anarchy. The numerous extant manuscripts that may be traced to Shōtetsu include copies of the *Genji monogatari*, *Ise monogatari*, *Tsurezuregusa*, critical treatises, and individual poem collections, especially those of the *Shinkokinshū* poets Teika, Ietaka, and Yoshitsune. Given his large following among the warrior and priestly classes, his role in the dissemination of the country's classical heritage must be deemed incalculable. It was particularly important for those of his disciples who were like Shinkei to play an active role in the field of renga, to which they brought an aesthetic sensibility and vocabulary learned from the literary tradition. The textual history of some manuscripts bears concrete traces of Shōtetsu's part in this transmission. For instance, an extant *Ise monogatari* copy stemming from 1439 bears a colophon to

the effect that it was handed down from Shōtetsu to Shinkei, and the colophon to yet another indicates that the same text was later transmitted by Shinkei to Sōgi, who in turn gave a copy to his disciple Sōchō (1448–1532). There is no more moving reflection of Shōtetsu's intense devotion to literature than the date, 4.25.1459, on his extant copy of the "Kiritsubo" (Paulownia court) chapter of the *Genji*; it reveals that he was still engaged in this task just days prior to his death on 5.9.1459 at seventy-eight.<sup>12</sup>

In his last years, as we know, Shinkei would lament that his priestly duties and a recurring illness prevented him from practicing poetry to his heart's content. Still, surviving records of contemporary poetry meetings after 1441 indicate that he was not exactly inactive in this field. The earliest is the *Hokkekyō jobon waka* dating from 4.10.1442 when he was thirty-six. This is a manuscript of poems on the twenty-eight chapters of the *Lotus Sutra*, composed to commemorate the first death anniversary of the father of Fujiwara Moritaka (d. 1457).<sup>13</sup> The opening-chapter poem was by Gyōkō, the concluding by Shōtetsu, significantly the two leading, and rival, poets of the day. Apart from them and Shinkei, who composed on the sixth chapter, the twenty-eight participants included Shōtetsu's other disciples, of whom we need only mention Shōkō (1412–94), his favorite, and the renga poets Sōzei, Chiun, and Sō'i (1418–85?). The same group participated in the New Year's meeting at the residence of Hatakeyama Kenryō, Master of the Palace Repairs Office and a member of the Nōto Province Hatakeyama, on 1.20.1446. As recorded in Gyōkō's poetic diary, *Gyōkō hōin nikki* (First to Fourth Month, 1446), the topics were assigned by Asukai Masayo, who also acted as reader (*dokushi*), and the poems read aloud by Sōzei as reciter (*kōji*).<sup>14</sup>

The two instances described above indicate that Shinkei participated in the poetic events of the day as a member of the circle around Shōtetsu and that the sessions they attended included the "official" leaders of waka, the Nijō poets Gyōkō and Asukai Masayo. Shinkei's public repute as a waka poet would seem to have reached a high point in his forties, during the Hōtoku era (1449–52), when his work consistently won in a series of poetry contests presided over by Shōtetsu. Our source is the second of his three extant letters. Dating from his final, Kantō period (1467–75), the letter is unique in including a number of self-laudatory reminiscences (*jisan-banashi*) that are a signal departure from his usual modest stance. Perhaps he was allowing himself to indulge in a rare moment of vanity in his old age in the same spirit in which he bade his correspondent, who had apparently submitted a volume of verse for his perusal, to dismiss his criticisms as "the crankiness of a senile old man" (*rōkyō no tanryō*). Or then again, it might be more sound to interpret them in the context of the immediately preced-

ing passage, where he deplors the false modesty of modern poets and laments the decline of that old sense of honor and pride that motivated former poets to record for posterity those occasions that had won them the praise of others.

Among the things that I now recollect with embarrassment is the year when with Priest Seigan as judge, I participated in waka contests along with the major poets of the time and not one of my poems received the losing mark. It was particularly remarkable as that year had an intercalary month, and there were in all thirteen sessions. Apart from these, there were those lively meetings held at Mii Temple's Butchi'in when just about everyone, beginning with Priest Seigan, would come down from the capital. He used to talk about this incident to Shōkō, the present Shōgetsuan; Mochitaka of the Third Rank; and the others, saying teasingly that it must perforce remain forever in my memory, and that my poems were so good it was not possible to win over them. Indeed the whole affair was rather incredible. (*Tokoro* II, pp. 212–13)

Center of the Tendai sect's Jimon faction, the Mii Temple was located just outside the capital to the east, on the plains of Ōtsu near Lake Biwa. The *Sōkonshū* indicates that Shōtetsu's trips there were most frequent between 1449 and 1451, thus these triumphant events must have occurred then. As for that embarrassingly victorious year, it was either 1447 or 1449, since both had an intercalary month. The era of Shinkei's greatest successes in waka apparently also marked the most active phase of his relationship with his mentor. It is significant that the only references to him in the *Sōkonshū* occur in 1450 and 1451.

The first of these, dated 6.24.1450, is a preface to five poems composed "at the residence of the holy man called Provisional Master of Discipline [*gonrisshi*] Shinkei in Jūjūshin'in, Kiyomizu." After quoting the poems, Shōtetsu adds, "People came to mourn the death sometime this spring of his disciple Shinkō and composed a series of poems" (*SKS*, p. 720). The following year, on 2.22.1451, we read: "Among a sequence of fifty poems composed at Jūjūshin'in near Kiyomizu, following the Buddhist rites to commemorate the first death anniversary of Shinkō, disciple of Master of Discipline Shinkei" (*SKS*, p. 723). This Shinkō must be the "young lad" (*warawa*) mentioned by Shōtetsu in a manuscript dated fourteen years earlier, in 1437, which says, "Among poems on ten topics drawn by lot, composed when I visited the temple Jūjūshin'in. A young lad was just then engaged in composing poetry, and people enthusiastically urged me to join in."<sup>15</sup> Shinkō's name appears with Shinkei's in the manuscript of some renga sequences; the lad apparently grew up to be a capable poet, and his untimely demise was mourned as a great loss by the Shinkei-Shōtetsu circle.

The third and last reference to Shinkei in the *Sōkonshū* is dated 10.29.1451.

Provisional Master of Discipline Shinkei asked me to write a poem-inscription on a Chinese scroll painting. I remonstrated repeatedly that it was not an appropriate thing to do, but he said that it was at someone's special request. The painting showed a figure gazing upon flowering plum branches over the water; someone saying that it depicted the "plum blossoms of Western Lake," [I composed this poem].

yūgasumi	Evening haze—
nishi ni niou mo	the glowing in the western sky
ume ga ka no	suffuses crimson
kurenai souru	with the scent of plum flowers,
haru no sasanami	on the rippling waves of spring.

(SKS, p. 743)

Shōtetsu's initial reluctance was due to the fact that it was the practice to inscribe Chinese poems, and not waka, on Chinese paintings, a formality that had to be waived on this occasion, however, since the request must have come from some important personage in Shinkei's circle. The result, at any rate, was rather impressive, an intricately allusive reflection on the painting's visual text, merging its various elements of sunlight, scent, and reflection into a seamless synaesthetic flow.

In view of Shinkei's later adversities, Shōtetsu's references to poetry meetings and Chinese artwork in connection with Jūjūshin'in are useful in showing us glimpses of the thriving and elegant lifestyle at the temple in an earlier day. The head of the Hatakeyama clan, Mochikuni, was Deputy Shōgun at this time (1449–51), and it was still a few years before the outbreak of the turmoil that would eventually imperil Shinkei's position. That said, however, these citations are notable chiefly for not revealing anything of Shōtetsu's attitude to the one among his disciples who would bring his influence to fruition in the field of renga and in whose writings he was to assume such superhuman proportions. In the light of Shinkei's regard, it is remarkable that there are not more references to him in a journal that is an almost daily record of Shōtetsu's poetic activities for the ten years before his death.

As the Shōtetsu scholar Inada Toshinori has observed, Shōtetsu's tone in these passages is singularly distant, particularly in the first where he calls him "the holy man called Provisional Master of Discipline Shinkei" (*Gonrisshi Shinkei toiu hijiri*).<sup>16</sup> The consistent use of Shinkei's official title and the respectful inflection of the verb in *aru hito no waza to nozomu yoshi mōsareshi ni* in the last passage might signal conventional politeness toward a priest of superior rank. Still, it is somewhat peculiar coming from a man whom Shinkei revered as his waka mentor and was moreover twenty-five years his senior. (He was seventy in 1451, Shinkei forty-five.) Here again Inada notes that Shōtetsu never used the expression "the so-

called” when referring to his immediate disciples (*chokudeshi*) like Shōkō, who bore the first character of his name and inherited his Shōgetsuan hermitage. From all these we have to conclude that, in his teacher’s eyes, Shinkei was just one of his numerous outer circle of disciples among the warrior and priestly classes, neither more nor less.

The matter might have ended there but for the existence of a passage in Shinkei’s letter of 1466—directly following the poetic invocation of Shōtetsu as the deity of Sumiyoshi—suggesting that there was rather more than meets the eye in the master-disciple relationship between these two major figures of Muromachi poetry.

While he [Shōtetsu] was alive, there were many things that caused grief between us [*jukkai nado no koto*] concerning the Way. Reflecting upon them now, however, I see nothing that may not be said to be a profound blessing. To his hallowed memory, I address these sentiments.

koto no ha wa	The glow has faded
tsumi ni iro naki	from the leaves of my poems,
waga mi kana	from my very being—
mukashi wa mamako	a stepchild in the past,
ima wa minashigo	I am now an orphan.

Such was the degree of his resentment [*kabakari no on’urami*]. But the thirty years’ tutelage was truly a great blessing, a wonderful favor upon which I can only look with gratitude, knowing it can never be requited even through many lifetimes across distant kalpas. (*Tokoro* I, p. 205)

Appearing in a letter not intended for public circulation, the aspect of the Shōtetsu-Shinkei relationship revealed here is entirely unimaginable from their other works. Its impact is all the greater from having been written seven years after Shōtetsu’s death, when time should have healed any trifling disagreements between them. On the contrary, the very progression of Shinkei’s prose is an indication of a silent pool of discord so deep he cannot resist alluding to it twice, and twice endeavor to overcome it through expressions of eternal gratitude. In particular the poem sounds as if he were trying to pacify Shōtetsu’s angry spirit by telling him how old he himself has become, how dull and withered his poetry. “A stepchild in the past,” with its connotations of exclusion, discloses more than anything else the extent of Shōtetsu’s disfavor, confirmed in turn by the clause immediately following the poem, “such was the degree of his resentment.” And “orphan” in the poem’s last line cannot but acquire an ironic ring in its deliberate juxtaposition with “stepchild” in the preceding.

It is certainly possible that this startling passage reveals no more than a subjective misreading of Shōtetsu on Shinkei’s part. It would not be the first time that an admiring disciple has tried to cast the master into a father

figure and been frustrated. On the other hand, it is equally possible that Shōtetsu, who attained only to the position of scribe or secretary (*shoki*) in the Tōfukuji and left the priesthood soon thereafter, could not help resenting ecclesiastical rank in someone like Shinkei, twenty-five years his junior and clearly of more than ordinary poetic talent. But it is useless to speculate further on the roots of their conflict; suffice it to say that the tension existed and manifested itself in disagreements “concerning the Way” of poetry. It is rather this area of conflict that must be explored for the light it sheds on the critical questions of the time, in particular the relationship between waka and renga.

Sometime in the Tenth Month when I visited Shōgetsuan [Shōtetsu], he recounted to me the following: “It must have been just recently that the priest called Renkai [Shinkei] composed the lines ‘swollen with stormy winds, spits the moon’ [*arashi o fukumi / tsuki o haku*]. Spits the moon indeed! It is precisely this sort of thing that will be the ruin of the Way,” he muttered over and over again, then continued, “‘Upon the dike at Yokono Field, the mists fall, on the figure yonder, the chill cries of a wild goose’ [*yokono no tsutsumi / kiri furite / ochikatabito ni / samuki karigane*]. This is by the same author. It is in the same style. Would that he had simply said ‘the figure yonder—’ [*ochikatabito ya*] instead!”

Here is a concrete example of the kind of thing that, as Shinkei put it, “caused grief between us concerning the Way.” It is a particularly apt instance in that Shōtetsu literally censures Shinkei’s lines for bringing on “the ruin of the Way” (*michi no reiraku*). The source for this enlightening piece of information is Tō no Tsuneyori (1401–94), a warrior-poet initially attracted to Shōtetsu but later the disciple of his rival, the Nijō poet Gyōkō. At this time he was still a frequent caller at Shōgetsuan, and the passage is his record of one such visit sometime in the Tenth Month of 1450.<sup>17</sup> The reason for Shōtetsu’s overwhelming objection to *arashi o fukumi / tsuki o haku* should be obvious enough. Clearly meant to be in tense juxtaposition, the imagery and diction of these two lines are far too raw, inelegant, and indeed almost vulgar. *Fukumi* (contain, filled with something) by itself is not so offensive, but *haku* (spit, spew, vomit, eject) certainly is, particularly in connection with the moon. The diction, in short, is unrefined, without precedent in the poetic vocabulary of the classical waka tradition, and contrary moreover to Shōtetsu’s aesthetic ideal of *yūen*, beauty of a subtle, delicately ethereal quality.

Interestingly enough, it appears that Shinkei did not concur with his mentor’s opinion in this matter, for the very poem containing the offensive lines may be found in the *Shinkei-sōzu jittei waka* collection classified “The Stark Style” (*gōrikitei*), and entitled “Winds Before Moonlight.”

yū sareba  
 arashi o fukumi  
 tsuki o haku  
 aki no takane no  
 matsu samuku shite

As darkness falls,  
 swollen with stormy winds  
 it spits the moon:  
 the looming peak of autumn,  
 pines chill along the crest.<sup>18</sup>

Seen in their proper context and apart from preconceived ideas of acceptable poetic diction, the lines that so offended Shōtetsu seem eminently justified. The poem vividly evokes moonrise on a stormy evening in the mountains. Shinkei concentrates on that particular instant when the moon suddenly comes to view above the pines on the peak. To transmit this powerful impression, he resorts to a radically exaggerated conception in which the moon is seen as having been expelled by the force of the driving winds. The whole point only becomes clear, however, in the last line, where the thin and chill feeling of the pine trees in the glinting moonlight is juxtaposed against the violence of the earlier moment. There is, in other words, a subtle time shift between the first four lines and the last that accentuates the contrast between motion and stillness, the wind's force and the cool weightless disk of the moon.

Shinkei's procedure in this poem is similar to the bold, rough, and powerful brushstrokes of Zen-inspired calligraphy. It also anticipates, several centuries before Bashō-style *haikai*, the use there of unconventional image and diction to transmit the impact of a poetic experience. Although the poem represents only one aspect of his handling of diction, it is nevertheless very much in conjunction with his own dictum in *Sasamegoto* and elsewhere that a poet should practice a variety of styles to enable him to exercise his imagination and to express the essential quality of a particular experience. This was a governing principle in the Reizei school itself, which criticized the Nijō poet Ton'a, for instance, for invariably composing in the same style, and to attack Ton'a was of course to attack his great-grandson and Shōtetsu's rival Gyōkō.<sup>19</sup> Beyond the polemical rhetoric of the Reizei school, Shinkei's advocacy in *Sasamegoto* of pluralism and an unfettered diction is grounded on the Buddhist concept of non-discrimination and the relativity of form. In theory, there should have been no conflict between Shinkei and Shōtetsu; in practice, however, the teacher evidently thought that his student had overstepped the limits that he placed upon freedom of expression.

Shōtetsu's criticism in the second instance, where he quotes Shinkei's poem but without the first line, is quite specific; he thinks *ni* in the fourth line should be *ya*, thus: *ochikatabito ya / samuki karigane*. In analyzing this passage, Inada points out that *ya* would make the last two lines more

dependent on the first three and result in a more typical waka-like structural unity. As Shinkei has it, with *ni*, the lower part forms a compact unity syntactically independent of the upper part. In other words, he is employing a poetic syntax similar to that of the clear separation between upper and lower verse in renga, and Shōtetsu disapproved of that. It is true that Shinkei's syntax here, and indeed in many of his waka, is renga-like; however it must be objected that Shōtetsu criticizes this poem for the same reason as the other—"This is by the same author. It is in the same style." It is most likely therefore that just as he disapproved of the radical image of a spewed-out moon, here he is also critical of the literally improbable image of the wild goose's cries *falling upon* the figure on the dike, which is what the locative particle *ni* in *ochikatabito ni* implies. The substitution of the emotive marker *ya* would blur the startlingly direct connection between the bird's cries and the standing figure, dissolving both in the sensation of coldness and rendering the whole image more aesthetically distant and ambiguous. The point is a good one and reflects Shōtetsu's own taste for a hazily floating ambiguity, such as that evoked by the poem on "Plum Blossoms of Western Lake." But what Shinkei manifestly intended to evoke in this case was the chill impact of the bird's cries upon the shadowy figure in the distance, and not just a misty scene.

The difference in the sensibilities of these two poets is not a simple thing to pin down. Both rely upon improbable juxtapositions of words and the slightly disjunctive resonances so produced, a technique learned from Teika and later to be foregrounded in haikai. However, Shōtetsu's characteristic poems are a minutely refined, infinitesimally concentrated contemplation that leaves the mind suspended in a dream-like void, whereas Shinkei's figure an icy, shattering illumination. At their best, both poetries are ultimately founded upon the medieval philosophy of Emptiness (J. *kū*, Skt. *sūnyatā*) but in two modalities as it were. There is, moreover, the important qualification that Shōtetsu's aesthetics was also in the thrall of a nostalgia for the sumptuously ethereal beauty of the vanished world of the *Tale of Genji*, while Shinkei would eventually valorize a wholly distinct aesthetics of the chill and meager.

By 1450 then, about the same period when Shōtetsu was evaluating Shinkei's poems favorably at contests held at Miidera and elsewhere, he had already begun to express dissatisfaction with his radical handling of poetic diction. We do not know how Shinkei reacted to these criticisms. Judging from the fact that he preserved the very poem that provoked his teacher's ire, however, we may assume that he persisted in his own experimentations and showed an independence of mind not easily tolerated in a disciple. If



this were indeed the case, it would surely explain his consciousness of being a “stepchild” in Shōtetsu’s eyes.

Perhaps the rift widened with time. It is significant that in a poetry contest held on 9.7.1457, just two years before his death, we find Shōtetsu giving the winning mark to the other side in two out of three rounds involving Shinkei. Nearly all the eighteen participants in this contest, the *Buke utaawase*, were disciples of Shōtetsu; although he is named as judge, the decision was apparently reached by majority vote, since in the manuscript the names of the poets who voted for it are listed under each poem. The only round Shinkei won is the very first, in which eleven voted for his piece, while he himself went with his opponent’s in accordance with the courtesies of formal procedure. Unfortunately, however, this round has no authentic significance. The position that he occupied, First Round, Left Team, was reserved for the person of the highest social rank in the group, and the victory automatically given it as a mark of honor. Thus apart from disclosing his social precedence, it tells us nothing of what the others thought of his poetry. The two poems of the first round are as follows:<sup>20</sup>

*A Snipe in the Rice Fields* Round 1

Left, Win

uchishiore  
wakuru mosuso ni  
shigi zo tatsu  
yamada no hara no  
kiri no yūgure  
Shinkei

By the hem dragging  
limp between the foothill grass,  
startled, a snipe rises—  
across fields of upland paddies,  
the dimming mists of twilight.  
Shinkei

Right

hito mo naki  
karita no hara ni  
tatsu shigi ya  
ono ga aware o  
ne ni mo nakuran  
Shia

The snipe rising  
from reaped fields of rice along  
the deserted moor—  
does it also in self-pity  
raise those haunting cries?  
Shia

Here the subtle originality of Shinkei’s procedure stands out against Shia’s competent but conventional treatment of the topic. Like the previously quoted poem on moonrise over a stormy mountain, this one presents a sequence of juxtaposed moments: the traveler’s flagging steps, a flapping of wings, and the bird’s soaring flight until it disappears into the misty evening landscape—a detail seen up close (only the hem of the man’s robe is initially mentioned) succeeded by a wide shadowy vista, the two mediated by the bird’s sudden appearance and disappearance. The feeling

of the poem is evoked by the first line *uchishiore* (turn limp, slack, wilted), which suggests the traveler's loneliness and fatigue and will resonate with the wetness of the mists in the final line. Readers conversant with Saigyō's (1118–90) famous snipe poem, *Kokoro naki*, will recognize this as a brilliant allusive variation on it, one that withholds any expression of *aware* (its necessity is precluded precisely by the existence of the other), locates the snipe in hilly terrain, and concentrates on evoking the moment as a complex of sensations.<sup>21</sup> It will be instructive to present the two rounds where Shinkei lost and speculate on why Shōtetsu preferred the other in each instance.

*Ripe Foliage on the Mountain* Round 16

Left, Win

shigureyuku  
tōyamamoto no  
hahasohara  
kurenai made wa  
e ya wa somenuru  
Hidechika

From outlying mountains,  
the rain clouds now descend on  
the oak-tree plain;  
will they have dyed it crimson  
after passing through?

Hidechika

Right

somenokosu  
mine no momijiba  
hisakata no  
yama yori kita no  
iro na shigure so  
Shinkei

The maple leaves you dyed  
remain vivid on the high peaks,  
O rain veering north  
from far mountains in the sky,  
fall not in colored streams!

Shinkei

The voting for this round, 5–4, was quite close; Shinkei would have won had Shōtetsu wished it. That he did not, despite the fact that it has a more interestingly complicated conception than the other, is perhaps due to Shinkei's use of manneristic diction in the arresting last line, *iro na shigure so*, a compressed image directly superimposing the scattering crimson leaves upon the falling rain. The resistance to Shinkei's poem in the following round would be of a similar nature.

*Praying for a Love Meeting* Round 24

Left

hatsuseme ga  
aki no tezome no  
kataito o  
koyoi awase ni  
musubu tsuyu kana  
Shinkei

Joining with another  
the single thread dyed deep in  
autumn's scarlet,  
the Hatsuse maid prays tonight,  
as dew forms on her waiting robe.

Shinkei

Right, Win

kakesoeshi  
igaki no mishime  
sue tsui ni  
chigiri arite ya  
nabikiauran

Seia

The cords that I hung  
as offerings on the sacred hedge,  
is it a sign my prayer  
will come true in the end, that  
they incline to each other so?

Seia

Here the outcome of the votes, 8–3, was overwhelmingly against Shinkei's poem. And again as in the previous pair, he exhibits greater inventiveness and a more intricate handling of imagery. In this instance, however, the very intricacy tends to fragment the conceptual clarity of the poem (in the original). This is due mainly to its uncontrolled proliferation of double meanings: *awase* signifying “to join together” in conjunction with “single thread” (*kataito*), but also used in the figurative sense of “to cause to meet,” and referring to the maiden's “lined robe” when written with the garment radical; *musubu* meaning “to string together,” “join two people in love,” and “to form” in association with “dew,” in turn a metaphor for “tears.” The primary emotion remains unrealized, obscured by the punning word-play. In comparison, Seia's piece, though simpler and less ambitious, has a clear unity of tone and imagery lacking in the other and is more successful.

These instances of Shōtetsu's censure reveal that Shinkei was attempting to strike out in a new direction, toward poetry with a more immediate and startling impact as distinct from the refined aesthetic ambiguity of the *Shinkokinshū* style and the conventional but appealing simplicity of the Nijō school. This is evident in his use of unprecedented turns of expression as well as complex, original conceptions that were not always acceptable to his contemporaries but would have been to an audience reared in the improbable yoking of images in haikai centuries later. In Shinkei's waka collections, one can find other examples of this radical tendency, among them the following.

*Autumn Frost*

shimo nare ya  
nete no asake no  
hana no himo  
mijikaku tokuru  
aki no hi no kage

Could it be frost?  
Cords round the sleepy flowers  
in the morning air,  
undone, oh how shortly  
in light of the autumn sun!<sup>22</sup>

The essential feeling/thought here is of an ineffable brevity, and it comes into focus in line 4, *mijikaku tokuru* (*shortly* untied/melted), precisely the expression that might strike an orthodox audience as a peculiar combination of terms. *Mijikashi* (short) is primarily a spatial concept, while the

action of the verb *toku* (in the sense of both “untie” and “melt”) logically requires a temporal modifier like “quickly.” Shinkei introduces the classical image of “flower cords” (*hana no himo*) primarily in order to bring out the impression of the temporal brevity of morning frost in a spatial and more immediately experiential sense, although there is also a hint of ephemeral yet seductive sensuality in the image as such.<sup>23</sup> The *rentaikei* inflection of the fourth line, moreover, allows it to modify the autumn sunlight in the fifth line as well, resulting in the subliminal suggestion of a quality—thinness, transparency—that the light shares with the frost it is acting upon. Visually, the sheen of sunlight reflected upon the frost on the surface of the flowers vanishes as the frost dissolves. In this way, *mijikaku tokuru* functions as a kind of joint or node activating the poem’s total verbal surface, causing its various elements to slide against each other in an instance of multiplicity of reference that complicates the poem’s texture, while evoking the feeling of an ineffable temporality with the immediacy of a concrete sensation.<sup>24</sup>

*Village by the Water*

shirotae no	Girdling round the evening
nuno ni yūbe o	in a cloth of dazzling white,
makikomete	longingly the river
sarasu hi shitau	laves the declining sunlight
uji no kawashima	along the Uji island shore. <sup>25</sup>

*Shirotae no* / *nuno ni yūbe o* / *makikomete* (“girdling round / the evening in a cloth / of dazzling white”) is, if anything, even more disjunctively startling in effect than *mijikaku tokuru* in the previous piece.<sup>26</sup> Again, the metaphorical figure is elaborated in a sustained, dynamic fashion through a layering of mutually associative semes in the sequence *nuno* (cloth)—*makikomete* (girdling round)—*sarasu* (soak, lave), a series of images that summon to immediate presence, as a visual and tactile sensation, the distant prospect of sunset over Uji island. The use of *shitau* (yearn after, follow) to resonate with *sarasu* (soak, lave) lends overtones, the inwardness of a feeling, to the objective concreteness of the presentation. Like *hana no himo*, *shirotae no* (lit., “of white paper-mulberry”), a stock epithet from the traditional poetic lexicon, is here revitalized within the dynamic context of an almost modernist handling of the poetic image.

The waka analyzed so far in this chapter reveal two aspects of Shinkei’s style. One is the disconcertingly direct immediacy, registering almost as a physical sensation, with which the poetic object is *presenced*. This is the effect of such radical turns of phrase as “swollen with stormy winds, spits the moon,” “undone, oh how shortly,” “girdling round the evening in a

cloth of dazzling white,” and “laves the declining sunlight.” While these poems are not lacking in complexity, they do not have the hazy aura cultivated by Teika, and refined by Shōtetsu, in the *yōen* style of ethereal allure. Things are not perceived through an intricate tracery, a diaphanous veil, but directly confronted by the mind as materially concrete objects in themselves. The second aspect is the barely concealed operation of intellectual wit in these poems. Images are not employed primarily to evoke their beauty and traditional resonances but manipulated intellectually to figure the dynamics of a contemplative experience. It is not the images in themselves but the *process of thinking* that transpires through them that constitutes the poem.

These two aspects, immediacy of sensation and intellectuality, might seem to contradict each other. Yet there is a certain logic in establishing the perceptual materiality of the image in order to deconstruct or transform it under the aspect of temporality. Such a method has affinities with, and is vitally crucial in, *renga*, a genre that requires disparate elements in contiguous verses to be brought into some sort of dialectical relation. In a poetic tradition wherein bare thought has always been subordinated to, or concealed within, an aura of feeling, aesthetic beauty, and ineffable depth (*yūgen*), Shinkei's *waka* in this radical mode might be perceived to fail when the intellectuality of wit becomes divorced from feeling, and the ratiocinative process comes to weigh too heavily on the concreteness of the poetic figure. His poetry is at its best when his acuity of mind registers itself in the dynamic figuration of an objective, sensible image, as in the “Winds Before Moonlight” and “A Snipe in the Rice Fields” poems. The romantic, ethereal stuff of dyed threads and Hatsuse maids is not his forte; the somewhat manneristic turns of phrase, “spits the moon” (*tsuki o haku*) and “fall not in colored streams” (*iro na shigure so*), verging on intellectual conceits but held in check by the immediacy of the sensation evoked, are more in conformity with his talent. His best poems, in my opinion, are those in which his native acuity of perception combines with a contemplative depth, and these may be said to fall squarely within the tradition of objective symbolism and *yūgen* established by the *Shinkokinshū* poets.

Shinkei's predilection for double meanings, arresting correlations, and turns of phrase in his *waka* at this time may be traced to *renga* practice. Significantly, it is precisely these aspects that drew Shōtetsu's ire. The point is worth noting in view of Shōtetsu's distinct lack of enthusiasm for *renga*. In an age when this medium had already superseded *waka* in popularity, there would have been occasions when composing in it became unavoidable even for Shōtetsu. Indeed, a passage or two in his collections suggest that he might have done so.<sup>27</sup> However, there are no known examples of his work

in this genre, and neither is he mentioned as participant in the extant records of contemporary renga. This indicates that he consciously refrained from cultivating renga, unlike those of his disciples such as Shinkei who exercised their talent in both mediums. His critical attitude to this form of poetry may be gleaned from a passage in *Nagusamegusa* (Grasses of solace) in which he replies to someone who asked his opinion of it.

It is truly said that in recent years the Way of renga has taken the whole land by storm. Nevertheless it has been blundering in the wrong path ever since its master practitioners all passed away, and now far from being a gathering of people engaged in the proper pursuit of art [*fūga*], I hear that it is more interested in noisy and quarrelsome disputes. Indeed, it must be difficult to get along with such people and participate in their sessions, a state of affairs that Priest Bontō never ceased to deplore. I too thought of studying renga when I was young, but due to my lack of natural talent for it, and then this fearful state of affairs, I kept my distance. Still it might be a good companion for old age.<sup>28</sup>

Clearly Shōtetsu had no good opinion of the renga of his time, which he saw as deviating from the true Way of poetry and whose meetings were rife with disputes. These disputes (*sōron*) most likely involved the interpretation of the renga rules of composition (*shikimoku*) and matters of poetic diction. Along with what he modestly calls his “lack of natural talent,” they caused him to “keep his distance.” Sounding very much like an explanation for his lack of enthusiasm for renga, the passage also has a faintly condescending ring that is not improved by the final qualification that renga “might be a good companion for old age” (*rōgo no tomo*), as if to say that it was not the proper medium for a poet at the height of his powers. It is interesting to note in this connection that Shōtetsu reportedly praised Sōzei, for many years his waka student but later the most famous renga poet of his time, “for recognizing what suited his talent and limitations and thus reaping honor.”<sup>29</sup>

There is no question that Shōtetsu’s negative attitude played a role in generating Shinkei’s well-known and frequently reiterated declaration that there should be no difference between waka and renga since both belong to the same Way, which is that of poetry. His insistence on a fact in one sense so obvious can only be understood against the background of his attempts to justify renga against Shōtetsu’s disapprobation. Ironically, in doing so, he played a major role in formulating the principles that would elevate it to a genre as aesthetically demanding and rewarding as waka. For Sōzei, Chiun, and Shinkei, working with Shōtetsu was an invaluable training in the richly allusive vocabulary and subtle rhetorical techniques of the waka tradition. Linked verse is essentially a verbal art relying on wit and mental agility—that is its basic nature and the source of its unique pleasure. To it Shōtetsu’s

renga students, these agents of the renga revival among whom Shinkei was the most brilliant, brought what may be called a new artistic intelligence combining wit with delicacy of feeling, a subtle allusive depth seldom seen before in renga's almost two centuries of history. Perhaps when Shinkei wrote those revealing lines in 1466 about his troubled relationship with Shōtetsu, he had already realized that the older man's censure was an instrument that had spurred his own devotion to renga as poetic art and not just mere amusement, so that he could sincerely state that there was "nothing [in it] that may not be said to be a profound blessing."



## Rising Star on the Brink of War

### The Seven Sages

*Sasamegoto* from 1463 marks a clear demarcation point in Shinkei's poetic career. Prior to this, certainly until Shōtetsu's death in 1459, he considered himself a waka poet. Nonetheless, he was fascinated with renga's poetic potential and was sufficiently influenced by its distinctive procedure and diction to provoke his teacher's criticism. It could not have been otherwise, given the form's overwhelming popularity, unless one was a purist like Shōtetsu. Indeed, it was mainly in the company of Shōtetsu's outer circle of disciples who were also renga poets that we find Shinkei engaging in linked-verse composition during his teacher's lifetime. These poets were Sōzei (1386?–1455), Chiun (d. 1448), Sō'i (1418–85?), and Senjun (1411–76). Along with Nōa (1397–1471), Gyōjo (1405–69), and Shinkei himself, they are the so-called “seven sages of renga” (*renga shichiken*) whom Sōgi credited with the revival of renga prior to his own career after the Ōnin War. Their practice set Sōgi's own course, and their works were to form the basis of his own criticism. Sōgi preserved their verses in the anthology *Chikurinshō* (Selections from the bamboo grove), compiled sometime before 1476, and again in the second official imperial renga collection of 1495–96, *Shinsen Tsukubashū* (The new Tsukuba collection), in which their work constitutes fully one-fourth of the whole. The name *shichiken* by which they are known in modern scholarship is of later provenance, possibly given by a Genroku-period (1688–1704) renga poet who saw Sōgi's intended analogy between the seven Japanese priests and the famous Chinese Taoist scholars of the Chin dynasty (265–316) who styled themselves “the seven sages of the bamboo grove” (*chu-lin ch'i-hsien*).<sup>1</sup>

The seven sages may be seen as representative figures of Muromachi high culture. Except for Senjun, whose origins have not been established, all



came from the warrior class that had officially patronized and promoted renga ever since its early days in the Kamakura period (1185–1333), and they were all priests, either nominally or in actual practice. Moreover, since they were engaged in other careers apart from being renga poets, they are somewhat distinct from the *rengashi*, the professional “teachers of linked verse” like Sōgi and later Jōha (1524–1602)—to mention only two who achieved national prominence—who were as a rule of poor and obscure origins and depended on their skill in this genre to earn a livelihood. The distinction as such is not important on the plane of art, but it is significant from the perspectives of the sociological history of renga and the role of renga teachers in the dissemination of literacy and a national literature among commoners.

The dichotomy between poetry as autonomous art and as source of income, moreover, does not pass unremarked in Japanese literature. Shinkei deplored those who used renga “solely as a means of livelihood, employing themselves in its vulgarization day in and day out” (*SSG*, pp. 162–63). And Bashō would later express a marked distaste for the commercial aspects of the profession of *tenja* (lit., “one who makes marks”), a renga or haikai teacher who made money from marking people’s poetic exercises and presumably had to flatter them to secure their continued patronage. Bashō is reported to have admonished a disciple who wished to become a *tenja*: “Then you will have to quit haikai. It is very difficult to reconcile haikai and the occupation of *tenja*. Rather be a beggar than a *tenja*.”<sup>2</sup> His most celebrated declaration of the autonomy of art is of course in *Saimon no ji* (1695): “My poetry is like a stove in summer, a fan in winter; it bucks popular taste and has no practical use” (*BT*, p. 373). But patronage is hardly a negligible issue, even though the figure of the penurious genius is still a compelling image for many.

In Muromachi Japan, patronage meant the bakufu and powerful warrior lords, the upper rungs of the clerical hierarchy, and the emerging mercantile class. The old court aristocrats mattered too, of course, since they were so to speak the original owners of the cultural tradition; they were short of finances but their goodwill and approval invested the aspiring poet with the stamp of authority. Sōgi’s mutually advantageous relationship with a scion of the old Fujiwara clan, Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455–1537), is well known, as is Jōha’s with Sanetaka’s son Kin’eda (1487–1563) in a subsequent period.<sup>3</sup> The seven sages were more typical of the Muromachi literati. Their poetic connections came as a matter of course, and like others they began practicing renga both because it was a requisite social accomplishment and because it constituted an aesthetic and philosophical discipline of the inner life, the practice of self-cultivation, which is what

culture meant at this time. The public recognition accorded them attests to their preeminence, as does the survival of their verse collections and the manuscripts of sessions in which they appeared.<sup>4</sup> All this is not to say that patronage was not an issue with them; as we saw in Chapter 1, it was a problem for Shinkei by 1462. Whether they practiced renga as a profession or a means of self-cultivation, survival in an age of civil disorder was far from a simple matter for renga poets, even for established literati poets like the seven sages.

Among the seven, Chiun, Nōa, and the youngest, Sō'i, were employed by the bakufu. Chiun, whose secular name was Ninagawa Chikamasa, was awarded the formal court title of Lieutenant of the Right Gate Guards in 1429. He served in the Administrative Council (Mandokoro), the government bureaucracy hereditarily controlled by the powerful Ise clan to whom the Ninagawa had been vassals since Takauji's time.<sup>5</sup> Nōa, or Nōami as he is more commonly known in the art world, was a well-known *sumi-e* painter who served the Shōguns Yoshinori and Yoshimasa as a member of the *dōbōshū*, a group of artists and connoisseurs responsible for the acquisition, appraisal, and display of the Ashikaga shōguns' extensive collection of Chinese paintings and other art objects. Apart from a number of extant paintings attributed to him, Nōa is chiefly known today as the author of important catalogues of the shōgunal collection; entries are arranged into artistic groupings that reflect the distinctive mode of exhibiting and appreciating Chinese paintings in palace interiors at the time.<sup>6</sup> Sō'i, secular name Sugihara Katamori, was Constable of Iga Province (Mie) and personal attendant (*kinjū*) of Yoshimasa. Learned in the classics and skilled in archery and horsemanship, he had a reputation for being the exemplary Muromachi gentleman in his twin practice of the literary and the martial arts.

As renga poet, the most famous of the seven at the beginning of Shinkei's career was Sōzei. His secular name was Takayama Tokishige, his official title Popular Affairs Junior Assistant Minister (Mimbu Shōyū). He was also a vassal of the invincible Yamana Sōzen, who was no doubt instrumental in his being named as Master (*sōshō*) or Administrator (*bugyō*) of the Kitano Shrine Renga Meeting Hall in 1448, an appointment indicating the poet's position as leader of linked-verse sessions sponsored by the shōguns, whether at the Kitano Shrine or the Muromachi Palace. Nōa would succeed to the position in 1457, followed by Sō'i in 1471.

Among the seven, Gyōjo most closely resembles Shinkei in being a bonafide priest. He lived in Mount Hiei's Enryakuji and attained to exactly the same ecclesiastical position: Provisional Major Bishop (*Gondaisōzu*) with the honorary rank of Dharma Seal (*Hōin*). Gyōjo was like Sōzei a Yamana

vassal, and the two shared a particularly close friendship of some thirty years' standing. His death by suicide in 1469 suggests that he might have become embroiled in the political complications surrounding the Ōnin War.

Senjun, the other artist in the group, was a master of the art of flower arrangement traditionally practiced by the priests of his temple, the Rokkakudō Chōhōji, founding home of the famous Ikenobō school. He was sometimes called upon to create the floral decorations at the imperial and shōgunal palaces and is credited with defining three basic styles of flower arrangement in a vase; his honorary rank of Dharma Eye (*Hōgen*) is an indication of official recognition of his art. Like Gyōjo, Senjun died violently in the course of the war; Shinkei, who apparently felt closest to him and Gyōjo among the seven, would remember him with nostalgia during the Kantō years.<sup>7</sup>

These, then, were the men who stood at the vanguard of the renga circles in the capital from the Eikyō era till the end of the war in 1477. The most senior among them were Sōzei and Chiun, followed by Nōa, who was nine years older than Shinkei. Gyōjo was Shinkei's senior by one year, while Senjun was five, and Sō'i twelve years younger. All except Sō'i were dead by war's end. Their places as leaders of renga were subsequently filled by Sōgi and his disciples and by Kenzai. It was manifestly Sōgi who bore their influence most and best understood their crucial contribution to the field. As the leading group of renga poets, they composed verses together and in the company of other poet-priests from the shrines and temples of the capital. They also frequently formed the core group in formal meetings sponsored by prominent noble and warrior families and by the bakufu itself. The total number of verses of each one in the *Shinsen Tsukubashū* indicates Sōgi's perception of their relative importance: Shinkei 119, Sōzei 115, Senjun 108, Chiun 66, Sō'i 47, Nōa 42, and Gyōjo 34.

Such are the vagaries of circumstance by which some manuscripts are preserved and others destroyed that for the thirty-year period between Shinkei's debut in the Kitano Shrine manku of 1433 and his trip to Kii in 1463, only the records for thirteen sessions he attended presently exist, and the ones that are dated cluster around the years 1447, 1453, and 1460-62 (see Table 1). They can by no means reflect the true extent of his renga activities. Nevertheless, several other extant sequences from the same period do not include his name, a circumstance suggesting that his attendance at linked-verse sessions before 1463 was comparatively infrequent and that he was interested in making a name for himself more in waka than in renga.

Among the four extant sequences for the year 1447, the first three verses for the one composed in mid-autumn, on 8.19.1447 (item 2 in Table 1), were subsequently included by Sōgi in the *Shinsen Tsukubashū* of 1495.<sup>8</sup>

TABLE I

*Extant Manuscripts of Renga Sessions with Shinkei, 1447 to Spring 1462*

1. 5.29.1447, *Nanifune hyakuin*. Sōzei 16, Chiun 12, Nōa 10, Ninzei 10, Shinkei 10, Shinkō (Shinkei's disciple) 8.
2. 8.19.1447, *Nanihito hyakuin*. Chiun 20, Ninzei 16, Shinkō 15, Shinkei 13, Senjun 6, and eight other participants.
3. 9.6.1447, *Yamanani hyakuin*. Sōzei 16, Chiun 15, Ninzei 13, Shinkei 12, Senjun 8.
4. 10.18.1447, *Asanani hyakuin*. Sōzei 16, Chiun 13, Ninzei 13, Shinkei 11, Senjun 11, Shinkō 9.
5. Precise date unknown, but before Chiun's death on 5.12.1448, *Yamanani hyakuin*. Chiun 11, Senjun 11, Ninzei 10, Shinkei 10, Shinkō 8.<sup>a</sup>
6. Same general date as 5, *Nanimichi hyakuin*. Sōzei 14, Chiun 10, Nōa 10, Shinkei 10, Ninzei 9, Shinkō 3. Hokku by Sōzei.<sup>b</sup>
7. 3.15.1453 (undated in SSS), *Nanimichi hyakuin*. Sōzei 25, Ninzei 20, Shinkei 19, Senjun 19, Gyōjo 16, Motonaga 1.
8. 8.11–13.1453, *Kogamo senku* (Kogamo thousand-verse sequence). Sōzei 164, Ninzei 130, Shinkei 116, Senjun 106, Sō'i 100, Kogamo Yukimoto 97.
9. Precise date undetermined, but prior to Sōzei's departure for Tajima in 1454, *Nanihito hyakuin*. Senjun 18, Sozei 15, Ninzei 12, Shinkei 4. Hokku by Sōzei.
10. Same general date as 9, *Naniki hyakuin*. Sōzei 15, Ninzei 12, Shinkei 12, Senjun 10, Gyōjo 6. Hokku by Sōzei.
11. 10.25.1460, *Ochiba hyakuin*. Shinkei 14, Dempō 10, Hidechika 8, Enshū 7, Chūei 6, Masayori 4; Nichimei 5, Ryuren 9, and seven other participants.<sup>c</sup>
12. 1.25.1461, *Naniki hyakuin*. Shinkei 10, Gyōjo 7, Yorihisa 2, and fourteen other participants.
13. 2.27.1462, *Nanihito hyakuin*. Shinkei 14, Gyōjo 13, Senjun 13, Sō'i 13, and eight other participants. "A session held beneath the flowers in Kurodani, Higashiyama."

NOTE: Unless otherwise indicated, the texts for all Shinkei-related sequences listed here and in Table 2 may be found in SSS; however, when a discrepancy arises between SSS and Kaneko, *Seikatsu to sakuhin*, regarding the dating of certain sequences or the scores of each participant, I have followed Kaneko, since it is based on the latest textual research.

<sup>a</sup>Unpublished manuscript in the possession of Kidō Saizō, as listed in RS 2: 894.

<sup>b</sup>Unpublished manuscript in the Imperial Household Archives, as listed in RS 2: 894.

<sup>c</sup>The text of this sequence is available only in the facsimile edition series of renga manuscripts edited by Kaneko, *Renga kichōbunken shūsei*, 4: 559–95.

na mo shiranu  
kogusa hana saku  
kawabe kana

Chiun

shibafugakure no  
aki no sawamizu

Shinkei

yūmagure  
kiri furu tsuki ni  
shigi nakite

Senjun

Of unknown name,  
tiny grass flowers blooming  
on the riverbank.

Chiun

Hidden in the rank growth,  
moor water in autumn.

Shinkei

Nebulous twilight—  
a snipe calls out as mist falls  
before the moon.

Senjun

The new renga of the seven sages is manifest here in the precise rendering of an objective scene in a few deft strokes. The vocabulary is classical, the effect evocative. Yet this is not the courtly voice of waka but the rapid, telegraphic diction of a wholly distinct verbal medium: the formal compression of thought and feeling in the integral seventeen- or fourteen-syllable verse, as distinct from the thirty-one-syllable waka poem. In it can already be sensed the beginnings of the cogently terse haiku voice. Chiun, whose delicately austere poetic sensibility is said to most closely approximate Shinkei's among the seven, evokes the quiet beauty of nameless wildflowers in a hokku equally unadorned yet holding much appeal. In later years Shinkei would fondly recall how the older poet had praised his use of the word "autumn," which brings out the meager and still quality of autumn water (as distinct from the rushing profusion of spring waters) through *-gakure* (hidden), in turn an associative echo of *na mo shiranu* (of unknown name) in the hokku. Senjun's third verse points up the deep silence of Shinkei's through the snipe's call, while striking out in a new direction.

kawa no se no  
koe wa iseki no  
kuina kana

Chiun

The rushing river's  
voice: by the dike wall,  
a water-rail.

Chiun

Chiun's hokku in the session from the previous summer (item 1 in Table 1), from 5.29.1447, is if anything even terser: just two clauses deployed in a relation of equivalence by the particle *wa*, each composed wholly of nominals strung together by the genitive *no*. This flat syntax is vitalized by alliteration and assonance, reminding us that renga was a recited poetry, its words possessing an aurally tactile materiality easy to miss when merely reading the written manuscript. Against this crisp and lucid rhetoric, the point, the ever so slightly disjunctive juxtaposition of two sounds, the rushing of the river and the soft tapping of a rail, emerges more eloquently in being unspoken.

Renga's delight in the play of mind and language is very much in

evidence in the late autumn session from the same year, 1447 (item 3, Table 1), in which Ninzei starts off with a verse that is unabashedly a riddle.

aki no iro	Autumn color
wakaba ni kaeru	turned back to young leaves—
kozue kana	the tips of trees.
Ninzei	Ninzei
midori no matsu ya	Green pines sprouting
kiri no shitamoe	through clouds of mist!
Chiun	Chiun
moshio hi ni	In salt seaweed fire
isoyamagiwa no	along the shore cliff ridge
tsuyu kiete	shrivels the dew.
Shinkei	Shinkei

Chiun proves himself equal to Ninzei's playful challenge in his witty and imagistically vivid reply: through the dense mists blanketing the autumn-colored trees, only the tops of the tall green pines are visible, the spring-like "young leaves" (*wakaba*) of the *maeku*. Shinkei's *daisan* (third verse) leaves the playful tone behind; it is a delicately modulated image of dewdrops—an allusive reference to the mists in the *maeku*—drying up on the overhanging pine branches on the seacliff as saltmakers burn seaweed below.

sakakiba ni	On the <i>sakaki</i> leaves
saku ya yatabi no	blossom in eightfold layers
shimo no hana	flowers of frost.
Sōzei	Sōzei

This bright and aurally lilting *hokku* from the early winter of 1447 (item 4, Table 1) is a good index to Sōzei's agile wit. It evokes the fresh contrast between the deep green glossy leaves of the *sakaki* and the whiteness of frost, here imaged as flower petals. *Yatabi* (lit., "eight times") refers to the many layers of frost that have fallen on the evergreen leaves through time without their withering. The use of alliteration and assonance, also marked in Chiun's *hokku* in the first sequence, was clearly not uncommon in the work of the seven sages. As a panegyric to the sacred *sakaki*, the verse reflects the holding of the session at the Takamatsu Shinmei Shrine, dedicated to the sun goddess Amaterasu (presently located west of Anegakōji Shinmachi in Kyoto). Two verse-pairs or links from the sequence, one by Sōzei and the other by Shinkei, appear in *Shinsen Tsukubashū*.<sup>9</sup>

The month following Chiun's death in the Fifth Month of 1448, Sōzei reached the apogee of his career when he was appointed Renga Master of Kitano Shrine. In this capacity he collaborated with Ichijō Kanera in writing the *Shinshiki kin'an* (Proposed modern amendments to the "New Code"), the 1452 revisions to the renga code of rules established by Nijō

Yoshimoto with the help of the commoner poet-priest Gusai in 1372.<sup>10</sup> In 1450 he collected his verses in the *Sōzei kushū* for inclusion in Kanera's projected anthology of twenty volumes, the *Shingyokushū*. Most probably connected with this enterprise was the renga session on the unusual topic of "the *iroha* syllabary." Shinkei was notably absent from these events, as well as from two 1,000-verse sequences (*senku*) held on 3.12.1452 with the participation of Sōzei, Ninzei, Sō'i, and Senjun, among others, and in the summer of 1452 or 1453. His absence coincides generally with his most active period in *waka* during the period 1449–52 (see Chapter 2) and follows the death of his disciple Shinkō, a participant in the sessions discussed above, in the spring of 1450. Shinkō's passing was much mourned by the Shōtetsu circle.

After a gap of six years, Shinkei's name surfaces again in a late spring session (item 7, Table 1) on 3.15.1453, headed by Sōzei, who composed the *hokku* below.

saku fuji no  
uraba wa nami no  
tamamo kana  
Sōzei

On the flowering wisteria,  
the leaves are lovely sea-tangle  
borne on purple waves.

Sōzei

Sōzei's imaginative wit and dexterity, unsurpassed among the seven poets, are as evident here as in the Takamatsu Shrine sequence. Here the masses of wisteria flowers are imaged as "waves" upon which float the "seaweed" (*mo*) of their leaves. This warrior poet had tremendous natural talent, and his strength and sureness of touch was much admired, although Shinkei was later to deplore the lack of pathos and overtones in his poetry. The sequence is unique in being exclusively by four of the seven sages and Ninzei, except for one verse by Motonaga, the calligrapher and rule expert (*shuhitsu*) for the session.<sup>11</sup> It is also striking that Sōzei himself frequently responds to Shinkei's verses (eight times) and vice versa (six times), an indication that although the former was indeed the acknowledged leader of the renga milieu and composed the highest number of verses here, neither was averse to matching each other's wit.

The two rivals, along with Ninzei, Senjun, and Sō'i, were together again in the autumn of the same year, 1453, for the *Kogamo senku*. Following the standard practice for thousand-verse sequences, this event was held over three days; it was sponsored by Kogamo Yukimoto, an important retainer in Hoki Province (Tottori) of Yamana Sōzen's son Noriyuki. Like Sōzei, Yukimoto belonged to the *waka* circle around Shōtetsu and could hold his own in a renga session as well, as indicated by his score here (see item 8, Table 1).

The *Kogamo senku* marks one of Sōzei's final appearances in renga

sessions in the capital. In the Eleventh Month of the following year, 1454, he was forced to resign his position as Kitano Renga Master and follow his overlord Yamana Sōzen in his retreat to Tajima Province (Hyōgo). Sōzen's arrogance had brought upon him the wrath of the Shōgun Yoshimasa, who accordingly concurred in a plot against him by the Akamatsu and Hosokawa clans. The Akamatsu had understandably been Sōzen's enemies since the Kakitsu Incident of 1441, which resulted in the transfer of their dominions, Bizen, Mimasaka (both in Okayama), and Harima (Hyōgo), to the Yamana. Added to their territories of Hōki, Inaba (both in Tottori), and Tajima on the Japan Sea coast, the acquisition of these three strategic provinces along the Inland Sea meant that the Yamana were now in a powerful position to challenge the Hosokawa dominions in Tamba (Kyoto) and Settsu (Osaka) in the central region, as well as Sanuki (Kagawa) and Awa (Tokushima) on the island of Shikoku. These strategic interests doubtless motivated Hosokawa Katsumoto, Deputy Shōgun from 1452, to support the Akamatsu-inspired plot to attack Sōzen's mansion on a night in the Eleventh Month of 1454. However, Katsumoto also happened to be Sōzen's son-in-law, and it was perhaps this familial relation that caused his sudden change of heart on the appointed night and saved Sōzen's life.<sup>12</sup>

Barely two months after the political disorders that had forced his departure from the capital Sōzei died in Tajima on 1.16.1455. In the Fourth Month of that same year, another central figure in renga, Ninzei, departed for the Kantō after requesting a certificate of his discipleship from his waka teacher Shōtetsu; he was not to return again to the capital. After Sōzei, the post of Kitano Shrine Renga Master was filled by the priest Sōa, a regular member of the sessions at the shogunal palace, shortly thereafter succeeded by another of the seven sages, Nōa, in 1457.

As in the case of Sōzei, the specter of political strife also loomed in Shinkei's horizon in 1454, when the Hatakeyama succession dispute erupted into open conflict. In the Fourth Month of this year Jimbo, Constable of Etchū, rebelled against Yoshinari's official appointment as Hatakeyama head and was killed by forces sent by Mochikuni, the clan's aging leader. Meanwhile, Mochikuni's dispossessed heir, Masanaga, turned to Hosokawa Katsumoto, and his allies to Yamana Sōzen, for aid; thus, both strongmen supported Masanaga in the beginning of the conflict. Some months later, under their combined pressure and due to a newfound dislike for Yoshinari, the Shōgun Yoshimasa reversed his previous decision and ordered him censured. In the Eighth Month fighting broke out between the rival forces in the capital. Surrounded by Masanaga's troops, Mochikuni set his mansion on fire and retired to his personal sanctuary at the Kenninji, not far from the clan temple Jūjūshin'in; Yoshinari fled to Kawachi. Desirous of



a peaceful settlement, Masanaga sent his kinsman the Hatakeyama Lord of Awa as envoy to the Kenninji, but Mochikuni refused to receive him and departed from the capital. He died the following year, 1455. Subsequently Yoshimasa again changed his mind—this would not be the last time—and recalled Yoshinari to the headship; this time Masanaga fled to Kawachi. Attempts at reconciliation in the next few years were to no avail. In 1460, as we have seen, Yoshimasa renounced Yoshinari yet another time and ordered Masanaga to chastise him with the support of bakufu troops.

By 1460 therefore, when the next Shinkei-related manuscript after the 1453 *Kogamo senku* appears, his heretofore secure position as head of Jūjūshin'in was already imperiled by the internecine Hatakeyama strife. As for his waka career, it will be recalled that he participated in the *Buke utaawase* contest of 1457 and lost two out of three rounds (see Chapter 2). Two years later, in 1459, Shōtetsu was dead at seventy-eight, leaving him a stranded “orphan” on the shores of Waka Bay and “the Way shrouded in darkness once more” (SSG, p. 164).

The *Ochiba hyakuin* (item 11, Table 1) held the following year, 1460, clearly marks Shinkei's emergence as master of a renga session. Significantly, the fifteen participants included five who were like himself former waka disciples of Shōtetsu and participants in the 1457 *Buke utaawase*: Dempō, a Zen priest of the Tōfukuji;<sup>13</sup> the warrior Hidechika who bore the formal title of Lieutenant of the Left Gate Guards; the monk Enshū of the Byōdōbō in Kiyomizudera; Chūei, Constable of Nōto Province (Ishikawa); and Masayori. This event was held as a prayer-offering for the reconstruction of the Honnōji and was sponsored by its head priest Nichimei. The hokku was composed in absentia by the former Regent Ichijō Kanera, the waki by the host Nichimei, and the daisan by Shinkei, who composed the highest number of verses.<sup>14</sup> This will be true of the majority of sessions in which he subsequently figures.

The *Naniki hyakuin* from the First Month of the following year, 1461 (item 12, Table 1), was apparently held at Jūjūshin'in since Shinkei composed the waki as host in reply to the hokku by his guest Hosokawa Yori-hisa, Constable of Awa Province, a circumstance worth noting in view of his later role as master of Hosokawa linked-verse sessions. Also a prayer-offering, the formality of the event is indicated by the large number of participants, seventeen in all. It is particularly interesting, in view of his later connections with the Hosokawa camp, that Gyōjo came down from Mount Hiei expressly to attend it. These are the first three verses.

koe zo hana  
kozutai tsukuse  
momochidori  
Yorihisa

From tree to tree, sing  
till your voice is all flower,  
O myriad birds!  
Yorihisa .

eda o nokosanu ume ga ka mogana Shinkei	Ah, for scent of plum blossoms close-filling all the boughs. Shinkei
harukaze ni kōrikasaneshi yuki tokete Gyōjo	In the spring breeze, layers of frozen snow, one by one, dripping. Gyōjo

Impressively minute and exact, the verbal/imagistic linkages here are particularly resistant to translation, and even description. Suffice it to say that *eda o nokosanu* (“not leaving out a single branch”), whose referent is a fragrance, is quite satisfying in response to the truncated syntax of *koe zo hana/kozutai tsukuse*. The same *eda o nokosanu* then acquires a wholly different value in Gyōjo’s image of snow dripping wetly from one branch after another. Moving from a future imagined scene to the one right before the eyes, the passage is full of a throbbing expectation in the still chill season before trees bloom.

Spring is again the season in *Nanihito hyakuin* the following year, 1462 (item 13, Table 1), the last extant sequence in which Shinkei figured before departing for Kii. The manuscript bears the brief inscription “A session held beneath the flowers in Kurodani, Higashiyama,” whose import will soon become clear.

kyō kozuba mimashi ya yado no hanazakari Gyōjo	Had we not come today, we’d have missed at your lodging, the flowers at the full. Gyōjo
niou sakura no kaze o matsu koro Shinkei	Anon the cherry blossoms wait, glowing before the coming wind. Shinkei
tsuki wa nao kasumeru mine o koeyarade Sō’i	Still the moon— over the haze-veiled peak is yet to rise. Sō’i
fumoto ni kururu haru no karigane Senjun	Dimming over the foothills, spring calls of the wild geese. Senjun

A delicately nuanced progression of images, the opening passage also registers the warmly responsive inflections of syntax among four of the five remaining *shichiken* (only *Nōa* is absent). Yet when viewed in the light of what we have read in the 1463 *Ta’i* poems about Shinkei’s personal circumstances at this time, the *hokku-waki* dialogue here becomes charged with a certain allusive urgency. He evidently hosted this session at his “lodging”

(*yado*) in Kurodani; Gyōjo says he is glad they came just in time to see the flowers there, and Shinkei replies that yes, it is just before they scatter. When we recall his commentary to poem 95 from 1463, “when the old temple where I have lived these many years grew dilapidated, I wandered out in desperation,” this circumstance reveals that at this point he had already left Jūjūshin’in and was staying in Kurodani, some three kilometers north of Kiyomizu-zaka. Furthermore the image of flowers about to scatter before the wind assumes an ominous cast when paralleled with poem 17 (see Chapter 1) in which he employs the same metaphor to express the uncertainty of his own destination “in the wake of the spring wind / in these tumultuous times.” In other words, it is almost certain that this session among the surviving seven sages and their friends was held expressly to bid Shinkei farewell before his departure for Kii. Verses 19 and 20 further into the sequence tend to bear this out.

yama tōku  
nagareidataru  
otowakawa  
Seiroku

sue o miyako ni  
chigiru tabibito  
Keishō

Issuing from the  
mountain, to far distances it  
flows, Otowa River.

Seiroku

To the capital he vows to  
return in the end, the traveler.

Keishō

The Otowa River flows from Otowa Mountain, on whose foothills Shinkei invariably locates Jūjūshin’in in the context of his poetry (see, for example, poem 95). The Hatakeyama battles were raging in Kawachi, and this year, 1462, the bakufu had ordered forces from twenty-eight provinces, including a contingent of the Hosokawa, to support Masanaga. The traveler might “vow to return to the capital,” but Shinkei, as we know, was not certain of surviving his mission in Kii.

## Flowers Glowing Before the Wind

In the opening chapter of this biography, I attempted to delve into the nature of the severe crisis confronting Shinkei. Amidst that complicated tangle of highly plausible inferences and arresting speculations, it was always clear that he had fallen from his heretofore secure and even elevated social identity as head priest of Jūjūshin’in. It was not a case of official dismissal; the death of the Hatakeyama leader Mochikuni in 1455 had loosed the conflicting forces vying for succession, and everyone was simply too embroiled in politics and the power struggle to care about the maintenance of the clan temple and the fate of its priest.

As dramatically recorded in the Ta'i poem sequence and self-annotations, Shinkei's fall from fortune fostered in him a sense of isolation and even betrayal, due not solely to loss of patronage but also to the untimely deaths of his own relations in the disorders in Kii. As a record of the swindle of time and of a bitterly earned insight into his own bare, unaccommodated condition, the poems and commentary constitute an illuminating personal background for one of *Sasamegoto*'s ground themes, indeed the central theme implicating all the others: "The mind and language of the Way of Poetry are rooted upon a sense of mutability and sorrow for the human condition [*mujō jukkai*]" (SSG, p. 139). The doctrine of mutability is ubiquitous in Japanese literature, but it had never before been articulated so explicitly as the primary motivation for poetic composition. Its central place in Shinkei's writing can be explained only by the fact that for him, far from being an abstract principle or mere pious homily, it had all the weight of personal experiences, which reached a critical point in 1462-63. His loss of worldly position would also have played a part in crystallizing his elevated view of poetry as a search for being that is no less authentic than, and is ultimately identified with, the Buddhist path of liberation from mundane passion. In other words, for Shinkei in 1463 poetry had assumed a transcendent significance that it did not necessarily possess when he was insulated within the security of his place in the social hierarchy. As we shall see presently, his fortunes improved considerably on his return to the capital from Kii. But the 1462-63 crisis had done its work, and the greater tragedy of the Ōnin War was to complete his transformation into a quintessential poet of the elegiac voice, and of the chill, still realm of contemplation.

In writing *Sasamegoto*, Shinkei was not only formulating a poetic philosophy. He was also engaged in the no less major enterprise of consolidating the literary history of his age by locating it within the mainstream of Japanese poetic development. The peculiar two-pronged character of his historical and critical approach, which is trained as much on waka as on renga, virtually mirrors his own career until 1463; first as a waka poet under Shōtetsu's tutelage, and then as an emerging leader in renga circles subsequent to the death of Sōzei and Chiun. The place Shinkei gives Shōtetsu in waka history is a central one. He views him as the embodiment of a renaissance of waka's golden age in the *Shinkokinshū* period and invariably quotes a poem by him as a model immediately after one by Teika. The implication is clear that there is a direct line between the two that spans more than two centuries of decline. Furthermore, near the end he also invokes Shōtetsu as the agent of the revival of renga, which had been

deteriorating, as he saw it, since its initial efflorescence during the age of Nijō Yoshimoto and Gusai.

The treatise, however, ends on a pessimistic and uncertain note. Shinkei grieves that Shōtetsu's death has plunged the Way into darkness once more and left future generations without guidance. What is more, he chides himself for being obsessed with poetry instead of seeking the path of Buddhist salvation. This last scruple, the perception of a conflict between the poetic and religious pursuits, must have disturbed him, for the supplement, *Sasamegoto* Part Two, he wrote the year after his return to the capital is distinguished by an overwhelming attempt to reconcile the Ways of poetry and Buddhism. Nonetheless, the text written in Kii in the Fifth Month of 1463 was intended as a finished work and may be viewed as his program for a renga revival initiated by Sōzei and Chiun under the influence of aesthetic principles learned from waka and Shōtetsu.

An interesting question is how Shinkei saw his own role in this enterprise. It is not, admittedly, a question whose answer we should expect to find in the treatise; nowhere does he mention or even hint at his own place in the scheme that he has discussed at such length and with such fervor. Rather, we should consider the act of writing *Sasamegoto* itself, his first critical work, as a telling gesture. Its interpretation of literary history, now standard in modern references on the subject, was after all his own conception. It is doubtful that Sōzei or Chiun considered themselves the vanguard of a movement, and, as we have seen, Shōtetsu himself frowned on renga. Indeed, we may go further and state that his presence in the treatise is that of a figurehead and model; the principles that Shinkei chooses to emphasize, and his interpretation of them, are very much his own. Thus it may reasonably be inferred that *Sasamegoto* was a conscious attempt by Shinkei to influence renga's future development toward the high and rigorous ideals that he himself cherished by appealing to the fame and authority of Teika and Shōtetsu. As such, it represents a new awareness of his role as renga poet and critic. This is not to say that he abandoned waka. Far from it. He never ceased to compose in the older genre and maintained to the end his contention that waka was a crucial part of a renga poet's training. But what the age demanded of him was renga and renga criticism, and except for a waka contest in which he acted as judge many years later in the Kantō, all surviving records of his public poetic activities after 1463 consist of renga sessions.

As it turned out, *Sasamegoto* was but the prelude to a brief period of worldly success subsequent to his return to the capital in the summer of 1463, and lasting until the outbreak of the war in the summer of 1467.

During this period he became the leading figure in the poetry sessions held by Hatakeyama Masanaga's eminent ally Hosokawa Katsumoto. What is more, his poetic celebrity was accompanied by the fulfillment of the desperate prayer that he addressed to his clan-god in Kii, the restoration of Jūjūshin'in to its former status as prayer temple of the bakufu and Hatakeyama clan. The traveler who had wandered so far from Otowa Mountain had indeed returned.

Given the wholly depressed mood of the 1463 poems, this sudden positive turn in Shinkei's fortunes must be deemed remarkable, even stunning. It confirms the suggestion made earlier that he was in Kii on a mission to save himself and the temple amidst the perils brought about by the Hatakeyama conflict.

It is not known when he became connected with the Masanaga-Hosokawa faction. The circumstantial evidence presented in Chapter 1 argues strongly for the existence of a link even before his journey to Kii. To someone who had experienced only too well "the darkly vexed struggle / for a means to live" and had had to confront the fate of "the man drowning on land," the harsh realities of the strife-torn age would have been abundantly clear: one either took sides with one of the warring parties or was dispossessed and abandoned to the capricious winds of fortune. Survival for Shinkei had become inextricably linked with factional politics, and it is surely this unpalatable fact that is responsible for the tone of protest that informs some of the poems. The image of fettered cormorants who may not even consume the fruits of their labor in poem 29 is particularly powerful. Its bearing is similar to the one in his *tsukeku* below (*STKBS* 1267) about a peasant's miserable existence.<sup>15</sup>

aware ni mo	Pitifully he gathers
mashiba oritaku	raw twigs for kindling in
yūmagure	the evening shadows.
sumi uru ichi no	Over the mountains he wends home
kaerusa no yama	from selling charcoal in the town.

Like the cormorants who work for fishermen, this woodcutter cannot himself afford to cook his supper with the charcoal that he makes and sells for a meager subsistence. About this verse, which manifests Shinkei's deep empathy for the difficulties of making one's way in the world, we have Sōgi's testimony that it demonstrates "a kind of significance that was particularly dear to the author" (*kayō [no] kokoro wa, kono sakusha koto ni omou tokoro nari*).<sup>16</sup> The special significance for Shinkei must have had its origins in his 1462–63 crisis. The same concern is manifest in the *tsukeku* below (*STKBS* 2771).

kokoro arite wa  
itsu akashigata  
yonayona no  
tsuri no hi tomosu  
nami no ue

Heart, when will it ever end,  
and dawn come to Akashi Bay.  
Night after night  
the fishing fires are burning  
on the dark waves.

In the 10.18.1447 sequence (item 4, Table 1) that is its original source, the *maeku* alludes to the Akashi Lay Monk in the *Genji* and his worry that his dream of marrying his daughter to a man from the capital might never come to pass.<sup>17</sup> In the context of Shinkei's *tsukeku*, it becomes a lament on the innately fettered and tragic nature of existence in a world where survival involves the destruction of weaker creatures, the condition symbolized by fishermen nightly plying their murderous livelihood on the waves.

It is a measure of Shinkei's tenacity, and a warning that *Sasamegoto's* otherworldliness ought not to be taken literally, that he did not now turn his back on society and retire to some "hut of straw in the remote countryside." At a point in his life when it was just as problematic to maintain a foothold in the world as to let go of it, he opted for the first. He remained in the world, caught like everyone else in a morass generated by the consuming human desire for power, seeing through the utter waste and futility of it, and holding fast to his cherished ideal of the true Way (*makoto no michi*), which may be defined as an authentic mode of being through poetry.

Back in Jūjūshin'in a year after his return to the capital, he would be optimistic enough, and perhaps grateful for his recovered fortunes, to set the frail structure of "human feeling" (*hito no nasake*) against the senselessness of the mundane human condition.

Those who would enter the Way must put the ideal of grace [*en*] at the core of their training. Grace, however, is by no means simply a matter of a charming refinement in the diction and configuration of a verse. Rather, it has its source in the heart of a man with but meager worldly desires, one who is keenly aware of the trackless passing of all phenomena and values human feeling so well, he would not begrudge his own life in return for another's kindness. The verses of those whose hearts are adorned, although refined in style and diction, would ring but falsely to the true ear. This is because the mind manifested in such verses lacks clarity. Among the famous old poems and verses esteemed by their own authors, not even rarely do we find any that employ style as a mere ornament. (SSG, pp. 176-77)

Shinkei describes beauty as an inner state of being characterized by three conditions. The first two, meagerness of desire and knowledge of impermanence, are clearly related in the sense that a keen awareness of the mutability of all phenomena discourages any strong attachment to them; this is nothing more, or less, than the Buddhist cognition of the illusory character of the psycholinguistic universe. What is given next, however, has

TABLE 2  
*Extant Manuscripts of Renga Sessions with Shinkei,  
 Summer 1463 to 1466*

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1. 6.23.1463, *Karanani hyakuin*. Shinkei 14, Gyōjo 12, Senjun 12, Hosokawa Katsumoto 11, Hosokawa Dōken 10, Gensetsu 10, plus five other participants. Hokku by Dōken, waki by Katsumoto.
  2. Spring 1464, *Kumano hōraku senku*. Shinkei 109, Senjun 104, Gyōjo 93, Katsumoto 92, Dōken 80, Sōgi 75, Yasutomi Morinaga 65, and others.
  3. 12.9.1464, *Nanimichi hyakuin*. Nōa 18, Shinkei 17, Senjun 16, Gensetsu 11, Katsumoto 1, and others.
  4. 1.16.1465, *Nanibito hyakuin*. Shinkei 16, Senjun 16, Gyōjo 14, Sōgi 14, Jitchū 9, Gensetsu 9, and five other participants.
  5. Precise date undetermined; summer of 1465 or earlier. *Hatsunani hyakuin*. Katsumoto, Shinkei, Senjun, Gyōjo, Sōgi, Gensetsu, Jitchū, Morinaga, and five others (except for Jitchū, all participants in the *Kumano senku* of 1463). Hokku by Katsumoto.<sup>a</sup>
  6. Precise date undetermined; autumn of 1465 or earlier. *Nanifune hyakuin*. Senjun 16, Shinkei 14, Gyōjo 14, and eight others. Hokku by Shinkei.
  7. 12.14.1465, *Nanifune hyakuin*. Shinkei 13, Senjun 13, Sō'i 12, Gyōjo 11, Sōgi 10, Gensetsu 7, Seiroku 7, Katsumoto 1, and six others. Hokku by Katsumoto.
  8. 2.4.1466, *Nanibito hyakuin*. Shinkei 11, Gyōjo 10, Senjun 10, Sōgi 6, and fourteen other participants.<sup>b</sup>
  9. Precise date undetermined, but before Shinkei's departure for the East in 1467. *Nanimichi hyakuin*. Shinkei 42, Sōgen 28, Eitaku 24, Riei 4, Kōgyō 2. Hokku by Shinkei.
  10. Same general date as 9, *Nanimichi hyakuin*. One of Shinkei's two surviving solo sequences.<sup>c</sup> The hokku: *Kokoro araba / ima o nagameyo / fuyu no yama* ("For the man of feeling / now is the time to gaze at them: / mountains in winter.")

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<sup>a</sup>Unpublished manuscript, as listed in Ijichi, *Renga no sekai*, pp. 301, 360; see also Kaneko, *Seikatsu to sakubin*, p. 98.

<sup>b</sup>An annotated edition of this sequence is available in Shimazu, *Rengashū*, pp. 139–72.

<sup>c</sup>For a complete commentary on this solo sequence, see Okamoto, "Shinkei dokugin *Nanimichi hyakuin* shishō."



no logical connection with what precedes it, and involves a leap of faith or moral conviction. Confronted with the meaninglessness of the human condition as such, the poet nevertheless discovers a transcendent value, higher than life itself which is transient, in the expression of and responsiveness to human feeling. In other words, the statement is an affirmation based on a negation, and it is precisely the tension of the contradiction that lends an existential weight—and a moral dimension—to what might seem a flimsy foundation for poetry. Shinkei's ideal poetic mode of being, *kokoro no en*, beauty of the mind-heart, may be translated as "spiritual radiance," the aura emanating from an ideal man who possesses both the chill, penetrating gaze of a Buddhist saint and the compassionate heart of a sensitive human being in the world. "There are," as he explains his hokku below, "many sentient creatures in the world, but among them all man is endowed with the deepest capacity for feeling" (*Goku*, p. 10).

yo ni wa hito  
hana ni wa ume no  
nioi kana

Man's being in the world:  
the radiant glow of plum blossoms  
among all flowers.

Shinkei's partiality for plum blossoms reflects their symbolism among Sung literati as an image of nobility of spirit, a pure delicate whiteness that comes into flower after enduring the rigors of icy wind and snow in winter.

Having paused to assess the significance of the pivotal 1462–63 crisis in the development of Shinkei's poetic philosophy, we may now turn back to the narration of his known activities between his successful return to the capital and the outbreak of a greater war that would force another departure, from which there would be neither recovery nor return. For the four-year period 1463–67, there are ten extant renga manuscripts in which he figures (see Table 2). This number is proportionately greater than the thirteen for the fifteen-year period 1447–62, indicating the deep-going poetic commitment already signified by his writing of *Sasamegoto*.

Barely a month after completing that treatise in Ta'i, Kii Province, Shinkei was back in Kyoto leading a session hosted by none other than the Deputy Shōgun, Hosokawa Katsumoto (see item 1, Table 2). In the light of the Hosokawa involvement in the Hatakeyama conflict and Kii's role in the protracted battle of Mount Dake, his presence here so soon after returning from Kii is doubtless politically significant. Katsumoto himself was an enthusiastic poet and had been serious enough in this field to formally employ Shōtetsu as his waka teacher back in 1450. As recorded in the *Sōkonshū*, preface to poems 6618–22, on 11.7.1450, an emissary came

from the Hosokawa mansion to the Shōgetsuan with a message from Katsumoto asking Shōtetsu to be the Hosokawa “poetry master” (*kadō no shishō*). When Shōtetsu came to pay his respects the following day, Katsumoto quickly ordered a contract to be drawn up, and five days later he was leading the first of many waka sessions in the Hosokawa mansion.<sup>18</sup> Katsumoto’s uncle, the Lay Monk Dōken (d. 1468), secular name Mochikata, also styled as the Director of the Imperial Stables of the Right (*Uma no Kami*), had likewise been a member of Shōtetsu’s circle, and two poems by him had been included in the *Shinzoku Kokinshū* imperial anthology. There are twenty references to Dōken in the *Sōkonshū*, second only to Katsumoto’s fifty.<sup>19</sup> Given the Shōtetsu connection and the fact that both these personages appear in the previously cited *Hitorigoto* passage on the poetic milieu of the Eikyō era, it is highly possible that Shinkei had known them all along and that this previous connection, coupled with their common involvement with the Hatakeyama, led to his emergence as master of the Hosokawa renga sessions during this period.

The “Kumano Thousand-Verse Prayer Sequence” (item 2, Table 2) was sponsored by Yasutomi Morinaga, an important vassal and deputy (*hikan*) of the Hosokawa in Sanuki Province, Shikoku, and a third-level official in the Popular Affairs Ministry. The time is spring of the following year, 1464; the place the Kumano Shrine in the southeastern tip of Kii Province; and the occasion a *hōraku*, that is, a prayer to petition the god, offer thanksgiving, or both. The need to invoke the Kumano god’s blessing can well be imagined. Subsequent to the fall of Mount Dake in the spring of 1463, Hatakeyama Yoshinari and his defeated band had retreated to Kii, with the Masanaga-Hosokawa forces in pursuit. In other words the pacification of Kii was still in progress and would have provided the motivation for this grand votive sequence led by Shinkei and attended by the Hosokawa principals. As Constable of Sanuki, the sponsor Morinaga would have been interested in settling the Hatakeyama conflict because of its disruptive influences on the sea and overland routes from the island of Shikoku to the capital.<sup>20</sup> There appears to be a correlation as well between this session and Shinkei’s *hōraku* poem sequence the previous spring in the Ta’i village collective shrine. Also known as the Hachiōji Shrine, it was one of the stations on the famed pilgrimage route to Kumano.

At this event we find Sōgi participating for the first time in a session involving Shinkei. Sōgi had become a disciple of Senjun around 1457. Though not yet of sufficient importance to be asked to compose the hokku for any of the ten hyakuin here, his presence in such sessions with the rest of the seven sages marks the initial stages of his progress toward the leadership of the renga field subsequent to the Ōnin War.

In the opening passage of the first sequence, Katsumoto, as the most distinguished among the participants, composes the *hokku*; Morinaga, in his role as host and sponsor, replies with the *waki*; and Shinkei, as leader of the assembled poets, produces the *daisan*.

otonashi no	Soundless, the river
kawakami shirushi	upstream is yet manifest—
hana no taki	a cascade of petals.
Katsumoto	Katsumoto
haru yuku mizu zo	Cherry flowers drifting along
sakura nagaruru	the ebbing tide of springtime.
Morinaga	Morinaga
tsuki shiroku	As the moon floats
ukabu kasumi ni	whitely through the haze,
kage fukete	the shadows deepen.
Shinkei	Shinkei

The *hokku* for each of the ten *hyakuin* alluded to famous spots and natural features of Kumano; Katsumoto's witty and imagistically lovely *hokku*, for example, includes a pun on the river Otonashikawa (lit., "soundless river"), which flows by the main Kumano shrine. Similarly Shinkei's *hokku* for the important tenth and concluding sequence inscribes *nagi no ha* ("beech leaves"), a sacred symbol of Kumano:

umi mo kesa	As the sea this morning,
nagi no ha kasumu	beech leaves motionless in haze:
miyaji kana	the shrine path.

Evoking the pacific calm that is in effect the object of this ritual sequence, the verse exhibits his characteristic handling of objective scene in its simple but skillful suggestion of foreground (beech trees on the shrine path) and background (the Pacific Ocean off the southern coast of the Kii peninsula) in a few economical strokes.

As dilapidated as Jūjūshin'in might have been when he left it in desperation in 1462, there can be no doubt that by the Fifth Month of 1464, Shinkei was living there again. His unusually detailed inscription of his location in the colophon to Part II of *Sasamegoto* reveals as much: "Written in the Fifth Month of the Fifth Year of Kanshō [1464] in Jūjūshin'in, at the foot of Otowa Mountain, east of the Flowery Capital. [seal] Shinkei."<sup>21</sup> He was restored to his old familiar dwelling, at what cost of pain and effort may be gleaned from the 1463 poems, but all finally crowned with resounding success. His celebrity as a *renga* poet must have been great indeed, for even the Crown Prince summoned him for a session just before his investiture as Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado (1442–1500; r. 1465–1500) in the

Seventh Month of 1464. As may be expected, this signal honor comprises another of Shinkei's *jisanbanashi*.

It was also around this time that the Crown Prince, whose accession was then imminent, summoned me to a renga session, saying that it was being held for my sake. For each and every verse that he composed, he bade me reply with the connecting link. What made the experience particularly awesome was that hearing I would be late for the session, which was scheduled early in the morning, he caused it to be postponed to the afternoon. (*Tokoro* II, p. 214)

Only twenty-two, the Prince evidently summoned Shinkei for a final unencumbered meeting shortly before succeeding to the emperorship with all its formal restrictions. His enthusiasm for renga emerges vividly in this anecdote, where one can almost sense his avid curiosity about how Shinkei would deal with each verse he composed. Long after the poet's death in 1475, this emperor would support the compilation of the *Shinsen Tsukubashū* as a quasi-imperial anthology, and it would include 100 of his verses, only slightly fewer than Shinkei's 119.

The same year, 1464, ends with a session (item 3, Table 2) in which Katsumoto composed only the hokku below, probably sent in absentia.

hitotose ni osoki hana kana fuyu no ume Katsumoto	In the whole long year, the tardiest flower— plum blossoms in winter. Katsumoto
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This winter session must have been held at the residence of Gensetsu, the author of the waki. Taking precedence over Shinkei in his capacity as Kitano Renga Master, Nōa composed the third verse, before Shinkei's fourth. The following New Year, 1465, Shinkei, Senjun, and Gensetsu are joined by Gyōjo and Sōgi at a meeting in Osaka (item 4, Table 2).

ume okuru kaze wa nioi no aruji kana Shinkei	Sending on the plum blossoms, the wind— master of fragrances. Shinkei
yadori narekuru uguisu no koe Jitchū	To familiar lodgings it comes, the song of the bush warbler. Jitchū

✓ *Aruji* ("master, owner") in Shinkei's hokku is an allusive reference to the host of the session, Jitchū, resident-priest of Keizuian Hermitage in Settsu (Osaka). As a greeting to the host, in effect it praises the flowering plum trees in Jitchū's garden. In turn Jitchū's waki is a warmly welcoming reply that images Shinkei and the other assembled poets as bush warblers come to sing in the fragrant garden. The Heian courtly tradition of verbal and social

grace was apparently still very much alive these many centuries later. Although the medieval period was anarchic compared to the halcyon days of the Heian court, clearly poetry still held first place even in the social life of monks, lay monks, and warriors. In his verse collection *Wakuraba* (Aging leaves, 1481 and 1485), Sōgi mentions a “thousand-verse sequence sponsored by the Zen priest Jitchū,” rather impressive evidence of this hermit’s enthusiastic pursuit of renga.<sup>22</sup>

Shinkei’s leading role in Hosokawa-sponsored sessions, so far evidenced by the entries above, is roundly confirmed by the last of his anecdotal reminiscences in the second *Tokoro-dokoro hentō* letter.

Some years ago, the then incumbent Deputy Shōgun [Hatakeyama] Masanaga and his predecessor [Hosokawa] Katsumoto made some rather elaborate arrangements for a flower-viewing session on the same day. The meeting at the former Deputy’s was held from daybreak till sundown, at the incumbent Deputy’s from evening till the small hours of the night. It is embarrassing to say that I composed the hokku at both places.

chiru o dani otosu na hana no haru no kaze Shinkei	Keep them aloft even as they scatter, O spring breeze among the flowers!	Shinkei
kokoro aru ka to ame zo nodekeki Katsumoto	Could it have a heart? So gently falls the rain.	Katsumoto
. . . . .		
kimi ga hen haru no kazu kana masagoyama Shinkei	May the springs of our lord be thus in number: the bright-sand mountain.	Shinkei
wakamidori sou matsu zo kodakaki Masanaga	Verdant with young green, the stalwart pine trees soar!	Masanaga

Around the same time renga contests started to be held at the mansion of the Deputy Shōgun Katsumoto. Beginning with his uncle the Director of the Imperial Stables [Dōken], prominent people came to participate, and I judged which verses should win or lose. (*Tokoro II*, p. 213)

Subsequent to the fall of Mount Dake in 1463, Masanaga was ordered by the Shōgun Yoshimasa to return to the capital as the victorious head of the Hatakeyama clan. He arrived in triumph in the First Month of 1464 and was appointed to succeed his sponsor Katsumoto as Deputy Shōgun in the Ninth Month.<sup>23</sup> Thus the sessions recounted in this passage must have occurred in the following spring, 1465. The renga contests at which Shinkei presided as judge would have begun earlier, perhaps shortly after item 1,

Table 2 (6.23.1463). According to *Sasamegoto*, they were a recent phenomenon in the field of linked verse but were crucial to its artistic elevation through the process of criticism (SSG, p. 161). Shinkei's first hokku here is undoubtedly a veiled request for Katsumoto's help with regard to the failing clan and bakufu temple Jūjūshin'in, since the latter's reply is so manifestly—and responsively as it turns out—allegorical. The other pair of verses is particularly arresting in the ways it evokes the triumphant atmosphere of the flower-viewing session held in the spring following Masanaga's appointment to the second highest office in the land. Shinkei's auspicious, congratulatory hokku seems eminently suitable, coming as it does from the head priest of the Hatakeyama clan temple, while Masanaga's reply, couched in the metaphor of tall flourishing pines, bespeaks his confidence in his newfound fortune.

With the cessation of the Hatakeyama conflict and Masanaga's appointment as Deputy Shōgun, Jūjūshin'in was restored to its former status as a shogunal temple, a fact that may be inferred from the holding of the traditional Bishamon Sermon there this summer.

Following past precedent, the Shōgun decided to present swords and horses to Jūjūshin'in in connection with the Bishamon Sermon, and he directed the Lord of Bishū [Ise Sadachika] to transmit this decision to the Deputy Shōgun. Swords . . . and horses . . . were accordingly sent here, and I handed them over to Jimbo Shiroyūemon, who had come to collect them. (*Chikamoto nikki*, entry for 6.3.1465)

This enlightening information comes from the journal of Ninagawa Chikamoto (1433–88), son of Chiun or Chikamasa, one of the seven sages, and like his father an official of the Mandokoro, of which Ise Sadachika (1417–73) was then the head.<sup>24</sup> The fact that Yoshimasa wished the matter to be brought to Masanaga's attention suggests that the revival of the official Bishamon ritual at Jūjūshin'in was due to his application. It is noteworthy, moreover, that the person who came to collect the shogunal offerings, Jimbo Shiroyūemon, was a member of the Jimbo warrior clan that figured as Masanaga's staunch supporters in the Hatakeyama conflict. Two days later another entry in Chikamoto's journal shows Shinkei himself appearing before the bakufu to acknowledge the ritual gifts: "Jūjūshin'in Shinkei came to acknowledge the Shōgun's offerings the other day of swords and horses. He said that his thanks should also be transmitted to the Lord of Bishū" (*Chikamoto nikki*, entry for 6.5.1465). For the bakufu, Masanaga, and not least Shinkei himself, this celebration of the Bishamon rite subsequent to the resolution of the Hatakeyama conflict manifestly bore a profound symbolic significance, apart from confirming the temple's traditional

function as religious guardian of peace in the realm and the bakufu's military stability.

Item 8 in Table 2, from 2.4.1466, is the last datable session in which Shinkei participated before the outbreak of the war in the following year.

koro ya toki	Oh, for the seed of
hana ni azuma no	Azuma, pulsating quick with
tane mogana	the season's flowers!
Shinkei	Shinkei
haru ni makasuru	Spring's slow pace its guide,
kaze no nodokesa	tranquil breathes the wind.
Gyōjo	Gyōjo

His hokku is particularly arresting in its reference to Azuma, the East or Kantō region that would be his destination in the following summer. However, the reference here is to Gyōjo's impending departure for the East, where he evidently stayed sometime between the summer of 1466 and spring of 1467. Sōgi, who composed the seventh verse in the first round, also left for the Kantō in the summer or fall of 1466. Shinkei's hokku is based on the popular belief that spring comes from the east, where flowers would consequently bloom earlier than in the capital. Gyōjo's reply acts as a curb to Shinkei's expectant desire: spring's progress in the capital is notoriously slow, and the flowers will bloom in their own time.

An evaluation of the sessions described so far indicates that Shinkei's sphere of renga activity for the period 1463-67 was defined by his connection to the Hosokawa and Hatakeyama clans. Those held exclusively among renga poets and enthusiasts, without Katsumoto's presence, belong to a different order, although there too his position as master is evident in the fact that he almost invariably composes the hokku and the highest number of verses. A notable aspect of his role in the renga milieu as a whole is his apparent absence from sessions sponsored by the shogunal house. In the spring of 1465, for example, renga was held at the Shōgun's Muromachi Palace on the nineteenth of the First Month. The participants included, apart from Yoshimasa himself, high-ranking figures such as Ichijō Kanera, Asukai Masachika (1417-90), Katsumoto, Yamana Sōzen, as well as the other shichiken Nōa, Senjun, Gyōjo, and Sō'i. These four, in particular Gyōjo and Senjun, as well as Katsumoto were, as we have seen, frequent participants in the sessions Shinkei himself led. The same group took part in the renga meeting held during Yoshimasa's famous flower-viewing excursion to Kachōzan on 3.4, and again two days later in Ōharano.<sup>25</sup> In all these celebrated cultural events, considered the most prominent in Yoshimasa's career, Shinkei's name is conspicuous by its absence. It is a curious develop-

ment when we recall that back in 1433 when he was only twenty-seven, he already had a prominent place in the Kitano Shrine *manku* sponsored by the previous Shōgun, Yoshinori. Did his religious duties at Jūjūshin'in prevent his joining the others in sessions other than those dictated by the exigencies of the Hosokawa connection? Or was his absence connected to his well-known distaste for the rapid manner of composition that such public events encouraged? Yoshimasa's annual *senku* at Kitano Shrine belongs to the same category; here too his attendance was quite infrequent, given his considerable poetic reputation.

Whatever might have been the reasons behind his absence, it assumes a certain importance when considered against his view that composing *renga* is an activity of mental contemplation and his censure of the facile attitude that sees it as mere amusement and verbal exercise. His sweeping denunciation of frivolous poetry in *Sasamegoto* is well known: "Ever since such frivolous versifiers filled the world, the high-mindedness and deep sensibilities intrinsic to the Way as such have disappeared; it has become no more than senseless chatter rolling off the tip of the tongue. . . . No wonder, then, that these so-called thousand- and ten thousand-verse sequences assail the ears from every roadside and marketplace these days" (SSG, p. 162).

Regardless of his infrequent attendance at the capital's most famous *renga* events, however, or his ill-concealed disdain for sessions gathered for sheer entertainment, Shinkei's celebrity during these years is undeniable. The *hokku* he composed at various meetings were apparently much talked about, since they found their way into one of the primary historical sources of the period, the *Inryōken nichiroku*. This is the journal kept by Kikei Shinzui, a priest of the powerful Zen temple Shōkokuji and a favorite of the Shōgun, therefore in an advantageous position to report on contemporary sociopolitical and cultural events.<sup>26</sup> The references to Shinkei are to be found in four entries for the Second Month of 1466; it will be useful to quote the verses as an index to popular taste.<sup>27</sup> In the entry for 2.5.1466, Shinzui notes down these two *hokku*.

ume no hana	Plum blossoms—
takanu kinu naki	no robe but exudes the incense
nioi kana	of their fragrance.
	.....
tōyama mo	As distant hills in
kasumu wa yado no	clouded haze, tips of trees float
kozue kana	above the houses.

A panegyric to the fragrance of plum blossoms permeating the place of composition, the first *hokku* simultaneously weaves in a playful praise for



the gathered guests through the metaphor of incense exuded from their robes. Unfortunately the bright wit and precisely delineated aural structure of this verse is lost in translation. The second is more austere and has the visual effect of an inkwash painting with misty mountains forming a background against which the tops of nearer trees in the place of composition emerge distinctly by contrast; the vantage point would have to be elevated, say the garden pavilion of a hillside temple or mansion on an early spring morning. ✓

The second entry from the following day, 2.6.1466, notes Shinkei's hokku, *koro ya toki*, and Gyōjo's waki from a session held just two days previous (item 8, Table 2), saying that "they were admired by the whole world." In the third entry, 2.17.1466, Shinzui quotes three hokku from the Kitano Shrine Thousand-Verse Sequence held on 2.10, barely a week after the *koro ya toki* sequence; the first is by the Shōgun Yoshimasa, the second by Shinkei, and the third by Gyōjo. Shinkei's is the following.

}	hatsuhana ni chiru o na mise so haru no yuki	Conceal your falling from the year's first flowers, O snows of spring!
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Following Shinkei's verse, Shinzui adds, "Bandai Matasaburō was present at the session and told me that everyone thought it a remarkable verse." A marvel of allusive indirection, it wittily evokes the delicate beauty of light snowflakes upon plum branches, bare but for the first few white blossoms. The fourth and last reference occurs in the entry for 2.27.1466: "Renkai [Shinkei] composed the following hokku on the seventh day of the First Month":

sode machite seri kōbashiki migiwa kana	Brushed by a sleeve, the cool scent of young parsley by the water's edge.
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The parsley is one of the so-called "seven grasses of spring" (*haru no nanakusa*); excursions to nearby hills to pick them had been an early spring rite since Heian times and reflect upon the occasion for this session as well. Brushed by flowing sleeves—an allusive reference to the members of this elegant excursion, and no doubt their ancient courtly predecessors—the parsley wafts its delicate fragrance in the still cold air along the river. ✓

The combination of wit, fresh sensory perception, and aesthetic refinement manifest in these four hokku are aspects of Shinkei's renga style that apparently appealed to cultured popular taste. The wit is reminiscent of the glancingly oblique manner and conceits of the *Kokinshū* but endowed with a new freshness by its unflinching relevance to the actual context of the session: the scenery and season, the specific occasion, and the members of

the group. Like Sōzei before him, Shinkei employs wit in his hokku in a manner dictated by renga's character as a poetry of time and place, in order to render the context of the session in an image of delicacy and loveliness. This is distinct from the comic and satirical uses of wit in haikai and involves a sense of formal decorum that reflects renga's function during the Muromachi period as a social ceremonial, an activity that lends the grace of poetry to a social occasion. For all these reasons, the hokku quoted by Shinzui were widely appreciated at the time, although they do not possess the quality of depth Shinkei himself valued most in poetry.

At any rate, Shinkei's poetic fame during this period would later inspire the following panegyric by the Shōkokuji Zen monk Banri Shūkyū (or Shūku, b. 1428) in connection with his description of Shinkei's nephew, the Kenninji monk Kiyō-shūza: "His uncle Jūjūshin'in composed excellent poetry in the correct waka tradition. The words that he recited at morning would quickly spread to the four directions by evening, causing the price of paper to increase tenfold in the capital."<sup>28</sup> No doubt Banri exaggerates. Taken with the *Inryōken* entries; however, his comment might be said to be a fairly plausible index of the extent of Shinkei's celebrity at this time, which was such that it even reached the ears of the young Go-Tsuchimikado.

*Sasamegoto*, as noted earlier, signified Shinkei's decision to take an active role in the formulation of the renga aesthetics of his day. The first of the *Tokoro-dokoro* letters, dated 3.23.1466, is in effect a critical essay further developing the ideas introduced in the earlier work.<sup>29</sup> One of its first statements sets forth its theme: "Truly ever since renga became so overwhelmingly popular in recent times it has produced nothing but aberrations" (*Tokoro* I, p. 194). Shinkei then traces renga's historical development according to the tripartite division already familiar from the earlier work: the genre's first flowering in the age of Nijō Yoshimoto and Gusai; the middle, generally stagnant period in the time of Bontō; and the renaissance generated in recent years by Sōzei and Chiun through their studies of waka and classical literature under Shōtetsu. A major departure from *Sasamegoto*'s historical perspective then occurs when the letter launches into a long and overwhelmingly negative evaluation of Sōzei's renga.

χ You asked me about the poetic style of Priest Sōzei. Truly his verses evince great technical dexterity and a power [*tedari takumi ni gōriki naru tokoro*] that no other poet could rival, and for this reason he was exceptionally famous in his time. But examine his verses carefully and you will find that this poet too was an utterly worldly man [*zokujin*]. At heart he was a warrior ceaselessly exposed to the mundane world of archery, horsemanship, and implements of battle. He lacked a sense of the impermanence and mutability of this world and was without the smallest aspiration in Buddhist learning and spiritual discipline. Was it perhaps due to this deficiency that his verses evince only ingenuity and none of the qualities of

ambience, overtones, and pathos [*omokage yojō fubin*]? His love verses are all merely correct and graceless; not one exhibits deep feeling or ineffable depth [*ushin yūgen no mono*]. These are things that Priest Seigan [Shōtetsu] also commented upon time and time again. Among the verses that he collected and submitted for Priest Seigan's inspection in past years [are the following]:

tachibana niou noki no shitagusa	Grasses beneath orange blossoms wafting fragrant by the eaves.
haru kaeri hana chiru sato wa no to narite	Spring departs, the village of falling flowers turns to wild fields.

The beginning and end of this verse are carelessly rough and leave much to be desired. Someone like Gusai would have responded instead,

yūkaze ni hana chiru sato wa hito mo nashi	In the evening wind over the village of falling flowers— not one human shadow.
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.....

mi o ba izuku ni sutete okubeki	The self—where finds the place one can cast it off and settle?
yo wa tsuraku mine no iori wa sabishikute	Harsh is the world, and lonely, the hut on the mountain peak.

In this verse too, “lonely” [*sabishikute*] seems quite inferior. Someone like Gusai would have said,

yo wa tsuraku mine no iori wa matsu no kaze	Harsh is the world, and by the hut on the mountain peak— only the wind in the pines.
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.....

ware bakari mi o ba sutsuru to omoishi ni	Alone among all I have cast off the self— or so I thought.
ko no moto sabishi ochikuri no koe	Beneath the trees, lonely, the sound of a falling chestnut.

This too overtly manifests [the feeling in] “lonely” [*sabishi*], and that is ill-conceived. Again someone like Gusai would have said,

ko no moto sumi no ochikuri no koe	Sound of a falling chestnut in a dim corner beneath the trees.
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He would have rendered the loneliness as an ambience of the verse [*ku no omokage*]. (*Tokoro I*, pp. 198–99)

Shinkei's objections to these *tsukeku* verses by Sōzei are quite clear, and concretely illustrate the basis of his criticism in the *Shinkokinshū* waka aesthetics of ambiguity and depth of feeling. These ideals are ostensibly

represented here by the Kamakura-Nambokuchō poet-priest Gusai, but the alternative *tsukeku* were, of course, composed by Shinkei himself. The “roughness” (*ara-arashiku*) of the initial and last lines in the first example refers to the jarringly abrupt shift from “spring departs” to “wild fields,” an autumn image. Spring, moreover, is irrelevant since the “falling flowers” can be none other than the orange blossoms of the *maeku*, and they are a summer image. Yet Sōzei’s verse as such is quite ingenious in its two-pronged verbal linkage with the *maeku*: against *tachibana* (orange blossoms), he juxtaposes *hana chiru sato* (village of falling flowers), an allusion to the chapter of that name in the *Tale of Genji*.<sup>30</sup> He then links up to *shitagusa* (grasses beneath) with *no* (here, “wild field”). It is undeniable however, that such verbal correlations, while evincing a quick wit, remain woodenly uninspired and that “Gusai’s” *tsukeku* connects to the *maeku* in a more moving, *ushin-teki* fashion. *Yūkaze* (evening wind) animates the “orange blossoms” of the *maeku*, imaging it as a fragrance stirring in the air, and *hito mo nashi* (rendered as “not one human shadow”) completes the evocation of a place abandoned by time but still “fragrant” with memories. In sum, the alternative *tsukeku* captures the feeling (*kokoro*) and precise tonality of the “Village of Falling Flowers” episode in the *Genji*.

Shinkei’s revisions of Sōzei’s two other *tsukeku* eschew overt expression of feeling (the explicit mention of *sabishi*, “lonely”) in favor of the allusive ambiguity (*omokage*) of the objective image, that which is evoked by “wind in the pines” (*matsu no kaze*) in the one case, and by “corner” (*sumi*) in the other. His version of the “falling chestnut” verse is indeed a brilliant example of his vision of *renga* as a symbolist poetry in which the concrete image would function as an objective correlative of an unspoken thought or feeling. It would be a mistake, however, to ignore the conceptual power and forceful diction exhibited by Sōzei even here. Such qualities are essential to the art of linked verse, as Shinkei himself fully demonstrated in his analysis of the structure of the *renga* link in *Sasamegoto*. And although it is true that allusive indirection and profundity are not Sōzei’s strong points, his work is not wholly lacking in them. On the other hand, Shinkei himself, as we have seen, occasionally exhibited a similar forcefulness and power (what he calls *gōriki naru tokoro* in Sōzei) in his *waka* and was criticized by Shōtetsu for it. Near the end of the letter he apologizes for “nitpicking” by an appeal to the Buddhist practice of debate and criticism (*rongi*), which aims to reveal the enduring principles of the Way and is by no means intended as personal censure. Even the likes of Sōzei and Chiun, he adds, are rare talents that would be difficult to encounter for centuries. The letter ends with the revealing passage about his troubled relationship with Shōtetsu discussed in Chapter 2.

Shinkei's criticism of Sōzei's style is useful in confirming the poetic ideals that he himself valued most. It is also not inconceivably a reflection of his consciousness of being a rival to Sōzei's fame, given the fact that the former was the foremost poet of the Yamana camp, whereas he himself was affiliated with the Hosokawa. Ultimately, however, it should be seen as an indication that although he publicly placed Sōzei and Chiun at the vanguard of a renga renaissance, privately he felt that their poetry still left something to be desired and that the genre's true flowering was still to come.

Shinkei's uncompromising severity when measuring other poets against the lofty standards of the Way is similarly manifest in the manuscript called *Gikō no eisō Shinkei no tensaku* (Shinkei's critical comments on Sōgi's poetic compositions).<sup>31</sup> Consisting of 114 *tsukeku* submitted by Sōgi for his evaluation, it is a highly valuable demonstration of his acuity as a practical critic as distinct from the philosopher of *Sasamegoto*. His various comments here are manifestly based on two complementary requirements; an exact economy in the handling of poetic diction, and an effective and rigorous linking technique. He faults individual verses for containing more images than necessary for their desired effects and for a tendency toward labored and affected conceptions. In many cases he indicates that the tsukeku merely echoes the imagery of the maeku and results in a tedious redundancy instead of the tense interaction that should characterize the relation between the verses. At one point he apparently loses his temper and declares, "What could a discerning author like you have been thinking of to produce such a verse?" (*kokoro akirakanaru sakusha no kayō no ku asobashisōrō wa nan to yaran omōesōrō*) (p. 26). The beginning of the concluding section is not less formidable for its seeming praise: "Your volume of verses has utterly exhausted all that is possible of interesting styles, and I fear that my judgment has not been equal to the task. It is a remarkable work. However, I should think it deplorable if you were to consider it the level of absolute perfection" (p. 27).

Shinkei's severity with Sōgi is particularly striking when compared to the leniency he displays toward Jōhō, the Tōfukuji priest who submitted 100 verse-pairs for his evaluative commentaries in 1462. There his criticisms are infinitely milder, his praises more ready, and he makes no attempt to set forth definitive principles in the process of his appraisal. Clearly he considered Jōhō an amateur and judged his work accordingly. Sōgi was different. By this time, as the entries from the 1464 *Kumano hōraku senku* onward indicate, he had participated in enough sessions with Shinkei for the older man to be convinced of his talent and status as a professional, someone for whom renga was as serious an art as he himself regarded it.

Sōgi was therefore worthy of thorough instruction and of being initiated into the rigorous disciplines of the Way.

To date, the nature and extent of Shinkei's influence on Sōgi have not been fully studied. This is no doubt due to the fact that whereas Sōgi himself has long been an object of study, the scholarly research on Shinkei, though increasingly prolific and surpassing that on Sōgi in volume, is still a fairly recent phenomenon. Unlike his mentor, Sōgi had no priestly office and duties and could devote himself exclusively to renga and its propagation. In fact he subsequently became the central figure of the poetic world both in the capital and the provinces, and his fame, unlike Shinkei's, endured throughout the Tokugawa period and into the modern century. We do not know how and when the Shinkei-Sōgi association started. We do know that Sōgi was already participating in sessions with Senjun even before Shinkei's departure for Kii, and that, as indicated in Table 2, he was active in sessions led by Shinkei in 1463-66. The *Gikō eisō* manuscript may be viewed as the culmination of their association in the capital, one that would continue, as we shall see, in the Kantō during the war. Of Sōgi's admiration for the older poet there is no doubt. In his first anthology of renga by the seven sages, the *Chikurinshō*, the highest number of verses belong to Shinkei; the same is true of the later official anthology *Shinsen Tsukubashū* of 1495-96, in which Shinkei has a slight numerical superiority over Sōzei. From these it is clear that he considered Shinkei and Sōzei as the greatest among the seven poets.

Any statement regarding the influence of one upon the other must perforce begin by observing that one singular factor unites them; namely, their sense of renga's central place in the development of Japanese poetry and their consequent inscription of this popular but marginalized genre on mainstream literary history. In Shinkei this decisive critical moment is manifested as an aspect of his concept of the "True Way" (*makoto no michi*) of renga, which is based upon the foundations erected by Nijō Yoshimoto and Gusai and encompasses the poetic ideals of the *Shinkokinshū* period as mirrored in Shōtetsu's waka. In turn Sōgi's ideal of the "orthodox Way" (*shōdō*) or style (*shōfū*) reflects Shinkei's concept most significantly in being based upon waka poetic ideals, in particular those of loftiness (*chōkō*), authentic feeling (*ushin*), and ineffable depth (*yūgen*). Furthermore, his perspective on renga history is characterized by the same tripartite division that may be encountered in all of Shinkei's writings.

These coincidences are crucially related to the fact that behind Shinkei's "True Way" concept lay his vision of renga's efflorescence in the face of the vacuum created by Shōtetsu's death and waka's steady decline. Clearly this vision was the inspiration for Sōgi's own compilation of the seven sages'

renga as an embodiment of the genre's renaissance and the even greater historical enterprise of preserving their works and his own in an official anthology like the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*. It was an age when imperial anthologies of waka had ceased to be compiled; it was, moreover, unprecedented for a commoner of obscure origins like Sōgi to be appointed editor of an imperial anthology. The grandness of this project, and Sōgi's great ambition to elevate renga's status to that of traditional waka, can only be measured against this background. Thus, an important aspect of Shinkei's influence upon Sōgi was his transmission of his vision of renga's historical mission to the younger man, who carried it out to an extent that Shinkei himself, who died lamenting the dim future of the Way in an anarchic age, could never have foreseen.<sup>32</sup>

Shinkei and the other seven sages are also credited with the creation of the serious and refined renga that Sōgi in his critical writings legislated as the correct, orthodox style, and therefore became established—so great was Sōgi's influence—as the standard for linked-verse composition. This is true with regard to the formation of the essential characteristics of “serious renga” (*ushin renga*): namely, the formal autonomy of the single verse; a linking method, *kokoro-zuke*, based on conception and poetic feeling rather than mere verbal correlations; and an aesthetic of allusiveness and depth. The crucial importance of these three elements in the practice of renga as a serious art was indeed clarified by the poetry of the seven sages and foregrounded and given rational exposition in Shinkei's critical discourse. By requiring a semantic and syntactic closure at the end of each verse, they established the resulting gap in between as the proper site of the link. In doing so, they freed renga from an earlier tendency toward a waka-like structural continuity from upper verse to lower verse. On the other hand, they divorced wit, that essential renga faculty of yoking together disparate elements, from its usual and popular partnership with the comic (that is, from *mushin renga*) and placed it in the service of poetic beauty. This is not to banish wit but to make it serve the purposes of artistic expression and a quasi-religious philosophical contemplation.

The role of the seven sages in the artistic transformation of renga was therefore decisive. It is not clear, however, that there is a direct line from them to the thorough classicism of Sōgi-style, orthodox renga. It is a fact that their understanding of waka aesthetics evolved from their work with Shōtetsu, who belonged to the innovative Reizei school and claimed indeed to be one in spirit with the great Teika. Sōgi, on the other hand, took his waka education where he could find it, and that was often with the dominant and conservative Nijō school. The consequences of this difference remains one of the critical questions yet to be raised and examined in

modern scholarship, but it is evident in a certain flattening of effect, a diminution of power from the seven sages' verse styles to that of Sōgi.<sup>33</sup> Kidō Saizō observes, for instance, that when it comes to nature verses, Sōgi occasionally succeeds in evoking a fresh and immediate perception of natural scenery. However, "it may be said that compared to the verses of his predecessors such as Sōzei, Shinkei, and Senjun, in general many have an idealized quality [*kannenteki*] and lack a distinctively individual appeal [*kōseiteki na utsukushisa*]." <sup>34</sup>

It is often said that the true quality of Sōgi's verse emerges only when read within the larger progression of the sequence of which it is a part, whereas Shinkei's is so distinctive that it can hold its own even when read apart from the whole. The difference reflects the fact that it is Sōgi and his immediate disciples who are credited with giving renga its final refinement, which is the smoothly flowing beauty of the progression of the sequence as a whole. This refinement, however, was achieved at the cost of excluding any individualized expression of emotion, an overly exuberant wit, or an unorthodox diction in favor of the harmonious blending of the whole within the idealized realm of the classical waka tradition. This is not what Shinkei had in mind by the "True Way," which is supposed to be the utmost expression of the individual mind itself confronting the verities of nature and existence through the mediation of another's verse and by means of a variety of stylistic modes. And the whole idea of a "correct" style goes against the Reizei principle of pluralism as well as originality of expression. Thus, Shinkei's role in the establishment of an orthodoxy in renga is a literary-historical issue that is particularly resistant to generalization, as befitting a philosophy that valorized poetry as a practice of mental liberation based on an intuition of the emptiness of form.

In the early summer of 1466, Shinkei selected 648 verses from his accumulated compositions to date and sent them to someone who had requested them, possibly one of his Hosokawa patrons. This is known as *Shingyokushū* (Gems of the mind-heart collection), the first part composed of 287 hokku on the four seasons, the second part of 361 tsukeku on the four seasons, love, and other miscellaneous topics. Coming not long before his departure for the East, this definitive collection of his renga until 1466 represents in effect a poetic memento of all his years in the capital.<sup>35</sup>

Already in the Twelfth Month of 1466, the war clouds that would obscure Shinkei's newly risen star were looming on the horizon. Having consolidated his forces in Yamato and Kii subsequent to his defeat in 1463, Hatakeyama Yoshinari suddenly reappeared in the capital after obtaining the Shōgun's pardon through the aggressive intercession of Yamana Sōzen. It was not long before Yamana's espousal of Yoshinari would precipitate a



confrontation with his arch-rival and Masanaga's staunch ally, Hosokawa Katsumoto.

The tense political situation was further embroiled by a succession dispute within the shōgunal house itself. In 1465 Lady Tomiko had presented the Shōgun with their first son, Yoshihisa (1465–89); she naturally wished him to be declared heir to the shōgunacy, in spite of the fact that in 1464 Yoshimasa had adopted his younger brother Yoshimi (1439–91) for just that purpose. To protect her son's interests, Lady Tomiko sought the powerful backing of Yamana Sōzen, who in turn saw in this an excellent opportunity for pressing Yoshinari's claims. The combined pressure from his own wife and Sōzen was apparently too much for Yoshimasa. As the year 1467 opened, Masanaga suddenly found himself in disfavor: the Shōgun's traditional New Year's visit to his mansion was canceled, as were his overlordship of the Hatakeyama domains and his attendance in the government. Thus, at a single stroke the bakufu brought the Yamana and Hosokawa to a confrontation from which retreat was impossible.

Perhaps Yoshimasa belatedly realized the gravity of the situation, for he subsequently issued a stern order to the two men to keep out of the Hatakeyama conflict. Given the clear evidence of the bakufu's capitulation to Yamana, however, it was a useless gesture. To further secure his advantage, Yamana arranged for the temporary transfer of Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado to the shōgunal palace. And on the eighteenth day of the First Month, 1467, Yoshinari's troops, with secret aid from Yamana, overwhelmed Masanaga's greatly outnumbered forces in a battle in the Goryō Shrine grounds north of the capital.

The Hosokawas' initial reaction to the Shōgun's order was somewhat different; they did desist from aiding the beleaguered Masanaga. Katsumoto, according to the *Ōninki* (Chronicle of the Ōnin Era), "was not one to confuse the Way of lord and subject."<sup>36</sup> Unlike the Yamana, moreover, the Hosokawa had a long and distinguished tradition of loyal service to the Ashikaga bakufu.<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, the Way of the warrior dictated that Katsumoto come to the aid of an imperiled comrade-in-arms. Indeed, his failure to do so quickly became the object of popular censure. Masanaga's crushing defeat at the Goryō Shrine and the humiliating eclipse of Hosokawa power before the triumphant Yamana were finally to prove intolerable. By the Third Month, Katsumoto's uncle, Dōken, who had earlier restrained him by an appeal to family tradition, tearfully acknowledged that retaliatory action was unavoidable.<sup>38</sup> Thus in the Fifth Month the Hosokawa went on the offensive with an attack on the mansion of a Yamana general. It was in effect the signal for the commencement of the great war.

Subsequently Yoshimasa again reversed his position and allowed Katsumoto the use of the shogunal colors, signifying thereby that his was the loyalist army and Yamana's the rebel. In the Eighth Month Katsumoto purged the shogunal palace of Yamana sympathizers and, just as Sōzen had done at the start of the confrontation, escorted the Emperor and his father there for safekeeping, as a sign that he had the highest legitimate authorities of the country behind him.

Shinkei's reaction to the sudden resurgence of the Hatakeyama conflict is best left to the imagination. Yoshinari's early triumphs in the capital would clearly have made his own position untenable, if not indeed perilous, given his close connections to Masanaga, Katsumoto, and his uncle Dōken—the principals of the Hosokawa camp. His version of the commencement of the war, revealing a detailed knowledge of the alignment of forces on each side, may be read in the following passage from *Hitorigoto*, a continuation of the section quoted in Chapter 1 that ended with the massive famines of 1461.

Could it be that disasters fall thickly on a world already on the brink of collapse? As the preceding year [1467] drew to a close, the disputes between Hosokawa Katsumoto and Yamana Sōzen burst into the open, splitting the country into two factions and plunging it into war. Under this state of affairs, the Emperor and the Retired Emperor set out in procession to the shōgunal palace, and Hosokawa was able to secure their imperial majesties in one place. Among those of the Hosokawa clan who allied themselves with Katsumoto were the Lord of Sanuki [Nariyuki], the Lord of Awa [Katsunobu], his uncle the Master of the Imperial Stables of the Right Division [Dōken], the Lord of Shimotsuke, and all their followers. With him also were the Deputy Shōgun and Lord of Owari, Hatakeyama Masanaga; the Assistant Captain of the Military Guards, Shiba Yoshiharu; Sasaki-Kyōgoku Seikan [Mochikiyo]; Sasaki-Rokkaku Masataka; Priest Akamatsu Jirō [Masanori]; the Master of the Palace Table Office Takeda Nobukata; and others. Yamana's supporters from his clan included the Lord of Sagami [Noriyuki] and the War Ministry Junior Assistant Minister Masakiyo, along with their followers. With him also were the Civil Administration Senior Assistant Minister, Shiba Yoshikado; the Assistant Captain of the Gate Guards of the Right, Hatakeyama Yoshinari; the Assistant Captain of the Gate Guards of the Left, Hatakeyama Yoshinori; the Isshiki clan, the Lord of Mino Toki [Shigeyori]; the Imperial Household Senior Assistant Minister, Rokkaku Masatsuna; Ōuchi Shinnosuke [Masahiro]; Togashi no suke; and others. Beginning with the palaces of the Emperor, the Retired Emperor, and the Shōgun, the Hosokawa surrounded the buildings with fortifications, wide moats, and stockades ten, twenty layers deep. Likewise in the other camp, the mansions of Yamana and his followers were securely fortified. Outside, the temples and shrines of the capital, the homes of nobles, warriors, and commoners were razed to the ground, leaving nothing but vast, blackened fields. All, high and low alike, were thrown into utter confusion and scattered in the four directions, their flight swifter than flowers in a windstorm, red leaves beneath the tree-withering blast. Within the capital, it had become a veritable hell. (*Hitorigoto*, pp. 466–67)



## The Sorrows of Exile

### 1467: Arrival in Shinagawa

Shinkei left the capital on 4.28.1467, subsequent to Dōken's tearful acknowledgment that retaliatory action was unavoidable, but about a month before the Hosokawa offensive against Yamana.<sup>1</sup> His first destination was Ise Province where he made a pilgrimage to the Great Shrine of the Sun Goddess, supreme deity of the war-torn land. A few days later he took ship for Musashi Province (Tokyo) and arrived in Shinagawa, still in the summer of 1467. A hermitage by Shinagawa Bay was to be his home for the next four years. In 1471 the disorders of the battles in the Kantō forced him to move once more, this time to an old temple nestled in the foothills of Mount Ōyama in Sagami (Kanagawa). He died there on 4.16.1475 at the age of sixty-nine, just two years prior to the end of the war in 1477. Fought mainly in the capital and its environs, the war had unfortunately loosed the forces of disorder in the provinces as well, and a lasting peace was to remain an elusive dream for a whole century thereafter.

The evidence of his poetry reveals that to the very end Shinkei considered his life away from the capital a deprivation, a lonely and bitter exile. It could not be otherwise. Kyoto had been his home from infancy. The serene, cedar-covered peaks of Mount Hiei had watched over his youth, he had lived and worked to maintain his temple in the genteel environs of Higashiyama, and he had in the end become a leading light in the flourishing cultural milieu there. The ancient yet ever new capital city had been, in short, the scene of all those passionate strivings that would or should have come to fruition there. To come away with fresh resolve at sixty-one and develop roots in what was in effect foreign soil was manifestly impossible.

It is not clear, moreover, that he held any specific position at any time during his eight years in the Kantō, certainly nothing comparable to his headship of the shogunal and Hatakeyama clan temple Jūjūshin'in. There is a strong possibility that he was sent by the loyalist Hosokawa army to

secure the alliance of the Kantō daimyō, in particular the Uesugi and their senior vassals. His early departure in the Fourth Month for such a specific destination shortly after Dōken's tearful decision and just before the attack itself, his pilgrimage to the Ise Shrine, the pointed reference to Azuma in the 2.4.1466 sequence—all argue for this possibility. But his writings are silent on this score, and his involvement in the political struggle would have been part of what we already know to be his tragic view of survival in an anarchic age. He did make the best of his much reduced circumstances, for otherwise this last stretch of his biography would not need to be written, but his spirit remained in the destroyed capital, and the psychological pressures of exile, coupled with what we know of his frail health, undoubtedly hastened his end.

Hard as the Kantō years were for Shinkei personally and for his shattered dreams of poetic fame and a renga renaissance in the capital, the quality of his literary output from this period presents quite a different story. In fact his greatest poetry was paradoxically a product of these very years of exile. Acuity of wit and perception had always been an abiding characteristic of his sensibility, but to it were now added a luminous freshness inspired by an utterly new landscape and a spare intensity of diction and spirit forged out of suffering. In short his inimitable “chill and meager” (*hieyase*) style came into its own during the Kantō years. This is particularly marked in his renga. His waka, of which we possess three 100-poem sequences from 1467, 1468, and 1471, became more than ever the vehicle for personal lament and poetic autobiography that we saw in the 1463 Ta'i sequence. These poems speak of his unassuaged yearning for Kyoto and his grief at aging in a faraway land. As waka, many are unique in taking for their subject the harsh realities of the times; in their censure of the military class and great moral indignation at the senseless slaughter of war, they constitute a moving mirror and criticism of the age, while simultaneously breaking out of the bounds of what were considered proper “poetical” subjects in the classical waka tradition.

The Kantō period was productive in the area of literary criticism as well; it includes two of the three *Tokoro-dokoro* letters and the critical essays *Hitorigoto*, *Oi no kurigoto*, and *Shiyōshō*. Since his works from these years are a rich mine for his own biography, I shall as before quote liberally from them in the interests of letting Shinkei speak with his own voice. Indeed, of no other Japanese poet can it be said that he has fully taken the measure of his time, borne witness to his age in the character of his poetic voice. Were it for this reason alone, were it only for the breadth and intensity of the human concern manifest in these poems, they would still deserve a singular place in the history of Japanese poetry.

*Oi no kurigoto*, written shortly after his move to Mount Ōyama in 1471, opens with a reminiscence of the conditions in the capital before his departure and traces his journey until his arrival in Shinagawa. The style of this essay is more consciously literary than *Hitorigoto*; it is written in long, flowing sentences that typically span five to six lines, is clearly influenced by Chinese parallel prose, and is a fine example of the *zuihitsu* genre in the Muromachi period.

A few years ago, turbulent winds and clouds swept the heavens and threw everyone into such a maze of uncertainty that they became oblivious to the light of the turning suns and moons.<sup>2</sup> As darkness crept over the myriad Ways, and even as voices rose here and there to bewail it, the land was suddenly plunged into war.<sup>3</sup> Desperate was the confusion as the realm floundered, and caused the Most High Sovereign and his Consort to move their august palace.<sup>4</sup> The Chancellor and the great ministers, the nobles high and low—lords of the moon and dwellers of the clouds—hid themselves in outlying borders or disappeared into distant lands.<sup>5</sup> Fearful for their lives and with footsteps that faltered, the people followed, scattering in all directions like spring flowers lured by the mountain breeze, autumn leaves laid waste by a chill storm.

And when even the grass blade upon which this lonely dew-life sheltered withered quite away, an acquaintance from Azuma urged me to go and visit the noble peak of Fuji and the village of Kamakura instead of remaining in useless hiding in the capital.<sup>6</sup> Encouraged by his persistence, and wishing at the time to make a pilgrimage to the Great [Ise] Shrine, I thus set out for the East, planning to be away but for a while. From Ise I put my trust in a fisherman with a boat and set out once more, now bobbing softly in the winds and waves of the wide blue sea, now gasping in the smoky spray of the misty sea and sky. Pillowed on the salty seaweed of unfamiliar shores, languishing upon the mugwort mats of unknown isles, I drifted through many nights of restless sleep until, tears falling from weary eyes, we anchored in the bay called Shinagawa in Musashi.

Here I saw the famous sights and began to think of the journey home, but the disorders in the country having steadily worsened, even the far boundaries of Tsukushi [Kyūshū] and the interior of Azuma were now in turmoil, and it became impossible to leave. Upon the unlooked-for rocky coast, then, I built a hut of salt-weed grass and with unfamiliar fisherfolk shared the pillow of waves. Up to five years did I pass suspended as it were within a dream in a temporary lodging. (*Oi*, p. 410)

The difference between the 1468 *Hitorigoto* passage on the outbreak of the war and this 1471 version is striking. From a distance of four years, the event has undergone a process of poetic restructuring. All the essential facts are there—Yoshinari's sudden reappearance in the capital and Masanaga's fall from office, the long period of unbearable tension as the world waited for Hosokawa's retaliation, their imperial majesties' removal from the palace, and the subsequent flight of nobles and commoners. But they are

displaced from the surface of the narrative and subordinated to the demands of a highly rhetorical, unified, and rather moving structure of allusive images. As we shall see, other events recounted here partake of the same process of metaphorical revision.

It is possible to follow the first stages of Shinkei's journey from the capital in the opening poems of the waka sequence that he wrote between 8.25 and 8.30.1467, just three months after his arrival in Shinagawa.<sup>7</sup> Though formally on the theme of spring, these initial ten or so poems significantly have travel as a persistent sub-theme. The first is on crossing the Ōsaka Barrier, the toll station on Ōsaka Mountain east of the capital in what is now Ōtsu-shi, Shiga. The spot had long been a landmark, since all travel between the capital and the Tōkaidō highway passed through it.

1 Spring. *Early Spring on the Barrier Road*

miyako made	All the way to Miyako—
seki no higashi no	leaden garments of the journey
tabigoromo	east of the Barrier,
sora ni yatsusade	while blithely across the sky
kasumu haru kana	floats in haze the springtime.

This is an ungainly poem with a hard rhythm and fragmented syntax, and it is wholly devoid of the courtly aura one associates with classical waka. The first line is a suspended adverbial clause whose significance is postponed until the last two lines, with which it makes a statement bifurcated by lines two and three. The intervention and suspended closure allows a resonant juxtaposition between *tabigoromo* (“garments of the journey”) and the unusual fourth line, *sora ni yatsusade*. *Yatsusu* (to make ragged, bedraggled, weak, defeated), here in the negative inflection, is incongruous applied to spring haze, but the very incongruity reveals it as a displaced allusion to the “garments of the journey,” itself a metonymic figure for the traveler. Having reached the Ōsaka Barrier, the beginning of the journey east, the weary persona looks back longingly toward the capital (Miyako) through the spring haze, which seems to float all the way back there. The disjunction between the light, free-floating haze, and the leaden, sunken mood of the departing traveler constitutes the emotional node of this complex poem with its resistant wit.

From the Ōsaka Barrier, Shinkei probably continued southward to Awazugahara off Lake Biwa, for the place-name occurs in poem 2, which is about a boat sailing away from the shores of Awazu in the dim dawn haze. Poem 3, “Distant Trees Obscured by Haze,” turns out to be a metaphorical evocation of the pine trees in the poet's garden, as sighted from a great distance “through a haze of tears.” Poems 4 and 6 below would be from a further stage in his journey southward through Iga to Ise Province.

4 Spring. *Bush Warbler Heard on a Journey*

tare to nenu kusa no makura mo utokarazu wakaruru nobe no uguisu no koe	Though no one lay beside me on the grass pillow, I was not forlorn; As I bid farewell to the meadow, the bush warbler's answering call.
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6 Spring. *New Shoots by a Farmhouse*

machite tsume yukimá no nezeri asatori no kōri o tataku haru no oyamada	Wait awhile to pick the parsley between the snow! The morning birds are pecking away at the ice of spring over the hill paddies.
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Touched by a lighter wit, an easier rhythm, these two pieces suggest that the sorrow of the journey must have been dispelled by the poet's enjoyment of the scenery along the way. It was already early summer, 4.28, when Shinkei left the capital; consequently the spring season in the opening poems does not literally coincide with the facts. It could not, given the convention of following the natural cycle from spring to winter in the hundred-poem waka sequence. Nevertheless, the persona of the traveler implicit in these compositions—his sorrow at leaving, elation at the natural scenery along the way—is clearly tied to the poet's actual circumstance.

As distinct from waka practice, the rules of composition for hokku required that the season in the verse always coincide with actual fact. Shinkei recorded his hokku for most of the Kantō years in the collection called *Azuma gekō hokkugusa* (Grasses of hokku on the Azuma journey), arranged chronologically from the summer of 1467 to autumn of 1472. The nature of hokku as a poetic evocation of actual time and place ensures its value in providing clues to the poet's circumstances. Thus, from the two hokku below, we learn that it was already the Fifth Month—*satsuki*, the season of the *samidare*, incessant rains of summer—when Shinkei arrived in Ise for the pilgrimage to the Great Shrine.<sup>8</sup>

*Prayer Offering at the Great Ise Shrine*

427	samidare no shitaba wa mizu no kashiwa kana	Lower leaves in summer rain: the oak- splattered water.
428	tokoyami no sazona satsuki no iwadoyama	Of that unmoving darkness the very image: rock-fast mountain in the long rains.

*Mizu no kashiwa* (oak [leaves] on the water) in the first hokku incorporates the double meaning of *mitsu no kashiwa*, the “three-pronged oak leaves” used in divination rites at the Ise Shrine. Oak leaves cast into the

✓ river signified luck if they remained afloat, misfortune if they sank. Might Shinkei have had such rites performed on the eve of his mission to the Kantō? Both hokku, we should note, are from prayer-offering sequences held at the shrine. As poetry, the first verse is a dynamic evocation of the lower leaves of the oak trees being plucked off their branches by the downpour and carried down the river. There is a startling ellipsis in the alliterative phrase *samidare no shitaba* (summer rain's lower leaves), which has the effect of superimposing the lower leaves upon the threads of falling rain bearing them down into the river. The topic and contrastive marker *wa* sets off the rest of the verse as a later moment, when the leaves are afloat on the river. *Wa* in other words functions as a hinge bifurcating the verse in two semantic strings resonating against each other.

The second hokku, also featuring a medial caesura, juxtaposes a mythological time of utter unending darkness (*tokoyami*) with the present historical moment. In the ancient chronicles *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, the Sun Goddess Amaterasu withdrew behind “the heavenly rock-cave door” (*ame no iwaya-yado*) in anger over the god Susano'o's sinful polluting of the Harvest Hall, thus plunging the world into total darkness. Shinkei superimposes this mythical significance upon the present gloomy scene of the Fifth Month, season of the long, unending rains now known as *baiu* or *tsuyu*. Again, the sensory evocation of the moment is acute, and the mythical allusion communes with the guardian deity of the land upon the times polluted and darkened by war.

From a harbor in Ise Bay, Shinkei took ship for Shinagawa. The poem below alludes to a night during the sea voyage as the boat carries him ever farther from the capital and the foothills of Mount Otowa.

36 Autumn. *Waiting for the Moon at Sea*

machinareshi	A blank reflection	=?
miyako no yama no	of the hill where I was wont	
omokage mo	to await it in Miyako,	
tachisou nami ni	wetly glistens the moonlight	
nururu tsuki kana	in wake of the departing waves.	

✓ The echoing bilabials and slowly rounded vocalics of the aural structure imitate the rolling motion of the waves, and the mutually resonating, polysemic words reinforce the feeling of a poem awash with the empty transparency of memory: moonlight, reflection, water, and tears. The suspension of the referent, the moon, until the last line provides a tense syntactic counterpoint to the hypnotic rhythm of the sounds.

Arriving finally in Shinagawa Bay, Musashi, the Shinkei poetic persona's mingled feelings of relief and wonder at the new landscape are palpable in



the following hokku series, which reads like a sequence but is not since these are the first verses of separate sessions. In the last two entries, the feel of newness is penetrated by a sense of lonely, drifting vulnerability.

“In Shinagawa, Musashi”

429	hototogisu kikishi wa mono ka fuji no yuki	Shall I yet marvel to have heard you, cuckoo? Mount Fuji in snow!	
430	nagarekite azuma ni suzushi nori no mizu	Borne on the waves to Azuma, a limpid coolness— waters of the Dharma.	
431	kokonotsu no shinagawa chigiru hachisu kana	In Shinagawa, the promise of the nine seats on the Lotus Flower.	
432	natsu ya aranu tsuki o ukaburu kesa no umi	Can it be summer? setting afloat the moon— the sea of dawn.	X
433	hiyayaka ni tsuyu shiku take no mushiro kana	Chillingly, the moist dew slowly seeping— the bamboo mat.	

The second and third hokku were composed not long after Shinkei's arrival in Shinagawa during sessions at which local poet-priests welcomed him at a temple located beside the bay. These circumstances explain the reference to “waters of the Dharma” (*nori no mizu*), which Shinkei uses here as a figural symbol of Buddhism's lustrating or purifying effects on the soul. Typically, that effect is registered as a sensation of coolness in contrast to the heat of human passions. “Cool” (*suzushi*) itself signals summer in the renga vocabulary, an interesting instance of the occasionally contrapuntal nature of seasonal words in this poetic lexicon. *Nagarekite* should also be read polysemically: first, to allude to himself as one “cast adrift,” exiled to far Azuma; second, to mean that the “waters of the Dharma” have accompanied him all the way to this place; and third, to link those waters with the cool waters of Azuma within the fellowship of the Dharma—in this last sense it is a graceful greeting to the welcoming assembly at the temple. The lotus flower hokku following it is of the same nature, and indicates that this temple belonged to the Lotus sect (*Hokke-shū*) of Tendai.

Apart from no. 431, the predominant images in this summer hokku series are those of water and a sense of coolness. Both are marked items in Shinkei's individual symbolic lexicon. His love for clear, cool waters recalls its sacral significance in Shintō and suggests a felt affinity with the *Man'yō-shū* poets, for whom the mountain streams of sites like Yoshino were a *locus*

*amoenus*, an abiding joy, a nourishment for the body and soul.<sup>9</sup> In Shinkei's sensibility, water also signifies a life-giving source, a wholly positive, maternal space of solace. Equally important, however, is its appearance of colorlessness, a flowing transparency symbolic of Buddhist detachment from the dust of the mundane. In this poetic symbology, limpid water congealing into ice is the inner clarity of contemplation reaching an intense pitch. If water is life, ice is death, a physical death certainly, but more to the point, a dying to worldly passion and illusion, the mind's sheer transcendence of phenomenal reality, including life and death. In this way, Shinkei's aesthetic valorization of the "chill and meager," often expressed in these images of water and ice, the tactile sensations of cool and chill, and a visual transparency, is wholly inspired by Mahayana philosophy, in particular the concept of emptiness and non-dualism.

Among Shinkei's hokku, many are wholly objective images void of any expression of thought or sentiment. Such, for instance is verse 433, which appears to be a pure sensory evocation. This alyrical poetry of pure "objectivity" is indicative of the rejection of meaning, the predicative proposition *about* something, as an unnecessary and illusory enterprise. Non-dualism, among other things, is the erasure of the subject-object distinction; the subject disappears, as it were, into the object, and the reader is directly confronted with the thing as a sensation on the skin, an apparently unmediated presence as the words, being the mere verbal markers of an experience, "disappear" as well. This last hokku resembles later haikai in its choice of a humble unpoetical object, the "bamboo mat," for presentation, and in the use of an exaggerated adverbial, *hiyayaka ni* (chillingly), to modify the soaking action of the dew on the mat. The sense of disproportion or disjunction here represents what might be called a fracturing technique. It is one with Shinkei's other methods of juxtaposition, polysemic layering, and suspension of referent, all of which happen again and again in the space of the gap between two verses in renga and belong to his radical mode in waka.

By a happy chance, the complete sequence of which no. 429 is the hokku has been preserved. It is none other than *Shinkei dokugin Yamanani hyakuin*, the second of Shinkei's two extant solo sequences (for a translation, see Part Two). Although the manuscript is undated, the fact that its hokku heads the Shinagawa, Musashi series in the *Azuma gekō* collection indicates that it was the first sequence the poet composed after his arrival in Shinagawa. The opening verse is an entirely appropriate panegyric on the Kantō region's most renowned sight, Mount Fuji, and reinscribes the age-old wonder at the sight of its snowcapped peak in the midst of summer. Introduced through an arresting juxtaposition with that equally rare phe-

nomenon, the cuckoo's song, Mount Fuji rises sheer and majestic against the background of the clear sky sketched in the tsukeku, a cool clarity that subsequently becomes the dominant motif in the daisan.

hototogisu	Shall I yet marvel
kikishi wa mona ka	to have heard you, cuckoo?
fuji no yuki	Mount Fuji in snow!
kumo mo tomoranu	Not a cloud stops to linger
sora no suzushisa	upon the coolness of that sky.
tsuki kiyoki	So pure the rays of
hikari ni yoru wa	moonlight, the wind is naked
kaze miete	to the eye—the night.

A sense of buoyant elation inspired by exposure to a new landscape is unmistakable in this opening passage, but that is quickly succeeded by the feeling of rootless drifting in verse 4, in which the travel theme makes an unusually early appearance and thereafter recurs with a high frequency in the sequence.<sup>10</sup> Equally significant, given the centrality of water and ice in Shinkei's symbolic system, is the climactic progression in verses 8–9 below from solitude and eremitic tranquillity to the intense pitch of contemplation figured by the congealing of water into ice.

yuku hito mare no	Seldom a passerby's shadow
okagoe no michi	on the road over the hillcrest.
fuyugomoru	Winter-secluded,
fumoto no io wa	the hut below the hill
shizuka nite	rapt in quietness.
kōru bakari no	Chill clarity of the water
mizu zo suminuru	in a moment turning to ice!

The persona of the hermit assumed a dominant significance for Shinkei in the Kanto years, possibly because he was now liberated from the worldly obligations and duties formerly entailed by the headship of Jūjūshin'in. The 1467 waka sequence includes the following three poems suggesting the tranquil solitude of eremitic existence, the realm of "deep thought" (*chinshi*) or intense concentration defined as the site of poetic process and imagination in his critical writings.

25 Summer. *Mosquito-Repellent Stick in the Hermit's Hut*

onozukara	Quietly, beyond
tomosu tsumaki no	the glowing tip of the twig
hitosuji ni	a thin wisp rises,
ka no koe hosoki	frail the cries of mosquitoes
yama no shitaio	in the lone hut on the foothill.

34 Autumn. *Reeds at Early Dawn in the Bay*

mono no ne mo	All the noises of
koe tae tsuki mo	things have ceased, and the moon,
kuraki e ni	dark within the inlet,
hitori koe suru	a solitary voice—
ogi no uwakaze	dim rustle of reeds in the wind.

35 Autumn. *First Cry of the Wild Geese at the Mountain Hut*

yamamoto no	Below the mountain, as
nokiba no yūhi	the sun shrinks along the eaves
kage saete	to a clear cold light,
tamoto ni chikaku	sheer by my sleeve falls
otsuru karigane	the cry of a wild goose.

It has been said that all poetry tends ultimately toward silence, and that is precisely what these three instances of what Shinkei calls in *Sasamegato* the mode of “ineffable remoteness” (*yōon*) clearly aim to make present.

Rendering the overtly flat syntax of these poems into English is no simple matter. The syntax is dominated by the noun, nouns strung together by the genitive particle *no*; perhaps one or two verbs, adjectives, or adverbials are set against these, but the final line is invariably a nominal phrase. Within this framework, the words are carefully deployed to echo or rub against each other through semantic, as well as phonological similarity or opposition.

The first piece above is a good example. It starts with a solid five-syllable adverbial, *onozukara*, and then divides and settles into two perfectly balanced aural units *tomosu/sumaki* ending in the genitive *no*. This takes us to their governing nominal *hitosuji*, four syllables marking a modified return to the long first line, plus the singular beat of *ni*, employed here as both enumerative marker and adverbial suffix, and allowing the poem to hang suspended at the end of the third line. Then comes the prominently contrasting rhythm of *ka no koe hosoki*, of syllabic shape 1-1-2-3, which constitutes the main statement, a quickly gathering pulse that settles once again, with the final line, into the balance of a 3-4 rhythm. The aural configuration of the poem is amazingly clean and precise in its modulations, the dryness of the occlusives /k/ and /t/ proclaiming their dominance over the sibilant /s/ and reinforcing the bare austerity of the poetic feeling. Everything in this poem tends toward the sense of *hosoki* (thin, slender)—the glowing twig, the “single line” (*hitosuji*) of smoke rising from it, the cries of mosquitoes, and the hermit’s tiny hut at the base of the mountain. It is as if an essential insubstantiality were being analyzed synaesthetically on overlapping sensory dimensions.

Stalking the depths of silence, Shinkei concentrates on listening to the sound of phenomenon at its most reduced and ordinarily inaudible, a stage just barely this side of existence. Such are the cries of mosquitoes in the choking smoke, the rustling of withered reeds in the dimness of pre-dawn, or the shrinking evening light. But this meagerness, this aesthetics of reduction, is no mere absence of substance. Rather it is its distillation into an essence with the hardness of ice or a diamond. The frailness of sound or light is made to resonate against an unspoken vast space of emptiness, the realm of noumenon attained in a meditation that might seem remote but is as close as the trembling of a dewdrop on a leaf when phenomena are seen with the mind's eye, heard with the mind's ear.

Against the eremitic mind figured in these poems, we should compare the following apparently spontaneous and immediate evocations of the Kantō landscape, distinguished like the above by a minute observation, an austere exactitude of diction that renders feeling with the clear outlines of an objective image.

28 Summer. *Summer Grasses in the Field at Evening*

machiwabite	Weary of waiting,
kusaba no sue mo	the grass blades are drooping
yoyo naran	from their tips,
yūgure tōki	so distant the dew of evening
musashino no tsuyu	across Musashino Plain.

44 Autumn. *The Autumn Wind Fills the Plain*

ochikochi no	Near and far
koe mo hitotsu ni	across the bamboo-grass plain,
sasa no ha no	all the myriad voices
hirono ni yadoru	are swept into one wide lodging
aki no yūkaze	for the evening winds of autumn!

These two vivid poems on Musashino Plain both ultimately bring out its vastness, but from two different angles. The first translates a spatial quality into a temporal one: the plain is so wide it takes the evening shadows a long time to traverse it. The poem is rendered appealing through a hint of pathos in the image of parched summer grasses drooping as they wait for the fresh, cool dew of evening; “tips” (*sue*) in line 2 is an associative word for “dew” in the last line. There is a montage-like effect in the shift from the close-up of drooping grass to the wide vista of the plain itself; a clear foreground dissolving into a dusky background. In the second poem, spatial vastness is evoked aurally in the symphonic crescendo of myriads of rustling bamboo grasses, transmitted through the slightly disjunctive concept of the vast plain as a “lodging” for the winds of fall. Both poems evince Shinkei’s

delight in employing intellectual wit to bring forth a sensory impression in an arrestingly novel way while extracting the essence of the minutely delineated—and therefore difficult—topics.

24 Summer. *Sweet Flag Iris in the Pond at Morning*

niwa no ike no	Upon the new-leaved
karifu no ayame	sweet flag in the garden pond
asagoto ni	each morning
wakiba o shitau	the coolness of dewdrops nestling
tsuyu zo suzushiki	in the hollow of the leaf blades.

“Dew” and “cool”—the feeling depicted here so exquisitely once more reflects upon Shinkei as a lover of cool, clear waters and what they suggest of freshness and vitality. *Shitau* (yearning after, longing), which I have rendered as “nestling,” is a rather unusual, and artful, word to use in conjunction with “dewdrops,” yet it is precisely the single sign that endows the whole with an undertone of tender pathos, a quality of tactile sensuality, beneath the wholly concrete and objective image.

Shinagawa, the site of Shinkei’s cottage, figures in the 1467 waka sequence as well. The poem below plays on the literal meaning of *shina* (quality, kind, degree) in the place-name, and raises an allusion to the famous “rainy night discussion of the qualities” of love and women (*amayo no shinasadame*) in the “Hahakigi” (The broom tree) chapter of the *Tale of Genji*.

16 Spring. *Spring Moon over the River*

ukikage ni	In the wavering light
mukashi ya hito no	did they fathom the nature of love
sadamemashi	in those bygone days?
kasumu amayo no	The moon over Shinagawa River
shinagawa no tsuki	on a hazy night of rain.

It is a fascinating poem suggestive of a certain wistful nostalgia for the refined courtly world and tender sensibilities of the *Tale of Genji*, now even farther than ever from Shinkei in the provincial East. As a comment on the burden of the novel, the implication is that love, that seductive tangle of complications between men and women, is at best ambiguous and beyond determination (*sadame*). If we take *ukikage* as “gloomy light,” however, then the suggestion is that the people in the *Genji* did determine love to be a cause of woe. Shinkei’s longing for the capital and the Jūjūshin’in, as well as the loneliness of exile, are a dominant strain in the poem sequence, as mirrored in the examples below.

91 Miscellaneous. *Visitors Are Rare in the Mountain Hermit's Hut*

otowayama ware dani ideshi koke no to o omou mo kanashi tare ga kage sen	Otowa Mountain— how sad the longing for that mossy gate from which even I departed; Who casts a shadow there now?
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97 Miscellaneous. *Lament in the Image of Grasses*

wasureji yo nareshi miyako no kusa no kage omowanu nobe no tsuyu ni kiyutomo	Cast forever in the memory, beloved shadow of the grass in Miyako— though I vanish like the dew upon these desolate wild fields.
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51 Winter. *Early Winter Rain*

sora ni nomi suguru mo tsurashi kaminazuki shigururu sode no yoso no ukigumo	How bitter to see it disperse only from the sky— upon my sleeves an alien floating cloud still rains beneath a wintry moon.
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1468: The Heart Is a Desolate Village

“An alien floating cloud” (*yoso no ukigumo*), a wanderer in a strange land upon whose “desolate wild fields” he might perchance expire—such was the Shinkei persona’s grievous image of himself and his place of exile just three months after his arrival. No doubt Musashi in 1467 was still far from offering the refinements of culture that he was accustomed to in the capital. The whole eastern region had always been depicted as a backward and remote frontier inhabited by rude warriors in the courtly literature like the *Genji* or *Sarashina nikki*. And perhaps Shinkei even remembered—and feared—the destiny of the renga poet Bontō, Sōzei’s renga teacher, who had wandered around the provinces of Azuma and Tsukushi for many years and was widely regarded upon his return to the capital as having lost his poetic sensibility. As Shinkei himself would write in *Oi no kurigoto*:

Toward the end of that period [of Gusai and Shūa] there was Master Bontō, a fine poet who had gained fame at the time, but at forty he came down in the world [*rikuchin no mi ni narite*], abandoned the Way completely, and spent the next twenty years wandering obscurely from the ends of Tsukushi to the remote interiors of Azuma. When he returned to the capital afterward, over sixty years of age, perhaps because the color and fragrance had ebbed from the flower of his diction, and the wellsprings of his mind grown turbid, it was said of him that his grasp of the

form had become uncertain, and he neglected all considerations for the *maeku* [in composing a verse]. Indeed, after all those ruinous years was not the utter decline of his art to be expected? (*Oi*, p. 414)

It is notable that Shinkei uses the same term for Bontō's fall from fortune, *rikuchin*, as he had for his own circumstances during the 1462-63 crisis. Furthermore, like the earlier poet he was now estranged from the capital and condemned to obscurity in Azuma, a condition that undoubtedly made him fear for the decline of his own poetic powers. As a collective art, renga depended upon the quality of the participating poets, and an individual could not expect to perfect his art outside the context of the group. Others who had fled the capital city had not needed to travel too far. Ichijō Kanera, for instance, had merely joined his son Jinson, the powerful cleric of Kōfukuji in Nara, where many other aristocrats followed him and proceeded to amuse themselves with waka and renga sessions, Nō performances, and banquets while the war raged on in the capital.<sup>11</sup>

Distant as Musashi was from the capital, however, it had developed greatly from its primitive image in Heian literature. After all, Kamakura in the neighboring province of Sagami had been the country's administrative capital for nearly a century and a half (1186-1333) and still remained so for the eastern and northern provinces under the Kantō Kubō, an office occupied by a collateral branch of the Ashikaga. The mansions of the military clans and numerous temples, among them those of the Kamakura Gozan, were flourishing centers of poetry, classical learning, and the visual arts in their time. In its early stages in the Kamakura period, renga itself had enjoyed an even greater popularity among the warriors there than in Kyoto, where the court aristocracy viewed the new form with reservations, if not contempt, as a form of plebeian culture.

Moreover, it would have struck Shinkei as a happy coincidence that Reizei Tamesuke (1263-1328), Teika's grandson and founder of the Reizei school, had lived for long periods in the military capital and been the leader in the formation of poetry circles in the Kantō.<sup>12</sup> Tamesuke was also known, from the site of his residence in Kamakura, as Fujigayatsu Tamesuke, and the "Fujigayatsu renga code" (*Fujigayatsu shikimoku*) was formulated under his guidance.<sup>13</sup> In fact, Shinkei himself believed that the *Tsukubashū* poet-monk Gusai he much admired had been a disciple of Tamesuke (*Tokoro* II, p. 211). The significance of these historical and geographical congruences would scarcely have been lost on someone who was so devoted to the principles of the Reizei school and who himself was presently to become a central figure in the resuscitation of the flagging art of poetry in the Kantō. The new role that circumstances thrust upon him may be gleaned from this passage in *Hitorigoto*.



Distant as this world is from the capital, there yet remain a few persons devoted to waka and renga, the “ancient traces,” as they call themselves, of the poets of olden days [*inishie no hitobito no kyūseki*]. Now and then they would gather quietly among themselves and discuss poetry. One of them wished to know whether the myriad Ways in the capital were indeed utterly changed from what they used to be, and was particularly interested in the course of renga and waka. I did not feel competent to enlighten him, having utterly forgotten all that I had seen and heard except for the most inconsequential things. But being so insistently questioned time and time again, and keeping in mind the words of an ancient who said that if one does not expose the thoughts in one’s breast, one’s spleen will swell with frustration, I have decided to reveal here my solitary ramblings on the grass-pillow [*kusa no makura no hitorigoto*], the random fragments of what I have seen and heard in recent times. (*Hitorigoto*, p. 467)

Like his other critical writings from the Kantō years, *Hitorigoto* was written in direct response to requests for instruction by local poetry enthusiasts, a circumstance that clearly indicates the nature of Shinkei’s activities during the last eight years of his life. These may be seen as a concrete example of how the exodus of poets and artists from the beleaguered capital contributed to the propagation of high culture in the provinces during the Ōnin War.

To determine more precisely the actual conditions of Shinkei’s life in the Kantō, it is logical to begin with the identity of the “acquaintance from Azuma” (*Azuma no kata ni aishireru yukari*) who urged him to go East instead of remaining in hiding in the capital. In *Hitorigoto* he identifies this man by name and inadvertently reveals that the poetic image of a fisherman’s boat in the later *Oi no kurigoto* version of his voyage from Ise was in fact a ship sent expressly to take him and his party to Shinagawa: “An acquaintance in the East called Nagatoshi sent a ship to fetch me” (*Azuma no kata ni aishireru Nagatoshi to ieru hito, binsen o okurite*). Kaneko has pointed out that this Nagatoshi is none other than the person identified in the “List of Authors” (*Sakusha burui*) section of the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*, among the group whose verses are designated “anonymous” in the anthology proper, as “Tachibana Nagatoshi: Suzuki. Resident of Musashi Province. 5 verses.”<sup>14</sup>

Confirming Shinkei’s connections with the Suzuki, an early Tokugawa source for the Keichō era (1590–1615), the *Keichō kembunshū*, includes the following report taken down from an old Shinagawa resident: “A long time ago a wealthy man called Suzuki Dōin lived here. He had a son called Kōjun. Both father and son were fond of the Way of renga and had extensive associations with Bishop Shinkei.”<sup>15</sup> This information, along with Shinkei’s *Oi no kurigoto*, are cited in a late Tokugawa gazetteer from the period 1810–28, the *Shimpen Musashi fūdokikō*, in the section on Myō-

kokuji and the Minami-Shinagawa post station. Indeed it lists “the old site of the Suzuki Dōin residence” and “the old site of Bishop Shinkei’s hermitage” (*Shinkei-sōzu no anseki*) among the area’s famous spots. The poet’s local fame had actually survived into the early nineteenth century.

As those who know Hiroshige’s *Tōkaidō gojūsan tsugi* (Fifty-three stations on the Tōkaidō Highway) remember, in the Tokugawa period, Shinagawa was the first of the fifty-three post stations on the highway linking Edo (Tokyo) to the old capital, Kyoto. There were actually three Shinagawa stations: Minami-Shinagawa, Kita-Shinagawa, and Kachi-Shinjuku. The one in Minami-Shinagawa was located on the site of the Myōkokuji, a Hokke sect temple founded by a Nichiren disciple from Kamakura in 1285. The Suzuki clan was evidently a generous patron of the temple. The *Myōkokuji engi* recounts that Dōin and other members of the Suzuki had sponsored the construction of the temple’s seven halls in fulfillment of a vow made on the occasion of its becoming a branch of the Nichiren head temple in Kyōto, the Myōmanji, and that the project was completed in 1445. An inscription on the temple’s Indian bell, dated 12.13.1446, reveals that it was donated by Dōin.

The source of the Suzuki clan’s wealth, which was great enough to finance such a major building project for the Myōkokuji, and we might add, to send a ship to fetch Shinkei and his party from Ise in 1467, may be deduced from the content of two official documents. The first, issued by the Kantō Kubō on 11.14.1450, is an order exempting Dōin from the payment of taxes (*kurayaku*) on income from his moneylending transactions. The second is the 1392 register of ships at Shinagawa Harbor, Musashi, which notes that the Suzuki had three *toi* establishments there. *Toi* were commercial agents engaged in the transshipment of goods from provincial port towns to Kyoto and Nara, the major consuming centers at the time. Originally charged with the storage and transport of rice rents from the provincial daimyos’ estates, they began to develop as independent brokers and wholesalers, as well as moneylenders, during the Muromachi period. Located in the major ports, they constituted the central elements in the commercial distribution network of the time.<sup>16</sup>

Whether or not the Suzuki Nagatoshi who invited Shinkei to Shinagawa and whose name figures in renga sessions with him thereafter was in fact the lay-monk Dōin, his son Kōjun, or another scion of the clan cannot be ascertained at this time. It is tempting to speculate that Shinkei’s friendship with the Suzuki might possibly date from that other major crisis in his life in 1462–63, when it would seem that he engaged in commercial transactions to raise funds for Jujushin’in. At any rate, the data marshaled above strongly suggest that Shinkei’s hermitage was located in Minami-Shina-

gawa's Myōkokuji, of which his hosts were the greatest patrons. Two of the *hokku* quoted earlier (430 and 431) were doubtless composed in this temple. Number 431 is particularly illuminating in its allusion to "the nine classes of the Lotus seat" (*kuhon no rendai*) promised by the Buddha to the faithful in Paradise in accordance with their various merits. The belief was especially associated with the Lotus sect to which the Myōkokuji and the Suzuki belong. Sōgi's first personal *renga* collection, the *Wasuregusa* (1473), includes verses that he composed while visiting Shinkei in Shinagawa. In a preface to two of these, "Composed in the hermitage that was Bishop Shinkei's travel lodgings" (*Shinkei-sōzu ryoshuku no bō nite*), his use of the term *bō*, a monk's living quarters, tends to confirm the Myōkokuji as the site of Shinkei's residence in Shinagawa.<sup>17</sup>

It was in the early summer of his second year in Shinagawa that Shinkei wrote *Hitorigoto*. The opening passage (see Chapter 1) recounts the country's deteriorating sociopolitical conditions from the Eikyō Incident of 1438 to the debacle of the Ōnin War in a narrative informed by his bitter conviction that he was living in degenerate days of the Buddhist Dharma, a conviction rendered exigent by his implicit metaphorical vision of contemporary history as a veritable hell. Although the essay includes material on the poetic ideals of *renga* and a celebrated passage on the beauty of water and ice, the whole is informed by a melancholy awareness that a golden time has passed and that political anarchy has permanently drawn a curtain of darkness over the "myriad Ways" of a civilized society.

Among the objects of his sorrowful reminiscence are the foremost practitioners of the various arts in the capital city before the war: the famous priests who wrote Chinese poetry in the Gozan temples of Nanzenji and Kenninji; the unconventional monk Ikkyū (1394–1481); the *Heike* reciter Sen'ichi Kengyō (d. 1455); the landscape painter Shūbun (fl. ca. 1423–63); and the Nō actors Zeami (1363–1443), his nephew On'ami (1398–1467), and son-in-law Komparu Zenchiku (b. 1405). With Shinkei himself, these celebrated figures are now permanently inscribed in our understanding of the Muromachi age, site of Japan's second cultural flowering subsequent to the splendors of the Heian court. The monk Ikkyū, who wrote poetry as well, is known to have numbered among his numerous followers two of the seven sages, Chiun and So'i, and later Sōgi's disciple Sōchō. The appearance of the names of the Nō actors Zeami and Zenchiku is especially striking, since both were strongly influenced by Buddhist philosophy, notably Zen, in their theoretical exposition of the Nō actor's training and performance. Zenchiku in particular, born only a year before Shinkei himself, has been coupled with him as the most thoroughgoing expositor of a Zen-inspired aesthetic philosophy, doing for Nō what Shin-

kei did for poetry.<sup>18</sup> It is a measure of Shinkei's keenness of eye, and the breadth of his understanding of quality, that he was fully conscious of the greatness of his contemporaries and immediate precursors even outside his own poetic sphere.

The essay closes with an abbreviated history of renga from the Kamakura period to the renaissance of the prewar years, its final sentence indirectly revealing Shinkei's consciousness of his place in that history and his longing for those old fellow-poets in the capital: "Among the participants in those former sessions were Hōgen Senjun and myself, but separated now by vast distances of mountains and rivers, we have no chance to meet" (p. 475). He could not know that Senjun would be killed in the war disorders in Mino Province (Aichi) in 1476, just a year after his own death, nor could he have had any premonition that another faithful member of his renga group, Gyōjo, would commit suicide in 1469. There can be no doubt, however, that he was profoundly affected by the enforced isolation from the poets with whom he had long shared that special intimacy of mind and heart that a renga session fosters. On this subject, we have Sōgi's statement that "one becomes as intimate as cousins with friends in renga. Indeed one feels a mutual sympathy even with a person one meets for the first time, in the course of exchanging verses with him during a renga session."<sup>19</sup> Shinkei especially valued composing with people of kindred spirit, and the loss of those friends of several years' standing would have been keenly felt.

Thus he was especially excited when toward summer's end he came upon an old manuscript containing verses composed by the ancient poets Gusai and Shūa to the same maeku, with marks assigned by the Regent Nijō Yoshimoto. His copy of this manuscript includes his own tsukeku to the old maeku and is known by the title *Shikō Shūa hyakuban renga-awase* (Renga contest in 100 Rounds by Gusai and Shūa).<sup>20</sup> Dated 6.25.1468, Shinkei's colophon is quite expressive of his elation on discovering such a valuable work and hints as well of the felt lack of stimulating poetic companionship in the provinces.

This is a very rare manuscript showing Gusai and Shūa vying with each other in composing verses [to the same maeku], and the corresponding marks assigned by the Nijō Regent. I was so moved on seeing it that, unable to contain myself, I added my own inferior tsukeku to theirs. An embarrassing thing to do, but I thought it a good means of improving my idle mind in the country [*inaka no tsurezure no kokoro o yashinai*] and as a form of exercise.

Three months later, he copied out only the old maeku and his tsukeku from the collection and sent the abbreviated form, the so-called *Renga hyakkutsuke*, to the Zen monk Sōgen, one of the participants in a session of

undetermined date back in the capital (item 9, Table 2).<sup>21</sup> Still later he would append commentaries to his hundred *tsukeku*, in the manuscript called *Shinkei renga jichū*.<sup>22</sup> The recipient of this last version might have been Sōgi, for he included ten verses from it in the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*. Shinkei's *tsukeku* are unique in being composed to *maeku* from a whole century earlier. It is an improbable enterprise, but for the fact that Gusai and Shūa were the two leading lights in *renga* of the Nambokuchō and early Muromachi periods, when the historical project of elevating the form to serious poetry began. Apart from the text's intrinsic academic interest, Shinkei would have been challenged by the difficulty of inventing yet another *tsukeku* to a verse that had already been gone over twice by two major poets and pitting his own wit and style against theirs. He was determined to polish his art despite the dearth of suitably challenging partners among the local provincial amateurs.

Only five *hokku* appear in the *Azuma gekō* for the autumn, somewhat few compared to thirteen for spring, nine for summer, and nine again for winter of the same year. This low number is possibly significant in relation to the overwhelmingly dark mood of the hundred-poem sequence that Shinkei wrote in the first month of autumn. Unlike the poems from the previous summer of 1467, whose composition was motivated by the consciously aesthetic purpose of distilling the essence of some difficult poetic topics, the 1468 sequence has no manifest object other than the wholly personal one of expressing the poet's sorrows. The simple character of the topics attests to this: Flowers 20, Moon 20, Dew 10, Lament 10, Lamenting the Past 10, Evanescence 10, Travel 10, and Buddhism 10. Shinkei has discarded the convention of devoting at least half the poems to the four seasons in favor of singular images and topics of traditionally melancholy significance. His colophon, dated 7.18.1468, unequivocally sets forth the work's cathartic purpose.<sup>23</sup>

I composed this hundred-poem sequence hurriedly within two or three days as a prayer offering and in order to soothe my ailing spirit in exile [*kichū no byōshin*]. Since I wished in particular to express the sorrows in my heart, someone else might find in it numerous inferior poems and careless phrases; in short it is meant to be put away as an offering.

Of particular interest are a number of poems mourning someone dear to the poet, someone on whom he had relied, and whose death might have influenced the pervasive gloom that hangs over the whole sequence and gives it the emotional cast of a memorial. There are, to begin with, these two poems, the first of which makes clear that the departed person was one with whom he had been on familiar terms in the capital.

## 39 Moon

tomo ni mishi  
 miyako no tsuki no  
 omokage wa  
 namida nagara ni  
 kumoru yo mo nashi

The image of the moon  
 upon which we gazed together  
 in the capital—  
 despite my tears shall still shine  
 unclouded in the worlds to come.

## 40 Moon

sate mo nao  
 sakai wa kumo o  
 hedatete mo  
 onaji sonata no  
 tsuki o miru kana

Though clouds still  
 bar me from its boundaries,  
 yet do I gaze  
 on the same moon as you  
 in the realm beyond.

The next pair translated below is shocking in its revelation of a grief so deep as to generate a desire for self-extinction, an urge to forsake the world and disappear into the Void.

## 52 Lament

tanomitsuru  
 hito no yukue ni  
 mi o sutenu  
 narai kanashiki  
 sumizome no sode

Sick to follow him  
 on whom I relied, I yet must not  
 cast this self away—  
 So grievous the vow that binds  
 these priestly black sleeves.

## 53 Lament

ōsora ni  
 tobitatsu bakari  
 omoedomo  
 oi wa hane naki  
 tori to narinuru

I would soar off into  
 the vast Void of the sky, so  
 great is my desire—  
 but old age makes in the end  
 a wingless bird of a man.

In the Travel section, the death of the person on whom the poet relied for support and protection in the capital causes him to despond over his own helpless aging in the distant East and raises anxieties about how long, thus cut off from the familiar city, he can depend upon the hospitality of his Kantō hosts.

## 81 Travel

mi ni kaemu  
 to omou hito no  
 yukue o mo  
 kikanu bakari no  
 sakai kanashi mo

The sadness of longing  
 to exchange my life for his  
 across a distance  
 so remote no word comes  
 of the final way he went.

## 82 Travel

tsue to dani  
tanomanu kata mo  
naki oi no  
saka no higashi ni  
mi zo yowarinuru

With no one to rely on,  
no walking staff to guide me  
in this land  
East of the slope of aging  
have I grown enfeebled!

## 85 Travel

itsu made ka  
furusatobito no  
suteobune  
omowanu iso no  
nami o tanoman

Cast adrift from  
its moorings in the old village,  
how much longer  
can the small boat depend upon  
the waves of an alien shore?

We do not know the identity of this man whom Shinkei mourns with such powerful emotion, and the loss of whose protection made him feel so keenly the fragility of his position in the Kantō. There is a strong possibility, as Kaneko suggests, that this man is none other than Hosokawa Katsumoto's uncle, the lay monk Dōken. Most sources put his death on 10.7.1468, but at least one records it as 2.17.1468.<sup>24</sup> The first date would contradict Kaneko's theory, since the colophon to Shinkei's sequence is dated 7.18.1468. The second date is more encouraging; although it is strange that the news did not reach him until five months later, it was not uncommon during wartime to withhold public announcement of the death of such a leading personage. Poem 81 is also quite apropos in this regard, for there Shinkei laments that the remoteness of Musashi has precluded his hearing of the circumstances of the person's death. There is, moreover, a near congruence between the seventeenth day of Dōken's passing and the eighteenth day of Shinkei's colophon. The fact that he composed the sequence "hurriedly within two or three days" seems to imply that he wishes it to coincide with the day-anniversary (*kinichi*) of Dōken's death. Considering Shinkei's close connections with the Hosokawa in the capital, Dōken's prestige as a poet and respected elder of the clan, and the reference to him in the second of the *Tokoro-dokoro* letters, it seems highly plausible that he is the subject of these memorial poems. Furthermore, if Shinkei was indeed on a Hosokawa mission in the Kantō, Dōken's demise would have brought home the fragility of his position there.

Shinkei's sorrow at the loss of an important patron and friend casts a long shadow and undoubtedly generated the unrelieved darkness of the whole work; one misses those carefully crafted evocations of objective scenery at which he is otherwise so brilliant. And yet the sequence includes some of his most moving poems, and it is doubtful whether waka has ever

before or since been employed to bare with such profound and sustained emotion the private griefs of someone trapped in the unfortunate circumstances of his age. The following selections illustrate the content and quality of the whole work; it is best described as a mournful tapestry of images of the moon, flowers, and dew recurring in various contextual registers and revealing an inexhaustible symbolic resonance. Where the 1467 waka sequence distilled the essence of closely delineated topics, this one follows a method, similar to the linking process in renga, of recontextualizing the same image.

With the war in its second year and its end nowhere in sight, the poet's thoughts turn constantly back to the beloved capital and his abandoned home, Jūjūshin'in. Poem 21 in particular implies some premonition of the temple's imminent destruction.

## 4 Flowers

ko no moto no  
koke ni ochinuru  
hana narade  
idenishi yado wa  
tare ka oto sen

Apart from the petals  
falling silent upon the moss  
beneath the trees,  
whose footfall would echo now  
in the empty house that I left?

## 8 Flowers

hitomoto mo  
hana ya wa nokoru  
mononofu no  
arayamaoroshi  
sawagu miyako wa

Can flowers still  
hang on there, even on one tree?  
Gracious city in a  
tumultuous storm of warriors  
sweeping down its hillslopes.

## 21 Moon

machinareshi  
otowa no yama no  
tsukikage o  
katabuku kata ni  
omoiyaru kana

Remembering how fondly  
I would wait its rising there,  
my longing follows  
the declining light of the  
moon over Otowa Mountain.

## 22 Moon

katare tsuki  
tōki miyako no  
aware o mo  
miruran mono o  
yonayona no sora

Recount it, O moon!  
Of the piteous fate of the  
distant capital  
are you not witness, night  
after night in a mute sky?

Inevitably the fact of his own homelessness and exile, rendered even more desperate by the probable destruction of Jūjūshin'in, forms the burden of many poems. The dew metaphor in poems 43 and 44 recalls a line



quoted earlier from *Oi no kurigoto*: “And when even the grass blade upon which this lonely dew-life sheltered withered quite away.” Ultimately transcending private grief, the poems attain the universality of laments for the refugees and exiles of war.

23 Moon

sode no nami  
kakete mo shiranu  
kono yo kana  
omowanu iso no  
tsuki o min to wa

Such is life—  
little knew I that waves should  
engulf my sleeves,  
while by an alien coast  
I should be gazing at the moon.

43 Dew

oroka ni zo  
kakarū ukimi ni  
taguenishi  
tsuyu wa kusaba no  
yado mo aru yo o

Foolish it was  
such a desolate fate as mine  
with it to compare—  
In this world the dew at least  
finds a lodging on the leaf blade.

44 Dew

aki no kaze  
shioru bashō no  
tsuyu yori mo  
yaburete no yo wa  
oku kage mo nashi

In winds of autumn  
the dew clings to the banana leaf  
even as it wilts;  
yet bleaker, this world so torn  
there finds no sheltering shadow.

Shinkei was sixty-two in 1468. He was not terribly old, considering that other renga poets like Gusai, Sōzei, and Sōgi lived to their late seventies and eighties. However, it need scarcely be said that war is a highly unnatural condition and would have taken its toll upon him physically, for he was never of robust health. Even more crucial were its deleterious effects on a mind that was unswervingly trained upon a vision of the human heart (*hito no kokoro*) as the earth's most beautiful flower, and therefore acutely sensitive to the moral debasement of the times. For all these reasons, Shinkei handled the theme of aging with particular immediacy and impact in this sequence. In the poems below, the tone is mainly one of bitter protest, although there is philosophical resignation in 50. An undertone of intellectual irony inheres in all four poems, achieved through a characteristic verbal rhetoric of paradox and tense oppositions, such as present/end, grief/forgetfulness, body/spirit, outside/inside, and the most ironic opposition of all between the weight of a life and the dewdrop in the last poem. This last gets to the very root of the classical metaphor and is to my mind one of the most moving in the language on the dewdrop as essential symbol of *mono no aware*.

## 64 Lamenting the Past

tadaima o  
tare mo oshimade  
oroka ni mo  
yowariyuku mi no  
sue o matsu kana

With no quickening  
of regret for the very now,  
how dumbly  
as the body begins to fail  
do we all await the end.

## 66 Lamenting the Past

nagekashi na  
tote mo kainaki  
oi ga mi o  
wasururu toki zo  
kokoro nodokeki

All my wailing  
is but impotent against  
this aging body,  
that for the mind's peace  
will exact indifference!

## 67 Lamenting the Past

sugata dani  
oi to nareru wa  
kanashiki o  
mienu kokoro no  
nani yowaruran

Grief is there enough  
in the outward aging of the body;  
Undetected by the eye,  
must the very spirit within  
also begin to falter?

## 50 Dew

tonikaku ni  
mi no tsurenasa mo  
hakanasa mo  
nokoru hitotsu no  
tsuyu no ue kana

It all comes to this:  
the frailty of the body,  
the suffering,  
are in the end only those of  
one single, pendant, dewdrop.

Perhaps of even greater torment than aging for Shinkei was the fear that the vicissitudes of exile had had a ruinous effect on the further development of his art, and that isolated from superior colleagues against whose skills he could pit his own, his poetry was withering away from lack of nourishment. All these, and the real anxiety that he would die in obscurity without making an enduring mark in the field of his greatest ambition, are implied in the next poem.

## 60 Lament

koto no ha mo  
tabi no fuseya ni  
otoroete  
tadorishi hodo no  
omokage mo nashi

Even the leaves of poetry,  
constricted in the low hovels of  
the journey, wither,  
leaving no mark along the trail  
where I have groped so long.

The drying up of poetic sensibility or feeling, what Shinkei calls “the heart’s flower” (*kokoro no hana*) below, is synonymous in his mind with physical extinction. This image is a poetic translation of his concept of

*kokoro no en*, inner beauty, the radiant emanation of the mind-heart in response to being in the world, a sensibility trained in the knowledge of all phenomena as both ineluctably fleeting (*mujo*) and just as ineluctably real (*jisso*) for the very reason that there is no other reality apart from them. This paradoxical view of phenomena constitutes Shinkei's interpretation of *mono no aware* as the tragic beauty that inheres in all things. In his philosophy, the experiential knowledge of being as both a fullness and an emptiness is the ground of a poetic sensibility; its antithesis is the illusion of permanence or substance which leads to grasping, strife, and blindness to this beauty that is right before one's eyes and is the inalienable being of life itself. It is the responsiveness to this beauty so defined that is "the heart's flower."

20 Flowers

itsu no haru	When comes the spring
kokoro no hana no	when the heart's flower has fallen
furusato ni	to a desolate village,
narite ukimi mo	then may this wretched body too
tsuyu ni kuchimashi	beneath the thick dew moulder.

Just as the heart deprived of poetic feeling is an "old village" (*furusato*), that is, a village abandoned by its inhabitants and fallen to ruin, so is the soul bereft of hope and the numinous vision of human enlightenment symbolized by the moon. Below, Shinkei uses the image of "the moon of the soul" (*kokoro no tsuki*) as a metaphor for a spiritual power lifting one above the darkness of the world and of history, a source of solace.

30 Moon

tachikaeri	It returns—
tsuki wa kokoro no	over the desolate village in
furusato ni	my soul, the moon
mata kono aki mo	shines once again this autumn
sumeru hikari o	with a radiant pure light.

In sorrow, the poet attributes the moral bankruptcy of the age to men's indifference to the moon as a symbol of liberation from the passions that everywhere sow the seeds of dissension and war.

29 Moon

fukeneri	Diminished utterly.
omou mo sabishi	The thought brings desolation.
miru hito wa	No uplifted gaze—
nuru yo no sora no	while men slept in the world,
tsuki no kokoro o	to the moon-soul across the sky.

The destructive effects of war, its tragic waste of human lives, is powerfully invoked in an arrestingly original variation on the conventional classical image of plants rotting beneath autumn frost.

## 80 Evanescence

asamashi na	It is too horrible.
midarete no yo wa	Victims of the times' disorder,
aki no shimo ni	all the hard-earned
ukegataki mi o	human destinies lying torn
yaburanu wa nashi	beneath the frosts of autumn.

Buddhism prohibits the taking of all forms of sentient life. Human life is especially sanctified because it is the “hard-earned” (*ukegataki*) result of positive efforts in an earlier, lower stage of existence and holds within itself the potentiality of achieving the highest state, which is that of Buddhahood. Shinkei’s censure of “the Way of the warrior” (*mononofu no michi*) employs this allegory of human value to portray the tragedy of untimely, violent death. Moreover, killing and being killed in turn, the warriors would have seemed to him to miss the point in their blind indifference to the very mortality that endows life as such with all the tragic beauty—and dignity—of an ineluctable natural fact.

## 79 Evanescence

natsumushi no	More absurd even
hi odoru yori mo	than the summer moth dancing
mononofu no	toward the fire,
michi o omou wa	the mind that is inflamed
oroka naruran	with the warrior’s way.

However, priest though he was, Shinkei the poet could not ultimately deny the depths of passion and desire that hold a man earthbound, compelling him to seek after power and glory in an endeavor so much more moving because doomed to futility. He recognized with sad irony and wisdom that living is desiring, and that desire terminates only with death.

## 59 Lament

ōumi o	Though he drank all
nomu tomo nao ya	the vast ocean dry, he would
akazaran	still be dissatisfied—
kagiri naki yo no	a world without bounds in
hito no kokoro wa	the world, this heart of man!

## 54 Lament

nanigoto mo	That in all things
omoisutetsu to	he has renounced desire:

iu hito mo  
inochi no uchi wa  
itsuwari ni shite

the man who says so  
is living a lie, as long as  
life within him breathes.

As if to remind us that its author is in fact a priest, the sequence ends with poems of didactic content that are yet crucially relevant to the times in which he lived.

## 97 Buddhism

samazama ni  
iro mo katachi mo  
naki nori o  
wakezu wa tare ka  
yo o mo sukuwan.

A myriad phenomena,  
yet each has not its own  
color or form:  
without discerning this truth,  
who can save the world?

## 100 Buddhism

tami o nade  
mono o korosanu  
kokoro yori  
hoka ni satori o  
tare mo tazunu na

A heart that cherishes  
the people and would never  
kill any creature:  
Let no man presume to seek  
enlightenment apart from this.

Poem 97 squarely sets the Buddhist principle of non-discrimination against the fractiousness of the clans, the root cause of the Ōnin War. “Color or form” (*iro, katachi*) is the quality of phenomena as sheer appearance, lacking a core substance or self-nature. Each particular shape or color is a wholly relative manifestation of the particular conditions that gave it birth; it does not belong to the phenomenon as such. This is to “discern” or ferret out the ultimate truth (*nori*) of interdependency and thus “oneness” within the multiple differentiations of phenomena (the verb *waku* has a deliberate, tautly paradoxical resonance here), and should lead to an end to the grasping self-attachment and prejudice that generate all suffering in this world. Yet poem 100 suggests that Shinkei regarded this authentic mental “enlightenment” (*satori*) of the Zen type too elevated an aim within the context of a war imperiling the most basic rules of civilization. Or to put it in another way, knowledge of the truth is but barren wisdom without the compassion that binds all in the tragic beauty of being in this world. The heart’s flower, the mind’s moon, Shinkei firmly locates the site of poetic practice in *kokoro*, a non-dualism of mind and heart that is truly of this world for having seen through to the emptiness within.

479 meguru ma o  
omoeba kozo no  
shigure kana

As I recall the time  
gone within a space—last year’s  
winter rain.

The first hokku of the winter subsequent to the autumn waka sequence above finds Shinkei's persona emphatically marking his second winter in exile, a prisoner of circumstance wearily noting that the turning time brings no liberation but only the same gloomy confinement. On another level, this brief verse simultaneously inscribes a riddling meditation on the nature of time. It is based on the proliferating senses of *meguru*: the shifting and passing away of time, the motion of an object around its own axis, and a movement away from and then back to the point of origin. Philosophically, what is activated by the polysemic ambiguity is the sense of time itself as an illusion, a mere recurrence of the same ("last year's winter rain"). Time seems to shift away, leaving the weight of a memory in the mind, but it returns as well with the fidelity of the seasons. If the same moment returns, does it not make a mockery of memory, suck off its weight and substance? And is not the winter rain precisely the synecdochic jog that raises the whole apparatus of memory itself, the trace that elicits an identity between now and then precisely through the force of the difference that establishes it as a trace? What is this gap, this interval of space (*ma*), this "room" between a going and a coming that is time?

The elegiac and reflective cast of the waka sequence composed in autumn has left its traces upon some others of the nine hokku for the sessions that Shinkei led the following winter. As a rule, such verses of overtly human concern were barred from the Prelude section (the first 8–10 verses) of a renga sequence. Apart from its poetic nature, a renga session was also a social gathering with its own formal decorum. As a conversation begins with observations about the weather, likewise it was deemed proper to start with wholly seasonal, tranquil verses of objective scenery before going on to the more involved human themes of love, travel, laments, and so on. Thus the two hokku cited below may be said to challenge convention in their allusive reference to the realities of the times.

481	kumo wa nao sadame aru yo no shigure kana	There is more fixity even in the clouds, in a world of unstill rains.
484	yuki no oru kaya ga sueno wa michi mo nashi	Reeds broken beneath snow across the plain's horizon: there is no path.

Both hokku are a brilliant congruence of spare syntax and powerfully moving emotion that makes a mockery of the at once overdone and crude translation. Verse 481 is now Shinkei's most frequently quoted verse in its character as a monumental epitaph to a warring age. Like the preceding hokku, it is almost "unpoetic" in its diction, concentrating its force in what

is left unsaid behind the paradoxical conception. Its verbal structure typically hinges on a comparison between two terms, where the one gains in impact through juxtaposition with the other. Here the disorder of the political situation is heightened by setting it in opposition to the “clouds” that bring the “winter rains” (*shigure*). In the lexicon of classical poetic usage, these rains are specifically understood to come suddenly and as suddenly let up, only to fall again, and yet again; they are therefore an index of unrest and movement. Their coming to seem *sadame aru*—fixed in a regularity, obedient to rule—compared to the times is thus a measure of the tormentingly unpredictable character of the age, and defines it as an anomalous disorder contrary to nature. But the paradox generated by this elliptical syntax does not end there, for the final line reinstates the same rains, but this time as a lyrical evocation of the gloom of the times. Shinkei’s use of the *shigure* image is so highly complex as to seem itself unnatural: it is a conceptual metaphor for the civil disturbances, forms one term of the comparison, and is simultaneously present as the scene—overcast, wet, chill—conjuring the darkly depressed tonality of the verse.

As a matter of fact, Sōgi was apparently much struck by this hokku. In ordering the hokku in the *Shinsen Tsukubashū* in 1495, he placed one by himself right after it, so that together the two seem to be communing about the war. This is how they appear in the official anthology.

STKBS 3800. “Presented in the Ōnin era when the country was in the throes of civil war and he went down to the eastern region.”

kumo wa nao	There is more fixity
sadame aru yo no	even in the clouds, in a world
shigure kana	of unstill rains.
Gondaisōzu Shinkei	Major Bishop Shinkei

STKBS 3801. “Among hokku on winter rain, composed around the same time, when he was down in Shinano Province [Nagano].”

yo ni furu mo	Time passes, I grow old,
sara ni shigure no	still in fugitive shelters
yadori kana	amidst the unstill rains.
Sōgi-hōshi	Priest Sōgi

Composed two years earlier than Shinkei’s, Sōgi’s hokku was originally a wholly classical piece on how the winter rains deepen even more (the force of the adverbial *sara ni*) his melancholy awareness of fleeting time while on a journey.<sup>25</sup> By its placement within the context of Shinkei’s lament on the war, it gains a new historical exigency and resonance that dictate an interpretation, and translation, different from its former intention. In this editorial gesture of Sōgi’s, a dialogic relation is created that is similar to the marvelous effects of contiguity between two verses in renga.

Sōgi preceded Shinkei to the Kantō in 1466. In Musashi in the summer or fall of the following year, 1467, he would have had a glad reunion with his newly arrived mentor from the capital. In 1468 he resumed his travels around the East and at this juncture, winter 1468, had just returned from a trip to Shirakawa Barrier, the boundary to the northern region.<sup>26</sup> He was thus on hand to join Shinkei and local participants in a hundred-verse sequence for which verse 484, *yuki no oru* (“broken beneath snow”), is the hokku. This sequence, *Nanihito hyakuin*, has happily been preserved, providing us for the first time with a picture of the local renga circle around Shinkei in these years (for a translation, see Part Two).

The eleven participants, with their corresponding scores, are Shinkei 19, Sōgi 16, Nagatoshi 12, Norishige 11, Mitsusuke 10, Sōetsu 10, Kaku’a 8, Shun’a 6, Ikuhiro 5, Hōzen 2, and Ken’a 1. Nagatoshi is the same scion of the wealthy merchant family, the Suzuki, who sent a ship to take Shinkei from Ise to Shinagawa in the summer of 1467; he may be regarded as one of the poet’s patrons. Norishige was a member of the Ōgo clan, a branch of the ruling Ashikaga based in a town of the same name, Ōgo, in Seta district, Kōzuke Province (Gumma). He was evidently a serious amateur poet, for he later wrote a renga instruction manual called *Ōgo Norishige yoriai* in which he included verses by Shinkei and Sōgi as models for composition. Like Nagatoshi, he would later have five verses anthologized in the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*. His name also figures with other members of this session in an undated manuscript entitled *Ōta Dōkan-tō utaawase*, a local waka contest sponsored by Ōta Dōkan, a senior vassal and deputy of the Kantō daimyō Uesugi. The Ōta were the lords of Musashi Province and Shinkei’s patrons as well, as will become apparent later. The holding of such a pioneering poetic event in the provinces may be traced to the tutelage these warriors received from Shinkei, who firmly considered familiarity with the waka tradition a prerequisite for renga composition. Mitsusuke belonged to the Kamata clan and also participated in Dōkan’s waka contest. Ikuhiro of the Kurihara family was a deputy of the Chiba clan in Kazusa Province (Chiba). All four warriors hailed from Musashi and the surrounding provinces and were militarily allied with the Ōta, and through them to the Uesugi.

Among the cleric-participants, Kaku’a is most likely the priest of the same name who has two verses in the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*, where he is listed as belonging to the Jishū sect in Echizen Province (Fukui), also Uesugi territory. As may be gathered from the a-suffix (short for Amida) of their names, Shun’a and Ken’a were also Jishū priests. The same probably went for Sōetsu, who hailed from Etchū Province (Toyama) and has three verses in the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*. The link between the Jishū sect and renga practice goes back to the beginning of the art in the Kamakura-Namboku-



chō period. At that time, the so-called *hana no moto renga* (“renga under the flowers”) were held in the precincts of temples in spring during cherry blossom time. These public events, which were in the nature of a ritual for warding off disease and pestilence, were extremely popular and often led by *rengashi* belonging to the Jishū. Founded by the celebrated mendicant monk Ippen Shōnin (1239–89) in the Kamakura period as an offshoot of the Pure Land sect, the Jishū was a populist religion, and these large-scale renga gatherings undoubtedly provided a fertile ground for their proselytizing activities. The sect’s head temple, the Shōjōkōji, was located not far from Musashi in Fujisawa, near Kamakura.

To the modern mind, the military-religious composition of the participants might seem anomalous, but it was typical of the Muromachi cultural milieu. Religious establishments derived strength from their alliance with the military-political power structure, and some of their members actively participated in the central and local governments, usually as advisers. In its nature as a social gathering, a collective activity, the renga session was bound to reflect the social composition of the age; it was just as inevitable that this session was made up of warriors and priests as Bashō’s group would later include Edo fish and textile merchants. Both cases point up the value of linked poetry, whether renga or comic haikai, as the arena for the dissemination of classical culture and the making of a national literature, through participatory activity, throughout the centuries before Westernization and the industrial age.

The 1468 winter sequence has that unique interest of showing us Shinkei and Sōgi, the only professional poets in the group, guiding the local amateurs through the mazes of a hundred-verse sequence. There is a common tendency to generalize that Shinkei, although he wrote the most brilliant linked verses (*tsukeku*) and *hokku* in the genre’s history, is somehow diminished as a renga poet compared to Sōgi at the height of his artistic maturity because he did not express sufficient concern in his critical works for the progression of the sequence as a whole. This generalization confuses the poetry with perceived omissions in the theory and implies that such verses disrupt the smooth flow of the sequence precisely because they are *outstanding*, and that Shinkei possessed too distinctive a voice to blend into the collectivity of a session. The unspoken assumption here is that renga ideally aims for a wholly impersonal, harmonious blending that precludes the expressiveness of the individual voice.

This is to judge Shinkei’s achievement in renga from a standard shaped by Sōgi’s well-bred and consistently refined neo-classical ideal of poetic beauty, one that excludes the arrestingly new, any suggestion of the colloquial or vulgar, the overly difficult or profound. Shinkei’s renga vision, on

the contrary, places the highest importance on the quality of the *kokoro* that the participant brings to the session, the seriousness with which he grapples with the *maeku* to make it yield a significance. Linking (*tsukeai*) for him is the dialogic motion of understanding between two minds. The two visions of what *renga* ideally is differ in very crucial ways. But the point to be made here is that an analysis of the 1468 sequence reveals that whatever else Shinkei's verses might be, they do not disrupt the flow of progression. Indeed, he consistently evinces, by the type of verse that he produces at crucial points in the sequence, a concern for progression both as continuity and as variation. It is true that he occasionally composes verses that hew quite closely to his own personal feelings. Even these, however, are visible only because we know his particular circumstances; they would otherwise pass unremarked in the impersonality of the sequence. The passage from verses 61 to 63 is an example.

arare chiru	As hail beats down
nasu no shinohara	on the bamboo-plain of Nasu,
kaze ochite	the wind falls still.
Norishige	Norishige
kusa no kage o mo	On the open Azuma Road, I seek
tanomu azumaji	shelter in the shadow of the grass.
Nagatoshi	Nagatoshi
minu kuni no	Is the wanderer's fate
tsuchi to ya naramu	to become a clod of earth in
mi no yukue	an unknown country?
Shinkei	Shinkei

The imagistic as well as plot-like progression here is excellent, moving from the wholly objective scene depicted by Norishige to the introduction into this scene of the subjectivity of Nagatoshi's traveler-persona and reaches a climax with Shinkei's dramatic development of that subjectivity. On the level of verbal associations, there are the resonant pairs "hail = shelter," and "plain = grass" from 61 to 62, "shadow of the grass = earth," and "Azuma Road = unknown country" from 62 to 63. The motions of continuity and variation across the three verses have that quality of inevitability possessed by conscious art, yet it does add to our understanding of Shinkei's view of poetry as a response to being in the world that we recognize his verse as a cry from the depths of his private self. As we know, this ominous verse turned out to be prophetic; Shinkei never made it back to Kyoto. His journey did come to an end in Azuma, that "unknown country" of his exile.

The last but one among the nine winter *hokku* for 1468 is one of a terrible beauty, like the naked, gleaming edge of a blade.

486

hoshi shiroshi  
karigane kōru  
yowa no sora

The stars, white.  
Wild geese cries dripping ice—  
the sky at midnight.

The piece is in Shinkei's inimitable "chill and desolate" (*hiesabi*) mode and is indicative of a feeling of utter loneliness and isolation, a suppressed nostalgia for something infinitely remote and beyond recovery. This is not a hokku that could have been written at home in Kyoto. It needed the experience of estrangement, exile, uncertainty—all those feelings figured in the waka sequence and other hokku in this chapter—and its tension springs from an open-eyed confrontation with the reality of loss and the futility of nostalgia.



## Traveler-Recluse

### 1469: The Journey to Izu

In the *Azuma gekō* collection the hokku for the years 1469–70 are marked by place-names indicating that Shinkei traveled first south to Izu and Suruga (Shizuoka) and then as far north as Aizu in Iwashiro (Fukushima) during this period. It is possible that he went on other travels during his eight years in Azuma but they are not reflected in his hokku. The collection ends in autumn 1472, a year after his retirement to Mount Ōyama; given his age and frail health, it is unlikely that he undertook other long journeys thereafter. Not that age ever deterred other poets from such protracted journeys. Saigyō (1118–90), one of the illustrious predecessors with whom Shinkei felt a spiritual kinship, was sixty-nine when he set out once more for the northeast, composing along the way the celebrated poem on Sayononaka Mountain in Shizuoka that is quoted in *Sasamegoto*. And Sōgi was all of eighty when he made the arduous trip from the capital to Echigo (Niigata); two years later death would overtake him in Hakone Yumoto, Shizuoka. As is well known, Saigyō and Sōgi were the inspirational models for the most famous poet-traveler in Japanese literature, Bashō.

Shinkei does not belong to this tradition; he did not consciously cultivate travel as a way of life and source of art. We know from *Oi no kurigoto* that he suffered from poor health from his thirties; the same work mentions how the trials of exile broke him down physically. Such a frail constitution could not have borne too well the rigors of traversing long distances on horseback and on foot, the common means of overland travel at the time. For Saigyō as for Bashō, wandering had a religious significance as a demonstration of the original human condition of rootlessness and impermanence; for Sōgi the pilgrimage to *utamakura*, places with literary associations, was a means of communing with the dead spirits of the classical

poetic tradition. As the waka sequences quoted so far make abundantly clear, travel for Shinkei was always emotionally colored by a sense of loss and personal deprivation; it remained to the end synonymous with exile.

Oddly enough, a century after him the renga poet Jōha would define this theme in a manner that suggests Shinkei's own experience.

As for the essential nature [*hon'i*] of travel, even at renga sessions in the rustic provinces the poet composes on this topic as if he were a man from the capital. Setting out on the journey, he imagines himself crossing the Barrier on Ōsaka Mountain or floating far away on a boat down the Yodo River. When the ferry weighs anchor for the open sea, he looks back longingly toward the mountains of the capital, and though only a day or two has passed, he feels as if he has traveled for months . . . and begrudges the vast distance he has come.<sup>1</sup>

The statement comes from a period late in renga history, when poetic responses had become stylized to a point when they did not necessarily have to conform with reality—"even at renga sessions in the rustic provinces." Unhappily for Shinkei he was truly a man of the capital, and the essence of the poetic theme of travel as Jōha had learned it from his works had all the force and intractable character of the real.

From the loneliness of exile, now as never before nature provided for Shinkei a release and a solace, not in the sense of being a mirror wherein he might read his own feelings, but simply as a vital presence whose subtlest manifestations he eagerly translated into poetry. We feel this particularly in the frequently recurring images of green foliage and clear waters in much of his work from the Kantō years, images that come to life with a freshness so much more striking when considered against his feelings of inward desolation, what he described in 1468 as his "ailing spirit in exile." As evidenced in the 1468 waka sequence, or in the famous *shigure* hokku among others, Shinkei does often employ natural imagery (dew, moon, flowers, rain, and so on) as an allegorical vehicle for thought and emotion. Indeed, his greatness cannot be appreciated apart from the intensity of the human concern and the strength of the moral passion that emerge from his arrestingly novel use of the allusive weight of these classical images in real-life contexts. But we are concerned at this point with verses that may be designated "pure and objective" in the sense that they have been purged of all overt expressions of the personal and subjective and strike the reader with the impact of an immediate sensation.

Shinkei himself was aware that this poetry constitutes a distinct style, one requiring a high level of mastery. He called it *keiki* or *keikyoku no tai*, "the mode of scene presentation wherein one reads the vital impression of what is seen as such; it belongs to the marvelous realm of the ultimate."<sup>2</sup> Nature has, of course, been a major presence in Japanese poetry from the

very start. But as Okami Masao observes, the ancient Japanese intimacy with nature was such that it took centuries for it to emerge as an objective existence set before the gaze and the mind, and as a conscious object of poetic theory.<sup>3</sup> This is clearly distinct from the cosily unexamined relationship between the speaker and nature in much lyric poetry before the *Shin-kokinshū* mode of objective symbolism. But it was particularly in the two Kyōgoku-Reizei anthologies of the fourteenth century, the *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*, that nature truly became an object of intense, Zen-like contemplation. This same motion, Okami notes, is to be seen in the contemporary arts of black-ink painting (*suibokuga* or *sumi-e*) and the rock garden. In renga, it was Shinkei who first inscribed the value of this objective mode in his criticism and practice. Although it consequently became acknowledged as a basic mode of linking verses, his work in this style remains unrivaled in its immediacy of effect and acuity of perception.

The term “objective” is not of course unproblematic; it raises basic epistemological questions best dealt with in a separate theoretical discussion.<sup>4</sup> Suffice it to say that the clarity and purity of nature’s presence in these verses are qualities belonging not so much to the natural object (which is, strictly speaking, indeterminate) as to the sensibility that cognizes it as such, that is to say, the mental state of being of the poet himself. From this point of view, which has the virtue of coinciding with Shinkei’s own emphasis on the poem as a state of mind (*kokoro*), and on poetic process as a contemplation, clarity and objectivity signify the overcoming of the private and accidental. Here, in the context of his biography, it means release from the loneliness of exile and the weight of history. Lifted from the personal, emotional, and the mundanely human, Shinkei’s poetry of green leaves and pure waters manifests that willed effort toward egolessness and detached concentration that finds its most intense expression in the “chill and thin” (*hieyase*) style, the poetry of transparent ice. Some of the verses and waka quoted heretofore belong to this category, as do many among those cited below, although in varying degrees of concentration.

*Spring hokku*, 1469

489	tabi no ma ni haru o futaba no wakana kana	Within the space of a journey, spring has turned— a double-leaved shoot.
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Just as he had done for the winter of 1468, Shinkei registers his second spring (*futaba no/wakana*, “a double-leaved shoot”) in the East with an appropriate hokku; with the summer he will have completed three years of exile. Such overt signs of marking the duration of his estrangement from the capital cease hereafter, eloquent testimony to diminishing hopes.

- |     |   |  |
|-----|---|--|
| 490 | mizu aoshi<br>kiete ikuka no<br>haru no yuki    | Limpid green waters—<br>how many days since vanished,<br>the snows of spring.  |
| 493 | hashi kasumu<br>kawabe ni aoki<br>yanagi kana   | By haze-clouded<br>bridge along the river, green<br>the waving willows.        |
| 499 | tsuyu wakaba<br>haru monofukaki<br>yamaji kana  | Dewdrops, young leaves,<br>spring breathing deep within<br>the mountain trail. |
| 502 | hana ni chire<br>aoba ga ue no<br>fuji no yuki  | Scatter your snow<br>with the flowers, O Fuji, above<br>the greening leaves!   |
| 504 | hana nokoru<br>yamaguchi shiruki<br>wakaba kana | Flowers remaining,<br>the mountain approach distinct<br>in light young leaf.   |

It is perhaps impossible to measure the newness of these verses in which nature is presented as a direct perceptual experience instead of being viewed through the beautifully seductive sensibility, and daunting authority, of centuries of a monolithic classical tradition. True, the images—flowers, snow, young leaves—remain those that have been in constant use as indices of the particular season; the conventions of hokku composition ensured that. And there is in fact an allusion to an older poem, *Fūgashū* 36 by Juntoku-in (1197–1242; r. 1210–21), to lend overtones to 490. But all of them nevertheless stand as spontaneous evocations of actual scenery and not of older poetry. Or to put it another way, their concern is to make the object's presence perceptible in the mind. And it is this principle that will inform the method of haiku.

*Summer hokku*, 1469

- |     |   |   |
|-----|---|---|
| 505 | hitokoe ni<br>minu yama fukashi<br>hototogisu | In that single cry,<br>the depths of unseen mountains<br>—cuckoo! |
|-----|---|---|

“The single cry heard on a still day just as it was evoked the mind of a mountain recluse. The hokku was composed in Musashi Plain” (*Goku* 33, p. 11)—thus Shinkei's explanation for his young disciple Kenzai. Readers and scholars alike have frequently noted the high incidence of synaesthesia in his poetry. It is no mere method but the manifestation of a philosophy that eschews the rational separation of the various senses. Again, in the immediately preceding set of verses, “green” is not one singular color but a quality of light modified by and acquiring various textures and shades according to its specific spatial and temporal contexts. The verse above,

also appearing in the *Shinsen Tsukubashū* (STKBS 3706), is an outstanding example of that hokku style, later to reemerge in Bashō, wherein an immediate physical sensation sets off a spontaneous mental illumination. Here the cuckoo's cry on a summer day, heard in the open plain of Musashi, directly pierces through the veil of ordinary perception and plunges deep into the soul, opening up a coolly limpid space in a sudden moment of liberation. The still depths of the "unseen mountain" imply, as Shinkei says, the depth of mind of the recluse in meditation. The verse itself has a more concentrated power than the others before it; what it figures is the Zen mind of emptiness—heard silence, the still voice.

Continuing into the summer, the following series includes place-names that reveal beyond doubt that Shinkei was traveling in Izu and Shizuoka at this time.

508	aoumi o shigerikakusanu yamabe kana	Mountain meadows burgeoning dense unhidden the blue sea.
509	koe hibike yama mo hakone no hototogisu	On the four sides of Hakone Mountain let your cry resound, O cuckoo!

Anyone who has spent time in the verdant mountains of Hakone on the Pacific Ocean coast in the summer will recognize the kind of setting so freshly evoked in these two verses.

The artful compression of Shinkei's diction, which is easy to forget when relying on translations, is especially apparent here in the novel compound verb *shigerikakusanu*; *shigeru*, the increasing luxuriance of the foliage in summer, naturally glides into *kakusu*, to conceal, but the negative inflection stops us short to reveal, paradoxically, the blue ocean glinting between the dense growth. Through a precise deployment of each verbal element, Shinkei sets in motion an economy of reading that has the materiality of a physical experience. The second hokku incorporates a playful pun on the literal meaning of *hako* (box) in the place-name and imagines the cuckoo concealed within the depths of Hakone mountain as in a box. Punning and the alliterative play in *hibike-Hakone-hototogisu* apparently came easily to this poet; we can well imagine the grins of the locals at such sweet-sounding nonsense. It also reminds us that haikai, or humorous renga, was always in the background, ready to step into the breach should the group and the occasion allow.

Four consecutively numbered hokku, 510–13, reveal that Shinkei had visited the stronghold of the Horikoshi Kubō (Horikoshi Shōgun) Ashikaga Masatomo (1436–91) in Horikoshi, Izu. The third son of the assassinated



Shōgun Yoshinori, Masatomo was recalled from monastic life by his brother, the present Shōgun Yoshimasa in Kyoto. He was sent to the East in 1457 to chastise the rebellious former Kantō Kubō Ashikaga Shigeuji (1434–97), assume leadership in Kamakura, and thus restore order in the eastern provinces. Unfortunately he found it impossible to advance further than Horikoshi (modern Nirayama-chō) in Izu, where he set up camp with the support of the Imagawa clan in neighboring Shizuoka and the powerful Uesugi in Musashi.

510	natsu fukami kaze mo nagoya ga shitaba kana	In deep of summer languid the wind through the under-leaves at Nagoya.
511	yo ni suzushi higashi ni takaki asazukuyo	High in the East, coolly tranquil over the world: the morning moon.

Nagoya in hokku 510 was located in Horikoshi and constituted the eastern flank of Masatomo's defense works. The stronghold bordered on Moriyama Mountain (modern Yokka-machi) to the north and along the Kanogawa River to the west. Hokku 511 was undoubtedly also composed at a session in Horikoshi, for it is so obviously an auspicious formal greeting to Masatomo himself in his office as head of the Kantō government. Reflecting the time when the session started, the image of the morning moon (Masatomo) remaining high in the East (the eastern provinces) over a tranquil world expresses more a wish than a reality, given Masatomo's inability to take over in Kamakura.

512	shigerishi wa miyagi no tame no yamaji kana	In the thickly sprung shrine forest: power of godhead along the mountain trail.
513	kage musubu shimizu ni samushi fuji no yuki	As I scoop its image in Shimizu's clear spring, cold the snow on Fuji.

Hokku 512 and 513 were composed in towns just north of Horikoshi, also under the control of Masatomo's generals. *Miyagi* (shrine trees) in 512 reveals that the sequence of which it was the hokku was composed as a prayer offering at Shizuoka's Mishima Shrine, a center of religious worship for the Kamakura shōguns since the days of Minamoto Yoritomo (1147–99; r. 1192–99). Shinkei's hokku identifies the surging vitality in nature with the Shintō deity; it seems to confirm Motoori Norinaga's analysis of the native religion as a celebration of the forces of life. It also explains the intimate connection between Shintō worship and the warrior class, for

whom physical prowess, a sheer vitality, was an essential requirement. In poetry the vital primitive spirit of Shintō lives in the *Man'yōshū*, the ancient anthology praised by Shinkei in *Sasamegoto* for the immediacy and unadorned quality of its diction (*SSG*, pp. 132, 176). The *Man'yō* poet Akahito was evidently in his mind here in the Kantō, for he alludes to the latter's Mount Fuji *chōka* in the 1467 solo sequence, among others. It would not be surprising if he felt an affinity for this particular poet; both evince a pure sensibility, a kind of numinous sensuality, in their experience of nature that has deep religious roots. This sense of pristine primitivism is significantly present in Zen as much as in Shintō; both are trained on the bare essentials—of the mind-ground in the one, of the life force in the other—beneath all the frippery of the mundane.

Here in Mishima two years later, Shigeuji's forces would attack from the mountains of Hakone, and Sōgi would receive the *Kokin denju* from the warrior-poet Tō no Tsuneyori during lulls in the battles. Shimizu in 513 was situated between Mishima and Numazu.

515	shita tokete fujikawa suzushi haru no yuki	Dripping below on Fuji River the coolness— spring snow.
516	natsu wa kaze sono udohama no asagoromo	The wind in summer drifting through hempen robe of morning on Udohama Beach.

The Fuji River flows west of Mount Fuji and empties into Suruga Bay near Tagonoura, where Akahito once experienced the breathtaking view of Fuji when rowing out from the shore.<sup>5</sup> In an improbable conceit, which has nevertheless an arresting effect, Shinkei imagines the remaining snow on Fuji's lower slopes melting into the river. Udohama on the western coast of Suruga Bay was the farthest point west on Shinkei's itinerary, and this session was most likely held with the Imagawa clan and their retainers. In 518 below, Izu recurs again, but seen from some distance.

518	amagumo wa izu no takane no matsu suzushi	Lowering rain clouds— on the high peak of Izu, the pines are cool.
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The absence of any place-name between Shinagawa and Hakone in this *hokku* series strongly suggests that Shinkei went directly by sea to and from Izu, probably on one of the Suzuki ships that had originally fetched him from Ise in 1467. Furthermore, despite Mount Fuji and the profusion of scenic spots in the area, his journey was not undertaken wholly for the pleasures of sightseeing and poetry. The area from Hakone to Izu and

Suruga was far too significant politically as the headquarters of the Horikoshi Kubō and his supporters to admit of such a simple interpretation for his trip. It is improbable that his involvement with the key figures in the Hosokawa camp had simply ceased when he left the capital. On the contrary, his early departure from Kyoto and the rendezvous at Ise with a ship sent by Suzuki Nagatoshi expressly to fetch his group—for we must assume in this scenario that other priests accompanied him—bespeak a certain purposefulness. Kaneko suggests that he came to the Kantō, at least initially, on a political mission for the loyalist army.<sup>6</sup>

In speculating on the nature of that mission, we must note that the route by sea from Shinagawa to Ise and from there overland to Kyoto was vital in the transport of provisions and troops from the eastern region to the Hosokawa army fighting in the capital. It was particularly crucial because the great western daimyō Ōuchi Masahiro (d. 1495), an ally of the Yamana camp, had early taken control of the opposite searoute along the Inland Sea, having arrived with some 2,000 ships off the coast of Harima (Hyōgo) and Settsu (Osaka) on 7.20.1467.<sup>7</sup> As we have seen, Shinkei's connection, the Suzuki, were the major transport agents in Shinagawa. They were also vassals of the Uesugi generals in Musashi, Ōta Sukekiyo (1411–95; priestly name Dōshin) and his son Sukenaga (1432–86; priestly name Dōkan). The Uesugi had heretofore remained loyal to the bakufu and were presumably allied with the loyalist army in the Ōnin conflict. Still, it was crucial for the Hosokawa not only to maintain this advantageous relationship but also to be apprised of any shift in the local power alignments that might threaten their eastern supply route. From this perspective, the location of Shinkei's hermitage right by Shinagawa Harbor and his close association with the Suzuki and, as we shall see, Ōta Dōshin and his son, seem to suggest a role as one of the Hosokawa's unofficial envoys in the Kantō. His visit to the Horikoshi Kubō's seat in Izu and the adjoining Imagawa territory would merely constitute further evidence of it.

There is nothing in Shinkei's writings from the Kantō years to explicitly confirm Kaneko's political mission theory. Neither, for that matter, did Shinkei ever overtly refer to the substance of his relationship with Masanaga, Dōken, and Katsumoto in the four or five years preceding the outbreak of the war. Indeed, as we have seen, his account of his departure from the capital in *Oi no kurigoto*, though it has the conviction of feeling and the ring of poetic truth, deliberately obscures the facts in favor of moving the reader through the power of metaphor. Thus, all our knowledge of his real circumstances has been the product of deductive analysis based on external evidence. Nevertheless, from the severe personal crisis of 1462–63 on, the problem of survival and the search for meaning in an age of civil distur-

bance, along with a deep yearning for an authentic mode of being through poetry, have been such an exigent undercurrent in his works that we should be doing them a disservice were we to ignore any possibility that might help us to recover from centuries of obscurity the real nature of the tensions from which they sprang.

It was in the late spring of the year of Shinkei's trip to Izu that Gyōjo committed suicide. The event was first recorded some three months later in the *Daijōin jisha zōjiki* entry for 7.11.1469, which gives the date as 3.24.1469, but does not mention where it took place. As mentioned earlier, Shinkei, Senjun, and other poet-priests held a farewell session with Gyōjo and Sōgi before their departure for the Kantō in 1466; this was the session that featured the "seed of Azuma" (*Azuma no tane*) hokku and Gyōjo's waki, which found their way into Shinzui's *Inryōken nichiroku* journal. We next hear of Gyōjo in the New Year's renga at the Muromachi Palace in 1468, and it is clear that he was back in the capital by then. Since he is also known to have traveled to Kyushu at some unspecified date, however, it is impossible to tell whether his suicide occurred in his hermitage on Mount Hiei or somewhere in the provinces. Like Sōzei, Gyōjo was originally a vassal of the Yamana. If, as Kaneko suggests, his Kantō trip was a mission for the Hosokawa army, a conflict of loyalties might have precipitated his suicide. Again, since warriors resorted to this act as an honorable way of confronting imminent defeat, it is equally possible that he was forced to kill himself under enemy siege.

Gyōjo was like Shinkei a high-ranking cleric; the fact that he committed this act despite monastic prohibitions against it (see Shinkei's poem 52, *tanomitsuru*, in the 1468 sequence, Chapter 4) accentuates the tragic anomaly of his situation. No doubt Mount Hiei itself was involved in the Ōnin conflict; the line between religious and political institutions was yet to be drawn at this time, as witness the closeness of the Zen Gozān temples to the bakufu. In short the shocking circumstances of Gyōjo's end can only be attributed to his involvement in the political complications surrounding the Ōnin conflict. It points up once more the difficult conditions under which these Muromachi renga poets practiced their art in the period prior to and during the war. Likewise, it is a chastening reminder that their constant journeying was far from the romantic or purely poetic activity that it is often touted to be.<sup>8</sup> Or to put it differently, their renga, so rarefied, lofty, and well-bred, was in effect a strenuous aesthetic discipline forged out of the violent context of their real lives.

Had Shinkei's object simply been to flee the war, he would not have come to the Kantō. As he wrote himself in the opening passage of *Hitorigoto*, civil disorders broke out here in 1438, when the Kantō Kubō Ashi-

kaga Mochiuji attempted a coup d'état that was not quelled by bakufu forces until 1441. In the wake of Mochiuji's defeat and suicide, the government was run by the Deputy whom he had attacked in the first place, the Kantō Kanrei Uesugi Norizane. Despite the bakufu's request that he stay on, however, Norizane soon retired to a temple in Izu. Subsequently a rapprochement was reached among the contending powers in 1449, by which the late Mochiuji's son Shigeuji was named Kanrei and Norizane's son Noritada his Deputy. Unfortunately harboring a desire to avenge the deaths of his father and brothers, Shigeuji plotted against the Uesugi and their vassals, particularly Nagao Kagenaka and Ōta Dōshin, and finally ended by having his own Deputy, Uesugi Noritada, assassinated in 1454 with the help of the Yūki and Satomi. With this murder the conflict between Shigeuji and the Uesugi erupted anew. Pressed by the former's superior forces, the Uesugi appealed to the bakufu for reinforcements, and in 1455 Yoshimasa ordered Imagawa Noritada to come to their aid. He succeeded in expelling Shigeuji from the official seat in Kamakura and installed another of Norizane's sons, Fusaaki, in his slain brother's place. As previously mentioned, Yoshimasa subsequently sent his brother Masatomo to take over as Kantō Kubō in 1457, but he was unable to advance farther than Horikoshi in Izu and thus became known as the Horikoshi Kubō. Meanwhile, Shigeuji had fled to Koga on the southwestern tip of Shimotsuke Province (Tochigi), where he in turn became known as the Koga Kubō. Masatomo's inability to proceed to Kamakura, just across Sagami Bay from the Izu Peninsula, is evidence that local support for Shigeuji remained strong. The Kantō, in other words, was in a state of war no less insidious than the one in the capital, though less dramatic because the battles were sporadic and spread over a wider territory.<sup>9</sup>

Apart from the Hosokawa connection, the authority of Shinkei's ecclesiastical rank as Bishop, his impeccable culture and learning, and not least his reputation as the most famous renga poet in the capital would in any case have gained him an easy entrée into the highest social circles in the Kantō. It was a time when provincial lords and their vassals were eager to add the grace of the capital city's culture to the wealth and political power that had long been theirs. The Uesugi were especially distinguished for their patronage of literature and learning in their territories and for the welcome they extended to visiting poets, artists, and clerics. Uesugi Norizane, for example, had restored the Ashikaga Academy (in Shimotsuke Province) in 1439 with a considerable endowment of revenues and manuscripts. Patronized hereafter by his descendants, the school became the most important center of Chinese studies and Confucianism outside the capital until the beginning of the Tokugawa period.

A hokku composed by Shinkei in the winter of his trip to Izu in 1469 was almost certainly addressed to the Uesugi deputy in Musashi, Ōta Dōshin. It expressed his appreciation of the latter's promise of protection amidst the civil disturbances in the Kantō, symbolized here as in the 1468 hokku by the image of winter rain (*shigure*).

530	shigururu mo hitoki no kage no chigiri kana	Though the chill rains fall, the promise of a shelter beneath this one tree.
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### 1470: The Journey to Aizu

That the “shelter of one tree” (*hitoki no kage*) amidst the chill rains of war refers to Ōta Dōshin is confirmed by the fact that Shinkei led a thousand-verse sequence sponsored by Dōshin in the Kawagoe Castle in the First Month of the following year, 1470.<sup>10</sup> Fifty-nine years old this year, Dōshin had become a lay monk in 1455 after the battle with Shigeuji in which his young lord, Uesugi Akifusa, perished. Although he still oversaw the defense of the Kawagoe stronghold, he had relinquished the headship of the clan to his son Dōkan and consequently found more time to cultivate Zen and poetry. Dōkan was based in Edo Castle, which he had built in 1457. (This castle, later expanded to become the seat of the Tokugawa shōguns, has survived into modern history as the Imperial Palace.) Dōshin's Kawagoe Castle, in modern Kawagoe City, Saitama Prefecture, was only some thirty-six kilometers southwest of Shigeuji's stronghold in Koga, and one imagines that the atmosphere of the three-day session, from the tenth to the twelfth, was not completely tranquil.

Happily for Shinkei, Sōgi was back in Musashi from a sudden trip to the capital the previous year and could assist him in guiding the local participants in what was doubtless for them an unprecedented poetic marathon. Including Dōshin, there were seven warrior-poets, among them the four who had earlier figured in the winter 1468 hundred-verse sequence. Also participating were a Zen-priest attendant of Dōshin called Chūga; the Lotus sect priest Inkō, who was then visiting from the capital and would join Shinkei in the journey to Aizu this winter; and another priest called Kyōshun, whose recent scholarship has proven to be none other than Kenzai, only eighteen years old and newly enrolled as Shinkei's disciple.<sup>11</sup> Long after his teacher's death, Kenzai would become a famous renga poet in the capital, succeeding Sōgi as Kitano Renga Master in 1489 when he was thirty-seven, the youngest person to hold that office. Still a fledgling poet during the *Kawagoe senku* of 1470, he composed the fewest verses during

the session, as the following tally indicates: Shinkei 155, Sōgi 126, Dōshin 110, Nagatoshi 97, Chūga 83, Norishige 80, Mitsusuke 73, Inkō 66, Ikuhiro 64, Eishō 54, Yoshifuji 50, Chōhaku 29, Kyōshun 13.

In the first three verses of the opening sequence, quoted below, Shinkei composes the hokku as the renga master for the session, Dōshin the waki in his role as host, and Sōgi the daisan as the next-ranking among the poets present. This formal order of precedence is discarded in the next eight sequences, whose hokku are composed in turn by the other participants. A modified return occurs in the important concluding sequence, for which Dōshin composes the hokku and Shinkei the answering waki. Similarly the image of the flowering plum trees in the gardens of the Kawagoe Castle, evoked in the opening passage below, recurs in the beginning of the closing sequence.

umezono ni  
kusaki o naseru  
nioi kana

Shinkei

niwa shirotae no  
yuki no harukaze

Dōshin

uguisu no  
koe wa toyama no  
kage saete

Sōgi

In the plum grove,  
a fragrance vitally suffusing  
the plants and trees.

Shinkei

A white banner over the garden  
snowflakes in the spring breeze.

Dōshin

In the bush warbler's  
cry, chill the shadow of  
yonder foothills.

Sōgi

The images in these first three verses are finely delineated, but there is something unsatisfactory about the contrary progression from Shinkei's truly spring-like hokku to the wintry, chill feeling of Sōgi's daisan. Shinkei's hokku projects the fragrance of the plum flowers as an aura of vitality influencing the other sprouting vegetation; it is also a greeting to the master of these gardens, Dōshin.

Moving from a meadow to a mountain scene, the opening of the second sequence includes a rather beautiful pair by Dōshin and Shinkei that has the effect of a scroll painting.

tōku mite  
yukeba kasumanu  
aono kana

Sōgi

akuru kozue no  
nodokanaru iro

Yoshifuji

Gazing far away,  
I see green fields lying clear  
of the haze.

Sōgi

The tranquil color of the treetops  
growing apparent in dawn light.

Yoshifuji

tsuki usuku  
mine no sakura ni  
utsuroite

Dōshin

honokuraki e ni  
mizu otsuru yama.  
Shinkei

Pale the moon as it  
fades upon the flowering cherries  
on the peak.

Dōshin

Down the mountain the water falls  
into the dimness of the inlet.

Shinkei

This is an impressively sustained passage; the tightly compressed diction of the verses by Yoshifuji and Shinkei, in which there is not a single wasted word, is particularly remarkable. Yoshifuji securely captures Sōgi's intention, expressed in *kasumanu* (not hazy) by evoking the image of trees emerging in the dawn light (*akuru*). In turn Dōshin links up to "color" (*iro*) and "treetops" (*kozue*) through the picture of flowering cherry trees in fading moonlight. Shinkei adds a white waterfall below the pale massed flowers and juxtaposes against these the contrasting image of the inlet still wrapped in darkness, in a verse that is both visually beautiful and ineffably remote in effect. In terms of his critical vocabulary, such a verse may be said to be in the *yōon* mode. In general Shinkei's work in the Kawagoe session has a tranquillity and even warmth lacking in his emotional performance in the 1468 winter sequence and suggests that his mood had improved considerably since then.

The *Kawagoe senku* is a literary landmark in various ways. First, it may be seen as a *renga* recital by the warriors whom Shinkei had been instructing since his arrival in Shinagawa, a grand culmination evincing his role in the revitalization of the flagging art of poetry in the Kantō. In the capital the thousand-verse sequence was commonly sponsored by the shōgun and other ranking daimyō at the Kitano Shrine and elsewhere. The Kantō had but rarely seen a poetic event of such scale since the Kamakura and Nambokuchō periods, and Dōshin was doubtless sensible of that significant fact. Indeed, he and his son Dōkan would go down in history not merely as mighty generals in the Kantō power struggle—something that can only be of ephemeral and banal interest for us now—but more important, as the patrons of Shinkei and Sōgi, men of arms who promoted the art of poetry in the East amidst the disorders and tensions of war.<sup>12</sup>

In Shinkei's biography the *Kawagoe senku* of 1470 is memorable as well in marking the final time that he and Sōgi participated together in a public session. (That is, it is the last extant sequence in which both their names figure, although it is certainly possible that they had other sessions together before Sōgi's final departure for the capital in 1472.) Sōgi also had a hermitage in Musashi, but unlike Shinkei he was frequently away visiting provincial lords and warriors in their castles and battle camps. Since the



portrait of Sōgi that emerges in the Kantō is somewhat different from that of Shinkei, it will be useful to trace his activities for purposes of comparison.

Various reasons have been given for Sōgi's long sojourn in the Kantō in the period 1466–72 (interrupted by his return to the capital for some months in 1469), when he was age forty-five to fifty-one. Among them his biographer Ijichi Tetsuo isolates two in particular: his desire to receive instruction from the warrior and Nijō poet Tō no Tsuneyori in the secret traditions of the *Kokinshū* (the so-called *Kokin denju*), and the equally compelling wish to visit and experience places famous for their literary associations.<sup>13</sup> Kaneko suggests a third reason: the successive departures of Sōgi, Gyōjo, and Shinkei for the Kantō between 1466 and 1467 and their possible link with the loyalist army.

It is possible to read all three motives into Sōgi's activities and connections with the warrior clans, which were much more extensive than Shinkei's. His very first renga treatise, the *Chōrokubumi*, was written in the Tenth Month of 1466 while visiting the Nagao clan in their stronghold at Ikago, Musashi.<sup>14</sup> The Nagao were the most powerful retainers of the Uesugi clan's Yamanouchi branch, just as the Ōta were for its Ōgigayatsu branch; together the Nagao and Ōta defended the Uesugi's extensive territories in the Kantō. From Ikago in the following spring, 1467, Sōgi proceeded further north to Kōzuke Province (Gumma) at the Nagao's invitation and held renga sessions at another camp in Shirai, where the Uesugi were preparing to confront Shigeuji's forces. It was not until the summer or fall of 1467 that he went to Edo, met the Ōta, and had his first reunion with the newly arrived Shinkei in Shinagawa. Sometime in the following year, however, he set off once more, this time to be with Tō no Tsuneyori during his military campaigns in the provinces of Shimōsa and Kazusa (Chiba). Tsuneyori had been ordered here by the Shōgun Yoshimasa in 1455 in order to purge the Chiba clan of rebels and strengthen its alliance with Masatomo in Izu. Tsuneyori, it must be noted, was himself descended from a branch of the Chiba clan, at this time divided, like all the Kantō, between the Shigeuji and Uesugi-Masatomo camps. From Chiba in the autumn of 1468, Sōgi continued north to Hitachi Province (Ibaragi) to view Mount Tsukuba, a mountain legendarily associated with the origins of renga; Nikkō in Shimotsuke Province (Tochigi); and farther north, the Shirakawa Barrier at the invitation of Yūki Naotomo, a strong ally of the Shigeuji faction. The poetic diary *Shirakawa kikō* is a record of this journey.

Back in Musashi in the winter of 1468, as we have seen, he participated in a renga session with Shinkei and the Ōta warrior-poets. Sometime in 1469, he traveled back to the capital and from there found time to compose

verses with Ichijō Kanera and his son Daijōin Jinson (the author of the *Daijōin jishi zōjiki*) in Nara in the Seventh Month. Ijichi finds this trip significant in view of the fact that Tsuneyori himself returned to the capital on 4.21.1469 in order to negotiate with Saitō Myōshun (d. 1480) for the return of the Tō estate in Mino Province (Gifu). The Deputy of the ruling Toki clan of Mino and an ally of the Yamana camp, Myōshun had defeated Tsuneyori's brother in Mino during the course of the war and appropriated the Tō holdings there. However, he is reported to have been so moved by poems composed subsequently by Tsuneyori lamenting this misfortune that he gallantly agreed to relinquish them again.<sup>15</sup>

It was the same Myōshun who sheltered Senjun, Sōgi's former teacher and the renga friend for whom Shinkei expressed a yearning in *Hitorigoto*, in his castle in Mino during the war. Unhappily Senjun perished there in 1476, believed to have been killed by the loyalist Ogasawara forces in an encounter with Myōshun and other Yamana troops.<sup>16</sup> Like Shinkei and Sōgi in Musashi, Senjun had been an active renga leader in Mino, where he organized at least three senku sessions—the last, the second *Mino senku*, held on 3.6.1476, just two weeks before his death on 3.20.1476. He was sixty-five. Just what his precise involvement was in the Ōnin conflict is impossible to say; it is somewhat odd that he should have sheltered with a Yamana ally when he was such a regular member of the Hosokawa renga group prior to the outbreak of the war. But no matter. It was, as Shinkei wrote in 1468, a “world so torn / there finds no sheltering shadow (*yaburete no yo wa / oku kage mo nashi*).”<sup>17</sup>

In the winter of 1469, Sōgi was back again in Musashi, composing renga with Shinkei and participating in the *Kawagoe senku* in the spring of 1470. In the first four months of 1471, and again in the Sixth and Seventh months during lulls in the battles at Mishima in Izu, where Tsuneyori was encamped with Masatomo's forces, Sōgi finally achieved one of his compelling motives for coming to the Kantō. In a series of lectures, Tsuneyori transmitted to him the so-called *Kokin denju*, a body of secret teachings regarding the correct interpretation of the *Kokinshū* poems, said to have originated with Teika (this is a matter of dispute) and been passed on to Tsuneyori through his family's hereditary association with the Nijō branch. The content of this body of traditional readings has long been dismissed as negligible by modern scholarship, although that judgment is now under reappraisal. The prestige attached to it then was without question enormous. It invested Sōgi with the symbolic power and authority of the waka classical tradition and may be said to have laid the foundations for his subsequent rise to the leadership of the literary world.<sup>18</sup>

Whether or not Sōgi was on a political mission related to Shinkei's own,

his extensive visits and renga sessions with the warrior clans were useful not only in furthering his poetic training but also in establishing powerful connections that would be of practical importance in his personal career. The portrait of Sōgi that emerges from the above account is that of a man of great energy and purpose, someone who had firmly taken the measure of the times and intended to mold his destiny by it. Unlike the seven sages, he came of an obscure background. Possessing neither social rank nor position, he had perforce to employ his poetic ability and later his classical learning as a means of establishing himself in the world. In the process he became the first true professional among the major renga poets of the Muromachi period.

The difference in the pace and character of the two poets' activities in the Kantō during this period should be viewed from the perspective described above. There is, moreover, the matter of their being in two diametrically opposite stages in their lives: Shinkei had already made his reputation in the capital, while Sōgi was at this time still preparing to launch his career. The one had seen the war deprive him of position and home, the other would forge both in spite of it. It appears, in addition, that their sociopolitical attitudes were different. In the Kantō and his later travels as well, Sōgi associated with and was patronized by mutually hostile warrior clans. In other words, the professional and pragmatic artist did not let ephemeral politics dictate who were and were not to be the recipients of his services. For him, renga was above all a *métier* and universal discipline whose practice was independent of factional considerations. The same principle is apparent in the fact that he sought out the invaluable connection with the Nijō poet Tsuneyori even while receiving poetic instruction from the Reizei poet Shinkei. Such professionalism must be seen as the key to Sōgi's overwhelming worldly success—overwhelming only in view of where he started and apart from his unquestionable talent and prodigious abilities (needless to say not always a guarantee of fame). His was a difficult yet happy victory earned through consummate social skill and discernment, and based upon a sensible appraisal of contemporary political and economic forces and how they might best be employed for the greater glory of his art.

Against the clarity of Sōgi's almost modern professionalism, the ambiguity, even incongruity, of Shinkei's position vis-à-vis society—which is to say warrior society—stands out by contrast. Of his professed attitude there is not the slightest doubt: he disapproved of those who used renga “solely as a means of livelihood, employing themselves in its vulgarization day in and day out” (*SSG*, pp. 162–63). For him the renga session was a gathering of kindred spirits sensible of the vanity of human existence, above considerations of personal glory and worldly profit, and trained solely upon the

experience of poetry. Ambiguity arises when one attempts to measure his actual circumstances against such manifestly high ideals, an admittedly problematic and even foolhardy undertaking, given the scarcity of available data. Yet enough has been written up to this point to give the impression of a contradiction between his life, or more accurately, his fate, and the high and noble portrait of the renga poet in *Sasamegoto*. The contradiction came to the fore with the outbreak of the Hatakeyama succession dispute, which necessitated an alliance with the Masanaga-Katsumoto faction and in turn involved him in the Ōnin conflict, if Kaneko is right, as a kind of unofficial envoy for the loyalist army. In short, for all practical purposes his position in the Kantō in relation to warrior society substantially resembles Sōgi's. The crucial difference is that what turned out to be a happy victory in the one case impresses us as an ironic tragedy in the other. That Shinkei himself viewed it as such is evident in the waka poems and autobiographical passages quoted so far; a piece such as the following merely confirms it.

*Travel-Lodging Robe*

koromode ni	It did not stay,
tsui ni utsusanu	in the end, upon my sleeves—
sumizome no	the ink-dyed mountain
yūbe no yama wa	at evening is as a monk's robe,
waga yado mo nashi	yet finds not my shelter there.

Shinkei's personal tragedy is that he had formally occupied a considerable place in the social structure and been invested with the moral authority symbolized by his priestly calling. Though deprived now of their physical trappings, he could not banish the somewhat aristocratic and purist turn of mind they had fostered and still less conceive of using his connections and abilities, as Sōgi did, to effect a triumphant comeback to the capital instead of ending in obscurity in the Kantō. Politically it is, I believe, not inaccurate to say that he retained a feudal philosophy based on the inviolable relationship between lord and subject and the obligations and duties appertaining to each: the implicitly censorious tone with which he describes the "selfish quarrels" within the warrior clans in *Hitorigoto*'s opening passage suggests as much. There is also a feudal element in the high value he placed upon personal loyalty to someone to whom one owes a debt of gratitude, such a principle as would explain, for instance, his undertaking of a political mission for the Masanaga-Katsumoto faction responsible for Jūjūshin'in's restoration. In other words, he evidently still cherished the ideal of the noble—that is to say, honest and authentic—relationship that should obtain between lord and subject in an age dominated by the opposite, clearly "ignoble" forces of *gekokuujō* ("the low vanquishing the high"). And here

again his sharply critical mind could not have failed to register the moral contradictions in the positions of everyone involved in the Ōnin conflict.

Faced with political and social anarchy, he did what was necessary to survive and preserve the century-old temple for which he was responsible as head priest. However, close as he was to the reins of power because of Jūjūshin'in's status as a shogunal and Hatakeyama clan temple, he appears to have maintained some distance from them due to that moral fastidiousness everywhere apparent in his prose writings. It is significant, for instance, that except for that single reminiscence in a private letter about composing renga with Katsumoto, Masanaga, and the prospective Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado, those writings make no mention of his political connections. Neither do his personal poetry collections include prefaces that inform us that this poem was composed in the residence of such and such a noble, or that verse in the company of such and such a lord, and so on. Compared to the telling presence of contemporary society names in Shōtetsu's *Sōkonshū* or in Sōgi's *Uraba*, Shinkei's collections stand out by their complete reticence about and disregard for the milieu that he inhabited, as if to say that poetry need not impress through political connection or social pedigree. All this is not in the interest of creating a hagiography for the man; that is neither possible nor necessary. It is merely an attempt, and one dictated by his own lofty attitudes, to distinguish the ambivalence of his relationship to the contemporary power structure in contrast with the genial character of Sōgi's. As a priest and intellectual, Shinkei's victory vis-à-vis the establishment was of another kind, one that necessarily had to assume a moral character, and led him to the self-contradictory position of condemning the actions of the very class on whose patronage he depended.

Interesting as the distinctions in their social backgrounds and attitudes are, however, they did not ultimately matter to the two men, who were brought together by their devotion to the transcendent claims of poetry and their common role in promoting within warrior society the higher values that it represents. Of their association in the Kantō subsequent to the *Kawagoe senku*, we have one final evidence. It is the last of Shinkei's *Tokoro-dokoro hentō* letters, also known as *Sōgi-Zenshi e no hensatsu* (Reply to Zen Priest Sōgi) and dating from the summer of the same year, 1470. From the letter's opening passage, quoted below, it becomes immediately clear that Sōgi had requested an annotated copy of Shinkei's verses, as well as an appraisal of his own recent work.

Worthless as my verses are, I could not resist your request and have written my comments hurriedly and without much judgment on a number that happened to be close at hand; you must consign them to the flames after reading them. Which sort of verse is good and which bad is a matter difficult to establish beforehand; one

should simply link up to the maeku according to the actual circumstances at the time [of the session]. Cultivate an elevated spirit [*kokoro o takaku*], a language moving and graceful [*kotoba o en ni*], and guard against the tendency to remain within a single style. That is to say, put aside the desire to produce an eye-catching verse [*ku no omoshiro*] and set your mind instead on quality [*kurai*]. Loftiness [*take*], overtones [*omokage*], and refinement [*shina*] should be your primary considerations. How foolish of me to become carried away by your love for poetry and thus to expose the narrowness of my opinions! Yet I do so only because I believe it is a good training for us both. Regarding your most recent verses, I must say that I find every one of them interesting. However, there are among them a number whose handling is a little uncertain [*obotsukanaki*], and I shall comment on a few of them here.

aki mo nao  
asaki wa yuki no  
yūbe kana.

Even autumn is yet  
shallow: this evening  
of snowfall.

To this you added,

mizu kōru e ni  
samuki karigane.

Over the frozen water of the bay,  
the cold cries of the wild geese.

This verse is somewhat overstated and contrived; it does not connect with the manifest intention and spirit of the hokku. It is desirable when composing the waki and subsequent verses to leave a few things unsaid. To exhaust the images of Water and Winter in this way would make it difficult for the poet of the third verse. It seems to be the common practice when composing verses on say, Autumn, to link up to the maeku by using words like “wild geese,” “deer,” “dew,” and so on, even though the meaning does not actually connect. On the contrary, the verse that truly links up to the maeku from the depths of the poet’s mind [*kokoro*] may discard such conventional associations [*engo*] and yet seem fully to connect. (*Tokoro III*, pp. 214–15)

Shinkei’s objection to Sōgi’s waki is clear enough: it is “overstated” because it employs too many images of Winter (the redundant *kōru* and *samuki*) and of Water (*mizu*, *e*) when one for each would have been sufficient; indeed, it might have been better to drop Water altogether. In other words, it is too prodigal with images for a genre that naturally calls for restraint within the single verse in order to leave something over for the next poet. The major thrust of Shinkei’s criticism, however, is that the waki does not really link up to the hokku except in a mechanical, “contrived” verbal way, through the Winter topic (i.e., *yuki*, *kōru*, *samuki*). Unaccountable as it may seem, Sōgi either missed the point of the hokku or caught it but failed to incorporate his understanding in the verse itself. To recreate the effect of the snowy sky slowly dimming at dusk, he would have had to point up the stillness all around, or the remoteness of the wild geese’s cries behind the vague impenetrability of falling snow and darkening shadows.

The letter of 1470 is a valuable document that includes sharp analyses

not only of Sōgi's recent work but also of the verses of older poets like Gusai and Sōzei, as well as concise statements of Shinkei's most important critical principles. Here, it is relevant to point out only that it reveals how closely Shinkei with his unrivaled artistic intelligence guided Sōgi's work in its formative stages. As noted earlier, the orthodox or "refined" renga style (*shōfū* or *ushin renga*) of the Muromachi period was mainly, aside from certain crucial differences, their creation. Along with the *Gikō eisō Shinkei no tensaku* from the capital (see Chapter 3), this letter is a compelling evidence that Shinkei also played a crucial role in the development of Sōgi's critical faculties, later to find their most impressive demonstration in his cogent analyses of the seven sages' verses in *Oi no susami* (1479).

The incalculable training that Sōgi derived from his association with Shinkei in the Kantō was clearly equaled by the pleasure and solace the latter felt in providing it. Although his criticism remains as rigorous as in the earlier manuscript, there is in addition a certain warmth in this letter ("carried away by your love for poetry") which indicates that their relationship had deepened amidst the privations of Shinkei's exile. "Since the world does not always conform to our desires, we cannot avoid associating with all sorts of people. However, when it comes to the practice of the various Ways, it is of utmost consequence to have good friends about us" (SSG, p. 142). One can imagine how valuable Sōgi's friendship was for the man who wrote those lines. Perhaps they met again after Kawagoe. Unfortunately those occasions could not have been so many. Shinkei left Shinagawa for the trip north to Aizu in the late spring of 1470 and did not return until the late fall or early winter. In the first seven months of the following year, 1471, Sōgi was mainly in Mishima risking life and limb for the *Kokin denju*, while Shinkei retired weary of heart to the foothills of Mount Ōyama. No doubt Sōgi visited him there before starting back for the capital late in 1472, but the *Kawagoe senku* remains today their last sequence together.

Fortunately for Shinkei the same session marked the beginning of a new poetic association with Kenzai. He evidently lost no time in instructing his new disciple. One of the extant *Sasamegoto* texts bears a colophon indicating that he gave a copy to Kenzai on 2.7.1470, barely a month after the grand event at Kawagoe.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, it is almost certain that his trip to Aizu was at his new student's invitation. Aizu in Iwashiro Province (Fukushima) was Kenzai's hometown; he belonged to the Inawashiro family, a cadet branch of the Ashina clan that had ruled the region since the Kamakura period.

We do not know precisely when Shinkei left Shinagawa for the trip north. Among the spring hokku for 1470 in *Azuma gekō* is one that alludes

to an impending journey and was probably composed during a renga session to see him off; the reference to himself as a “warbler” recalls Jitchū’s similar name for him in the session held in Settsu several years earlier.

543	uguisu mo hana ni tabidatsu haruno kana	With the flowers, the warbler too sets off to journey among spring fields.
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It is first among the summer hokku, however, that it becomes clear that he is already on the road. We know for certain that 554 below was composed in Nikkō, because Sōgi later included it in *Chikurinshō* (1665) with the following preface: “On deutzia [*unohana*] flowers, composed when he was living in Azuma and went up to the temple called Nikkō-zan and held a session.”

554	unohana ni tōki takane ya kozo no yuki	Deutzia blooms on distant towering peaks: last year’s snow!
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Nikkō is now a tourist spot famous chiefly for the Tōshōgū, the lavishly decorated shrine erected in the early seventeenth century for the Tokugawa shogunate’s founder, Ieyasu. In the Muromachi period the mountains of Nikkō housed a complex of temples, some of them dating from Heian times. Then as now the clear blue waters of Chūzenji Lake to the west formed one of the area’s appealing natural scenes.

556	umi kiyoki wakaba no yama no konoma kana	Clear the lake, glinting between the trees in the new-leaved mountain.
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Shinkei composed eleven more hokku as he and his party continued north from Nikkō along the Tōzandō Highway. He does not mention the names of the places where they stayed, except for Aizu itself in 567, which is the last of the summer hokku and thus indicates that they did not arrive there till the end of the season. Like the two from Nikkō, these verses are mere impressions of natural scenery, but rendered with a tactile quality that has blithely resisted the weight of intervening centuries.

559	ame aoshi satsuki no kumo no muragashiwa	Green the rain— June clouds clearing in patches the oak-tree grove.
562	tabibito mo moru ya miyagi no shitasuzumi	Do they protect travelers too—enjoying the cool beneath shrine cedars.



- 565        tsuyu mo hinu                      Still wet with dew,  
              maki no ha suzushi                the cypress leaves are cool—  
              asagumori                            a clouded morning.
- 566        yūdachi wa                            Evening shower:  
              sugimura aoki                        a cool green wake of cedars  
              yamabe kana.                        the mountain meadow.
- 567        tsuyu aoshi                            The dewdrops, green.  
              sara ni tezome no                    and even deeper dyed beyond:  
              aizūyama                              Mount Aizu in indigo.

Finally arriving in Aizu, Shinkei stayed throughout most of the fall and was evidently kept busy holding renga sessions with local enthusiasts, for there are no fewer than twenty hokku in all for the autumn of 1470 in *Azuma gekō*. The first of these evokes a picture of the poet resting in his lodgings after the arduous journey.

- 568        niikusa no                              From my pillow of new-  
              makura ni akanu                      reaped grass, endlessly inviting:  
              hanano kana                            fields in fall flower.

Shortly thereafter, as suggested by the context of the two hokku below, he held renga sessions with the Ashina, the ruling daimyō clan of the Mutsu region whose castle was located in the present city of Wakamatsu, Aizu District.

- 569        ame mo shire                            Let the rain too yield  
              itsuka o chigiru                      the promise of a rich harvest  
              aki no kaze                              in the winds of autumn!
- 571        sasamizu ya                            Trickling of water:  
              niwa o miyama no                    in the garden autumn sounds  
              aki no koe                              the deep of mountains.

Like the *yo ni suzushi* hokku for Ashikaga Masatomo, no. 569 is marked by a formal decorum and auspicious context (the region's bountiful harvest) that reveal it to have been composed at a session with some high personage, in this case either Ashina Morinori or Moritaka (d. 1517), the leaders of the clan. It alludes to the proverb *itsuka no kaze, tōka no ame* ("one windy day in five, one rainy day in ten") about the ideal weather conditions for a good harvest. Number 571, almost certainly composed in the Ashina Castle as well, praises its garden park by saying that its murmuring stream evokes the feel of autumn deep in the mountains.

The young Kenzai, whose family the Inawashiro had a castle by the lake that bears their name, acted as Shinkei's guide in Aizu and was doubtless a

participant in all the local sessions. For him Shinkei's sojourn here proved to be a marvelous opportunity to imbibe the master's teachings at first hand. It was at his request, for instance, that Shinkei wrote commentaries to a selection of his own verses (90 hokku, 121 tsukeku) in the manuscript called *Guku Shibakusa*, as revealed by the following colophon.

In the early autumn of the second year of Bummei [1470] in Aizu, the Oshū region, I thoughtlessly wrote these comments at the repeated urging of Kyōshun-daitoku [Kenzei]; they are but of little value.

Traveler-Recluse Shinkei [seal]<sup>20</sup>

The modest tone was a conventional feature of authors' colophons at this time, although perhaps more characteristic of Shinkei than of others. The informal character of this self-annotated verse collection is amply borne out by the term *guku* ("my humble verses") in the title; these are not verses Shinkei considered his best or most representative. In fact, the prefatory paragraph suggests that the selection was done by Kenzei, who chose verses he found difficult to understand. Consequently many are of the kind that alludes to older poems, passages in classical tales, and old lore. Obviously intended for a young eighteen-year-old novice, Shinkei's commentaries are simple and aim primarily to illuminate the allusions and the meaning of the verses, as distinct from his more rigorous critical approach in the letter to Sōgi. Since we are all novices like Kenzei in 1470, however, this text remains an invaluable guide to the kind of classical learning required of a renga poet, not to mention the way in which Shinkei intended his verses to be understood.

*Iwahashi no ge*, the companion volume to *Guku*, consists of Shinkei's commentaries to 179 of his waka, also written for Kenzei and bearing the same colophon plus a long epilogue setting forth his poetic principles.<sup>21</sup> This epilogue was evidently intended to cover both volumes, which are also known by the collective title *Shibakusa kunai Iwahashi*. Since Shinkei held that waka was an important part of a renga poet's training, these two works may be said to constitute a textbook for the beginner, one that he updated occasionally, for it includes a few selections composed subsequent to the autumn 1470 date in the colophon. One more manuscript, very short and undated, remains as an evidence of Kenzei's tutelage; this is the *Ichigon*, precise instructions about the three primary techniques of linking, based on inflectional morphemes (*te ni o ha*); words (*kotoba*)—the autonomous words of the *maeku* apart from their inflection; and meaning or poetic feeling (*kokoro*).<sup>22</sup> Of these, as might be expected from his whole critical approach, Shinkei sets the highest value on the third.

Great indeed must have been Shinkei's hopes for his new student, given

the considerable volume of commentary that he personally wrote for him. Perhaps Kenzai reminded him of Shinkō, the young acolyte in Jūjūshin'in whom he had trained as a poet and whose untimely death was mourned by all the Shōtetsu circle. That was all of twenty years earlier during the halcyon days of Jūjūshin'in's prosperity, long before Shinkei became a "traveler-recluse" (*ryōkyaku inshi*) in Azuma. Perhaps too he found pleasure in teaching someone who showed every promise of making renga his career, just like Sōgi and unlike the warrior-poets who formed his circle in Musashi. According to contemporary sources, Kenzai was a child prodigy who had been educated at the famous Ashikaga Academy, the training ground for the talented youth of the eastern provinces.<sup>23</sup> It is interesting to note that like Shinkei he came from a warrior family but chose the priesthood and literature as his profession. His coming under the poet's influence at such a tender age no doubt increased his motivation. It was probably instrumental in his early fame and success in a field requiring so many years of training that it was known as the literature of old men.

Eighteen years later, Kenzai would transmit the lessons learned during his youthful apprenticeship in a manuscript called *Shinkei-sōzu teikin* (Bishop Shinkei's teachings). Its colophon suggests that it was only then, after much intervening experience in the field, that he fully realized their true value.

These notes date from the days of my youth when priest Shinkei taught me the proper mental attitude in renga. Determined at the time not to forget these lessons, I wrote them down and kept the notes until I found them in a drawer recently. Though I took them for granted then, reading them again carefully now I realize how rare and valuable every one of these lessons is. In the Way of renga, I humbly look up to the words of this priest as to the teachings of the Buddha.<sup>24</sup>

Kenzai was thirty-six when he wrote these lines in 1488, just a year away from his appointment as Kitano Renga Master. Young as he was in 1470, he most probably took his old teacher's indulgent attitude toward himself for granted. He was also at this time fortunate to make the acquaintance of Sōgi, who would later help him in the capital and with whom he would collaborate in the compilation of the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*. There is a remarkable coincidence in the fact that the earliest extant record of his renga attendance in Kyoto was at the Kitano Shrine *senku* sponsored by Shinkei's former patron, Hatakeyama Masanaga, at New Year's in 1476.<sup>25</sup> This coincidence, coupled with the fact that he was most active in Hosokawa-sponsored sessions thereafter cannot but suggest the workings of Shinkei's influence in his subsequent career.

Back in Aizu in 1470, teacher and student started back for Musashi in

the late autumn. Along the way they stopped at the Shirakawa Barrier marking the boundary between the northern region and the Kantō. The entrance to what was then considered the most remote area of Japan as viewed from the capital, this place was a famous *utamakura*, particularly in connection with a poem by a Heian traveler, the poet-priest Nōin (b. 988), about leaving the capital in the spring haze and reaching this barrier with the autumn wind.<sup>26</sup> Saigyō passed through here in the course of his northern journeys in 1147 and 1186, and in 1468, as we have seen, Sōgi made the pilgrimage that would result in the poetic diary *Shirakawa kikō*. Finally in 1689, overwhelmed by the recollection of all the ancient poets who had gone there before him, Bashō would deplore his own inability to produce a memorable verse in *Oku no hosomichi* (Narrow road to the deep north).<sup>27</sup>

The four hokku composed by Shinkei at the Shirakawa Barrier are not particularly memorable either. Although he does duly register his awareness of Nōin's poem in 584 (see below), he seems to have tossed them off at the mere inspiration of the moment instead of attempting to express his own deep communion with past poets.

582	tsuki shiroshi kawa mo na ni teru hikari kana	White the moon, and the river illumined as its name in streams of light.
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Fresh and arresting, this verse clearly revolves around an inspired play of images on the name Shirakawa (lit., "white river"). Evincing that sharpness of wit evident in some of his waka written in the capital, Shinkei goes even further in another Shirakawa hokku, which is pure haikai in its delight in punning.

585	seki mo seki kozue mo aki no kozue kana	Barred is the Barrier, and autumn's end is on the bare branches' end.
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Behind the genial wordplay is the image of the Shirakawa Barrier gate stopped up or crammed (*seki*) with the mounds of autumn leaves fallen from the trees. Although it is inconceivable that this is the sort of verse Shinkei had in mind when he wrote in *Sasamegoto* that "double meaning is the life of poetry" (*SSG*, p. 135), it does illustrate his other statement in the same context, namely, that "it is an unskillful practitioner who cannot even compose a punning verse." The impromptu character of renga, it need scarcely be said, demanded a certain facility in the use of the double entendre. Such an understanding is implicit in the contemporary *Chikurinshō* commentary that says of precisely this hokku by Shinkei that "anyone who can appreciate it will become a skilled renga poet in no time at all."<sup>28</sup>

According to its preface in the *Chikurinshō* (1748), Shinkei composed this hokku “at the castle of the Lay Monk Master of the Palace Repairs Office when he visited the Shirakawa Barrier.” The reference is to Yūki Naotomo, the lord of Shirakawa Castle, whom Sōgi himself had visited two years earlier.

The immediately following verse, 584, also appears in the *Chikurinshō* (1749) with the preface, “Composed on his departure from the same place, when people held a session to see him off.”

584	akikaze ni kaeraba hana no miyako kana	If I start out with the autumn winds, Miyako in spring flowers.
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Conceived as a parallel to Nōin’s poem, the hokku voices a mere forlorn hope, since Shinkei never in fact returned to the capital. But the memory of this trip would remain with Kenzai, and he would recall it thirty-one years later when, putting all his subsequent successes in the capital behind him, he returned once more to Aizu to live out his final years.

More than thirty years have passed since I accompanied Bishop Shinkei to see the Shirakawa Barrier. Now as I cross it once more in the first year of Bunki [1501] many thoughts stir in my mind.

kore mo mata inochi narazu ya misotose o hedatete koyuru seki no nakayama	Is this not also to have borne the weight of a lifetime— as I cross the mountain barrier bridging thirty years between. <sup>29</sup>
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Alluding to the moving poem composed by Saigyō when he came northeast once more at sixty-nine after an interval of thirty-nine years, Kenzai communes with the spirit of his teacher, Shinkei, the poet who had been untimely torn from the capital city to be buried in obscurity in distant Azuma. In this single poem, the spirits of master, disciple, and a still earlier master confronting the passage of time and life merge together through the continuity of an enduring poetic tradition connected with places.



## “Bone-Withered Trees”

### 1471: A Murderous Spring

In 1471, following Shinkei's return from the Aizu journey, civil war erupted anew in the Kantō between the forces of Ashikaga Shigeuji and the loyalist army. The same year marks the final turning point in the poet's life. From his imperiled cottage by Shinagawa Bay in the summer, he would set out for the interior of Sagami Province, seeking a last temporary shelter against the chill rains of war that had dogged his life since the crisis of 1462–63.

Oddly enough, the spring hokku in the *Azuma gekō* evince a tranquillity and even an optimism that contrast sharply with the violence of Shigeuji's attack on Izu late in the Third Month and the despairing poems that Shinkei himself would write in the summer. The hokku that opens the year is quite ironic when viewed in the light of subsequent events.

599	nodokeshi na kokonoe yatsu no kunitsukaze	Over the harbors to and fro, tranquil blow the ninefold winds across the eight lands!
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The winds blowing free and tranquil across “the eight lands” (*yatsu no kuni*) symbolize the pacific amity among the eight provinces of the East, the so-called *Kantō hasshū*: Sagami, Musashi, Awa, Kazusa, Shimōsa, Hitachi, Kōzuke, and Shimotsuke. The auspicious public character of the hokku indicates that it was composed at a session with one of the Kantō's political leaders. This would be Ōta Dōshin, since the same image of calm winds over the Azuma seas recurs in an unusual *chōka* that Shinkei sent, according to its preface, “to the Zen follower Ōta Dōshin as a greeting on the seventh morning” of the New Year, 1471.<sup>1</sup> Composed of thirty-nine lines plus a waka envoi, the poem is strongly reminiscent of the vanished age of Akahito and Hitomaro in its adoption of the persona of a loyal subject

addressing his liege in verse. The similarity ends there, however; the language of this *chōka* is far too thin and pale compared to the surging vitality of the *Man'yōshū* poets. Nonetheless, this unique example of Shinkei's work in an antique genre is important because in it he expresses his gratitude to Dōshin for giving him, “a fisherman from the land of Shikishima” (i.e., a poet), a lodging in the midst of his exile. In other words, it must have been Dōshin who arranged for Shinkei's Shinagawa cottage through his vassal Suzuki Nagatoshi. Similarly he would have had a hand in the poet's move this summer to an old temple in Sagami that was, significantly, located near the Kazuya estate and stronghold of the Ōgigayatsu Uesugi.

It was at Dōshin's request that Shinkei wrote the *Shiyōshō* in the Third Month of this year, the only one of his treatises to deal concretely with *shikimoku*, the rules governing the occurrence of similar themes and images in the hundred-verse sequence, and with the procedures involved in holding a *renga* session.<sup>2</sup> He had already enunciated his theoretical position on this subject in *Sasamegoto*. In his view poetry, as the flower of the mind-heart, cannot be circumscribed by language, much less the predetermined rules governing the procedure of the sequence.

It is said that the way of exercising the rules must depend upon the particular session. These rules represent discriminations made for the sake of convenience upon a base of non-discrimination [*mukaikyū no ue no kaikyū*]; they are in that sense like the prohibitions and precepts in Buddhism. But prohibitions and arguments about doctrine do not yet represent the direct route [*jikiro*] to enlightenment. In the sutras one encounters innumerable instances of license; the reason is that the correct way lies in the ground of the mind itself [*shinji o shōro to suru yue nari*]. Consequently in the work of poets who have attained to the True Way [*makoto no michi*], there are many things that are outside the bounds of rules and standards. (SSG, pp. 179–80)

Lest he be misunderstood to be advocating an untrammelled license, Shinkei goes on to qualify this basic principle by saying that rules represent time-proven determinations, a prescriptive guide for attaining goals. One should therefore not be lax in observing them. In other words, rules, as a means (*hōben*) to an end, are essential to the art; they should not, however, be taken so literally as to defeat their purpose and become an end in themselves or, worse, a measure of the quality of the verse and the sequence as a whole. In the *Shiyōshō* he cites a number of concrete instances where a literal application of rules would be undesirable.

With regard to “world” [*yo*], there are practitioners who disapprove of using it [again in the same sequence] without changing from “world” as such to a named world or vice versa.<sup>3</sup> Is this not somewhat foolish? It should be alright to use the same word two or three times if the meanings are different. . . .

The rule that “flower” should occur three times is also taken erroneously in recent times. When in the same sheet, flowers remaining into summer, or the heart’s flower, flowers of the waves, cherry [flowers] and so on occur, shouldn’t one just let it pass and not count it as one instance of [the three] flowers? To determine three times as absolute is absurd.

About dimorphs with a frequency of two—eaves [*noki/nokiba*], parting [*wakare/wakareji*], hut [*io/iori*], rock [*iwa/iwao*], etc.—there are those who reject the verse if it does not use the other form of the word; is that not lacking in grace? In this case too one should give way and accept the verse as long as it does not resemble the other. Such instances are too many to count.

There are people who take “mountain path” [*yamaji*], “boat” [*fune*], and so on exclusively to mean Travel, but that should depend on the meaning and words of the verse. In waka even when such words are assigned as a topic one does not therefore invariably compose a Travel poem. . . . It all depends on the conception or feeling of the verse itself [*ku no kokoro ni yoru beku ya*]. But those practitioners who have not thought deeply and closely about this art will not agree.

Love or Laments—there are many verses that span across both, so that it is impossible to distinguish one from the other. Among Love poems too there are those that are wholly in the mode of Laments. So during the session it can happen that in linking up to the *maeku* the verse will span both [topics], and one must accept it. The heart of Laments [*jukkai no kokoro*] resides in all the myriad things. (*Shiyō-shō*, pp. 54–55)

And so on; the intention behind the words is clear; Shinkei is advocating a reasonable and flexible interpretation of the rules, one that will take account of specific circumstances and not subordinate poetic expression to the dictatorship of the letter. It is a liberal attitude opposed to a mindless adherence to rules.

Rules represent the very possibility of the whole hundred-verse sequence itself as an integral form and as a collective activity. Shinkei’s liberalism indirectly raises the critical issue of the generic tension, possibly a latent contradiction, in *renga* between the parameters of linking and sequence, between the singular and the collectivity. In Shinkei’s view, *renga* is the *expressive* interweaving of several *different* voices, not the monolithic structure of a faceless collectivity subsumed under a linguistic institution. Elsewhere, he had written apropos the common awe for the underachieving heirs of prestigious poetic schools or houses that it is not the house that makes the man but the man that makes the house. Rules are an enabling mechanism; they establish the field and procedures of play, but it is men who play and the way they do it reveals themselves and constitutes the unique expressiveness of *renga*’s poetry.

The two extremes—utter conformity or license—are a sweet path. Shinkei’s nuanced attitude of adhering to the spirit of the rule without being bound by its letter was not a popular one, nor was it meant for beginners, as



he implies himself in *Sasamegoto* when he warns amateurs against dispensing with training and directly imitating initiates. Similarly here in *Shiyōsho* he requires that the *shuhitsu*, the “referee” whose task—apart from recording the verses—is to ensure the smooth progression of the session, be a man of long experience in the art and of wide understanding of men and the world. This is because his function is to interpret the rules in actual practice, to decide whether or not the verse is acceptable.

Coming not long after his sponsorship of the *Kawagoe senku* of 1470 and all the other sessions that Shinkei must have led for him in Musashi, Dōshin’s questions, which led Shinkei to write an untypical treatise (he protests that as a Buddhist recluse he had not felt it proper to make public pronouncements on the issue of rules) confirm this retired samurai general’s serious interest in poetry. It is noteworthy that after Shinkei’s death, he would welcome the Gozan Zen priest Banri Shūkyū from the capital and hold waka and Chinese poetry meetings, which Shūkyū would enthusiastically report in his *Baika mujinzō*.<sup>4</sup> With his interest in cultivating Zen and poetry, Dōshin was probably for Shinkei in Musashi what Katsumoto’s late uncle, Dōken, had been in those prewar years in the capital, a kind friend and patron. Certainly the poet’s hokku in this fateful spring have a calm and warmth that recall his verses in the *Kawagoe senku* and that only a feeling of security, or a growing familiarity with life in the Kantō, could have generated. These two are particularly noteworthy.

602	yo ni wa hito hana ni wa ume no nioi kana	Man’s being in the world: the radiant glow of plum blossoms among all flowers.
607	yo wa kaze mo ugokanu hana no sakari kana	The world and the wind in pale splendor stilled flowers at the full.

In the Third Month of 1471, shortly after these hokku were written, the winds turned stormy “across the eight lands” as Shigeuji’s forces rode forth from Koga to Masatomo’s stronghold in Izu. The move apparently caught the loyalist camp unprepared. As the following passage from the *Kamakura ōzōshi* reveals, Masatomo would have been overwhelmed but for timely reinforcements from the Uesugi.

In the Third Month of the third year of Bummei [1471], the forces allied with Shigeuji in Musashi, Shimōsa, and Kazusa fought their way over the Hakone mountains and headed for Mishima in Izu in order to attack Masatomo. Since Masatomo’s force was small, he requested reinforcements from Suruga, and with these men he put up a defensive battle at Mishima. But Masatomo’s army was unable to get the advantage. They were about to go down in defeat when the Uesugi

Deputy, the Yano Lay Monk of Aki, arrived and joined forces with him. With fresh troops they charged forth into the enemy's ranks. In the ensuing encounter, the leading column of Shigeuji's army, soldiers of the Oyama and Yūki, were vanquished, and the rest fled over the mountains in defeat.<sup>5</sup>

Situated between Koga and Izu, Musashi would have been in an uproar as Shigeuji's forces rode forth to battle and back. The tension both in the Edo and Kawagoe strongholds would have been great as the loyalist camp began preparations for a retaliatory attack on Koga. The siege of Koga Castle, under Nagao Kagenobu, senior general of the Yamanouchi Uesugi, began in the Fifth Month and involved a protracted battle that ended only with the fall of the castle on the twenty-fourth of the Sixth Month. Shigeuji managed to escape, however, and hostilities continued into the following decades, complicated by shifting loyalties among the Nagao and internal strife between the two branches of the Uesugi. The Ashikaga shogunate would never again regain its central authority over the Kantō region; Masatomo remained stuck in Izu, unable to take up the reins of government at Kamakura, and the rebellious Shigeuji was in effect the very last of the Kantō Kubō.

In Shinkei's *Azuma gekō*, the blank space where the summer hokku should have been is eloquent testimony to the confusion of those months when not a single renga session was held. But the poet could not remain silent about these terrible events. They are reflected in the hundred-poem sequence that he composed from the seventh to the ninth day of the Fifth Month, 1471—right in the thick of that bloody summer. Written to commemorate the important thirteenth death anniversary of the single greatest poetic influence in his life, Shōtetsu, it is also the last of his extant waka sequences.<sup>6</sup>

The world that was rapt in the pale splendor of cherry blossoms in hokku 607 and where the sensitive human being was the most radiant creature (602) is utterly transformed in the following poem from the sequence's spring section. It is clearly the same spring, but shadowed now by the violence of intervening events.

10 Spring

ima no yo wa	In these times,
hana mo tsurugi no	even the flowers are thickets
ueki nite	of upturned blades,
hito no kokoro o	and man's heart is impaled to
korosu haru kana.	death in a murderous spring. <sup>7</sup>

The poem's impact lies in the implicit superimposition of human perversity upon the natural order in the image of a gracious spring turned murderous through the distorted passions of men. The emphasis, significantly, is not on

physical death as such but on the numbing horror of war, which maims and kills human feeling (*hito no kokoro*). That would be the greatest murder in the eyes of a poet for whom bodily extinction was preferable to the death of the spirit, precisely the source of that radiance which had earlier moved him to write that man was the earth’s best flower. *Kokoro* being the source of poetry as well, the poet finds that the violence of the times hinders him from communing with the moon, that symbol of moral clarity in the vocabulary both of literature and Buddhism.

35 Autumn

urameshi na	It is too bitter.
yo wa kurayami no	When I amidst the darkness of
sora no tsuki	the world would sing
nagamu to sureba	of the shining moon in the sky,
mune ni sawagite	a shudder runs through my breast.

No doubt because the sequence is dedicated to Shōtetsu, it includes a number of poems lamenting the death of poetry along with society’s decline.

71 Lament

hito o nomi	The poetry of an age
ima wa miru yo no	inhabited solely by men!
koto no ha yo	Say it is mediocre—
tsutanaku tote mo	where is the god before whom
tare ni hajimashi	it need bow in shame?

The word “god” in the translation is suggested in the original by the contrastive juxtaposition between *hito* (men) in line 1 and *tare* (who) in line 5, whose antecedent is clearly “the divine incarnations and poet immortals” (*gonja no kasen*), Shinkei’s term for the great *Shinkokinshū* poets and Shōtetsu in *Oi no kurigoto* (p. 415). We will recall that he also extolled the latter as a reincarnation of the god of Sumiyoshi in a letter quoted in Chapter 2. Immediately following this poem is another revealing that he despaired of any possible renaissance of the art even in the future.

72 Lament

koto no ha wa	Since this very age
ima zo mihateshi	has seen the last of the
yo no sue mo	leaves of poetry,
hikobae made mo	shall even future sprouts be
ne o tsukusu kana	stillborn on the blasted trunk?

The immediate proximity of this poem to the preceding and the fact that the whole sequence was a memorial for Shōtetsu again render it highly probable that he was very much on Shinkei’s mind here. It is best understood in

the light of the following passage near the end of *Sasamegato*, Part I: "But now that Shōtetsu's influence, which shone like a light from the promontory of a great rock, has been snuffed out, the Way, alas, lies shrouded in darkness once more. Henceforth, though a gifted man may appear in the world, what light can he receive, whose guidance seek, in order to illumine the future generations?" (*SSG*, p. 164).

The true significance of the two poems above is likewise clarified by a set of external factors that would have had a particular exigency for Shinkei. They are related to the fact that the compilation of a new imperial waka anthology, ordered by the Retired Emperor Go-Hanazono with the Shōgun Yoshimasa's encouragement in 1465, had been aborted due to the outbreak of the Ōnin War. The excitement generated in the capital by the announcement of a new anthology to succeed the *Shinzoku kokinshū* of 1439 was considerable. Poetry meetings were held with increasing frequency from 1465, and Asukai Masachika (Masayo's son), the chief compiler, had immediately begun soliciting individual poetry collections for possible inclusion. As stated earlier, Shōtetsu was greatly disappointed by his exclusion from the *Shinzoku kokinshū*. This time around, with the autocratic Yoshinori out of the picture, there was a strong possibility that his poems and Shinkei's would not be overlooked. Tragically, however, all the manuscript contributions were lost in the war fires that destroyed Masachika's residence, then functioning as the Wakadokoro, on 6.11.1467, and the anthology never saw the light of day. There is no doubt that this event was in Shinkei's mind when he wrote the memorial sequence to Shōtetsu, particularly when he states in poem 72 that the age "has seen the last of the leaves of poetry." The final opportunity to include the greatest poet of his time in the official literary history of the age, as a beacon "to illumine the future generations," had been irrevocably lost, and the *Shinzoku kokinshū* was to remain the last of the imperial waka anthologies, an undistinguished end to six centuries of a prodigious poetic tradition. The war dimmed the prospects of renga as well. The *Shingyokushū* (New gems collection), the grand renga anthology which Ichijō Kanera had been in the process of compiling in 1450, was likewise scattered and lost in the fires and looting that destroyed large areas of the capital city.<sup>8</sup>

There is an interesting epilogue to these unfortunate events. In 1489, more than a decade after Shinkei's death, Sōgi discussed plans for a new imperial waka anthology with the influential poet and aristocrat Sanjōnishi Sanetaka (1455–1537); the two went so far as to secure the consent of Asukai Masachika as compiler and editor. For some obscure reasons, this project too was aborted; in its place Sōgi and Kenzai succeeded in bringing out the first quasi-imperial renga anthology after more than a century, the

*Shinsen Tsukubashū* of 1495. Thus subsequent history confirmed Shinkei's despair about waka's future. Shōtetsu was indeed its last greatest practitioner, and after him, we may add, Shinkei himself. But for the insurmountable accidents of birth and circumstance, both might have revitalized a flagging poetic tradition. As for renga, Shinkei had done his best to elevate it to the status of a serious art not only through his own verses and critical essays but also through his influence on Sōgi and Kenzai. He clearly nourished hopes of a future time when renga would come into its full poetic flower in consonance with the ideals expounded in *Sasamegoto* and elsewhere. The following passage from the Epilogue to *Iwahashi* is quite revealing: “Should the world recover and flourish once more, and a sage of the Way [of renga] appear in the distant future, then the age of the True Way [*makoto no michi*], which surpasses even the ancient period [of Gusai and Yoshimoto], will surely come to pass” (p. 312). The same sentiment is echoed in *Oi no kurigoto* from the autumn of 1471: “Since the Way of waka has been abandoned in recent times, we must at least devote ourselves to the serious study and clarification of this Way [of renga] and in thus preserving a part of waka's teachings and precepts, endeavor to soften the hearts of warriors and rude folk and teach the way of human sensibility [*nasake*] for all the distant ages” (*Oi*, p. 417).

Shinkei's pessimism about poetry's future in the two poems quoted earlier reflects his consciousness of being caught between two ages—one in which waka was dead and renga still to come into its own; the events of a particular war-torn summer doubtless also contributed to his despair. Nevertheless, these passages from *Iwahashi* and *Oi no kurigoto* reveal that his mind had a wider compass and could transcend the darkness of his own time. His vision of renga's aesthetic and, it must be emphasized, worldly efflorescence, was unquestionably accomplished by Sōgi. However, one must look further, to Bashō and his concept of *fūga no makoto* (“the truth of Poetry”), for that deep-going religious search for authenticity that is at the heart of Shinkei's concept of renga as the True Way.

“To soften the hearts of warriors and rude folk and teach the way of human sensibility for all the distant ages” is clearly an ambitious enterprise. Needless to say, the first clause echoes Tsurayuki's *Kokinshū* Preface, with the distinction that what occurs there within a statement of poetry's irresistible power to move the heart-mind is here actively advocated as part of its historic mission. The difference underlines the stark contrast between the character of the Heian and the medieval periods; there can be no doubt that for Shinkei, who lived in an age dominated by military power and war, the necessity for “softening the hearts of warriors” had an urgency it would not

have had for Tsurayuki. Indeed, the whole humanistic character of his poetic philosophy, in particular his elevation of the aesthetic into a moral value in his concept of *kokoro no en*, can be viewed quite simply as an imperative response to the times in which he lived. Against its terrible excesses, the greed for power, the senseless destruction and slaughter of human beings—before this numbed and callous surface—he raised the frail structure of feeling or compassion (*nasake*), the capacity to be moved, as a moral imperative in order to recall men from barbarism and into a consciousness of their human state.

Shinkei's most characteristic persona, as a poet of lament (*jukkai*), may also be viewed as an inevitable manifestation of the age. We may well wonder what other authentic response there could have been, what function more relevant for serious poetry in such an age, apart from bearing witness to its sorrow and tragedy. And yet Shinkei's response, inevitable though it might seem to us, was in fact the exception. While the mode of laments has ancient roots in Japanese poetry, it has seldom been enunciated as an implicit moral criticism of a specific historical time and event, so heavy was the weight of the classical lyrical tradition that dictated the vocabulary and themes considered refined enough for use in poetic composition. Shinkei's refusal to be restricted by poetic conventions from making the real circumstances of his times the subject of his poems is noteworthy. To a tradition remarkable as much for the narrowness of its scope as for its extreme subtlety and, occasionally, even profundity, he brought a breadth of perspective and a moral concern that had long been lacking. Other examples from the 1471 memorial sequence illustrate these unique qualities.

22 Summer

aware tote	Take pity, and even
shibashi wa yuruse	for a while, let them be!
tami wa mina	For all the people
kore o inochi ni	life depends upon this season
sanae toru koro	of planting the rice seedlings.

A heartfelt plea that the armed warriors leave the peasants alone to pursue their labor in peace, this poem was doubtless compelled by battle scenes that Shinkei encountered in the countryside this summer. "The season for planting the rice seedlings" (*sanae toru koro*) was in the Fifth Month, right in the midst of the loyalist army's siege of Koga Castle. The real havoc wreaked by the war upon the normal agricultural cycle and the consequent sufferings of the common people (*tami*), who had to feed not only themselves but also the very soldiers disrupting their work, are a set of

materials rarely seen in Japanese poetry. Figuring also in the poem below, "the people" had heretofore been considered beneath "poetic" concern.

64 Travel

ajikina ya na takaki hito ni kuni tami no nageki o miseba yo o ya osamen	It is depressing! Though you showed the mighty the people's sufferings amidst the war-torn land, would they lay down their arms?
--	--

The tone of helpless anger surely springs from bitter experience. Unavoidably involved with the Katsumoto-Masanaga alliance in the capital, and now with the Ōta and Uesugi in Musashi, Shinkei would doubtless have exerted the moral authority of his priestly rank as Bishop to remonstrate with the mighty against the ravages inflicted upon the common people by war. We have seen how he endeavored to secure his own means of livelihood against the internal conflicts within the Hatakeyama clan, only to lose it once more in the greater disorders of the Ōnin War. He was in a sense just as much as the common people a victim of the power struggle among the great lords, since his very survival ultimately depended on their good will and patronage.

The two poems below might be interpreted as a denunciation of the warrior class, but it is probably more accurate to say that Shinkei's censure was directed not at the class itself but at their acts of violence, which have here driven the poet of moon and flowers to almost virulent anger.

83 Evanescence

itsu made no yo o hen tote ka mononofu no hito o ushinai mi o kudakuran	Do they fancy themselves immune to time, these warriors who send others to their deaths, while driving to such extremes their own bodies?
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84 Evanescence

tsurugi mote hito o kiru mi no hate ya tada shide no yamaji no somagi naramashi	The man who wields the sword, slaughtering people, shall surely end as so many chunks of timber cast along Death-Mountain Trail! <sup>9</sup>
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Contrasting with indignation at the senseless slaughter is profound sorrow and sympathy for the same warriors as Shinkei traces their progress from murderous demons on the battlefield to evanescent smoke back in their hometowns. The two poems below are in effect elegies for the war dead of Azuma that summer.

## 85 Evanescence

nobe ni mishi  
 aware mo samete  
 kuni sato no  
 keburī to naru o  
 kiku zo kanashiki

Awakening from the  
 horrible sight on the fields,  
 only sadness lingers:  
 the news of funeral smoke  
 over village and province.

## 65 Travel

narenureba  
 mata mi ni fukaki  
 nageki kana  
 azumaji no tsui no  
 hito no nagori mo

Inured to sorrow,  
 the heart wells yet again—  
 the remains of men  
 who went on their final journey  
 along the Azuma Road.

The theme of exile that was so central in the waka sequences of 1467 and 1468 recurs here, but with less emotional urgency. The following poem suggests the reason for this impression.

## 26 Autumn

aki kakete  
 miyako wa ogi no  
 yakebara ni  
 narinishi yado wa  
 kaze mo oto seji

By autumn  
 the burning capital had fallen  
 to charred reed fields:  
 in my once familiar home now  
 the wind utters not a sound.

Here it is clear that Shinkei's temple, his home from boyhood until the age of sixty-one, for which he had fought so desperately during the 1462–63 crisis, had been destroyed in the fires of war. Shinkei was in fact the very last head priest of Jūjūshin'in.<sup>10</sup> Dating from the very beginnings of the Ashikaga shogunate in the fourteenth century and dedicated to its preservation, the temple had perforce to share its fate. By 1471 the war began to show signs of subsiding in the capital, as worried daimyō hurried back to their provincial territories to deal with rebellions fomented by their subordinates. But for Shinkei the way back would have been foreclosed by Jūjūshin'in's destruction. Perhaps the prospect of permanent exile generated the sweeping protest in the following poem.

## 66 Travel

ukegataki  
 yo ni umarete mo  
 nani naran  
 miyako no hoka no  
 hito ni nariseba

What reason was there  
 to have been born into the  
 hard-earned world  
 of men, if I am to become  
 to Miyako an utter stranger?

Confronting the uselessness of a longing without practical hope of fulfillment, the poet finds that he has become inured to exile and homeless-



ness, but then wonders ironically if sorrow driven inward can seem any lesser.

67 Travel

ima wa tada  
omoisutsuru o  
tabi narete  
nageki mo usuku  
nareru to ya min

Left no choice  
but to abjure all my longing,  
in travel grown  
familiar, seems my sorrow  
to have waned as well?

The last poem in the series formed by poems 65 to 69 revolves around the bitter irony that however long the five years in the Kantō (actually four at this point but it is his fifth summer) seemed, they are in retrospect but a brief interval.

69 Travel

nagekashi na  
iku hodo naran  
itsutose mo  
hitoyo no yume o  
tabi no yukusue

It breaks my heart.  
How long has the time been!  
Yet five years are  
but a single night's dream  
at the end of the journey.

The dissolution of moral and social order, the concomitant withering of the "leaves of poetry," the destruction of Jūjūshin'in Temple, the death of warriors, of Shōtetsu—all these ultimately resolve themselves into the large theme of evanescence that forms the ground bass of Shinkei's final poem sequence. It surfaces in poems like these.

5 Spring

naki ato o  
yowa no harusame  
tsubutsubu to  
kataru shinobu no  
noki no tamamizu

In his desolate wake,  
deep in the night the spring rain  
drop by halting drop  
speaks of a sorrow as it trickles  
along my moss-fern eaves.

6 Spring

asajifu ya  
namida tsuyukeki  
ato toeba  
munashiki hana ni  
yūkaze zo fuku

In the ruined garden  
moist with the dew of tears  
I seek his traces—  
among the frail flowers  
the evening wind is blowing.

46 Winter

okorite wa  
hodo naki yowa no  
uzumibi ni  
sakaenuru yo no  
hito o miru kana

A leaping flame  
ere long sinking beneath  
a mound of ashes  
in the deep of night—  
man's glory in the world.

## 44 Winter

mishi wa mina  
 aware awayuki  
 kieshi no no  
 yūkage kusa no  
 tsuyu o katami ni

I saw all, sadly,  
 as soft snow from fields dissolve,  
 leaving only in  
 the twilight shadow of the grass  
 gleaming dewdrops in the memory.

Amidst the terrible carnage of the age, Shinkei, ever the priest and poet, holds high the shining altar of the moon.

## 36 Autumn

tsuki ni aku  
 kokoro no nado ka  
 nakaruran  
 mina ukikoto wa  
 mihatenu ni

Why turns my soul  
 yet unsicklied to the moon  
 eyes that have seen  
 all the utmost limits of  
 vileness in this world?

## 47 Winter

hito no yo wa  
 kōri o fumeru  
 katafuchi ni  
 nodokeku sumeru  
 tsuki no kage kana

In the world of men,  
 beyond the trampled ice of  
 the river's shallows,  
 unsullied shines the moon  
 in tranquil pools of light.

Dimming Before the Moon:  
 Reclusion at Mount Ōyama, 1471–1475

“Yet five years are / but a single night’s dream / at the end of the journey”: Shinkei’s farewell to his life in Shinagawa, Musashi, strongly suggests he intended his move to the foothills of Mount Ōyama to be his final one. Although the war was ending in the capital, it had just started in the provinces, and peace remained an elusive dream. Jūjūshin’in was lost, and at sixty-five he was too weary to go back and petition the requisite powers to have it rebuilt. The *Azuma gekō* hokku collection, our principal source for his renga activities in the Kantō, peters out in the autumn of 1472. *Oi no kurigoto* from the autumn of 1471 is in effect his final critical statement, and in 1473 he would make a final selection of his most representative renga verses. Thus his four years at Mount Ōyama (1471–75) were apparently intended as a period of retirement, a gradual renunciation of worldly ties and concerns as a spiritual preparation for death.

Mount Ōyama is located on the southeastern edge of the Tanzawa mountain range stretching across the central region of Sagami Province (Kanagawa). Also known as Afuriyama, it was then and still is a sacred mountain, believed from ancient times to be the abode of the god who

brings rain. An object of religious pilgrimage for wandering ascetics as early as the Kamakura period, it gradually developed as the center of mountain worship and the Shugendō sect in the Kantō region. By the Edo period, the so-called Ōyama Pilgrimage (*Ōyama mairi*) to Afuri Shrine on its peak and the Daisanji Temple just below had become popular among the religious from Edo and the surrounding provinces, particularly during the mountain’s festival days from 6.28 to 7.17 in the summer.

Shinkei’s abode was on the southeastern foothill, at a place called Ishikura. Whatever his reactions were to the battles that had forced him from his cottage by the thriving harbor of Shinagawa, the deep natural seclusion of Mount Ōyama accorded perfectly with that eremitic lifestyle that had long been for him an object of longing. Such is manifest in his long rhapsodic description of his new surroundings in *Oi no kurigoto*, following the opening passage quoted earlier in Chapter 4. He evidently came to the mountain as to a place of refuge, putting behind him the worldly sorrow and the tragedy in whose service he had long dedicated his poetry.

Up to five years did I pass, suspended as it were within a dream in a temporary lodging. Then to make matters worse, from around the Third Month of this year [1471], battles became more frequent even in Azuma. The din of bows and rattling quivers filled the air as the enemies punished each other until the whole place turned into a living hell, a virtual mountain of blades and forest of swords. Feeling more than ever as if my body would break beneath the anxieties of exile, I yearned for some refuge far beyond the reach of the world’s miseries, a crevice between the rocks, a mossy cranny where I could heal my spirit for a while. At last, after some searching I found in the interior of Sagami Province, at a place called Ishikura in the foothills of Mount Ōyama, a temple covered deep with many years’ moss.

“In such a place indeed—” I thought, approaching with hesitant steps, and oh, what I beheld was of such wonder that words failed me; it was a realm beyond heaven and earth, such as would surely enchant even the saints and sages who truly love the mountains and find joy in the waters. To the west, solitary peaks towered steeply against the sky, slender pines and cedars stood in long rows along their slopes and hid the slanting sun. A blue cliff some three hundred meters high followed a jagged course down to where I stood, its overhanging ledges overspread with natural mossy beds. All around, the bamboos grew clear green, and from the vague outlines of their foliage at dusk came the quiet murmur of birds. I could almost believe that I had wandered into the gardens of Tzu-yu and Le-t’ien, or the immortal realms into which Wang Chih or Fei Chang-fang had been transported.<sup>11</sup> It was verily a place to soothe the sorrows of old age, heal travel-weariness. Aged with moss was the temple’s main hall; its altar platform was sagging, and its cypress-bark roof torn; along the eaves, only ferns and pine seedlings grew to their heart’s content. When the wind blowing down from the mountain shook open the doors, the tinkling of the jeweled ornaments drifted through the blinds, and the faint echo of the bell from the distant peak cut clear into one’s soul. Nothing at all detracted from the moving quality of the scene.

Near the southern face of the mountain, a branch shrine to the gods of Kumano had been built within the ancient shade of beech and oak trees. In the stillness over the slender mossy path, a godly presence seemed to hover. Outside the gate, cypresses, cedars, and flowering trees stood in rows on both sides, stretching far into the distance. A long river wended its way down, its waters leaping and falling in clear springs laving the moss and washing the shifting pebbles to a gleaming smoothness.<sup>12</sup> Across this stream an old bridge tilted precariously to one side, its steps crooked as wild geese in flight, and I fancied that the fabled bridge over Tiger Ravine in China must have been just so.

Gazing east, one sees bright meadow fields spreading out into the distance where the blue hills rise. All kinds of autumn flowers bloom upon those meadows; glistening with dew at morning, at evening astir with the plaints of insects, they are a sight to break one's heart. To the north a great peak bores through the azure heaven.<sup>13</sup> Smoky clouds and mist would sometimes froth upward to graze the sky, and in the ensuing darkness of falling rain, one feels as if a black dragon had coiled itself around the earth. By those distant foothills, one can see a straw hut in the middle of rice fields, humble eaves huddled together in lone villages; here an old man would be plowing the fields, and there a boy picking the nuts fallen from the trees. The woodcutter sings a rustic ditty as he pulls his oxcart down the hill, and the notes of a grass-reaper's flute as he wends home with his horse echo cold and faint in the distance.

At sunset as I stood lingering on the old bridge, the moon's reflection suddenly appeared on the river, and in the silver waves of its light I felt washed clean of all the dust of the world. Far into the night in the vine-covered cell cave, the sound of the mountain wind shaking the pines tore apart the dream of a myriad forms.<sup>14</sup> Truly the aspects of the scenery move one to feelings too deep for thought, as though one were listening to the night rain of Hsiao-hsiang and Lu-shan, or marveling at the moon over Tung-t'ing Lake.<sup>15</sup>

And so day followed night in rapt contemplation. In the meanwhile, the head priest of the temple began to converse with me about poetry. Not satisfied with studying the flower of the Buddhist Dharma and sitting in Zen meditation before the moon, he is also searching for gems along the shores of Waka Sea with a devotion by no means shallow. After discussing Buddhism by the blue lamplight beneath a crescent moon, he would proceed to record my comments, worthless though they are as the soil from the salt-seaweed or the withered needles of the pine. He questions me with such minuteness it is discomfiting. And so, while wondering at the karma that has brought me here, and unable to refuse him, I respond to his inquiries with references to the Ten Styles and other things of which I know none too well and understand even less. I have no doubt that not one of my words strikes anywhere near the truth of the matter. Nonetheless, apart from the ears of a passing bird or deer, there are none to take offense at such conversations in a moss-grown abode deep in the valley. We are merely unburdening our thoughts as a means of passing a lonely and quiet existence. (*Oi*, pp. 410-12)

With this essay, Shinkei finally joins the literary-aesthetic and, more important, the philosophical tradition of Taoist and Buddhist recluses living in isolated mountain groves apart from the worldly and profane, pursu-

ing a life of inner freedom and oneness with nature. Here we have left the Confucian realm of poetry as a witness to the moral life of the state, the concept undergirding Shinkei's work in the laments mode. The realm of reclusion inscribed in this essay places it in the history of the *zuihitsu* genre between the *Hōjōki* and Bashō's *Genjūan no ki* (1690).<sup>16</sup> It is one represented in Shinkei's waka by the selections translated in Part Two, "One Hundred Poems," of this book. Some will say that it is in those poems that Shinkei's spirit found its home ground, and they would not be wrong. But these poems are best appreciated against the knowledge of the tensions animating the life. The point is that reclusion defines a mental space held in taut opposition to the pressures of the external world. It is a realm where man knows and confronts his solitude precisely because he has experienced the otherness of the mundane. Reclusion has no meaning apart from this existential tension.

Shinkei clearly felt an affinity with Kamo no Chōmei and his appealing description of his hermitage in the *Hōjōki*, a text whose presence we have already noted in *Hitorigoto*. But the liberal Chinese allusions mark Shinkei's work as a product of its age and indicate that he was as much influenced by the literati ideal depicted in continental poetry, painting, and anecdotal literature. The scenery of the foothills of Mount Ōyama is depicted as the site of an unexpected homecoming after the hardships of war and exile. Here the disembodied spirits of ancient pure "saints and sages who truly love the mountains and find joy in the waters" waited as it were to welcome him into the shared vision of a paradise "beyond heaven and earth"; he feels as if he has "wandered into the gardens of Tzu-yu and Le-t'ien, or the immortal realms into which Wang Chih and Fei Chang-fang had been transported." In the *Meng Ch'iu* (J. *Mōgyū*), Tzu-yu (Wang Hui-chih, d. 388) is depicted as a man who found the duties of public office irksome and insisted on behaving with natural freedom and spontaneity. Once when he was temporarily staying at an abandoned house, he immediately had bamboo trees planted in the garden. Asked the reason for this eccentric behavior, he burst out in song, and pointing to the bamboos replied "How can I live even a day without this dear friend?"<sup>17</sup>

Le-t'ien (J. Rakuten) is the poetic appellation of the T'ang poet Po Chū-i (722–846); although the clear green bamboos in Shinkei's new abode almost certainly called up the reference to Tzu-yu, the source of the allusion to "Le-t'ien's garden" is not clear. However, it is highly probable that Shinkei had in mind the scenery around Po's cottage on Mount Lu (Lushan), the great Buddhist center in Chiu-chiang, Chiang-hsi Province. Po was banished to a minor post in Chiu-chiang from 815 to 819, during which his mountain cottage proved to be a great solace. In a letter to a lifelong friend, the poet Yüan Chen (779–831), in 817, he wrote:

This is the second reason for my peace of mind. In the autumn of last year I began making excursions into the Lu Shan and found a spot between the two Forest Monasteries [the Tung-lin and Hsi-lin Temples] just under the Incense-Burner Peak, where the clouds and waters, fountains and rocks were more lovely than at any other place in the mountain. The situation delighted me so much that I built myself a cottage there. There is a group of high pine trees in front of it and a fine cluster of tall bamboos. I have covered the walls with green creepers and made paved paths of white rock. A stream almost encircles it and I have a waterfall at my very eaves . . . everything that has always given me pleasure is to be found in this place. I forget all about going home and would be content to stay here till the end of my days.<sup>18</sup>

Pines, bamboos, and a clear stream around a mountain abode where Po would “be content to stay . . . till the end of my days”—the similarities between these and Shinkei’s evocation of his final retreat at Ōyama are striking. Unlike some of the Gozan Zen monks of the period, Shinkei had never been to China. The superimposition of Lu-shan upon a Japanese topography is generated wholly by a sense of kinship—necessarily a self-ironic one—with the minds of the Chinese poets as he encountered them through their writings. It occurs twice more in the *Oi no kurigoto* passage when the crooked bridge over Ōyama River becomes associated with “the fabled bridge over Tiger Ravine” and the experience of hearing the sound of the mountain wind late at night in the eremitic cell, which “moved one to feelings too deep for thought,” is compared to “listening to the night rain of . . . Lu-shan” in an allusive reference to Po Chü-i’s famous poem.

Hu-hsi, the “Tiger Ravine,” was located below the Tung-lin Temple on the slopes of Lu-shan and celebrated for the anecdote known as “the three laughs at Tiger Ravine.” The famous monk Hui-yüan (334–416), who lived in the monastery and had never crossed the bridge over the ravine, was once visited by the poet T’ao Yüan-ming and the Taoist scholar Liu Hsiu-ching. On seeing them off, he inadvertently crossed the bridge, and a tiger roared below. Hearing this, the three friends realized that he had just broken his religious vow of never setting foot beyond the monastery and, looking at each other, broke out in peals of laughter. Recorded in the *Lu-shan chi* in 1072, the anecdote of the three laughs was especially popular with the Sung poet Su Tung-po (1026–1101) and his circle of littérateurs and artists.

In Japan the story became a favorite theme in painting and poetry during the Muromachi period, particularly among the Zen monks of the Gozan temples. Simply put, it was taken to signify the intrinsic unity among Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism; the spontaneous laughter of the three sages implied freedom from narrow intellectual and formal restraints, as well as the higher all-encompassing principle of non-discrimination.<sup>19</sup> In this sense, Shinkei’s allusive reference to the bridge over Tiger Ravine

merges with the images of the Buddhist moon and the wind that tears apart “the dream of a myriad forms” in the climactic paragraph that begins “At sunset as I stood lingering on the old bridge, the moon’s reflection suddenly appeared on the river, and in the silver waves of its light I felt washed clean of all the dust of the world.” Mediated by allusions to a whole literature of reclusion and mental liberation, Shinkei’s poetic evocation of a spiritual homecoming traces an inner landscape wholly in contrast to the image of a raging conflagration that opened his account of the history of the age in *Hitorigoto*.

The rest of the essay is a succinct summary and refinement of the critical principles first set forth eight years earlier in *Sasamegoto*, which is as Shinkei intended it. “A long time ago, at the request of some renga amateurs I wrote the two-volume work *Sasamegoto* on just such matters as one should attend to regarding the Way. As this is but a rough summary of those incoherent generalities, strictly speaking it is nothing but tedious prattle” (*Oi*, p. 421). This postscript is the source of the title *Oi no kurigoto* (“Old man’s prattle”). Despite Shinkei’s tiresome humility, it is a most valuable work because it represents his distillation of the earlier treatise from the perspective of what he had thought and experienced since then. A relevant example is that the “ten virtues” (*jittoku*), which he had formerly held a renga poet should possess, including such factors as learning, calligraphic skill, and even social position, are here reduced to only three: *suki*, a compelling attraction for renga as an artistic pursuit; *dōshin*, dedication to renga as a Way, which is to say as a search for authentic being; and *kanjin*, tranquil solitude. They represent the three essential aspects of Shinkei’s concept of renga: as art, as religious philosophy, and as lifestyle.

It need scarcely be said that his description of life in his Mount Ōyama retreat partakes of a certain poetic idealization, as any literary rendering would. In reality the area was not as isolated as we might imagine from *Oi no kurigoto*. As mentioned earlier, it was frequented by the wandering ascetics of the Shugendō sect; the presence of the sacred Kumano Shrine, which Shinkei locates “within the ancient shade of beech and oak trees” where “a godly presence seemed to hover,” attests to this fact. This Kumano Shrine was a branch of the one in Kii, which was likewise a popular Shugenja retreat; as noted earlier, Shinkei led a *senku* there with Hosokawa Katsumoto and Dōken in the old days. Modern scholarship has established that the old moss-covered temple where he lived was the Jōgyōji, built in 1201 through the behest of Hōjō Masako (d. 1225), wife of the first shōgun in Kamakura, Minamoto Yoritomo.<sup>20</sup> With such exalted antecedents, the temple would have been maintained and even restored for generations, although it is of course plausible that by 1471 it had, as Shinkei describes it,

fallen into a dilapidated state. Rebuilt for the Ōbaku Zen sect in 1683, Jōgyōji existed until 1904, when its main image was transferred to a temple in Odawara.

Barely a kilometer west of the Jōgyōji was the Kazuya-kan, the mansion and stronghold of Ōta Dōshin's overlords, the Ōgigayatsu branch of the Uesugi. It was occupied at the time by Uesugi Masazane (d. 1473) and his heir, Sadamasa (1442–93). The proximity of the temple to the Uesugi mansion confirms what has been suggested earlier, that Dōshin arranged for Shinkei's retirement there. Indeed, some of Shinkei's hokku from the Ōyama years were certainly composed during renga sessions held in the Kazuya Mansion.

In the *Azuma gekō*, the Ōyama period is represented by the last twenty-eight hokku, dating from autumn 1471 to autumn 1472. For a period covering five seasons, they are quite few compared to those of previous years, an indication of the scarcity of renga enthusiasts in the vicinity and further evidence that Shinkei was indeed in retirement. Many of these hokku are fascinating in that the landscape described in *Oi no kurigoto* can be seen refracted through the various seasons and rendered with an immediacy of poetic sensation only occasionally discernible beneath the somewhat ornate surface of the essay's sinified parallel-prose style.

619	kaze orosu yama matsu aoshi yuki no niwa	As winds sweep down the mountain, blue the pines— a snow-heaped garden.
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From his first winter in Ōyama, hokku no. 619 is a chill and vivid contrast between the rows of blue pines on the mountain slope and the mounds of white snow deposited by the storm winds on the garden below. The contrastive juxtaposition, effected through a medial caesura, is as typical of Shinkei's procedure as the subtle time shift, in this case from the instant the wind sweeps down the snowflakes on the pine branches in the first two lines to the final still moment achieved with the arrival to line 3. The verse is a simultaneously dynamic and minimalist rendering of the cognitive experience of phenomena through a dialectic of motion and stillness.

621	hana mo mada tōyama komoru yukino kana	Flowers too still quietly secluded in far mountains: a snowy meadow.
622	ta ga sumeru sakai zo ochi no muranagi	Behind its boundary what man is dwelling? Yonder clump of willows.



Composed in the spring of 1472, these two quietly reflective hokku have a quality of "overtones" (*yojō*) distinct from the wholly stark, objective style of 619. The method of juxtaposition, however, is the same; here it is based on a dialectic of presence and absence. What is present before the eye, the snow-covered fields of early spring in 621, is used to evoke what is absent, the flowers that are still to emerge from their winter seclusion in the mountains. Such as it is, the conception is paradoxical and original; are flowers present somewhere else before their actual appearance? Our knowledge that the poet himself is *also* secluded in the mountains (*hana mo*) lends an indefinable pathos to the verse; he himself is self-absent as it were. But it is the feel of spring's remoteness that is crucial. The remoteness is both temporal (*mada*, "still") and spatial (*tōyama*, "far mountains") yet somehow transcends both to evoke a meditation on the ineffable origin of phenomenal presence: within this space of reclusion (the philosophic associations of *komoru*), there is nothing but the blankness of a reflection on emptiness. The *yojō* quality of 622 is of a more personal kind; it evokes the merest suggestion of a curiosity about other people from the isolation of its author's mountain retreat; what is present, the boundary (*sakai*), evokes a fleeting longing for the warmth of ordinary mundane company and a detached sense of loneliness engendered by the soft swaying of the spring willows.

624	tōumi o midori ni yosuru natsuno kana	Distant sea undulating in a green tide— high fields of summer.
632	sumu hito o iro naru aki no ōyama kana	The men who dwell here lend a color to autumn deep in Ōyama.
633	kiri no ha ni yoru no ame kiku ashita kana	From leaves of paulownia, the sound of the night rain in the still morning.
634	asashio ni tsuki mo tōhiku urawa kana	With the tide of dawn, the moon receding far beyond the widening coast.

Hokku 624 is truly a panoramic view. From his elevated vantage point on Mount Ōyama, the poet looks out upon the vivid green fields of mid-summer and the waters of distant Sagami Bay beyond; he then effects a magical connection between background and foreground through a flattening of perspective. The undulating waves of the sea beyond are seen to flow directly into and merge with the greenness of the waving grasses in the foreground.

The same long view appears in 634; the method is also objective, but it is less painterly than “architectonic,” and the effect is more evocative: first, because of the arrestingly apt metaphor, “tide of dawn” (*asashio*), for the way the dawn light sweeps up like a tide over the darkness of the night sky, and second, because this same expression in the common sense of “ebb tide” is then made to resound with the action of the pale moon trailing far behind (*tsuki mo tōhiku*) sight, and with the ebbing waves that gradually open up the shoreline (*tōhiku/urawa*). A singular event, dawn, is analyzed into a network of interdependent moments, the appearance of one causing the disappearance of the other. As distinct from the glittering midday brightness of 624, the feeling of this one is dimly subdued, with a certain remote quality engendered by the moon that recedes ever farther from the poet into the realm beyond.

Obviously intended as a greeting to the members of the session, hokku 632 conjures a colorless autumn deep on Mount Ōyama, whose pines and cedars would have been a far cry from the red maple foliage commonly associated with the season. Here Shinkei graciously expresses his appreciation of the company, who make up through the “color” of their poetic sentiment for what is lacking in the austere natural scenery. A second, more “Shinkei-like” reading would take “color” to mean phenomenal form, and the deep, “colorless” mountain recesses as the symbol of the formless realm of noumena that is simultaneously the source of form. On this level, what is being praised is the minds of the men, recluses all, as various external manifestations of the one undifferentiated Buddha-mind.

Hokku 633 is, like 634, a profoundly moving verse, perhaps even more impressive in its masterly technique. Awakening at dawn, the poet listens to the occasional trickle of raindrops caught and left behind on the large leaves of the paulownia trees. It is difficult to pinpoint precisely the appeal of this verse; behind the fresh coolness of a morning after the rain, one senses the mind’s ear listening to a soundless voice, the mysterious trace of a phenomenon that came and went unnoticed in the dark of night. It exemplifies the final phase of Shinkei’s poetic style: an artlessly (artfully?) simple surface that conceals an ineffable depth (*yūgen*) of feeling or thought that is ultimately beyond the realm of both art *and* thought.

The year after *Azuma gekō* drew to a close, the priest and renga enthusiast Jun’a came to Ishikura from his native Shirakawa up north to visit the ailing Shinkei. Their association most probably dates from the poet’s trip to Shirakawa Barrier in 1470. At Jun’a’s request, Shinkei made a final selection of his renga verses, the so-called *Jirenga awase* of 3.28.1473.<sup>21</sup> Totaling 300 verses, this collection is arranged as a “personal renga contest”: fifty rounds of hokku and 100 rounds of tsukeku. It includes verses composed in

the capital and in the Kantō (the latest are from 1472) and undoubtedly reflects what Shinkei himself considered his most representative work. From it Sōgi would later choose 101 for inclusion in the *Chikurinshō* and 35 for the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*, fully one-third of Shinkei’s verses in that anthology.

Sōgi himself was back in the capital in 1473, the year that saw the deaths within two months of each other of the chief contenders in the Ōnin War, Yamana Sōzen and Hosokawa Katsumoto. The latter was only forty-three; his influence on Shinkei’s renga activities during those last years in the capital and, through his alliance with Hatakeyama Masanaga, on the fortunes of Jūjūshin’in, had been incalculable. In his own way, and to a far greater extent than his rival Sōzen, Katsumoto played a major role as a generous sponsor and enthusiastic amateur in the poetic milieu of the capital.

In the Kantō the death on 11.24.1473 of the Kazuya Mansion’s lord, Uesugi Masazane, would have impinged on Shinkei’s consciousness with more immediacy. Masazane perished in a battle with Shigeuji’s forces at Ikago, Musashi, the same place where Sōgi had written his first treatise seven years earlier. It is almost certain that the *Hokke nijūhappōn waka* (Waka on the twenty-eight chapters of the *Lotus Sutra*) sponsored by Ōta Dōkan in the Edo Castle the following spring, 1474, was held as a memorial to Masazane. Dōkan felt the occasion important enough to summon Shinkei, already ailing in 1473, from his Ishikura retreat in order to assign the topics for the poems. As recorded in the waka collection *Ungyoku wakashō*, the participants for this event included Tō no Tsuneyori and Kibe Yoshinori (b. 1434?), a Minatomo warrior from Kōzuke who was also a well-known poet in the Kantō and the capital.<sup>22</sup> A Reizei disciple, he had studied with Shōtetsu and was a good friend of Shinkei’s; like Tsuneyori he was at this time encamped with the loyalist forces in Izu. It is possible that Tsuneyori’s relationship with Shinkei was not the most cordial. The *Ungyoku wakashō* account of the event, quoted below, suggests that Tsuneyori disapproved of Shinkei’s role in the meeting.

When Dōkan decided to have waka on the twenty-eight chapters [of the *Lotus Sutra*] composed at Edo Castle in Musashi, [Kibe] Yoshinori was in Izu, and so he asked Shinkei to assign the topics for the poems. Then Tsuneyori arrived and declared that when the Asukai family was asked to assign the topics during the time of the Lord of Fukōin [the Shōgun Yoshinori], they refused to read them out on the grounds that it was not proper practice. He said further that since the poems would be recited from the lower-ranking upward, the order of the sutra would be reversed, and that such a practice was unknown outside the Reizei family. And so they merely copied out the sutra, composed a few poems, and summoned Yoshinori.<sup>23</sup>

Tsuneyori's objection hinged on the fact that whereas the topics from the first chapter on were assigned in order of descending social rank, the recitation of the poems proceeded the other way, from lower to higher ranks; the order of the sutra would in effect be reversed. In other words, he was concerned about a matter of formal procedure and, more to the point, with the fact that the practice of reading out the poems on the twenty-eight chapters was "unknown outside the Reizei family," that is, not sanctioned by the Nijō-Asukai school to which he himself belonged. As we can see, he won his point, but for Shinkei with his liberal views on matters of rank, rules, and formal procedure, which he thought ultimately extraneous to poetry, such fractious objections were doubtless quite unpleasant, particularly because it would have brought home once again the reality of Nijō dominance in his time. It is, moreover, a strange irony that the same Tsuneyori who had recorded Shōtetsu's criticism of Shinkei's use of radical diction back in 1450 should now, twenty-four years later, be openly challenging his poetic authority in the Kantō.

The circumstances were rather better a few months later on 6.17.1474, when Shinkei acted as judge for a waka contest also held at Dōkan's Edo Castle, but without Tsuneyori. The *Bushū Edo utaawase* (Poetry contest at Edo, Musashi) is the earliest known record of a formal waka contest held in the provinces with local poets as participants.<sup>24</sup> In literary history, it is viewed as an important landmark that signifies waka's coming of age in the East, just as the *Kawagoe senku* had done for renga in 1470.<sup>25</sup> Since both events were held under the leadership of Shinkei, who had himself taught the participants throughout his years in the Kantō, they are the crowning evidence of his major role in the most representative literary development of the Muromachi period—the spread of poetry from the nobility in the capital to the warrior and priestly classes in the provinces. The participants in this contest were, apart from Dōkan and Shinkei, other members of the Ōta family, priests from the nearby temples, and Kibe Yoshinori. Perhaps because he was the judge and sole professional poet in the group, Shinkei gave his three poems the losing mark, an instance of social grace and delicacy so much more striking when we recall his strenuous critical attitude in judging poets of proven caliber, and in contrast to Tsuneyori's fractiousness on the earlier occasion.

Ōta Dōkan formally became a lay monk in 1474 following the death of Uesugi Masazane. As evidenced by his sponsorship of the two poetic events discussed above, like his father, Dōshin, he took a personal interest in the promotion of poetry in Musashi. Said to have been educated by the Zen monks in Kamakura, he was at this period studying waka with Shinkei and would subsequently hold other poetry meetings in his Seishōken Her-

mitage, as reported by Banri Shūkyū in his *Baika mujinzō*. He was, however, also reputed to be the most capable military general of his time, building the Edo stronghold in 1456 and winning successive victories for the Uesugi in their campaigns against Shigeuji.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately the power and prestige that he thus garnered for the Ōgigayatsu Uesugi did not sit well with the rival Yamanouchi branch. Its head, Akisada (1454–1510), later instigated the slanders that in turn led Dōkan’s overlord, Sadamasa (Masazane’s successor), to have him assassinated on suspicion of treason in 1486. The murder took place while Dōkan was staying at the Kazuya Mansion, and he was buried at the Tōshōin, the temple that he had built himself as a chapel for Sadamasa in the Kazuya grounds. It still stands today. In its grounds are Dōkan’s moss-grown gravestone and a memorial tablet to Shinkei.

The waka contest at Edo Castle marked Shinkei’s final public appearance. On the sixteenth day of the Fourth Month in the early summer of the following year, 1475, his weary years of exile finally came to a close in the Ōyama foothills. He was sixty-nine. Virtually nothing is known of his last hours, nor is it known where he is buried. Unlike Bashō, he did not die surrounded by grieving, faithful disciples. No one has left for posterity the kind of moving account that Sōchō wrote about Sōgi’s final moments in Hakone.<sup>27</sup> His achievement, which was at least equal to theirs, lacked popularity, and his life, overshadowed by circumstance, never reemerged into the enduring reincarnations of legend. It was thus a lonely, quiet death, perhaps as befits a man whose spirit represents, according to his first biographer, Araki Yoshio, the loftiest and most desolate peak upon the vast mountain ranges of Japanese poetry.<sup>28</sup>

Written in 1948, Araki’s work is more properly speaking a sensitive and extensive appreciation of Shinkei’s poetry and criticism rather than a biography per se. I have attempted to piece together the life from isolated external references discovered since then and the autobiographical evidence in Shinkei’s own writings. The process of recovery continues. In the archives of the Yūtoku Inari Shrine in Kyūshū, four more hokku have come to light, all bearing the date Bummei 4 (1472) and from their content clearly composed in the winter. Since the *Azuma gekō* ends in autumn 1472, these four represent in effect Shinkei’s final hokku, which he was never able to add to that collection.<sup>29</sup> They were, significantly, discovered together with a section of a renga anthology by Ōgo Norishige, one of the warrior participants in the winter 1468 hundred-verse sequence led by Shinkei and Sōgi. The starkly austere and withered (*karabitaru*) sensibility reflected in them recalls the feeling of the poet’s final years, apart from confirming his own

express opinion that “old age is indubitably the time when the verse that is truly one’s own emerges” (SSG, p. 162).

koe yowashi	A feeble sound.
kuchiba ni kakaru	Decaying leaves beneath the blow
tama arare	of hailstones.

The crisp sound of hail beating upon the bamboo grass of Musashino is a common image in classical poetry; the difference in sound quality between that and the dull thud they make on sodden, decaying leaves here marks the exact nuance of feeling concealed in this hokku.

shimo no ha wa	Leaves of frost:
aki aokarishi	this branch alone shone green
katae kana	through the autumn.

This hokku cannot but recall Shinkei’s numerous rhapsodies on green and gain pathos by comparison. Even on this branch that remained miraculously fresh and green throughout the fall, the winter frost has settled. It is a simple elegy on the sheer will to spiritual clarity finally overcome by mortality and time.

e ya kōru	The inlet about to
sasayaku hodo no	freeze? A rising inaudible murmur
mizu no koe	upon the water.

Like the first hokku, this one is an image concentrated upon the exact quality of a sound that evokes an ineffably remote feeling. More tense than the other (the force of *hodo*), it captures the last extreme moment in the movement toward death, or final silence, through the sound of water about to congeal into ice. *Sasayaku hodo* is paradoxical from a rational viewpoint; it has no counterpart in any sound that we know. Yet it is the brilliant pivot upon which the whole verse turns, and has the effect of magnifying the water’s dying whisper so that it begins to reverberate in the mind. The image is similar to the “sound of the mountain” for the dying Shingo in the great novel by Kawabata, a modern author whose mind was still in touch with the Emptiness of medieval philosophy.

tōyama o	Distant peaks of an
sumie ni niwa no	inkwash landscape: in the garden
karegi kana	bone-withered trees.

The final hokku is a concrete representation of Shinkei’s point of arrival. Clearly the work of an aged poet reading himself into the foreground (*niwa no karegi*) of a sere, wintry landscape, it is yet wholly objective in all its

stark imperturbability. Here near the end all emotion and suffering cease before the clear-eyed contemplation of bare fact.

Perhaps Kenzai was with him to the end; it is certain at least that he was present during Shinkei's last renga session at Ōta Dōshin's Kawagoe Castle, most probably in the spring of 1474 when the poet was in Edo for the memorial for Uesugi Masazane. Kenzai informs us that the following daisan, which Shinkei composed on that occasion, marked "the culmination of his renga in the Kantō" (*Kantō nite renga shitome no ku nari*).<sup>30</sup>

haru no yo nokoru  
shinonome no tsuki

In the remaining spring night,  
the moon in the dawning sky.

kokoro sae  
honomeku hana no  
kage ni nete

My very soul  
a glow enkindled, I lie beneath  
the flowers' shadow.

Why Kenzai chose to designate this as Shinkei's last among all the others that he must have composed for this hundred-verse sequence is evident from its content. The verse is a moving figurative expression of his teacher's undimmed and boundless nostalgia for beauty, which is to say, poetry. We will recall that Shinkei saw *en* or beauty as the heart's flower, a spiritual radiance; here it is expressed as "a glow enkindled" (*honomeku . . . kage*) in the sensitive soul in response to phenomena. A delicate yet ardent glimmer of longing stirs in the poet's soul as he awakens in the shadow of flowers dimly emerging in the half-light of dawn. Evoking the ineffableness of the longing for beauty, this verse is indeed a fitting swan song for Shinkei as pure lyric poet—apart, that is, from his other image as moralist and critic, which is just as essential a part of his poetic achievement.

The flowers of poetic inspiration as imaged in this verse must have been very much in Kenzai's mind when he composed the following hokku by Shinkei's grave seven years after his death.

Composed in the spring of the fourteenth year of Bummei [1482] during a hundred-verse sequence held by the grave of the former Jūjūshin'in, Bishop Shinkei.

chirinishi mo  
hana wa mata saku  
kono yo kana

As for the flowers,  
scattered, they bloom once more:  
this our world.<sup>31</sup>

And perhaps some of the members of that last session in the spring of 1474 were also present at Shinkei's grave in another springtime. Five years later Kenzai again led a memorial session, this time for the important thirteenth-year anniversary.

From the hundred-verse sequence invoking the Buddha's name in memory of Bishop Shinkei's thirteenth death anniversary on the twelfth day of the Fourth Month, nineteenth year of Bummei [1487].

natsu no yo no  
yumeji sugiyuku  
tsukihi kana

Along the trail of a  
summer night's dream, the fleeting  
suns and moons . . .<sup>32</sup>



PART TWO



*Gems of the Mind-Heart*

A Shinkei Reader





## Hokku and Tsukeku

This section consists of an annotated selection of hokku and tsukeku by Shinkei mainly from the official renga anthology of 1495, the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*. It generally excludes pieces, mostly hokku, already discussed in the preceding literary biography and devotes greater space to his tsukeku. Muromachi-period commentaries, including Shinkei's own, are translated here as a valuable source for the way the verses were read in their own time. The contemporaneous existence of exegetical and poetic practice in renga is one of its unique aspects and reflects upon the nature of the verse itself as both a reading (of the maeku) and a writing; in that sense it may be said to represent the elevation of hermeneutic practice to poetic art.

Now known as *kochū* or *kochūshaku*, these “old commentaries” were written by renga masters on their own work as well as on that of their famous predecessors. Their aim was practical; it was to instruct their disciples and other aspiring practitioners in the methods of verse composition based on a study of actual models. The ability to establish an effective connection with the maeku was, needless to say, the first requirement for a renga poet. Consequently these exegeses focus on explaining the nature of the link between two verses and only occasionally venture into the realm of aesthetic judgment. They constitute readings that are in effect answers to the implicit question—given such and such a maeku, how did the poet manage to deal with it? In the case of hokku, the primary concern was to clarify the verse's meaning, particularly the way it alludes to the season, place of composition, and specific occasion. This reflects the fact that the inscription of the session's actual context was a formal requirement in composing hokku.

Apart from Shinkei's own self-annotations (*jichū*), the line of commentarial activity on his verses naturally stem from the works of his two

foremost students, Sōgi and Kenzai. This is true not only of Shinkei's work but that of the other seven sages as well, for they constituted the model texts for Sōgi's consolidation of the orthodox style. He compiled the *Chikurinshō*, the first anthology of the seven poets' verses, sometime in or before 1478.<sup>1</sup> The following year, 1479, he wrote *Oi no susami*, which gives excellent analyses of 54 selected tsukeku from the *Chikurinshō*, then cites (without individual commentary) 101 verse examples of the ideal style and 110 of a slightly less superior or refined style, all culling from the same anthology.<sup>2</sup> The *Chikurinshō no chū*, Sōgi's annotations on 55 hokku and 347 tsukeku, is undated but believed from internal evidence to be slightly earlier than *Oi no susami*. Sōgi wrote *Yuki no keburī*, on 26 hokku and 88 tsukeku, in 1482, apparently with the intention of giving the verses a more reflective and nuanced reading.<sup>3</sup> The *Chikurinshū kikigaki*, an undated text, is closely related textually to the *Chikurinshō no chū* and may be said to belong to the Sōgi line of transmission as well.

The Kenzai line of transmission is represented by *Chikubun* (Notes on the *Chikurinshō*), brief comments on 246 hokku and 1,192 tsukeku as recorded by a disciple, Kenten, from Kenzai's lectures in 1503 in Aizu.<sup>4</sup> There is also the *Keikandō*, Kenzai's commentaries on 60 tsukeku by the seven sages and Sōgi, classified according to three stages of poetic practice (beginning, middle, and advanced) based on Shinkei's explanations.<sup>5</sup> In addition to these sources, I include comments from other old critical texts when they have something to say on the verse in question. The *Goku Shibakusa*, Shinkei's self-annotations written for the young Kenzai in Aizu, is cited and described in the preceding section. Unless otherwise indicated, the text and numbering of the verses follow Ijichi Tetsuo's abridged, annotated edition of the *Shinsen Tsukubashū* in *Rengashū*. I also give the corresponding number in the complete edition of the *Shinsen Tsukubashū* (*STKBS*) by Yokoyama Shigeru and Kaneko Kinjirō. Selections from the *Chikurinshō* follow the text and numbering in the *SNKBT* edition, and those from Shinkei's own personal collections the *Shinkei sakuhinshū* (*SSS*) edition. My own discussion of the verses utilize the Muromachi annotations as a starting point for analyzing critical issues both in Shinkei's works and in renga in general; it aims to provide the discursive framework by which the specific poetry of the renga link may be appreciated in our own time.

## Spring Hokku

205 *STKBS* 3604. "Among hokku on early spring."

yo wa haru to  
kasumeba omou  
hana mo nashi

When all the world turns  
hazy with springtime, mind is  
empty of flowers.

*Yuki no keburu* 3: When spring comes, one naturally longs for the flowers, yet absorbed in the atmosphere of that moment when all the world is hushed in tranquillity and the haze rises to float about everywhere, then one can say that “there is not one thought of flowers [*omou hana mo nashi*].”

*Chikubun* 1197: Shinkei had a [hidden] intention in this verse. While it is the usual thing to look forward to the flowers when spring comes, there is a satisfaction to be had before them. He is saying that this exceptionally nebulous landscape covered over with haze is not a whit inferior to flowers.

As implied in both the *Sōgi* and the *Kenzai* line of old commentaries, the effect of this hokku hinges upon the last clause, *omou / hana mo nashi* (lit., “there is not one thought of flowers”). The statement that the longing for flowers is wholly absent from the observer’s thoughts heightens the impact of the haze-veiled scene, which is so tranquil and absorbing that all anticipation of the coming flowers is swept away before it.

The negation *mo nashi* in the last line occurs so frequently in Shinkei’s poetic diction as to constitute a distinctive mannerism.<sup>6</sup> He uses it to underscore the impact of what is present by reference to the absence of something else commonly associated with it. An even better example is *Azuma gekō* 469:

musashino ya  
kaya ga samidare  
kaze *mo nashi*

Musashino Plain—  
dripping reeds in summer rain,  
motionless the air.

Here the statement of the wind’s absence (*kaze mo nashi*) opens the mind wholly and solely to the wetness of the reed stalks and the sound of dripping until it begins to reverberate across the vast space of the plain. This hokku is more effective since all trace of ratiocination has been erased from it. The diction is terser, and the mind so concentrated on the object as to become one with it. One can sense that this is the ultimate point at which Shinkei arrived in his experiments with *mo nashi* within the context of his theory of poetic process in *Sasamegoto* as “deep thought” (*chinshi*) or “a discipline in the mind-ground” (*shinji shugyō*) that aims to destabilize the subject-object dualism.

Araki Yoshio, the first to observe Shinkei’s striking use of *mo nashi*, and indeed the first to raise several other critical parameters for the study of his poetry, sees it as an expression of his philosophical aesthetics of the “chill and reduced” (*hiyase*): “Shinkei, who through the symbolism of desolate phenomena had probed the depths of the sense of the chill and icy, the cold and slender, now sought to evoke its utmost limits through the rhetoric of absolute negation [*zenteki hitei*].” After citing twenty-three examples of Shinkei’s use of *mo nashi*, he concludes that the expression is a technique “for emphasizing something else on the other side of this absolute nega-

tion.”<sup>77</sup> This is the same as saying that such verses represent an affirmation based on a negation. It is, I believe, unquestionable that in this Shinkei was influenced by the rhetorical procedures of Buddhist thought, particularly of the Zen *kōan*, which deliberately baffles logic and confounds reality and illusion in order to show up the relativity of such distinctions.

Some of Shinkei’s *mo nashi* verses are in fact rather obscure at first reading.

*Azuma gekō* 545

asatori no	Morning birds
kasumi ni nakite	crying through clouds of haze,
hana <i>mo nashi</i>	there are no flowers.

*Goku Shibakusa* 17: In the nebulous morning the calls of the birds among the flowers sound tranquil. It means that there *are* flowers. (p. 8)

We have already marked Shinkei’s predilection for paradox and the ironic tension created in poetry by the dialectical juxtaposition of terms; the tendency reaches an extreme point here where he expressly states the opposite of what he means. It is obvious why this *hokku* did not make it into either the *Chikurinshō* or the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*; it is more like a Zen *kōan*, an esoteric mantra, or a *dharani* incantation to quell the bifurcating logic of the mundane mind than a poem. And yet it is precisely this gap between presence and absence, this fissure between is and is-not, that is, according to Shinkei himself, the fertile source of the highest kind of poetry. And he did declare that the poem or verse “is the True Word [*darani*] of our country.” The feeling of this *hokku* is similar to the one from the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*, but where the former employs explicit language and mundane reasoning to transmit its meaning, this one deliberately obscures it within a rhetoric of paradox, forcing the reader to shake the words until the truth falls out from the inside, like a seed from a withered acorn. There must, after all, be a compelling reason for saying “there are no flowers” and taking up a whole line in the wholly unprodigal form that is *hokku*.

206 *STKBS* 3609. “Among *hokku* on early spring.”

chiru o miyo	Watch it scatter!
niwa wa tsuyukeki	the garden dewy-moist
haru no yuki	spring snow.

*Chikubun* 1208: It says, watch it scatter as snow in the sky.

Kenzai’s extremely brief comment gets to the heart of the matter. *Tsuyukeki* is a *zeugma* modifying both the garden and the snowflakes; the whole point of the verse is to invite appreciation of the spring snow, which melts as soon as it hits the ground. The dynamics of the stages of cognition are

interesting: the referent of the verb “scatter” is withheld until the last line, while a new thought—the wetness of the garden—intervenes.

We have seen this technique of suspended reference many times in Shinkei’s waka; it fractures the unilinear continuity of the semantic structure in order to bring two thoughts together as a simultaneity rather than a seamless unity. This verse well illustrates the fact that the poetry of hokku, and of the renga link for that matter, consists of a feeling evoked through a cognitive mental process carefully manipulated by the poet. Poetry here is a matter of rendering a familiar sight radically unfamiliar so that it may be seen anew. Yet the point is not so much to render a completed image as such, but rather to initiate an activity of the mind, a mental process provoked by the poet’s calculated breaking up of normal syntax through interruption and fragmentation. The image, in short, is not as important as the mental process itself. Shinkei was a poet who could compose “beautiful” verses when necessary, but beauty of an elegant refinement was to him but a futile thing when divorced from moral and existential knowledge, that is to say, from truth, and that is where he most shows himself a product of the medieval period. Poetry as a process of mental cognition, a figuration of the motion of the mind on its way to grasp the object or, more precisely, to show the mediatedness of the object, is not primarily concerned with beauty.

207 *STKBS* 3633. “When people went on a pilgrimage to the Great Shrine [of Ise] and presented as offering a thousand-verse renga sequence.”

hi no mikage	Sacred light of the sun
hana ni nioeru	suffusing with a fragrant glow
ashita kana	the flowers this morning.

*Azuma mondō*: This hokku is reported to be from a thousand-verse sequence religious offering at the Great Ise Shrine. It strikes me as being a wholly perfect hokku. Since ancient times there must have been numerous hokku composed before this August Goddess, but among them all it is doubtful that any could compare with this one.<sup>8</sup>

*Chikubun* 3148: This hokku is based on the circumstance that the deity is the Sun Goddess. Kenzai said that it lacks a word that would bring out [the honorific prefix] *mi* in *mikage* [rendered as “sacred light”], and that according to Sōgi the author was not particularly attached to this verse.

*Chikurinshū kikigaki* 347: This is in the spirit of gazing upon the tranquil rays of the Great Goddess Amaterasu’s light shining beneficently upon the flowers.

Kenzai’s criticism indicates that he expected a greater emphasis on the sacred, beneficent aspect of the sun’s light; such would have been the case if Shinkei had ended with *miyai kana* (“the shrine precincts”) instead. However, that aspect is already implicit in the double meaning of *kage* as both

“light” and “blessing, protection.” In opting for *ashita kana* for the last line, Shinkei was emphasizing the softness of the morning light as well as the dewy fragrance of the flowers at that time of day; the attribution of such beauty to the Sun Goddess’ beneficence is implicit in the honorific *mi* of *mikage* and the place of composition. It is interesting to note that although Shinkei himself reportedly did not think it special, Sōgi cites it as a model *hokku* precisely for embodying the essence of the circumstances surrounding its composition. The verse has a formality and grace entirely appropriate for the occasion and demonstrates Shinkei’s own dictum in *Sasamegoto* that the style of the *hokku* cannot be predetermined but must vary according to the circumstances of the session itself.

208 STKBS 3656. “Among *hokku* on flowers.”

hana wa tada	The headdress of flowers
kokoro no oi no	only the heart within adorns
kazashi kana	on a withered brow.

*Chikubun* 1241: The verse treats with irony the sentiment of its foundation poem, the one on the bush warbler sewing the flowers for a hat.<sup>9</sup> One might try hard to resemble the flowers, but there is no hiding [the decline of] one’s physical appearance. Thus it says let the heart itself find solace—the intention being to soothe the spirit. This is a verse of which the author was proud, and it is indeed a remarkable one.

*Kokoro no oi no / kazashi* is an intriguingly unnatural yoking of words; one would have expected *oi no kokoro no / kazashi* (“headdress [i.e., adornment] of the aging heart”), yet that would have reduced the verse to a banal statement. As it is, the inverted syntax forces us to read *kazashi* twice to refer to the heart and to old age separately (*kokoro no kazashi* and *oi no kazashi*). The zeugma-like, compressed verbal construction functions to point up simultaneously the incongruity between flowers and an aged man and the soothing effect, nevertheless, of beautiful flowers upon the tired spirits of an old man. Such are the marvelous effects of a complex thought disciplined into the compressed syntax of *hokku* as Shinkei was evolving it in his experimentations. Kenzai’s remark that “the author was proud” of this verse, taken with his previous observation that he “was not particularly attached” to the *hi no mikage* *hokku*, seems to confirm Shinkei’s manifest liking for the challenge of the difficult. Kyorai, Bashō’s disciple, would later compose a *hokku* strikingly similar to this one in spirit, but with the irony modified by the humorous flavor of *haikai*.

hanamori ya	The flower warden—
shiroki kashira o	drawn to his charges joins
tsukiawase	his white-haired crown.



209 STKBS 3667. "Among hokku on flowers."

kinō mishi	The blossoms I saw
hana ka tori naku	yesterday? Murmur of birds
asagasumi	in the mists of dawn.

*Azuma mondō*: As distinct from the preceding [*hi no mikage* hokku], this one is marked by an inventive skill; its feeling is of a gentle refinement. This and the others may be called the best hokku of our time. (p. 220)

*Chikubun* 1258: It says, do they sing among the blossoms invisible in the morning mist?

The "inventive skill" cited by Sōgi refers to the handling of a pair of images, birds and blossoms, that traditionally occur together in poetry and painting. Withholding the flowers from actual presence has the paradoxical effect of recalling their loveliness to memory, and the whole scene of early dawn and floating mists thereby acquires a gentle, evocative quality.

210 STKBS 3668. "Among hokku on flowers."

chiru hana ni	In dazzling cascade
asu wa uramimu	of petals now, 'tis no wind to
kaze mo nashi	resent on the morrow.

*Goku Shibakusa* 20: Resent it as one may, one ends up forgetting how terrible is the wind when the heart is enraptured by the flower petals scattering in glorious confusion. Even though by the following morning, when the flowers are all fallen, no doubt one will blame it for being cold and cruel. (p. 8)

*Chikubun* 1259: [An allusion to] the poem, "in a hazy mist the flowers scatter." One gazes at them heedless of tomorrow's regret, so arresting is the present moment.

Here again, Shinkei's technique of bringing together two thoughts to act against each other in the mind is evident. Against present intoxication, he sets the sobering thought of tomorrow, when the wind, having scattered all the flowers, will be blowing again but with a keen sense of regret: this is what the puzzling *asu wa uramimu / kaze mo nashi* (" 'tis no wind to / resent on the morrow") implies. Again, one may blame the wind tomorrow, but the rapture was fully shared by the viewer, and so must the loneliness be as well. It is also possible to read *kaze mo nashi* as "there will be no wind"; in this case the image of a wind that is "invisible" without the whiteness of falling petals becomes paramount. The whole verse is informed by an irony that emerges only by reflecting on what the odd last line really means.

211 STKBS 3671. "From renga at Toganoo."

chiru hana no	Even the snow of
yuki sae samuki	falling petals is chill—
miyama kana	deep in the mountain.

*Chikubun* 1265: One should not suppose that there is real snow before one's eyes here.

According to its preface in the *Chikurinshō*, this hokku was composed “during a session sponsored by Hosokawa Katsumoto at Toganoo.” Toganoo in the mountains north of the capital is the site of the Kōzanji, the temple founded by the famous priest and poet Myōe (1173–1232). The effect of this hokku may be described as a juxtaposition of *sabi* and *en*: to a mind disciplined in the renunciation of illusory feelings and passions, the image of pale, fallen petals nevertheless evokes a keen sensation of beauty in the very image of transience. The chill is an affect of renunciation; it opens a chink, quickly suppressed, in the otherwise placid surface of a Buddhist mind. The image of scattering petals is normally one of romantic ethereality; its occurrence with the ontological negation that founds the *sabi* aesthetic of existential loneliness is a primary characteristic of Shinkei's most profound poetry. The following hokku is similar.

*Chikurinshō* 1639. “From a flower-viewing session at the place called Daigo Jakuseidani.”

chiru hana no	So quiet one can hear
oto kiku hodo no	the sound of petals falling—
miyama kana	deep mountains.

*Chikurinshō no chū* 367: This hokku is especially interesting because it was composed at Daigo Jakuseidani. It says that the deep mountain is so tranquil it feels as if one can hear the sound of falling petals; it is in the mode of giving a heart to flowers. Perhaps it was inspired by the [Chinese] poem that says “Listening to the silence as quietly flowers fall to earth. . . .”

*Chikubun* 1264: “Listening to the silence as quietly flowers fall to earth . . .,” so it is said, but here the silence is such that one can hear their sound.

*Chikurinshū kikigaki* 349: This is because it was in the Jakusei valley, in the remote interiors west. [As a poem says] “A fine rain moistens my robe in the vague light, I listen to the silence as quietly flowers fall to earth.”

The place-name Daigo Jakuseidani means “valley of the profound tranquillity of the fifth stage,” the realm of the wholly illumined mind in Buddhism. Thus, nearly all the texts emphasize how appropriate the hokku is to the place of composition. In Shinkei's lexicon, and no doubt generally at that time, *miyama* (deep mountain) is a sacred site of reclusion, that inner space of profound solitude and tranquillity that is the ideal goal of Buddhist meditation. All the commentaries assume that the hokku is an allusive variation on the line they quote from a Chinese poem, an indication of the currency of Chinese poetry, particularly Zen-inspired Sung poetry, at this time. There is no doubt that Shinkei was a great admirer of the Chinese

poets; in his critical writings he encourages renga practitioners to read them particularly for their loftiness of spirit and the “chill and thin” quality of their words, evidence enough that his own valorization of the reduced and attenuated was influenced by his reading of the Sung poets, as was his partiality for the particular symbolism of the plum blossoms. It was the T’ang poet Tu Fu (712–70), however, whom he considered the greatest of Chinese poets; indeed his own persona as a poet of the elegiac mode and witness of the tragedy of his age was crystalized, consciously or unconsciously, I believe, by his sympathetic identification with this poet who lived through the An Lu-shan rebellion.<sup>10</sup>

212 STKBS 3673. “Among hokku on falling flowers.”

hana ochite	The flowers gone,
ozasa tsuyukeki	bamboo grasses rank with dew—
yamaji kana	the mountain trail.

*Goku Shibakusa* 18: As long as the flowers remain, even the thick dew on the bamboo grasses quickly disappears in the ceaseless passage of people on the mountain trail. But when the flowers have all fallen and the human shadows gone, upon the grass only the dew remains as thick as before. (p. 8)

*Chikurinshō no chū* 368: In the constant coming and going of people when the flowers were in bloom, no dew remained on the bamboo and other grasses beneath them. But now that the flowers have fallen and there are no more sightseers, the dew lies thick on the bamboo grass. In the *Shinkokinshū*.<sup>11</sup>

chiri chirazu	With no one to inquire
hito mo tazunenu	whether or not they scatter,
furusato no	in the old village now
tsuyukeki hana ni	the spring wind is blowing
harukaze zo fuku	on the dew-rank flowers.

*Chikurinshū kikigaki* 350: When the flowers are in bloom, crowds of people come and roam together, and there is no dew on the bamboo grass. [SKKS poem above quoted.]

Shinkei’s explanation for the eighteen-year-old Kenzai is certainly thorough, and it is faithfully transmitted and augmented in the two Sōgi-line annotations that follow. Such instances as these give a concrete sense of the pedagogical thrust behind the proliferation of exegetical literature in the Muromachi period, one that saw the ever widening circulation of both classical and contemporary literary texts outside the old aristocracy. Renga is the art of weaving verses together; it is an intertextual poetry as such and also with reference to the whole waka tradition. The commentaries therefore made it a point to inform their audience what old poem or narrative the verse under consideration is alluding to. That the relationship does not have to be one of strict allusive variation is evident here; Sōgi quotes the *Shin-*

*kokinshū* poem only because its conception and feeling are generally similar to Shinkei's hokku, and perhaps to point out the use of the word *tsuyukeki* (dewy) in a different context. For us it is illuminating to mark in the hokku the extreme compression of renga diction and its necessarily greater degree of allusive ambiguity compared to waka rhetoric. This verse has the same classic simplicity and balance of elements exhibited by the *hi no mikage* hokku; its predominant feeling, however, belongs to the realm of *sabi*.

213 STKBS 3677. "Among hokku on spring."

hana ni minu	Unseen among flowers:
yūgure fukaki	the somber depth of evening
aoba kana	on leafy boughs.

*Azuma mondō*: In this hokku as well, the handling of words is of surpassing excellence, evoking a somber loneliness [*sabishiku*]. One senses here the essence of the author's intention. (p. 220)

*Chikubun* 1270: When the flowers were at their height, [one felt that] the twilight was slow to come.

Sōgi's praise of Shinkei's poetic diction here would refer to the extremely elliptical phrase, *hana ni minu* (unseen among flowers), which sets off by contrast the next line, *yūgure fukaki* (evening deep). *Fukaki* in turn functions as a zeugma to modify also the "new green leaves" (*aoba*) in the last line, bringing out both their relative density and their deepening green, compared to the time when there were only white clouds of flowers on the boughs. Sōgi's remark on "the essence of the poet's intention" expresses his perception that the mood of somber loneliness (*sabi*) here constitutes the core of Shinkei's ideal poetic realm.

The *Chikubun* comment does not speak to the essence of the verse; nevertheless, it is useful in understanding the contrast being drawn between the season of the flowers' blossoming and the time thereafter, when the flowers are gone and the boughs coming into thick leaf. Earlier, the whiteness of the cherry blossoms reflected the remaining light so that it seemed that the day was longer and evening came later.

## Summer Hokku

*Chikurinshō* 1660

ame mo mata	Raindrops also
koe naki kiri no	mutely silent, young leaves
wakaba kana	of paulownia.

*Chikubun* 1280: "Season of paulownia leaves falling in the autumn rain"—rain is of the essence [*hon'i*] of paulownia and such.<sup>12</sup>

This is wholly in the mode of objective scene presentation (*keikyoku no tai*), perhaps the freshest among Shinkei's many styles. Typically it is marked by acuity of perception and a minute concentration of effect. As Kaneko observes, the coming together of spring rain and young paulownia leaves in a circle of mute silence is extremely good.<sup>13</sup> There is at once a sensual feel for the softness of the young leaves, the way they are expanding quietly in the soundless rain, and a tactile sense of how the fine drizzle is absorbed into the broad surface of those leaves. The verse recalls Shinkei's love for clear waters and the color green, signifiers of a pure vitality in nature that lie at the opposite pole of his equally celebrated aesthetics of the chill and withered. The two pieces below are in the same vein. In the first in particular, the image is so precisely yet subtly delineated that one can place the time at midmorning, toward noon.

*Azuma gekō* 470

tsuyu yowami  
hi ni nayutake no  
wakaba kana

Dewdrops wane  
drooping languid in sunlight—  
young bamboo leaves.

*Shibakusa kunai hokku* 161

natsu fukami  
kaze kiku hodo no  
wakaba kana

Summer deepens,  
anon the wind audible  
young leaves.

*Goku Shibakusa* 34: In the spring season, among the soft leaves one does not hear the sound of the wind, strong though it may be, but when the summer is well under way and the leaves grown, the wind sounds with a faint stirring. (p. 11)

214 *STKBS* 3699. "Among hokku on summer."

shigeru made  
aki no ha kuchinu  
miyama kana

Till new growth is thick  
autumn leaves unmoldered  
the mountain depths.

*Chikubun* 1283: This means that in the deep mountains the leaves of the past year remain unmoldered until the summer.

The utter simplicity and certitude of the diction of this verse is characteristic of Shinkei's Kantō years, when he gradually discarded the mannered cleverness of many of his poems from the Kyoto period. The earlier tendency toward ratiocinative wit is overcome by conviction of feeling, an authenticity of vision inspired by his new personal experiences as well as the fresh sights of the Kantō region. The profound contrast between the dense summer foliage and the red leaves on the earth, left unaltered from the past autumn—deep in the cold mountains, no one has trampled upon them—constitutes the imagistic node of feeling in this hokku. Between the surging

vitality overhead and the silent gleam of fallen leaves below is a vast temporal space heavy with the reality of time, the difference it has wrought, the unspoken thought that those vital green leaves will also meet with autumn. At the same time the green leaves themselves point up the miraculous vital power in the fallen red leaves that have lain unaltered on the earth through winter and spring.

*Chikurinshō* 1687. “On the Fifth Month rains.”

ame aoshi	Green the rain—
satsuki no kumo no	June clouds clearing in patches
muragashiwa	the oak tree grove.

*Goku Shibakusa* 42: This is the feel of the time when the long rains are finally beginning to clear. All it says is that the clouds are breaking up in patches. It is in the mode of scene presentation [*keikyoku no tai*], which is given over to the feel of a scene just as one sees it at the very moment. (p. 13)

*Azuma gekō* 566

yūdachi wa	Evening shower:
sugimura aoki	a cool green wake of cedars
yamabe kana	the mountain meadow.

*Goku Shibakusa* 43: There are practitioners who think such a verse uninteresting, nothing more than an excuse to say the “evening shower” in the first line. Such a verse presents the fact of the evening shower from beginning to end. The evening shower passes, leaving a trail of greenness in its wake. The “mountain meadow” across which the rain is moving expresses the fact of the rain to the very end. Among Teika’s poems is the following; from first to last it overflows with the feeling of spring. (p. 13)

asa ake ni	In the early dawn,
yukikau fune no	even the look of boats slowly
keshiki made	coming and going
haru o ukaberu	evokes spring in the mind,
nami no ue kana	to float upon the waves. <sup>14</sup>

Shinkei’s commentary to this hokku and the one preceding indicates his consciousness of developing a new style that is wholly trained on capturing the feel of an external scene and does not replicate the traditional ways of handling nature imagery in the poetic lexicon. It might be thought that this new method of grasping the object, “the thing itself” (*yūdachi no koto, ame no koto*), was dictated by the hokku requirement of alluding to the place of composition, but one has only to read other examples from the same period to understand that this was not necessarily the case. Thus it may be said that Shinkei showed the direction in which the hokku would later develop into an autonomous art form by Bashō’s time. The commentaries reveal that the

method is based on a Buddhist ontological approach, in that the object is grasped as its manifestation upon other phenomena. As Shinkei says, “the ‘mountain meadow’ across which the rain is moving expresses the fact of the rain to the very end.” To grasp the rain, one does not focus on the rain as such; one registers its motion, its dynamic interaction with its environment, for it is in the interpenetrability of all phenomena that reality lies.

215 STKBS 3706. “Among hokku on the cuckoo.”

hitokoe ni	In that single cry,
minu yama fukashi	the depths of unseen mountains
hototogisu	—cuckoo!

*Goku Shibakusa* 33: That single cry heard on a still day just as it was evoked the mind of a mountain recluse. The hokku was composed in Musashi Plain. (p. 11)

*Chikurinshō no chū* 373: This is a verse composed in Musashi Plain. It means that at the very instant when all of a sudden he heard that single cry, his mind became one with the feel of the deep mountains.

*Yuki no keburī* 8: *Minu yama fukashi* [rendered “the depths of unseen mountains” above] implies that this session was held in a place where there were no mountains. Hearing that unexpected cry, he felt that his own body had become transported to the remote mountain depths.

*Chikubun* 1294: A hokku composed while in Musashi. It would be uninteresting [were it composed] in a mountainous place. Its feeling is quite profound.

The cry of the cuckoo, heard out in the open plain beneath the summer sun, opens up a deep, fathomless, and cool space symbolic of the mind of a recluse. Piercing through the silence of a hot summer day, the cry is, as it were, a voice from the far side of mundane existence.

## Autumn Hokku

*Azuma gekō* 524

yama no ha ni	Over the mountain rim,
hatsushio wa koe	the first flood tide has crested—
aki no umi	the sea in autumn.

*Goku Shibakusa* 63: The “first flood tide” of the sea here expresses the fact that the mountain colors have been delayed and are late. (p. 17)

The “first flood tide” (*hatsushio*) refers specifically to the midautumn flood tide on the fifteenth of the Eighth Month, night of the full moon. The verse presents a dynamic, architectonic handling of visual space that somehow recalls the famous woodblock print of Mount Fuji glimpsed in the trough of a huge, white-crested wave. Here, however, the cresting tide is

deliberately employed to at once contrast with (the particle *wa* in line two), and summon through resemblance, the “flood tide” of autumn color that should be flowing over the mountain but is in fact absent.

217 *STKBS* 3751. “Among hokku on autumn.”

yanagi chiri	Willow leaves whirl,
karigane samuki	and wild geese’s cries strike
kawabe kana	chill the riverbank.

This is marked by a studied simplicity of diction, an elegant internal rhyme, and a measured syllabic cadence (3-2/4-3/3-2) suggesting a slow, stately dance. The chill sensation in the gusts of yellowed willow leaves, the bareness of the trees pointed up by the piercing cries of the wild geese, is indeed striking. What is evoked is the shift of seasons—the willows are going, while the arrival of the wild geese from the north heralds the coming autumn.

222 *STKBS* 3775

kiku ni kesa	Chrysanthemums at dawn—
kumoi no kari no	ah, for the faint calls of geese
koe mogana	in faraway clouds.

*Goku Shibakusa* 65: It is said that the beauty of autumn is most compelling when wild geese are calling and the chrysanthemums are in bloom.<sup>15</sup> Thus it [the verse] says, if only the wild geese would grace with their calls the chrysanthemums in the dim dawn. (p. 17)

*Chikurinshō no chū* 390: As the poems say, autumn is in the calls of the wild geese and the flowering grasses; since it is the most interesting period of autumn, this time when the chrysanthemums are in bloom, I would hear the first calls of the wild geese as well—so it says.

*Chikubun* 1362: The charm of autumn is said to be in the cries of the wild geese while the chrysanthemums are in bloom. Since this is so, I wish to feel the pleasure of hearing the wild geese too.

The aesthetics here is of the “cold and slender” (*samuku yasetaru*) kind: whiteness of chrysanthemum flowers in the dimness of dawn set off by the faint bird cries. Compared to the acute sensation of coldness in the immediately preceding hokku, this one has a more delicately refined beauty.

*Chikurinshō* 1771

asatsuyu zo	Ah, morning dew.
konoha ni nasanu	Not falling leaves, after all,
sayoshigure	the night rain.

*Goku Shibakusa* 60: During the night I couldn’t distinguish whether it was rain or the leaves, but on waking, I went out and seeing the morning dew realized that it was the rain. (p. 17)



*Chikubun* 1375: What I thought was leaves in the night was actually the rain, I realized, by the dew.

Okami Masao, with Araki Yoshio one of the earliest students of Shinkei's distinctive poetry, characterizes it as marked by "the shadow of an invisible presence" (*minu omokage*); he refers to those verses, many of which we have seen, where something else is evoked from what is present—vision of flowers in the cries of birds or in the somber depth of evening on leafy boughs, mountain depths in the cuckoo's cry, the unheard sound of falling petals, and here falling leaves in the sound of the night rain. He views these—accurately, I believe, given the nature of Shinkei's theory of poetic method in *Sasamegoto*—as manifestations of a contemplative attitude toward nature and experience, an attitude of listening, of "clarifying the mind's ear," ultimately founded, especially in its chill and withered aspect, on the Zen spirit of emptiness (*kūkanteki na zen no seishin*).<sup>16</sup>

218 STKBS 3755

mazu idete  
tsuki ni mataruru  
yūbe kana

With the early  
risen moon, bewaited:  
evening dark.

*Chikubun* 1343 sees the hokku as an allusive variation upon the following poem by Reizei Tamesuke.

kurenu ma ni  
tsuki no sugata wa  
arawarete  
hikari bakari zo  
sora ni mataruru

Before the dark,  
the outline of the moon  
become apparent,  
none but the light is now  
in the sky bewaited!

It is a pleasure to see Shinkei's clever variation on the foundation poem. The net result is the same, but the outwardly different conceit of waiting for the dark, instead of the light, shows much wit. Indeed Shinkei's conception of waiting for the dark (to see the light of the moon) gives an even greater aesthetic satisfaction. And yet that very satisfaction is based on the allusion to the other poem; the intertextual affect is also the site of pleasure.

*Chikurinshō* 1733. "On the moon."

kumoru yo wa  
tsuki ni miyubeki  
kokoro kana

Clouded nights  
must manifest before the  
moon, the heart.

*Goku Shibakusa* 62: How one feels about the moon shows the depth or shallowness of one's sensibility; and it is precisely on clouded nights when it is a shame to be indifferent to the moon drifting through [the clouds in] the sky. (p. 17)

*Chikubun* 1345: It says that it is the very yearning for the moon on a rainy night that shows feeling.

In *Sasamegato*, Shinkei quotes the *Tsurezuregusa* of Kenkō (ca. 1283–1352) thus: “‘Are we to gaze at the moon and flowers with the eye alone? To lie awake anxiously through the rainy night, and stand before the petal-strewn, drenched shadow of the trees, yearning after what has passed, this indeed. . . .’ How profoundly compelling are these words of Priest Kenkō” (*SSG*, p. 178). It was in fact Shōtetsu, Shinkei’s waka mentor, who first recognized the value of *zuihitsu* literature and declared the *Tsurezuregusa* and *Makura sōshi* to belong to the same genre.<sup>17</sup> There is no question that Kenkō’s *mujō*-based aesthetics, the founding of beauty upon the very fact of phenomena’s insubstantiality, struck a deep chord in Shinkei’s own poetic sensibility and influenced as well the valorization of *yojō* (overtones), what is left unsaid, in his criticism. This hokku is rather novel in citing a passage from an old essay and in expressing an idea; one imagines the participants of the session must have recognized the allusion with pleasure.

219 *STKBS* 3768. “From a renga in Azuma where he had already spent several years.”

tsuki ni koi  
tsuki ni wasururu  
miyako kana

A yearning sharpened  
by the moon, dimming before  
the moon: Miyako.

Appearing everywhere most nights of the year, the moon has ever been a symbol mediating between the gazer and the object of his nostalgia, be it the past, a person estranged from himself by time or space, or, as here, a place such as the capital (Miyako), which Shinkei was forced to leave on the eve of the Ōnin War. By its ubiquity the moon is a presence that makes palpable an absence. The same moon, however, is also a Buddhist symbol of emptiness, its transparent light defining a mental space where nothing leaves a trace. In this sense, the moon represents the renunciation of memory, the nullity of trying to recapture what is ineluctably gone. To gaze at the moon in this way is to liberate oneself from the pain of remembrance; to keep faith with the moon is to find in it a solace for earthly suffering. Training the mind on the empty moonlight itself, the object of nostalgia gradually recedes from memory. Shinkei’s hokku is unique in bringing together these dual, contradictory aspects of the symbolism of the moon; the awareness of the duality, moreover, produces a profound ironic tension in the feeling of this verse. Its ultimate meaning lies in the tragic awareness of the emptiness of even the deepest longing.

220 *STKBS* 3769

asashio wa  
hisaki kaze fuki  
hamabe kana

Ebb tide at dawn:  
birches tremulous in the wind  
along the widening shore.

*Chikubun* 1338: The reference is to “beach birches” [*hama hisaki*]; there is a pun on *hi* [in *hisaki*] to mean also that the tide “pulls back.” The author thought highly of this verse.

The identity of the tree called *hisaki* is uncertain; modern commentaries and dictionaries identify it with *akamegashiwa* (red-bud oak) or *kisasage*. The tree is famous from the second of Akahito’s two envois to the Yoshino chōka (*MYS* 923–25); I have followed the precedent set by previous English translations of Akahito by imaging it as the birch. Although *hisaki* appears as one of the entries in Ichijō Kanera’s renga thesaurus *Renju gappekishū*, actual examples of its usage in linked verse are extremely rare.<sup>18</sup> This fact suggests that Shinkei had Akahito’s poem in mind when he composed the hokku; in this connection, we should recall that he also alludes to Akahito’s chōka on Mount Fuji in verse 2 of his 1467 solo sequence (see below, “Cuckoo”). Here the allusion to Akahito’s *MYS* 925 is extremely subtle. Apart from the similar scenery, it is what Gomi Tomohide describes as “the beautifully delicate tremor buried deep beneath his [Akahito’s] tranquil poetry” that relates the two poems otherwise so distant from each other in time.<sup>19</sup> In Shinkei’s hokku, the poetic tremor is evoked by the faint quivering of the *hisaki* leaves as the cool wind sweeps through them in the fresh morning along the beach. In the *Chikurinshō*, the verse appears with the following preface, “At a lodging near the seashore, when he was down in Azuma”—evidence that it is a composition from Shinkei’s Kantō years.

*Shibakusa kunai hokku* 267

hi ni mukau  
kiri mo chiri furu  
ashita kana

Face to the sun,  
mists settle with the dust  
to earth this morning.

*Azuma gekō* 613

hi ya niou  
madaki iro koki  
yamabe kana

Effusion of sunlight?  
how soon the colors have filled  
on the mountain meadow.

*Azuma gekō* 587

aki no hi no  
hikari o wakuru  
miyagi kana

Cleaving  
streams of autumn light—  
shrine cedars.

The sun has somehow not been a major image in traditional waka, and it is a pleasant surprise to discover it in Shinkei’s hokku. In particular the sense of the sun’s aura (*nioi*) as a vital, energizing force can be sensed in all three pieces above and is possibly indicative of the numinous significance of

sunlight in Shintō religious sensibility. It is interesting to note that in Shinkei's waka, it is moonlight that is dominant, for obvious reasons perhaps, given its major place in the whole tradition. At any rate, if one may borrow a Taoist vocabulary, one can say that the sun, pure waters, the vitality of green, of color and light—all these images touched by the living, breathing energy of nature belong to the pole of *yang* in Shinkei's sensibility, whereas the moon and ice belong to the *yin* pole.

*Shibakusa kunai hokku* 272

yama fukashi  
kokoro ni otsuru  
aki no mizu

Mountain recesses—  
falling deep in the soul,  
autumn water.

*Goku Shibakusa* 51: In tranquil solitude in the mountains, the mind is washed clear in the chilling waters of autumn; thus it says that the inner heart and the water are one in the state of clarity. (p. 15)

*Azuma gekō* 434

hi o itamu  
hitoha wa otosu  
kaze mo nashi

Worn in the long suns  
a single leaf is falling  
in windless air.

*Goku Shibakusa* 45: It says *itamu ha* [worn, fatigued leaf] because this leaf, which has been deepening in color since the summer, is falling by itself, even before being blown by the wind. (p. 14)

## Winter Hokku

*Shibakusa kunai hokku* 359

koto no ha ni  
samuki iro sou  
kaze mogana

On my leaves of words,  
may the winds draw forth  
a cold hue.

*Goku Shibakusa* 73: Since even the frost turns to ice in the tree-withering wind, it says: may it draw out and vanquish the warm aspects of my poetry. (p. 19)

This allegorical hokku confirms the symbolism of “cold” in Shinkei’s poetic criticism and practice. “Cold” and all its associated senses in his critical terminology refer to a poetry ineluctably grounded on an apprehension of impermanence and emptiness and produced through a process of intense mental concentration. In terms of poetic rhetoric, it means a purified diction shorn of all ornament, all desire to impress or seduce through the play of language alone, no matter how brilliant or arresting. A “warm” (*atatakanaru*) diction is one where the words, used inauthentically, interpose themselves between the mind and its object, in contrast to the transparency of the other. “Cold” thus ultimately describes the quality of a poetry that is pure expression, beyond the dichotomy of subject and object.

*Shibakusa kunai hokku* 397

yuki usushi  
okabe no take no  
yūzukuhi

Thin snow:  
through hill-slope bamboos  
the sundown.

*Shibakusa kunai hokku* 409

teru hi yoki  
yama no nioi wa  
fuyu mo nashi

Mountains effulgent  
in sparkling rays of the sun—  
here is no winter.

*Shibakusa kunai hokku* 361

sasa kashike  
hashi ni shimo furu  
yamaji kana.

Bamboo grass shriveled,  
and a bridge gripped in frost:  
the mountain trail.

*Goku Shibakusa* 78: This is a verse that aims at the true appearance of the mountain trail. Beneath the trees, between the rocks, the low bamboo grasses are wholly wilted and shrunken; only on a single decaying log bridge the frost has iced over. To imagine water here would be absurd and lacking in sensibility. (p. 20)

A variant of this hokku appears in the *Yamanoue Sōji ki* (1588), which reports that Shinkei composed it at Yoshimasa's request on a tea jar in the shogunal collection called "Abandoned Child" (*Sutego*); the jar had a rough, whitish overglaze that gave the impression of fallen frost. In the same text, we find another reference to Shinkei: "In the renga works of Priest Shinkei, it is said that the style of renga should be withered, shrunken, and cold [*karekashikete samukare to*]. About these words, Jōō always said that the essence of tea should be the same."<sup>20</sup> What might be called Shinkei's aesthetics of reduction, that which is signified by his special use of the terminology of the cold and meager, desolate and withered, refers to a mind that has wholly internalized the Buddhist truths of impermanence and emptiness. On the level of poetic rhetoric, it is manifested in a clarified and economic diction—such as we have been reading in these hokku—a language "reduced" to its absolute bare minimum, without affectation of any kind, eschewing surface beauty or ornament, the better that it may be a transparent medium for the essential quality of the mind and the poetic object.

It is this minimalist aspect of Shinkei's aesthetics that struck a responsive chord in the practice and ideals of *wabicha*. The "chill and withered" realm was there thought to be the ultimate stage of a spiritual practice similar to Shinkei's view of poetic training as a way to arrive at the original ground of the mind and of reality. Formally, this realm is manifest in the deep appreciation of the undecorated, even rough, surface textures and austere design of Bizen and Shigaraki pottery. Such may be gathered in the letter of Murata Jukō (or Shukō, 1422–1502), the founder of *chanoyu* in

the second half of the fifteenth century, to his disciple Furuichi Chōin (1452–1508), a warrior priest and minor daimyō from Nara. Significantly, the same Chōin was the recipient of Kenzai's notes on Shinkei's teachings, the *Shinkei-sōzu teikin*.<sup>21</sup> This fascinating coincidence further confirms Shinkei's crucial influence in the major shift to *wabi* aesthetics that occurred in the history of tea after the Ōnin War.<sup>22</sup>

*Shibakusa kunai hokku* 362

kareshiba ni	On withered brush
shimo no koe kiku	audible the sound of frost
yamaji kana	on the mountain trail.

*Goku Shibakusa* 79: Deep in winter on the mountain trail, the wholly withered clumps of brush are starkly gripped by frost and give a rustling sound [*soyomeku*] like the wind. (p. 20)

*Shibakusa kunai hokku* 375

musubu te ni	Cupped in my hands
nioi wa kobore	a fragrance spilling over—
kiku no mizu	chrysanthemum water.

*Shibakusa kunai hokku* 376

shitaba yuku	Lower leaves drift
sasamizu samuki	on the rippling water, cold
iwane kana	shadow of the rock.

*Shibakusa kunai hokku* 382

fukenuka	Is it so late?
kawaoto samuki	the river sound is cold—
yūzukuyo	moon-risen eve.

226 STKBS 3822. “Among hokku on winter.”

ashizutsu no	Sheer as pith of
usuyuki kōru	reed stalk, thin snow icing
migiwa kana	on marsh edge.

*Goku Shibakusa* 84: *Ashizutsu* is the thin tissue inside the stems of reeds; it expresses a thin transparency. (p. 21)

*Chikurinshō no chū* 397: *Ashizutsu* is the thin tissue inside the stems of reeds, so it is being used to express a thin transparency, perhaps according to common practice.

*Yuki no keburu* 20: *Ashizutsu* is the thinnish white tissue that is found inside the stems of reeds or hollow of bamboos. It is used here wholly to bring out “thin snow” [*usuyuki*]. The mind of this verse embodies the principle of hitting on the right word at the right time.

*Chikubun* 1413: For *ashizutsu* there are various explanations; one theory has it that *tsutsu* means the interval from one node to another. Again, it is said to refer to the thin tissue inside. This hokku takes the latter meaning.

*Chikurinshū kigaki* 372: It is the thin tissue inside the reed stem, thus a pillow-word for “thin” [*usuki*].

*Shibakusa kunai hokku* 398

kōrikeri	Stilled in ice!
sese o chidori no	shallow pools where plovers
hashirimizu	skimmed the ripples.

*Shibakusa kunai hokku* 387

hi ya utsuru	Did the sun shift?
konoshita mizu no	on the water below the trees
murakōri	shards of ice.

*Shibakusa kunai hokku* 426

usuzumi no	Faint inkstroke
mayu ka shigururu	through falling rain
mika no tsuki	eyebrow moon.

227 *STKBS* 3823. “Among hokku on winter.”

aki mo nao	Even autumn is yet
asaki wa yuki no	shallow: this evening
yūbe kana	of snowfall.

*Goku Shibakusa* 90: It says that compared to an evening of deep snow, so lonely [*sabishiku*] and beyond help [*senkata naki*], the autumn dusk is indeed shallow. (p. 22)

Deceptively simple in its spare imagery and the neat balance of its aural structure (*aki- asaki- yuki- yūbe- kana*), this last verse is rendered profound by the sole weight of its intention. Ever since Sei Shōnagon declared that the evening is most moving in autumn (*aki wa yūgure*), a sentiment the *Shin-kokinshū* poets confirmed, the autumn evening has represented one of the waka tradition’s deepest symbols. This winter-evening hokku is Shinkei’s challenge to and allusive variation on that view. An ink-wash landscape reduced to the barest essentials of black and white, it is one of the pithiest statements on *sabi*—that detached sense of existential loneliness—in Japanese literature before Bashō. Here the aesthetics of reduction is pursued to an extreme point; the terse configuration of the words on the page seems to have no purpose other than its disappearance before the feeling it seeks to convey into the reader’s mind. The linguistic surface, in other words, is like “the finger pointing at the moon,” a mere instrument, a pure sign wholly dependent on the reader’s receptivity.

Shinkei’s emphasis on the mind-heart (*kokoro*) over and above language (*kotoba*) in his criticism rests no doubt on necessity: given the extreme brevity of the renga verse, much hinges on the mind of the poet who has to link up to it. But from his philosophical standpoint, it also

implies that the truth cannot be encompassed by, nor is it identifiable with, the vehicle of its revelation. And it is precisely for this reason that what is “left unsaid” (*iinokoshi*) has such an important place there. Such a hokku can be taken as a concrete instance of the view expressed in *Sasamegato* that poetry is a mental transaction, a (nearly) mute transmission from one mind to another (*ishin denshin*).

Shinkei's Tsukeku from the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*,  
with Commentary

Spring

4 STKBS 86

urasabishiku mo	A loneliness stirring from deep
haru kaeru koro	within, days of departing spring.
moshio yaku	Through clouded haze
keburi ni kasumu	of burning salt-seaweed,
kari nakite	the wild geese call.

*Keikandō*, Beginning Stage: With regard to *urasabishiku* in the *maeku*, it occurs in the following poem from the *Kokinshū* [KKS 171. Autumn. Anonymous]:<sup>23</sup>

waga seko ga	Blowing back
koromo no suso o	the hem of my husband's robe,
fukikaeshi	<i>a loneliness</i>
<i>urasabishiku</i> mo	<i>stirring from deep within—</i>
aki no hatsukaze	the first winds of autumn.

Here, however, the *tsukeku* takes *ura* to mean “bay” and connects to it with “salt-seaweed.” Furthermore, it connects to “departing spring” with “wild geese.” Such a method of linking in two places at once marks the verse of the beginner. (pp. 130–31)

*Chikubun* 43: The *ura* in *urasabishiku* is a mere prefix. That it is taken to mean “bay” [in the context of the *tsukeku* link] illustrates an essential principle in *renga*.

*The three stages of a renga poet.* Kenzai means that double-meaning, the polysemic character of language, is basic to *renga* as *linked* poetry. Kenzai wrote the *Keikandō* in his late years in the Kantō for presentation to Ashikaga Masauji, son of the former Koga Kubō Shigeuji. It illustrates the three levels in a poet's stylistic progression from the beginning to middle to late stages through annotated citation of sixty verses, mostly by the seven sages, though it includes six by Sōgi. That the concept originates with Shinkei is evident in the following passage in the third of the *Tokoro-dokoro* letters, the one addressed to Sōgi:

In general the configuration of a good verse passes through three transformations that correspond to the stage of the beginner, the middle period, and old age. The



beginner, still lacking prudence and inner discipline, racks his brains in his dominant concern to produce an interesting, skillfully crafted verse. From the middle period on, his artistic imagination gushes forth; he loses himself in the drifting clouds, whirling snow, and various sceneries, now weaving elaborate figures into his verses, now leaving them unfigured and expansive. His spirit ungathered, his work is excessively beautiful or overly stark, and he finds repose in neither. In old age he cherishes all the ten styles, discarding none; he is deeply conscious of the moving power of things, and a will to observe the Way emerges in his heart. (*Tokoro* III, pp. 224–25)

In essence, Shinkei's concept of the poet's development is oriented toward a distinct key principle at each stage: namely, skill, artistic imagination, and the Way. The beginner is properly concerned to develop a skillful craftsmanship in composing an interesting verse. Having acquired this basic competence, in the middle stage he is able to articulate his artistic imagination freely in pursuit of whatever his desire dictates at the moment; this is clearly a period of fertile experimentation, in which the poet is trying out various modes in search of his own voice. But it is not until the late stage of old age (*rōgo*) that his art reaches its full maturity, and this is, significantly, not a matter of mere skill or artistic imagination, the key principles of the first two stages, but of existential realization regarding the crucial importance of poetry as a Way, a mode of being trained upon the verities of human existence as understood in Buddhist philosophy. As suggested in the passage, this understanding is characterized by impartiality—"discarding none" of the ten styles—a crucial quality in *renga*, where one has perforce to relate to various kinds of *maeku*, animating each one without ignoring its meaning, and using any one of the styles suitable for it. This impartiality implies an overcoming of one's own individual stylistic preferences for the benefit of the sequence as a whole. The other quality that evinces devotion to the Way as such is a profound awareness of the moving power of things (*aware fukaku*), a way of viewing them in all the tragic vitality of their being, and not as mere imagistic devices of art.

It is not possible to measure exactly the extent of Shinkei's contribution to the three-stage formulation illustrated in Kenzai's *Keikandō*. The textual evidence indicates that Kenzai means the reader to understand that he is transmitting his mentor's explanations of the concept. True, it is not immediately clear whether the choice and classification of the verses themselves, and the corresponding commentary on each, may also be attributed to Shinkei.<sup>24</sup> However, as evident in the preceding section on *hokku*, Kenzai's *Chikubun* is often faithful to the gist of Shinkei's own commentary in the *Goku Shibakusa*, and there is no reason to assume that he would be less than conscientious in the *Keikandō* when consulting his own notes and memory. Therefore it is most reasonable to assume that this work repre-

sents the Shinkei-Kenzai line of exegetical transmission on the important subject of the stages of a renga poet's progression toward maturity. As presented in his *Shinkei-sōzu teikin* (Bishop Shinkei's teachings), Kenzai's summary of the three-stage concept sounds like a variation of the formulation in the letter to Sōgi, with the difference that what is couched there as a description is here expressed as instructions to a young disciple.

Mental attitude [*kokoromochi*] may be differentiated into three kinds. During the beginning stage, you must first acquire a verbal facility aimed at composing correctly and gracefully. Then having entered the middle level, you must expand the mind toward the arresting and ineffable, that which entails marvelous transformations, and thus startling the ear and earning people's wonder, compose solely verses that sound attractive. Now having attained the realm of the adept, you acquire a mind to observe the Way; you compose verses like those of a beginner, or then again summon forth the arresting effects of marvelous transformations; now deep, now shallow, you must not become fixed in one direction. This mental attitude is essential. Overtones, aura, the chill and meager [*yojō omokage hieyasetaru koto*] are things that you will come to understand naturally once you have reached the realm of the adept. It is not possible to learn them through instruction. (*Teikin*, p. 1125)

More detailed than the first description, this passage also explains why Kenzai, or Shinkei himself, would take examples from such "adepts" as the seven sages and classify them under the beginning stage, as happens in this link from the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*. For it is precisely the adept who does not discriminate between low and high, but composes solely according to the needs of the particular *maeku*. Here "the method of linking in two places at once" is one of the basic skills acquired at the beginning stage. It is the ability to work with the conventional associations of the words in the *maeku* ("departing spring" = "wild geese" that migrate north in spring) and to play on the polysemic character of poetic diction in the process of linking (prefix *ura* = "bay"). (Such a double verbal connection is also known technically as *yotsude*, a four-cornered link.) On the level of poetic effect, the *tsukeku* is quite subtle in evoking, through a purely objective image, the "loneliness" expressed in the *maeku*. In particular, the way *ura* is brought out twice, once as the unspoken sense "bay" (where the fisherfolk are burning salt-seaweed) and again as the vague tonal quality or aura of that loneliness (the prefix *ura* signifying "behind, within") as evoked by the remote cries of the geese behind the smoky haze, is rather remarkable.

6 STKBS 156

futatabi wa  
hito to naraji to  
omou mi ni

To someone who vows  
never again to be reborn  
as a man.

tada tsuki ni mede  
hana ni kurasamu

Only find joy in the moon  
and dwell among the flowers.

*Chikurinshō no chū* 241: The way the author has figured out how to approach this maeku manifests utmost concentration. He has linked up to it in the spirit of the saying, “To believe that one will become a buddha or be reborn as a god is an empty illusion. All you need do this very moment is to lie beneath the plum blossoms and the moon.”

*Chikurinshū kikigaki* 200: As the saying goes, “Just live in the moment and lie beneath the plum blossoms; attainment of buddhahood and rebirth as a god are all empty illusions.” Ignorance or enlightenment are conditions of the mind at birth and there is nothing to be done about it but watch the moon and the flowers. Of all the things in this world of man, there is no thought equal to that of moon and flowers.

*Renga entokushō*: This verse takes the meaning of the maeku in an unexpected direction. . . . The maeku’s “I do not wish to be a man again” means that since this world is such a sea of suffering, I do not want to be reborn in it. [In the tsukeku] this becomes, since one might not be born again as a man, let us pass our days taking pleasure in the moon and flowers while we can. (p. 125)<sup>25</sup>

Against the Buddhist-inspired view of existence as suffering and the belief in transmigration implicit in the maeku, Shinkei sets the Taoist perspective of mindlessness (*mushin*) or non-action (*mu’i*), which is not, as such, unlike the enlightened Buddhist’s realization that transmigration is not to be taken literally but as an ideological device to promote virtue. Kenzai’s commentary is more illuminating in pointing out how Shinkei radically inverts the intention behind *futatabi wa / hito to naraji* (“I do not desire to be reborn as a man a second time”) to suggest that precisely because this human life does not repeat itself, you must enjoy it while you can. Furthermore, to be one with the moon and flowers is, so to speak, not to be a man but to rise above the mundane human condition of suffering.

8 STKBS 204

idete toboso ni  
tsuki o miru kure

Emerging, he stands by the door,  
gazing at the twilight moon.

hito kaeru  
yamaji shizukeki  
hana no moto

The people gone,  
the mountain path is quiet  
in the flowers’ shade.

*Chikubun* 138: This is someone who lives in solitude in the mountains. He retreated indoors while the crowd was about, and now he has come out.

As in the first pair, the handling of the situational or plot-like progression from maeku to tsukeku, as explained in the *Chikubun*, is wholly competent and interesting; this demonstrates the sort of inventive skill, or wit, that is a first requirement in the extemporaneous activity that is renga.

However, on top of it, the verse must be imbued with poetic feeling as well, and this is what Shinkei achieves in the aura of *sabi* that hangs over the link.

12 STKBS 250

mada kaze yowaki	The wind is still frail upon
nobe no yūtsuyu	the evening dew in the meadow.
furusato no	In the desolate hamlet
wakaba no ogi ni	white petals are falling
hana ochite	on young-leaved reeds.

*Tōfū renga hiji*: In renga there are the so-called “empty” words [*kūgen*] and the “real” words [*jitsugen*]; a verse will have any number of both. In linking up to the *maeku*, one should carefully distinguish the real words in it. Empty words are those used to help complete the verse; it is the way of renga to take these empty words and turn them into real words. For example, to the verse

tamoto ni wa	Its sleeves have been
kiri o kasanuru	moistened in layers of mist—
tabigoromo	this travel robe.

someone composed the following link:

mada kaze yowaki	The wind is still frail upon
nobe no yūtsuyu	the evening dew in the meadow.

This verse connects to the *maeku* through “evening dew”; the words “the wind is frail in the meadow” are just supplements. Now taking these empty words and making them real, Shinkei linked up to the verse like this:

furusato no	In the desolate hamlet
wakaba no ogi ni	white petals are falling
hana ochite	on young-leaved reeds.

From here, the next poet must in turn take the words “petals are falling” and make them real in his own verse. (p. 212)<sup>26</sup>

Focusing on “the wind is still frail” (*mada kaze yowaki*) in the *maeku*, Shinkei brings out, with a concentrated acuity of feeling and method, the gentle frailty of the evening spring breeze in the delicate image of cherry petals softly alighting on the young reeds beneath the trees. The litheness of the breeze is measured exactly in the fact that it has sufficient force to stir the late flowers on the trees but not to scatter the dewdrops on the reeds. The verse as such marks a seamless, barely perceptible transition from the Autumn season of the preceding two verses to Spring; it is also a good demonstration of the impersonal and symbolist lyric poetry of renga at its best.

“Empty words” and “real words”: the indeterminacy of the single verse. Sōboku’s (d. 1545) commentary in the *Tōfū renga hiji* is significant in offering a theoretical explanation for the linking process based on the concept of “empty” and “real” words. What these terms signify is relative to

the words' function vis-à-vis the link; the real words in a verse are those that directly correlate to the meaning of the maeku. Such is "evening dew" in the maeku to Shinkei's verse; it is the hinge upon which turns the implicit analogy between the "layers of mist" on the travel robe in the *mae-maeku* (the verse preceding the maeku) and layers of dew soaking the meadow in the maeku, unscattered by the frail wind. And it is this frail wind, a mere supplement or "empty words" in the previous link, that now becomes activated and transformed into "real words" through Shinkei's image of young reed leaves as yet too tender to be audible in the breeze. In renga therefore, the isolated verse is wholly ambiguous; it is only within the context of the link that particular words in it become charged with significance, and these words will be different—or if the same will have an altered value—depending on whether the verse is seen through the light of its maeku or its tsukeku. This is the same as to say that center and margin, "true" and "empty," the essential and the supplement, are wholly relative concepts in renga, and linking here consists precisely in playing upon the alterity of the two opposing terms.

16 STKBS 270

yume utsutsu to mo  
wakanu akebono

Wavering between dream and  
reality, the sky before dawn.

tsuki ni chiru  
hana wa kono yo no  
mono narade

A cascade of petals  
floating in the moonlight—  
an unearthly sight.

*Chikurinshō no chū* 47: The flowers scattering in the remaining moonlight of predawn in spring is a sight that breaks beyond the limits of language, one that is not of this world. Therefore one cannot distinguish whether it is real or a dream. [Three poems are cited at this point, all evoking the idea of unearthliness. The third poem, given below, is apparently the source for Shinkei's allusive variation. *Shikishi-naishinnō shū* 110.]

kono yo ni mo  
wasurenu haru no  
omokage yo  
oborozukiyo no  
hana no hikari wa

This vision of spring  
is such that one forgets  
it is of this world:  
Pale reflection of flowers  
in the hazy moonlit night.

*Chikubun* 185: In works like the *Tale of Genji*, when people wish to praise something, they say that "it is not of this world" [*kono yo no mono narazu*], meaning that it is like something in paradise. This is a model of a good verse.

This link also appears in Sōgi's *Oi no susami* but without commentary. Nose Asaji speculates that the maeku is probably a Love verse expressing the sense of unreality felt by lovers rudely forced to part at dawn.<sup>27</sup> If that is indeed the case, then Shinkei's tsukeku would be an example of those "marvelous transformations" (*shimpen*) that he speaks of as belonging to

the middle stage of poetic development, when the poet allows his artistic imagination free rein. Kaneko observes that Shinkei here evokes the aura of the Buddhist Pure Land (*jōdo*), and this is probably also what Kenzai had in mind by saying that “it is like something in paradise” (*gokuraku no yō nari*).<sup>28</sup>

18 STKBS 290

hate wa tada	It is a world where
yoki mo ashiki mo	nothing is ultimately
naki yo ni	good or bad.
hana chiru ato wa	Even the wind is stilled in
kaze mo nokorazu	the wake of scattered petals.

This is a plain, uncomplicated link but nevertheless notable for the surety and thoroughness with which it deals with the philosophical statement of the *maeku*. Good and bad are not absolute but temporally conditioned determinations; impermanence is a universal truth applying to moral formulations as well, to evil destroyer as well as helpless victim, and time is the single great leveler. The method of illustrating a general statement with a concrete image is wholly common in *renga*.

20 STKBS 306

sabishisa tsurasa	To whom shall I speak of
tare ni kataran	the loneliness the pain.
hana otsuru	Even in the days of
koro shi mo ame o	falling flowers, only the rain
yoru kikite	sounds in the night.

A difficult *maeku* in its emotional tone and emphatic diction. One cannot ignore the twin emotions spelled out so clearly, or the interrogative inflection, without seeming evasive and coldhearted; on the other hand, it will not do to descend to bathos. Shinkei does neither of these things. He rises to the challenge, fully acknowledging the sincerity of the *maeku*'s emotions in a conception that does them justice. The thought of flowers scattering unseen in the night rain accounts for the “pain” (*tsurasa*), and the implicit suggestion that the subject is alone listening to the scene outside responds to the “loneliness” (*sabishisa*) while answering the question “to whom shall I speak” (*tare ni kataran*) in the negative: no visitor comes in the night to share the speaker's burden; what does come is the rain. Technically, the succession of two emphatic particles, *shi* and *mo*, underlines the twin emotions in the *maeku* by superimposing upon the already melancholy thought of scattering flowers the even more depressing occurrence of the rain hastening them to their end. *Renga* is in this way necessarily an exercise in the careful weighing of words; it is an art that subjected words to

deliberate and minute scrutiny and made the quality of that scrutiny the stuff of its poetry.

22 STKBS 318

omou to mo	Parted from me
wakareshi hito wa	though his thoughts still clung—
kaerame ya	will he ever return?
yūgure fukashi	Evening is deep in the hills
sakura chiru yama	where cherry blossoms scatter.

*Oi no susami* 19: The person who departed is someone who went home after viewing the flowers. The meaning is that although he still longs for the flowers, it is not likely that he will return. If one asks why, it is because the flowers have fallen and the loneliness of evening in the mountain village is too much to bear. This is a way of scrutinizing the mind of another through one's own. (p. 150)

*Chikubun* 177: The connection hinges on putting oneself in the place of the person [*hito*]. He cannot return since the dusk has grown deep and it is dark. The one from whom he parted is the flowers.

*Shadow* (*omokage*). No doubt Sōgi and Kenzai are right in pointing out the breathtaking shift here from a Love to a Spring verse, but the paraphrase of the link sounds rather literal and heavy-handed. The brilliance of this *tsukeku* lies precisely in what it leaves unsaid, in the way it evokes the shadow (*omokage*) of the situation in the *maeku* upon the ostensive scene of falling flowers at evening deep in the mountains. The flowers do not exactly replace the woman in the man's thoughts nor does he literally turn into a flower viewer who will not return because of the dark. Rather, the whole scene and the otherwise admirable analysis of the situation in the two commentaries function as objective correlatives of the unspoken thought that he will never return. The *tsukeku* is a symbolic evocation of a profound feeling of loss; it has that quality of ineffable remoteness (*yōon*), not unrelated to *sabi*, and limned with a clear conviction of the irrecoverability of time, that constitutes the most authentic strain in Shinkei's work and makes him a true poet and not just a craftsman or even artist, as many *renga* poets are. It is unfortunate that the verse sounds so bland in translation.

24 STKBS 342

kokoro ni chigiru	In his heart he makes a vow with
yukusue no haru	departing spring when it returns.
mi no araba	“If this body remains,”
to bakari hana no	is his sole thought, eyes upon
chiru o mite	the scattering flowers.

*Chikubun* 161: In the falling flowers he finds nothing to reassure him, but “if this body remains,” he shall see them again—so he vows in his heart.

*Ironic intensification.* “In the falling flowers he finds nothing to reassure him”—Kenzei’s comment is exactly the point. Shinkei’s method here intensifies the urgency of the promise in the *maeku* through an irony underscored by the polarity between “heart” and “body”; the body does not necessarily honor a vow made in the heart. There is a further paradox implied in the common knowledge that spring will always be true to its annual promise of recurrence, yet the very same spring, in the image of falling flowers, underlines a different “promise” for man.

26 *STKBS* 344

yūbe no kumo o  
namida ni zo miru

He gazes through a blur of tears  
at the dim evening clouds.

hana mo yo no  
uree no iro ni  
utsuroite

Even the flowers,  
reflecting the hue of infirm  
times, turn pale.

*Chikubun* 835: The evening clouds [in the *maeku*] are seen as the declining flowers.

The occasion for the tears in the *maeku* as such is ambiguous, but Ijichi Tetsuo is probably right in reading the evening clouds as a memento of the smoke from someone’s cremation; it is not possible to tell exactly without the *mae-maeku*. Ijichi then goes on to note that *yo no uree* refers to sorrow at the passing of a world with the death of a ruler. This *tsukeku* dates from Shinkei’s Kantō period, when as we have seen in the biography, he often used the image of flowers as well as the word *yo* to mourn the tragedy of the times, that is, the Ōnin War, in numerous *waka* and some *hokku*.<sup>29</sup> It is most probable therefore that *yo no uree* refers to times *afflicted* by war, and that is how I render the verse. The clouds, seen as traces of cremation smoke in the *maeku*, become whorls of flowering cherries in the *tsukeku*, and the tears are shed for the infirmity of the times, as symbolized by those same paling flowers about to scatter. Kenzei’s words, “declining flowers” (*hana no reiraku*) are also more appropriate to the intended analogy with a world on the verge of destruction.

## Summer

28 *STKBS* 450

kiki zo tsutauru  
kami no sono kami

Echoing through the eras,  
that ancient age of the gods!

hototogisu  
hono kataraiishi  
yama ni nete

As I lie secluded  
in the mountain, hushed murmur  
of the cuckoo.

*Goku Shibakusa* 106: This link is based solely on introducing the poem by Imperial Princess Shikishi where she evokes her state as Vestal Priestess [*SKKS* 1484. Miscellaneous]. (p. 28)



hototogisu  
sono kamiyama no  
tabimakura  
hono kataishi  
sora zo wasurenu

Never shall I forget  
the hushed murmur that drifted  
through the sky, cuckoo,  
as I lay secluded in that sojourn  
in the mountain of the gods.

*Chikurinshō no chū* 61: Long ago when the Imperial Princess Shikishi (the third daughter of Emperor Go-Shirakawa) was serving as the Vestal Priestess of the Kamo Shrine, she heard the cuckoo in the sacred mountain. Sometime the following year, having finished her term and descended from the mountain, she composed the following poem recalling the year that had gone. [SKKS 1484 above quoted.] Both “mountain of the gods” [*kamiyama*] and “that ancient mountain” [*sono kamiyama*] refer to Kamo Mountain. *Sono kami* in the maeku means “that ancient age”; the tsukeku added the character *yama* [mountain] and interpreted it to mean “that mountain of the gods” [*sono kamiyama*]. As I lie here listening to the cuckoo in the mountain where Imperial Princess Shikishi heard its hushed murmur ages ago, it is like hearing a voice from that age coming down to the present.

*Chikubun* 234: “It has come down through the eras” [*kiki zo tsutauru*] refers to the cuckoo. Recalling the poem [here quoted] composed by Princess Shikishi after serving as Vestal Priestess, the poet says that he is hearing transmitted to the present the sound from that time.

*Asaji* 2: This takes from the following poem [SKKS 1484 above quoted]. The line *kiki zo tsutauru* is clearly one that is difficult to link up to. Nevertheless, the poet has succeeded in doing so by tying together in his mind the present cry [of the *hototogisu*] and that “hushed murmur ages ago.”<sup>30</sup> (p. 318)

*Classical pedagogy.* As pedagogical texts, one of the main concerns of the Muromachi commentaries was unquestionably to identify the occurrence of classical allusions in contemporary renga. For renga masters, this was no mere passing interest but a project invested with an almost missionary zeal to preserve and transmit intact a dying tradition in an age of political turmoil and social dislocation. The conservative “waka-like” strain in Muromachi renga cannot be understood and appreciated outside this historical context. As we have seen in *Oi no kurigoto*, for Shinkei the practice of renga was a way of “preserving a part of waka’s teachings and precepts” in order “to soften the hearts of warriors and rude folk and teach the way of human sensibility for all the distant ages.” His real concern, however, was less with traditional rhetoric as such, but with what the courtly poetic sensibility had to teach about a sensitive and compassionate way of viewing phenomena and human relations in an age of armored men with unbridled ambitions. This goes hand in hand with the emphasis everywhere in his writings on *kokoro*, the mind-heart reflected in the poem or verse, over and above *kotoba* or words as such; it is also consistent with his characterization of the most advanced stage of a poet’s development as

sheer devotion to poetry as a Way, beyond the question of skill in words or brilliance of artistic imagination.

Renga, however, is nothing if not skill in words, and it is precisely this fact that drove Shinkei to focus on *kokoro*; it is all too easy to forget the issue of *expression* (of self and world) in the proliferating play of language encouraged by the very sequential and collective nature of the genre. The language was foreign in the sense that the renga event was a gathering of commoners speaking in the rarefied tongue of court poetry, a centuries-old medium with a weight of accumulated associations, infinitely refined and layered with use, invested with an aristocratic aura and prestige, and for all these reasons fascinating both for the artistic soul and for the *arrivistes* interested in acquiring high culture. Before the so-called poetic revolution inaugurated more than a century later by haikai's rejection of *gago* (refined diction, the language of the belles lettres) and its corresponding institution of colloquial diction (*zokugo*), the courtly heritage was first absorbed into popular consciousness through the agency of orthodox renga and the classical pedagogy of the renga masters. Thus did a politically impotent aristocracy permanently inscribe itself upon history where it most matters, in the living traditions of a national culture, so much so that one of the first Western sociologists of Japan, Ruth Benedict, would characterize it with the symbols of "the chrysanthemum and the sword."

Among renga masters, the most classically oriented was without doubt Sōgi. Particularly near the end, after some forty years of actual practice and exegesis of classical poetry, he seems to have been wholly convinced that the path he had forged for renga was the proper one, quite unaware that within half a century, the refined orthodox style would unravel from sheer exhaustion, and its poor cousin, the formerly marginalized comic haikai, take its place at center stage. "In renga there is no word in any verse that is not from a foundation poem" (*renga wa izure no ku mo honka no kotoba ni arazaru wa haberazu*)—thus Sōgi.<sup>31</sup>

Konishi Jin'ichi early observed the layered intricacy of renga diction, a function of its use of a vocabulary with innumerable precedents in waka, and responsible for the uniquely textural or musical quality of its artistry. When he states further that *honkadori* (allusive variation on an old foundation poem) in renga practice is not typically, as in waka, founded upon the specificity of particular poems, but based more ambiguously upon whole series of poems having similar conceptions or feelings, he is doubtless close to what Sōgi means by the statement quoted above from *Asaji*.<sup>32</sup> Waka exists in renga as a limitless storehouse of precedents for word usages and poetic conceptions that the practitioner activates when he links up to the *maeku*. Or in Sausurrean terms, the waka lexicon constitutes a *langue*, a

complex but recognizable system of semantic and grammatical differentiations into which the poet encodes when he composes the renga verse as a specific instance of *parole* or actual discourse. In practice the waka and the prose literature of past ages are the dictionary of renga discourse. When, as in the verses quoted above, the commentaries cite waka precedents for Shinkei's usage of *urasabishiku* or the unearthly quality of cherry blossoms scattering in moonlight, they are teaching their readers what he meant by in effect citing the relevant entries in the dictionary. Thus "foundation poem" in renga may simply refer to a poem precedent, and not necessarily just a single one. And even in cases where the precedent is singular and specific, as in the allusion to Princess Shikishi's poem in this tsukeku, the "variation" on the foundation poem is minimal compared, say, to Teika's and Shunzei's way of enriching and deepening older poems in their own.

The *Shinkokinshū* poets' allusive variations on *Kokinshū* poems are like powerful translations that, while depending for their existence on the original texts, are so good that they often displace them in the consciousness, particularly where the older poems are of slight quality. This seldom happens in renga. Here, *honkadori* is more like a simple citation than a translation; the original remains intact. What is at stake, rather, is the aptness of the quotation in relation to the *maeku*, that sense of liberation and pleasure experienced when some well-known cliché suddenly becomes animated within a new, unexpected context. In short, *honkadori* here is wholly an affect of the dynamics of *tsukeai*, a method of animating the *maeku* through the mediation of an old poem. Princess Shikishi recalls her lonely sacral existence as Vestal Priestess of the Kamo Shrine in the faint cries of the cuckoo that kept her company in the mountain seclusion. Shinkei's persona recalls her recollection in the cries of the same bird in the same hallowed mountain two centuries later, and his experience gains an added, ineffably solemn dimension lent by the communing of two voices across the remoteness of intervening time. This is what *kiki zo tsutauru / kami no sono kami* means, and Shinkei's reading of it is ultimately a meditation on the act of remembrance as an experience of a moment in and out of time.

30 STKBS 452

kiku mo mezurashi  
kono miyakodori

hototogisu  
kesa wa otowa no  
yama koete

'Tis rare indeed that one  
hears of it, this Capital-bird.

Cuckoo—soaring in  
at last, this very morning  
over Otowa Mountain.

*Oi no susami* 24: "Capital-bird" is here taken to mean "bird of the capital." The meaning is that the cuckoo that came this morning over Otowa Mountain is indeed

“this bird of the Capital.” Here, too, the compositional design of the link [*toria-wase*] is quite impressive. Moreover, the fact that the verse was simultaneously composed in the spirit of the *Kokinshū* poem below is certainly remarkable [KKS 142. Summer. Ki no Tomonori. “Composed when he was crossing Otowa Mountain and heard the cry of the cuckoo”]. (p. 151)

<i>otowayama</i>	As I was crossing
<i>kesa koekureba</i>	Otowa Mountain this morning,
<i>hototogisu</i>	of a sudden
<i>kozue harukani</i>	from distant treetops,
<i>ima zo naku naru</i>	the calls of the cuckoo!

*Chikurinshō no chū* 62: One reads the Capital-bird into place-names like Sumidagawa, Naniwa, and Horie. It is a bird the size of a snipe, with a red bill and legs. The meaning of this link is that the cuckoo that crossed Otowa Mountain this morning has become a bird of the capital with the rare voice [KKS 142 above quoted]. Apart from this poem there are numerous others [that read the cuckoo] in Otowa Mountain.

*Deflecting Expectations.* Conventional expectations in this instance would dictate linking through an allusion to the “Capital-bird” episode in Chapter 9 of the *Tales of Ise*, where Narihira and his party notice a bird on the banks of the Sumida River in Musashi and are amazed to hear that its name is “Capital-bird.” Shinkei wittily departs from the norm by taking the name literally but nevertheless securely links up to the *maeku* on two counts: through the association between “Capital-bird” and Otowa Mountain, the usual approach to the capital from the east; and between *kiku mo mezurashi* (heard rarely) and “cuckoo.” This is what Sōgi means by the “impressive” design of the link. On top of that, he manages to effect a true allusive variation on KKS 142: where in Tomonori’s poem, the cuckoo is still some distance from the capital, here it has arrived and become, in effect, “a bird of the capital.”

## Autumn

32 STKBS 590

<i>onaji oshie o</i>	It is one and the same teaching
<i>amata ni zo kiku</i>	but heard in a myriad ways.
<i>aki to fuku</i>	Blowing with autumn,
<i>ogi no uwakaze</i>	the wind on the reeds, the storm
<i>yamaoroshi</i>	rushing down the mountain.

*Keikandō*, Beginning Stage: The wonderful sermons preached by the Buddha in his lifetime were all one and the same teaching, but they were heard in various ways and gave rise to several sects, each with its own interpretation. The verse restates this condition by saying that the wind bodes forth the autumn season in various ways as it rustles softly over the miscanthus grass or storms down the mountainside. (p. 132)

*Asaji* 35: This way of linking is masterful in simply delineating the meaning [of the *maeku*]. The message that the same teaching is heard in manifold ways is quite clear. (p. 327)

*Figuring concepts.* The concept illustrated here is that of “the rain of one flavor” (*ichimi no ame*), preached by the Buddha in the “Medicinal Herbs” chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* in verses such as this:

Hotoke no byōdō no setsu wa  
 ichimi.no ame no gotoku naru ni  
 shujō no shō ni shitagatte  
 ukuru tokoro onajikarazaru koto  
 kano sōmoku no  
 ukuru tokoro ono'ono kotonaru ga gotoshi  
 The Buddha's impartial teaching  
 is like rain of a single taste,  
 yet it is received variously  
 according to the natures of the myriad beings,  
 just as grasses and trees  
 receive the rain each in its own way.<sup>33</sup>

Shinkei translates the Buddhist parable into the vocabulary of the poetic tradition by marking how the same season, autumn, evokes different feelings in the consciousness according to the nature of the phenomenon it touches.

34 *STKBS* 650

kohagi utsuroi	As the hue wanes on the bush clover
ojika naku michi	along the path, a deer is calling.
susuki chiru	Plume grasses scatter
onoe no miya no	dim the traces of Onoe no miya
ato furite	in the winds of time.

*Keikandō*, Middle Stage: This verse is in the mode of meditation [*ushintei*]. Instead of linking by means of “meadow” [*no*] as might have been expected, it does so through “old palace” [*furumiya*]. One can also say that the verse belongs to the advanced stage. [*Akishino gesseishū* 1129 below quoted.]<sup>34</sup> (p. 136)

takamado no	At Onoe no miya
onoe no miya no	high upon the hill of Takamado,
akihagi o	who think they would
tare kite miyo to	come to see the autumn bush clover,
matsumushi no naku	that the pine insects cry so?

*Chikurinshō no chū* 97: With Takamado's Onoe Palace, one invariably composes a verse on the bush clover. There is also an Onoe Palace in Minase.<sup>35</sup>

*Chikubun* 327. In poetry Onoe Palace is associated with both Takamado or Minase. Its exact location is unclear.

*Chikurinshū kiki-gaki* 65: This refers to Onoe Palace in Takamado. There is also an Onoe Palace at Minase, which belonged to Retired Emperor Go-Toba. [SKKS 1313. Love. “From the Minase Fifteen Poems on Love Poetry Contest.” Retired Emperor Go-Toba. First line *sato wa arenu.*]

sato wa arete  
 onoe no miya no  
 onozukara  
 machikoshi yoi mo  
 mukashi narikeri

The village is in ruins;  
 That evening at Onoe no miya when  
 she kept on waiting  
 on the chance he might yet come—  
 is now but a thing of the past.

As the *Keikandō* states, the usual link would locate the pink-flowered autumn bush clover in the meadow (*no*); however, the poem by Fujiwara Yoshitsune (1169–1206) can be used as a precedent to establish the link between this image and Onoe Palace. This Onoe Palace, located in the foothills of Takamado Mountain in Furuichi, Yamato Province (Nara), was the detached palace (*rikyū*) of Emperor Shōmu and occurs in some poems in the *Man'yōshū*. By the time of the *Shinkokinshū* poets, as indicated in the quoted poems above, it had become an *utamakura* associated with the theme of recollecting the past.

*The mode of meditation* (*ushintei*). *Ushintei*, “the mode of meditation,” or as Brower and Miner render it in *Japanese Court Poetry*, “the style of conviction of feeling,” is identified in Teika’s *Maigetsushō* as the realm of the ultimate in poetry. In *Sasamegoto*, Shinkei describes it as poetry “in which the mind has dissolved [*kokoro torake*] and is profoundly at one with the pathos of things [*aware fukaku*]; poetry that issues from the very depths of the poet’s being and may truly be said to be his own waka, his own authentic renga [*makoto ni mune no soko yori idetaru waga uta waga renga no koto narubeshi*]” (*SSG*, p. 188). All these characterizations point to an authenticity of feeling and a poetic process involving the utmost concentration, such that any trace of the conceptualizing mind is erased from the surface of the verse and the image-words function only as signs initiating a meditation on phenomena and existence at their deepest level, which is that of *mujo* and emptiness. When Shinkei says that this kind of poetry expresses the poet’s authentic voice (*waga uta waga renga*), he does not mean his individual voice, his specific idiolect, if you will. Rather, he means that the voice is truly the poet’s own in that it can emerge only from a dynamic process of meditation engaging the mind through and through (*kokoro torake*), and that this direct, personal, and deepgoing experience is an inalienable quality of the poem. No one can imitate it; everyone must undergo the process in order to attain his or her own voice. And that voice, regardless of the poet’s specific identity, will then have the ring of authenticity that marks the mode of *ushintei*. The *tsukeku* above is best appreci-

ated with all this in mind; it is one of Shinkei's best verses in the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*, with a depth and ineffable remoteness that wholly resist translation.

40 STKBS 670

shigure no ato no	In the wake of the passing rains
tsuyu zo mi ni shimu	the dew sinks cool into the soul.
mushi no naku	As insects cry in
nobe no tōyama	the meadow tinged in color
iro tsukite	the distant hills.

*Keikandō*, Middle Stage: Saying that it was a winning verse, he [Shinkei] recited it several times and discussed it at length. (p. 136)

*Oi no susami* 25: This links to the *maeku* by taking “in the wake of the passing rains” to mean that as the remaining traces of the passing rains in the distant hills, the dewdrops in the meadow sink into the soul. Accordingly it says, “As insects cry in / the meadow tinged in color / the distant hills.” The linking method is unique, and the verse as such beyond the imagination of most authors. Moreover, it presents the natural scene right before our eyes [*ganzen no keiki nari*]. Given this utterly fresh immediacy, is this not truly an excellent verse? (p. 151)

*Asaji* 28: [First sentence same as above.] Therefore it says, “Distant hills beyond the meadow where insects cry.” The scene set forth before the eye is truly arresting. (p. 325)

*Chikubun* 347: There is a double link here: to “meadow,” “dew”; to “passing rain,” “tinged in color.”

*Yuki no keburī* 69: The meaning is that in the wake of the rain that blanketed the distant hills, the dew left upon the meadow sinks into the soul. The rains begin to clear and the treetops suddenly emerge tinged with color, while in the dew-wet meadow the insects are crying—does not such a scene truly evoke a feeling that sinks into the very soul?

*Perceptual immediacy.* Sōgi's enthusiasm for this verse is evident in his multiple commentaries from *Oi no susami* to *Asaji* to *Yuki no keburī*; one wonders if Shinkei's long discussion of it with Kenzai dealt with the same points. In such detailed and surefooted evaluations as these, Sōgi displays the kind of critical acumen that only long practice in the art could have fostered. It is also interesting to note that in the later *Yuki no keburī* version he abandons all talk of method and concentrates wholly on expressing his own empathetic reaction to the verse.

As distinct from the compellingly remote inwardness of the preceding link, this one concentrates on evoking the objective scene as such with that acuity of sense perception that we have often encountered in Shinkei's hokku. The newness of this *keiki* or *keikyoku* mode as a means of linking in *renga* is evidenced by Sōgi's commentary (“the linking method is unique,”

“this utterly fresh immediacy”). While using the classical images of the tradition, the verse simultaneously breaks out of their conventionality to summon the vital presence of nature as such, in all its thereness. Not that feeling is absent; the *tsukeku* is in effect a concrete realization, through sound (the cries of insects) and color, of the scene that “sinks into the soul” (*mi ni shimu*) in the *maeku*. The whole is framed by the concept of “traces of the passing rain” (*shigure no ato*) introduced there: both the insect cries in the withering, rain-rifled grass and the emergence of autumn tints in the distant hillslopes are manifestations of the cold rains that moved from meadow to hills and are just now lifting from the treetops. This clean surety of touch, this sense of mind stalking mind in a motion of dialogic understanding, constitutes the meaning and the pleasure of what is called *tsukeai* in *renga*.

42 STKBS 706

waga kokoro	My heart,
tare ni kataran	To whom can I speak of it—
aki no sora	The autumn sky!
ogi ni yūkaze	The evening wind upon the reeds,
kumo ni karigane	the wild geese among the clouds.

*Keikandō*, Advanced Stage: This is a *renga* beyond words [*gengai no renga nari*]. It expresses wonder, saying that the feeling is such that one cannot speak of it. (p. 142)

*Oi no susami* 29: This connects to the sense of “to whom can I speak of it” in the *maeku* by bringing out the inexpressible [*gongo dōdan*] quality of that feeling. The shape of the verse is itself marvelous [*chinchō*], and the style of linking is incomparable [*batsugun*]. Verses such as this lose their effect with frequent use, and poets should by all means exercise discrimination in composing them. (p. 153)

*Chikubun* 360: In the season of autumn skies, when the evening wind is upon the reeds, and the wild geese trail across the clouds, to whom can I speak of this melancholy—it is beyond my powers to express [*mōsu ni oyobanu*], so it says.

*Chikurinshū kikigaki* 79: This is an impressively subtle linking technique. [Attempting it] even the adept might fail and end up with a confused logic and discordant effect. Nothing is as insubstantial as the wind and the clouds, and yet the wind has a medium in the reeds, and a natural empathy runs between the wild geese and the clouds. As for myself, to whom can I speak of the feelings [*kansei*] in my heart before such an autumn scene?

“A *renga* beyond words.” By itself this verse is quite unprepossessing, hardly remarkable in its bare enumeration of two parallel images; its “marvel” lies wholly in the unerring accuracy with which it pins down the *maeku*, like a true arrow hitting its mark. The “incomparable” linking technique here transpires on two levels: first, the twin images concretize the feel of the autumn scene (*aki no sora*) mentioned in the *maeku*, while



simultaneously animating the rhetorical question, “to whom can I speak of it” (*tare ni kataran*), through the unspoken but unmistakable response, “to no one, since it is beyond the power of words to express.” On a deeper level, the patterned repetition of the *maeku*’s syntax, “to whom” (*tare ni*) in “to the reeds the evening wind / to the clouds the wild geese” (*ogi ni / kumo ni*) has the contrastive, ironic effect of drawing out the profound loneliness of a human subject confronted by the inadequacy of language to express his inner feeling (*waga kokoro*). Formless, the wind is yet visible and audible in the swaying reeds; mere transient vapors, the clouds yet gain in visual presence as the background against which the line of wild geese trace themselves. But for human beings there is only the *medium* of speech, which fails the motions of the heart-mind before such a scene.

The link is ultimately a meditation on the ineffableness of *kokoro*, the sense that there is always that uncloseable gap of a difference between mind and language. It is also a self-commentary on the nature of *renga* itself as a poetry “beyond words,” an art that more than any other can be grasped only in the space between the verses, a paradoxical poetry that inscribes itself by marking the shape of its absence upon the linguistic surface. *Sōgi*’s cautionary warning, that such a simple verse cannot be used too frequently without losing its effect, means that it is easy enough to imitate the syntax, but it takes a master to know when the moment is right and a deep mind to suggest a world of thought in such an apparently “thoughtless” verse.

## 44 STKBS 762

aretaru yado ni  
akikaze zo fuku

tsuki o tada  
uki yūgure no  
aruji nite

Through the ruinous dwelling  
gusting cold, the autumn wind.

Only the moon remains,  
of the melancholy evening,  
sole master.

*Yuki no keburī* 74: Is it difficult to figure out the way in which this verse connects to the preceding? Does it seem a bit hard to grasp the meaning of the verse as such? In general, is it not so that the moon causes a man to ponder over things, that when he gazes at the moon various thoughts assail him one by one, and that it is precisely because of this that one is advised not to gaze alone at the moon? It is for this reason that the verse refers to the moon as the master of the lonely evening. This poet’s attitude was such that he had a profound dislike for verses that link to the preceding in a vague, sloppy manner. Therefore he interpreted and linked up to the *maeku* in this way. Is this not truly the mind of an incomparable poet?

*Chikubun* 369: The meaning of the verse is that the evening may be lonely, but with the moon as master, one can find solace.

The “vague, sloppy link.” The connection, difficult indeed to grasp at first reading, hinges upon the overt association between “dwelling” (*yado*) and “master” (*aruji*). The ruined house through which the wind blows in

the *maeku* has been abandoned by its owner. Shinkei anchors the ambiguous value of the emphatic particle *zo* in the *maeku* by taking it to mean that the wind blows *unrestrained* through the abandoned house since it has no master; he then goes on to make the ironic statement that it is the moon that is its sole master, for the reasons that Sōgi explains above and Kenzai briefly amplifies. The evening moon as it illumines an abandoned house summons melancholy thoughts yet ultimately consigns them to emptiness in its transparent rays. “Master” thus means a being with the power to distress as well as to console. As Sōgi observes, Shinkei “had a profound dislike for . . . [the] vague, sloppy [*shitaruki*]” link. A mentally lazy practitioner would have contented himself with underscoring the melancholy feeling in the images of ruinous dwelling and autumn wind, but Shinkei rises to the challenge of the ambiguous *zo* and arrives at the original thought of the moon as master.

Clearly, in *renga* if one were simply to repeat the conventional sentiments associated with the images, the session would soon deteriorate into sheer monotony. In *Sasamegoto*, Shinkei quotes three verses, in the so-called *yūgen* style, that are “merely steeped in grace and charm,” vaguely romantic mood evocations whose effects are indistinguishable from each other. “Verses like these, . . . remaining ever the same though their authors change, are of the type that is highly praised day after day in every *renga* session” (*SSG*, p. 128). His critique of the common run of *renga* sessions in his day is aimed precisely at this cavalier, superficial attitude to linking as mere repetition in different terms, without the deep-going reflection that he advocates everywhere in his writings. Significantly, this mental slackness would eventually lead to *renga*’s decline and replacement with *haikai*.

46 *STKBS* 808

fumu to mo mienu	The path laid with dew-frost
michi no tsuyujimo	bears no mark of trudging feet.
yuku hito mo	The passersby have
shizumaru tsuki no	long stilled as the night
shiroki yo ni	in stark moonlight.

*Chikubun* 375: This evokes the small hours of the night.

Like the pair on the traces of Onoe Palace, this seamless link is achieved mainly through imagistic progression and a deepening of feeling from one verse through the next. Conceptually the *tsukeku* is presented as the “reason” for the absence of footprints on the path—the hour is very late, people are fast asleep. But that is really less important than the motion of intensification evoked by the chill reflection of moonlight on the frost of the *maeku*, a stark, transparent whiteness whose feeling belongs to Shinkei’s special poetry of the chill and reduced.

50 STKBS 918

aware zo fukaki  
nobe no yugure

sawamizu o  
tamoto ni kakuru  
shigi nakite

It moves the heart deeply—  
dusk gathering along the moors.

Wings flapping in  
chill spray of swamp water,  
a snipe cries out.

*Chikubun* 453: Sleeves moist with tears are like the snipe wet in the drops of water.

This would also be in the “chill and meager” (*hieyase*) mode in its singular concentration of effect, the terse economic diction that wastes not a single seme in the task of animating the maeku. By itself the verse is a wholly objective image; its juxtaposition with the maeku has the effect of charging the latter’s prosaic statement, *aware zo fukaki*, with the force of a visual and tactile sensation, at the same time that it functions as a metonymical detail of the wide evening scenery evoked there. Again, as the *Chikubun* comment explains, the image of the bird may be seen as a metaphorical figure for “sleeves moist with tears,” the classical poetic image of a sensibility permeated with a sense of *aware*.

56 STKBS 979

ikanaru kata ni  
nabikihatsuramu

musashino ya  
kaya ga sue fuku  
aki no kaze

Up to how far will it bend,  
yielding to such longing.

Musashino Plain—  
A sea of plume grass undulating  
in the winds of fall!

*Keikandō*, Middle Stage: There is nothing concealed here. Exercising the imagination, it is a renga of profound spirit. (p. 137)

*Chikubun* 339: The poem *Ikanaru sue ni*. [Kenzei refers to the following poem: *SKKS* 378. Autumn. “Among ten poems submitted in Minase.” Minamoto Michiteru.]

*musashino ya*  
yukedomo *aki* no  
hate zo naki  
*ikanaru kaze* no  
*sue ni fukuramu*

Musashino Plain—  
tirelessly I walk, yet see  
no end of autumn;  
what sights may it yet disclose,  
wind sweeping over the horizon?

*Boundless desire*. The referent of the maeku as such is vague, but it is most probably a Love verse in which the subject expresses anxiety about how far her ungovernable desire will lead her. Shinkei effects a brilliantly startling shift to the Autumn theme in a link that pivots around the question of extent posed by the maeku. In effect the scene that he delineates becomes an objective correlative of the limitless, insatiable character of desire. The verb *nabiku* (“to bend, bow, incline”), whose unspoken subject is the heart in the maeku, is displaced in the tsukeku by plume grasses *bending* in the

autumn wind; the associative word to *nabiku, sue* (“tips,” but also “end” in a temporal and spatial sense), also echoes *hatsuramu* in the compound verb *nabikihatsuramu* ([up to how far] will it bend in the end) in the *maeku*.

When the *Keikandō* declares that “there is nothing concealed” in the link, it means that the verbal associations just described are quite common, and the way in which the shift occurred is unmistakable, that is, after the fact. When it then goes on to commend the verse’s imagination and “profound spirit,” it is commenting on the originality and depth of thought that translated the *maeku*’s meaning into a landscape suggestive of the limitless delights of the autumn season. This is enabled by the mediation of the *Shinkokinshū* foundation poem, which evokes the vastness of Musashi Plain through the image of the wind sweeping over the far horizon, promising yet more enjoyment to be had in the distance.<sup>36</sup>

58 STKBS 1047

kurenuru iro ni	Shifts the wind along the bay
kawaru urakaze	into the dimmed color of dusk.
shimo shiroki	Pale frost on
shii no hayama no	hillslope oak leaves tremulous
aki fukete	in an aging autumn.

*Chikubun* 488: The color of the undersides of the oak leaves is white. The color of dusk is dark, that of the oak leaves white.

*Chikurinshū kigigaki* 98: The coming of dusk in the *maeku* becomes the aging of autumn. The undersides of the oak leaves are white like frost.

An exquisitely executed link, the tonal contrast between the dark background of dusk and the delicate paleness of the “undersides” (*ura*, “bay,” in its second unspoken but intended meaning) of the oak leaves blown back (*urakaesu*, a verb suggested by *kawaru*, “shift”) by the winds of the *maeku* evoke a chill sensation indicative of advancing autumn. The way the Miscellaneous *maeku* is so imperceptibly carried into the thematic frame of Autumn is extremely fine.

## Winter

64 STKBS 1193.

kariba no kaesa	There’s a catch of great prize
emono koso are	on the way back from the hunt!
kururu no ni	Lying in wait for
tsuki o machitoru	the moon, upon the dimming fields
yuki harete	the snow clears up.

*Chikurinshō no chū* 149: The *maeku* refers to T’ai-kung-wang [J. Taikōbō], who was the catch obtained by King Wen of the Chou on the banks of the Wei. The

tsukeku turns this into a situation in which on the way back from the hunting field, the snow clears up, having waited to catch the moon when it appears. The use of “lying in wait” [*machitoru*] to correspond with “great catch” [*emono*] is of the essence in this link.

*Chikubun* 557: The way back from the hunting field is a reference to the anecdote about T'ai-kung-wang.

*Chikurinshū kiki* 117: The *maeku* refers to the anecdote about King Wen obtaining [the services of] T'ai-kung-wang. The *tsukeku* makes the moon the catch.

The story of T'ai-kung-wang (a title; his name was Lü Shang) is told in the *Shih chi* (Records of the Grand Historian), chapter 32. T'ai-kung-wang, who had turned his back on worldly affairs, was peacefully fishing on the banks of the Wei River when he was discovered by King Wen of the Chou on his way back from a hunting trip. He was straightaway pressed into his service as the long-awaited teacher who would help the Chou put down the Shang and pacify the land. The figural analogy of T'ai-kung-wang to a great “catch” (*emono*) also culls from the *Shih chi* account.

*Wit.* By a masterful sleight-of-hand, Shinkei banishes the T'ai-kung-wang anecdotal allusion that everyone is expecting—so popular was this historical legend among the literati of the time—and transforms the *maeku* into a wholly objective Winter verse, while thoroughly capturing the semantic and syntactic inflection of the *maeku*. In sum, the “catch of great prize on the way home from the hunt” is not Taikōbō but the scene of snow-covered meadows shining whitely beneath the new-risen moon. As Sōgi observes, the tense correspondence between “great catch or prize” (*emono*) and “lying in wait to catch” (*machitoru*) is the pivot of the link; it summons that exact moment when a hunter captures his prey, a dynamics of action superimposed upon the same motion of suddenness with which the falling snow clears up to reveal a pristine whiteness reflecting, that is, “capturing” the moon.

In the *Kokemushiro* collection, Shinkei classifies this verse under the “interesting” (*omoshiroki*) or “arresting” style, which is characterized mainly by a novel, witty conception. This mode does not rank high in his hierarchy of styles, but quickness of wit, it need hardly be said, is a basic requirement in extemporaneous *renga*. It is a central characteristic that distinguishes it from *waka* and gives it a dry, analytic character behind all the courtly grace of feeling and aesthetic beauty. It is no accident that it was the preferred medium of warriors and priests.

66 *STKBS* 1261

sawabe no mizu no  
ochikochi no koe

Now far, now close, sound of  
water lapping along the moor.

kari zo naku  
yuki no kono yo ya  
fukenu ran

A wild goose calls!  
This night of falling snow  
So deep . . . ?

*Sudden illumination: Shinkei and Bashō.* It is interesting to observe that verses like this, which make no allusion to an older poem or anecdotal lore, do not surface in the exegetical literature, and equally illuminating to note that some of Bashō's best *hokku* and *renku* will have exactly the same quality of a startling, inward illumination more than two centuries later. Indeed the similarities in method, critical principles, and philosophic depth between the two are so specific and far-reaching that Ebara Taizō insists, despite the scant documentary evidence, that Bashō directly studied Shinkei's mind.<sup>37</sup> That he suppresses any mention of the other, while announcing the oneness of his art with "Saigyō's waka, Sōgi's renga, Sesshū's paintings, and Rikyū's tea," might conceivably be a case of what Harold Bloom has called the "anxiety of influence," the Oedipal, psychological repression of a great precursor-father's power in the mind of a writer anxious to establish himself.

This possibility is all the more tantalizing in that Bashō's critical principles—*fūga no makoto* (the truth of art), the centrality of *sabi*, the valorization of *nioi-zuke* (linking by "fragrance," i.e., through a mental leap), the view of poetic process as a self-transcending fusion with the object, and so on—have definite parallels in Shinkei's poetic practice and critical philosophy, but their major implications were not fully understood in Shinkei's own time, as may be gathered from the fact that the commentaries presented here do not remark them. It was not until Bashō restated them in the context of his *haikai* philosophy and modern scholars took them up as evidence of the Zen influence in haiku, that they attained the wide recognition they deserve. If we sometimes get the impression that Shinkei was ahead of his time, while Bashō seemed willfully to reject the "floating world" of Edo and identify with the stern spirit of the medieval age, it is precisely due to the remarkable coincidence of these two minds outside the two centuries that divided them.

The issue of direct influence apart, there is absolutely no question regarding this intellectual congruence, as anyone who reads both closely will soon discover. In the matter of linking, consider the quality of this pair of verses from the *kasen*, "At the Ash-lye Tub" (*Akuoke no*, published 1691).

akuoke no  
shizuku yamikeri  
kirigirisu  
Bonchō

At the ash-lye tub,  
the dripping is stilled!  
murmur of crickets.  
Bonchō

abura kasurite  
yoine suru aki  
Bashō

The oil lamp sputters low  
dozing in a twilit autumn.  
Bashō

In the renga pair, the tranquillity figured by the lapping of the water against the moor bank, advancing, receding, is suddenly stretched taut, distilled as it were into the faint metallic echo of the call of a wild goose from behind the thick blanket of snow, accentuating the depth of the stillness of the night. This movement from a relaxed tranquillity to a concentrated silence is similar to the effect of the link in the haikai pair above, except that the progression occurs in reverse; the tsukeku by Bashō dissolves the tense, resounding stillness of the maeku in the blank image of dozing at twilight. The artistic intelligence is the same in the inwardness of the link, in the stalking of the ineffable dimensions of silence as a cognitive experience registering itself with the acuteness of a sensation. The ineffability is particularly marked in Shinkei's tsukeku in the way it crystallizes "now close, now far" (*ochikochi*), a bipolar image, into a single cry that is sensed as both immediate and remote at the same time.

### Elegies

70 STKBS 1339

mata yo to iishi  
kure zo hakanaki  
chiru uchi ni  
hito no sakidatsu  
hana o mite

"I will come again," he said,  
Yet another dusk falls, empty.  
I gaze, remembering  
him who went before. . . .  
The flowers are falling.

*Chikurinshō no chū* 328: The world of man is even more ephemeral than the flowers. [KKS 850. Laments. "Composed while gazing at the flowers on the cherry tree planted by someone who passed away just when it was about to bloom." Ki no Mochiyuki.]

hana yori mo  
hito koso ada ni  
narinikere  
izure o saki ni  
koimu to ka mishi

Man, it turns out, is  
even more fleeting than the  
flowers—now have I  
seen, having presumed to know,  
who will miss the other first.

*Chikubun* 1112: The poem "Man is even more than the flowers" is the feeling expressed in the situation of the verse, where the man who said "till we meet again" has passed away.

Mediated by the foundation poem while effecting a variation on it, this verse shifts the context of the maeku from Love to Laments. In the former, the feeling of emptiness (*hakanaki*) is caused by the lover's failure to come at the promised hour of dusk. In the latter the man's absence turns out to be

beyond help, since he has passed away. Furthermore, within the context of the link, it is implied that the lover promised to come when the cherries were in bloom; thus their scattering now is filled with a poignant significance for the speaker—this is how Shinkei responds to the *maeku*'s emphatic inflection. Such a link is a particularly clear example of how the *maeku* in *renga* always has a double identity, or an indeterminate meaning, until it is fixed by the *tsukeku*.

72 *STKBS* 1359

chigiri mo yume to  
naru zo kanashiki

naki ato ni  
yukusue tanomu  
fumi o mite

How sad that even a vow  
should turn into a dream!

I read his letters:  
bereft wake of a hoped-for time  
till the end of time.

The *tsukeku* provides the concrete context by which the *maeku*'s general statement acquires a more compelling, ironic force. The man's passionate vows of fidelity for all time, expressed in his letters, are like a dream now that he is dead. The exact nuance of *chigiri*, which may mean an ongoing intimate relationship, or simply the promise of one, is left ambiguous in the *maeku*. In the former sense, the verse means that even the closest relationship may be severed and seem dream-like thereafter. Shinkei anchors it to the latter sense, however, while fully responding to the *maeku*'s emphatic inflection: the promise of a union, so deeply longed for, is doubly a dream (*yume to naru zo*) since it was never fulfilled in this life and has now passed forever beyond possibility. The letters are left as paradoxical "traces" (*ato*) of a mere potentiality, something that never was in reality. In this way, linking in *renga* is like a process of focusing a camera lens to enable the *maeku*'s picture to come through; it is the act of resolving an ambiguity through interpretation.

74 *STKBS* 1361

kiyoki na no mi zo  
nao aware naru

nureginu wa  
tsui ni naki yo ni  
arawarete

That only her chaste name remains  
is all the more tragic.

The sodden clothes:  
a slander first revealed to the  
world when she was dead.

*Goku Shibakusa* 211: Long ago, I believe it was in Tawarejima Island off the coast of Tsukushi, a woman who wished to get rid of her stepdaughter made her put on drenched clothes to make it look like she had engaged in intimate relations with a fisherman. She then told the girl's father the reason behind the drenched clothes and so was able to eliminate her. (p. 63)



*Chikubun* 1117: There was once a couple living in Tawarejima. The mother, hating her stepdaughter, told the girl's father that his daughter had had relations with a fisherman. When the father accused her of lying, she put drenched clothes on the girl and made her go to bed in them. On seeing his daughter thus, the father was convinced and killed her. Afterward she appeared to him in a dream. The verse means that her name was eventually vindicated after her death, but that makes it all the more pitiful.

*Chikurinshū kigaki* 300: Long ago in the place called Tawarejima in Chikuzen [Fukuoka Prefecture.], a girl was hated by her stepmother. This stepmother made her put on the drenched clothes of a fisherman and accused her to her father of unchastity. She was then put to death by her father, who later heard the following poem in a dream. [*Ise monogatari shūckū* 336.]

nugikisuru	The drenched clothes
sono tabakari no	forced upon an innocent body
nureginu wa	in an evil plot—
nagaki namida no	have turned into a lesson
tameshi narikeri	in unending tears.

Since then, it is said, false accusations have been expressed through the image of drenched clothes.

Tawarejima is a rock island near the mouth of the Midori River off the coast of Uto District, Kumamoto Prefecture. The place-name and the use of the expression *nureginu kiru* (lit., “wear drenched clothes”) to mean “to be falsely accused” occur in a poem in the *Tales of Ise*, section 61. As indicated in all the commentaries above, this figurative expression has its source in an ancient legend about Tawarejima. A good example of the technique of linking through an anecdotal allusion (*honzetsu*), the verse again demonstrates how crucial inflectional particles (*te ni o ha*) and adverbials are in achieving a firm connection with the *maeku*. These brief words—here, *no mi* (only), the emphatic *zo*, and *nao* (even more)—constitute the bones of a statement, its specific rhetorical force. Their presence makes the task of the *tsukeku* poet more difficult, and it is therefore a mark of the adept that he confronts them without evasion in his own verse.

78 *STKBS* 1376

koenuru yama ya	The mountain is surmounted,
hate to naruramu	the final boundary reached.
hito no waza	The forty-nine days
sugureba izuru	having passed, they emerge from
mine no tera	the temple on the peak.

*Chikurinshō no chū* 342: The ritual of sending off a dead man's soul into the next world is called *hito no waza*. When it is held for such high personages as the Emperor, it is called *miwaza*.

*Chikubun* 1154: *Hito no waza* refers to *chūin*. This period of *chūin* having passed, the mourners leave the mountain temple.

*Shinkei renga jichū* 57: *Hito no waza* is the name habitually given since the old days to the five periods of *chūin* when the mourners seclude themselves. Therefore the words: “The mountain is surmounted, / the final boundary reached.” It is a ritual held in a mountain village temple and such places. The ritual is alluded to in old poems as well. [SKKS 764. Laments: “Composed on the death of a woman who had been living with him for many years, when the forty-nine days had ended but he remained in retreat in the mountain.” Fujiwara Akisuke.]

hito wa mina	The others have all
hana no miyako ni	to the flowers of the capital
chirihatete	drifted away—
hitori shigururu	I am alone with the autumn rain
aki no yamazato	shrouding the mountain village.

In addition to illuminating poetic and anecdotal allusions and explaining the link, the commentaries elucidated the meanings of words, particularly when they were no longer in current usage, as seems to be the case with *hito no waza* (lit., “a person’s deeds”), a term occurring as early as the *Kokinshū*, and equivalent in medieval usage to *chūin* (lit., “the middle darkness”), the forty-nine day period after a person’s death when the soul wanders in an indeterminate limbo prior to rebirth in a next existence. During this period, the mourners are in ritual seclusion at a mountain temple, praying for the soul’s salvation, keeping it company until it reaches the next world.

The *maeku* in this pair is a Travel verse; Shinkei implicitly converts it into the journey of the soul in the middle darkness, as shared by his mourners in the mountain temple. *Hate* (the boundary) in the *maeku*, referring to the final mountain crossing on a long journey, acquires the double sense of a temporal “end” in the *tsukeku*, where it signifies for the mourners the end of a long period of seclusion, and for the departed soul the entry into another world.

## Love

80 *STKBS* 1399

nageku omoi yo	Bear witness, ye heaven and earth,
ametsuchi mo shire	to the pain of this longing!
kuni to nari	Since land’s arising, and
yo to naru yori no	human world’s becoming, to love
koi mo ushi	has ever been to suffer.

*Chikurinshō no chū* 177: This refers to the way of love from the beginnings of heaven and earth, when the two deities [Izanagi and Izanami] appeared and exchanged the first marriage vows.

*Chikubun* 669: From the drippings from the heavenly spear, the country was formed. The clear substance slowly rose to become the heavens, the impure substance slowly descended to become the earth. The way of love had its beginnings from the very creation of heaven and earth.

*Ametsuchi* (“heaven and earth”) in the *maeku* called forth the allusion to the creation myth in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, as paraphrased in the *Chikubun* (which seems interestingly to read the heavenly spear as a phallic symbol) and augmented by *Chikurinshō no chū*, which refers specifically to the nuptial rites exchanged by Izanagi and Izanami, the primal couple, in the mythical account. The point of the link, however, is not merely that the very land and humankind were born out of love (according to the mythical account, the Japanese islands arose from the primal deities’ divine coupling), but that from that very beginning, “love has been suffering” (*koi mo ushi*). In other words, Shinkei is alluding to Izanagi’s terrible grief when Izanami died giving birth to the fire god. So maddened by grief was he that he smote this child and went down to wrest Izanami from the land of the dead. There, however, his very longing drives him to violate the taboo against gazing at her while still in the underworld, and they are condemned to permanent estrangement. This pointed allusion is what gives force to the *maeku*’s impassioned declaration that the very heaven and earth bear witness to (*shiru*, “know, have experience of”) the grievous pain of loving.

82 STKBS 1415

yukue o towaba  
ikaga kotaen

Should one ask my destination,  
however shall I answer?

omoiwabi  
waga na o kaete  
shinobu yo ni

Wracked by longing,  
he changed his name to another’s  
in the secret night.

*Chikubun* 589: This is on “love borrowing another’s name” [*hito no na o karu koi*]. It means, if Captain Kaoru questions me closely, how will I answer him?

*Chikurinshū kikigaki* 129: While secretly visiting under someone else’s name, should someone inquire closely into the matter, what shall I answer? This alludes to the incident in the *Shining Genji* [*Hikaru Genji*] when the Lord of the Military Guards disguised himself as Captain Kaoru and visited [Ukifune].

The *maeku* as such is a Miscellaneous verse that Shinkei frames in a Love context through an inspired allusion to the incident in the “Ukifune” (Floating boat) chapter in the *Genji* where Niou journeys to Uji in the night and seduces Ukifune by pretending to be her patron and lover, Kaoru.<sup>38</sup> One passage in particular in the description of the fateful Uji journey delves into Niou’s feelings of guilt toward Kaoru for his impending betrayal, as he recalls Kaoru’s sympathy in the old days when he was courting Nakano-

kimi in Uji. The same passage mentions his mingled feeling of fear and excitement as he rides toward Uji in a shabby disguise. It is undoubtedly this psychology of fear and guilt that Shinkei is evoking in this link.

84 *STKBS* 1444

akikaze samumi  
yo koso fukenure

omoiwabi  
yukeba kari naki  
tsuki ochite

In the cold gusts of autumn,  
the night itself has worn thin.

As I lay longing-tormented,  
the wild geese cried, the moon  
sank in the sky.

*Shinkei renga jichū* 25: This is the feeling of being beside oneself in frustrated longing for someone whose heart is cold. This kind of feeling may be discerned too in the old poems. [*SIS* 224. Winter. Tsurayuki.]

omoikane  
imogari yukeba  
fuyu no yo no  
kawakaze samumi  
chidori naku nari

As beset by yearning  
I seek my beloved's abode,  
in the wintry night  
the river wind gusts so cold  
the plovers are crying.

[*Minishū* 2809. Fujiwara Ietaka.]<sup>39</sup>

chidori naku  
kawabe no chihara  
kaze saete  
awade zo kaeru  
ariake no sora

As plovers cry from  
the marsh reeds along the river,  
the wind glints chill—  
I return, not having met her,  
in the paling sky before dawn.

*Chikubun* 703: *Omoiwabi* [longing-tormented] is a word used when one should exercise forbearance but is unable to contain oneself. The way in which the deepening of the night is conceived is arresting. He is unable to contain his longing throughout the long night.

*Asaji* 46: The way in which it evokes the man who is beside himself with yearning, his thoughts wandering futile far into the night, is truly excellent. (p. 330)

The link, as both the later commentaries point out, focuses on *yo koso fukenure* (lit., “how deep has the night grown!”). It conceives the subject of the *maeku* as a man or woman who has lain awake through the autumn night, beset by intense frustrated desire, suddenly startled out of this self-consuming absorption by the cries of the wild geese and the subsequent realization that the moon has set. The verse echoes the chill self-knowledge foregrounded in the two poems cited by Shinkei himself as precedents. Ietaka’s poem, incidentally, is itself an allusive variation on Tsurayuki’s. Shinkei’s verse is an extremely close, and equally cold evocation of the same experience.

86 STKBS 1460

urami aru  
hito ya wasurete  
mataruran

omoisutsureba  
ame no yūgure

Could bitter memory  
betray me, that I am again  
waiting for him?

I had cast him from my mind—  
At dusk the rain is falling.

*Chikubun* 676: A lower verse conceived in the manner of this one shows skill.

The skill Kenzai praises here refers to the terse simplicity of the fourteen-syllable, two-line lower verse, which nevertheless succeeds in anchoring the thought in the *maeku*, rendering it more acute and complex. In this link, the involuntary (*jihatsu*) inflection of the verb *matsu* (wait) in the *maeku* is crucial. Shinkei interprets it to signify a sense of self-disgust: Why am I driven to again yearn for this feckless man though I had firmly renounced him? The rain at dusk is the imagistic correlative figuring the intense loneliness that all unaware creeps upon the subject at that hour when a lover would visit. Her mind inadvertently drops its guard, forgetting his past remissness and feeling only a yearning for companionship amidst the melancholy rains.

88 STKBS 1492

karine no toko wa  
yume mo sadamezu

hashi chikaku  
tanomeshi yado ni  
machifukete

Sleeping upon a transient bed  
even dreams cannot settle.

Along the corner-room  
lodgings so hopefully chosen,  
the waiting night dwindles.

*Chikubun* 614: [The handling of] *karine* is arresting.

The Travel theme signified by *karine* (temporary, brief sleep in unfamiliar surroundings) is maintained in the *tsukeku* through *yado* (lodgings), at the same time that the Love theme is superimposed as a second layer. In the *maeku* as such, “dreams cannot settle” (*yume mo sadamezu*) means that on an unfamiliar bed, the traveler’s sleep is too restless for any dream to be seen through to the end. In the *tsukeku*, this “dream” is specified as the hope (*tanomeshi*) of spending the night together. Kenzai’s observation that the handling of *karine* is “arresting” (*omoshiroshi*) refers to the witty implication that the corner room, especially chosen for its accessibility, is frequently disturbed by the coming and going of other guests, making sleep and dreams impossible, underscoring the restless feeling associated with *karine*. Furthermore, it is implied that each noise whets the subject’s expectation, only to be disappointed again, and yet again, thus

pointing up once more “even dreams cannot settle” in the *maeku*. This is a humorously ironic, almost *haikai-teki* link, quite distinct from Shinkei’s usual serious, *ushin* mode of deep feeling. As we have seen in the preceding literary biography, however, Shinkei did not reject even images and conceptions that might be considered unrefined, as long as they achieved a tight link with the *maeku*.

90 STKBS 1552

omou kokoro zo	This yearning heart will be
tōku tsurenuru	beside you, no matter how far!
kawaraji to	Vows of love unchanging
nochi no yo made o	even through worlds to come,
kataru yo ni	in the close-held night.

The *tsukeku* interprets the ambiguous *tōku* (far) in the *maeku* as a temporal dimension and suggests an ironic undertone in the marked contrast between the idea of a constancy lasting until the afterlife and the fact that such talk is transpiring in the brief space of the night. The irony is not meant in a sarcastic vein; rather, the third-person observer is moved to a sense of wonder at the psychological force of a passion that drives lovers to believe in a patent illusion.

92 STKBS 1554

fukeyuku yowa no	Pain grips the heart, as the
kokorogurushisa	hours dwindle past midnight.
kataru ma no	The moon—within a
tsuki o makura no	passionate space has shifted,
nishi ni mite	west of the pillow.

The sentiment is wholly conventional for the theme, as is invariably the case in *renga* whose symbolic language is constituted by *waka*. Lovers bewailing the brevity of the night appear in love poetry from the very beginning, definitely as a conscious motif from the *Kokinshū* on. The point is to render the feeling again with the novel interest of a new conceptual and verbal structure that unexpectedly animates the *maeku*’s words in a specific way. Sometimes the unexpected consists in deflating expectation; the *maeku* here would usually be read as the pain of lying awake through the night, waiting for one’s lover (the *yowa no nezame* motif), but Shinkei transforms it to the pain of swiftly impending separation. There is a sense in which it can be said that *renga* is at base—prior to any question of poeticity—an analytical interpretive practice, a close investigation into the semantic fields of the *maeku*’s words through the medium of an inventive wit. Keeness of intelligence is foregrounded by the sheer necessity of capturing

the maeku's meaning within the brief compass of a fourteen- or seventeen-syllable utterance. The result may not be high poetry; in fact, much renga is undoubtedly minor poetry, judged by Western criteria of greatness. This verse and the preceding, for instance, do not come up to the height, or depth, one has come to expect from Shinkei, but they unmistakably demonstrate the absorbing quality of the renga verse. Terse and analytical, they are exercises in the precise verbal and mental economy of the renga link, a discipline in the efficient dynamics of a new poetic rhetoric.

96 STKBS 1586

hito naki niwa wa  
tada matsu no kaze

kaeru yo ni  
kokorobosoku mo  
tatazumite

In the deserted garden stirs  
only the wind in the pines.

Still she hesitates,  
a forlorn figure in the night  
where he heads home.

If evocation of overtly unexpressed feeling (*yojō*) is indeed the poetic moment, as the classical poets from the *Shinkokinshū* period firmly believed, then this verse is unquestionably more “poetic” than the two preceding ones. The way in which the maeku suddenly emerges into significance, as if the words *hito naki niwa* (“deserted garden”) and *tada matsu no kaze* (“only the wind in the pines”) were all at once charged with tension, is quite subtly handled. We comprehend at once that this woman has just seen her lover off in the waning night, but she remains standing, “hesitating” in the veranda, looking out at the garden long after the other has passed beyond it. The poetic moment or feeling here is expressed by the wind’s faint rustling; it delicately figures the furtive wave of longing that momentarily overcomes her at the sound, and underscores the “deserted” quality of the garden.

98 STKBS 1588

tanomeokite mo  
nani ni ka wa semu

inochi o mo  
hito o mo shiranu  
kinuginu ni

He leaves me promises to rely on,  
but what is the use of it all?

Whether my life will  
endure, or his love, uncertain:  
this parting at dawn.

*Keikandō*, Middle Stage: This is a mind that has reflected upon the impermanence of the things of this world and realizes that promises are devoid of substance. (p. 138)

The link is quite close, the technique ratiocinative, but quite impressive in its rhetorical force; in particular the ironic juxtaposition of two incommensurable terms—the duration of a life (hers, potentially shortened by frustration) and the depth of a passion (his, already belied by the emptiness

of promises)—is quite effective. Shinkei is certainly projecting an unusually strong-minded woman here, passionate but also cold-eyed.

100 STKBS 1616

omoeba ima ni nitaru inishie	Pondering, I see that the present to the past bears resemblance.
taene tada mizu shirazarishi naka zo kashi	So let us break, cleanly— we were naught but utter strangers from the very start!

*Goku Shibakusa* 117: How could it, from what unbidden moment did the love flowing between us begin to wane? Yet, in explaining it to myself, I see that I must not grieve. Since in the beginning we had never seen or known one another, it is useless to protest if in the end we should return to where we started. (p. 31)

*Chikurinshō no chū* 205: This would be in the spirit of the poem [SKKS 1297. Love. Saigyō]:

utoku naru hito o nani tote uramuran shirarezu shiranu ori mo arishi ni	Why resent the woman her growing indifference? Time there was when I was to her but a stranger, as she to me.
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(The gender of *hito* [person] in Saigyō's poem is not clear; I chose the feminine deliberately, although aware that male poets also took on the feminine persona.) One can imagine how the session must have perked up at Shinkei's performance here; the shift from the Miscellaneous *maeku* to Love—the spontaneous allusion to the conception of Saigyō's *waka* that securely resolves the puzzle of the difficult, ambiguous proposition that the present resembles the past—is a truly stunning move.

104 STKBS 1692

semete wa yoso no kaesa ni mo toe	Only come, little enough to ask, on your way home from another!
futamichi no urami mo taete koishiki ni	Even bitterness at the twain path lies consumed in the fire of longing.

*Oi no susami* 42, 43:

<i>semete wa</i> yoso no kaesa ni mo toe	Only come, <i>little enough to ask</i> , on your way home from another!
.....	
<i>tsurenaki mono wa</i> inochi narikeri	<i>The thing that is cruelly</i> persistent, is life itself!

In these two verses, the phrases *semete wa* [at the very least] and *mono wa* [the thing that is] constitute the central point where the link must take place. If you do not pay them serious attention, your *tsukeku* will be vaguely general in outline and will



inevitably lack a precise correspondence with the maeku. In response to each of these:

futamichi no  
urami mo taete  
koishiki ni  
Shinkei

Even bitterness  
at the twain path lies consumed  
in the fire of my longing.  
Shinkei

.....

okuyama no  
matsu no ha o suki  
koke o kite  
Sōzei

In the deepest mountain  
with only pine needles to chew  
and moss to wear.  
Sōzei

With these [tsukeku], the crucial words that constitute the site of the link should become clearly perceptible. “Chewing pine needles” refers to food, and “wearing moss” to clothing. That life which survives even such extreme conditions corresponds very well to the phrase “the thing that is cruelly persistent.” In composing verses on the four seasons, one can rely on the atmospheric effects of the scenery, so that even if the verse itself is not so minutely conceived, it will nevertheless seem graceful as long as its overall configuration is sound. Of course, it would also be deplorable if it were noticeably at variance with the maeku. Verses on Love, Laments, and Reminiscence, on the other hand, must be composed with precise attention to even the inflectional morphemes [*te ni o ha*] in the maeku. (p. 158)

*Keikandō*, Beginning Stage: In both waka and renga on Love, it is the practice to evoke an intensely despairing, vulnerable mood. The link with the word *semete* [at the very least] is excellent. This verse is included in both the *Chikurinshō* and the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*. (p. 133)

*Inflectional morphemes* (*te ni o ha*). Sōgi’s perspicuity as a critic and teacher of renga is impressively displayed in this lengthy analysis of two verses, the first by Shinkei, the second by the other major poet among the seven sages, Sōzei. He confirms, in effect, what has been observed previously about the importance of “inflectional morphemes” (*te ni o ha*) in the linking process. These apparently include not only *joshi* (syntactic particles) but also *jodōshi* (inflectional suffixes), as well as adverbial expressions that give a specific rhetorical shape to the maeku’s diction. As distinct from so-called *kotoba* (nouns, verbs, and adjectives that carry independent semantic values), these morphemes have a purely functional value; they specify how the independent words relate to each other syntactically, and shape the expressiveness of the maeku’s utterance. They are therefore frequently decisive, as here in the case of *semete wa* and *mono wa*, in governing the poet’s response if it is to attain to the authenticity of a true link. Thus Sōgi calls them *manako no tsukedokoro* (lit., “the eye of the link”), and his whole point is to demonstrate how both Shinkei and Sōzei capture this “eye,” the central point where the connection pivots, in their respective responses. To ignore this inflectional node of the maeku’s expression results

in a failure of connection, a slack, sloppy *tsukeku* that is wide of the mark, lacking the tight precision that constitutes the economy of an authentic *renga* link.

Another major point of the *Oi no susami* passage is the distinction drawn, vis-à-vis the subject of inflectional morphemes, between seasonal themes (Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter) and the human affairs themes (Love, Travel, Laments, Reminiscence, Buddhism, Shintō). In the former, the images themselves implicitly bear the atmospheric, modal values or feeling tones evolved by centuries of *waka* composition on just this marked lexicon of the seasons; the rhetorical shape of the verse is not so crucial in these seasonal verses, and the *tsukeku* may be broadly vague and generalized in the sense of leaving the nominal images themselves to fulfill the function of expressiveness. The human affairs themes, on the other hand, tend to be colored by the poet's subjective, mental experience, and such verses are accordingly more highly inflected in nature. The linking process here should be more minutely (*komakani*) conceived, taking full account of the rhetorical particularity of the *maeku* as expressed by its inflectional morphemes. The theme of Love in particular, as the *Keikandō* observes, renders an "intensely despairing, vulnerable mood" (*ikahodo mo wabite yowayowa to suru*); it would thus be a violation of what we might call the dialogical authenticity of *renga* to respond inadequately to such a powerful emotion.

In the first *maeku*, *semete wa* rhetorically inscribes the measure of the speaker's despair; Shinkei fully takes it into account in his evocation of a woman whose longing is so intense that her very resentment at the man's infidelity (the correspondence between "on your way home from another" and "twain path") crumbles before it, and she is driven to accept even the most minimal (*semete wa*) attention from him. This is perhaps the psychological moment of despairing surrender that the author of the *Gossamer Diary* (*Kagerō nikki*), for instance, refuses to be drawn into, even as she suffers from hearing the noise of Kaneie's carriage before her gate coming and going on his way to another. In the second *maeku*, *mono wa* underscores the cruel persistence of life, and Sōzei justifies this emphatic force by subjecting the speaker to the extremes of deprivation of a solitary, primitive existence in the mountains, where despite his desire for extinction, his life as a biological organism endures. The implication is that the speaker was driven to renounce the world and life itself due to unhappy experience, only to realize that neither sorrow nor physical deprivation are a match for the elemental vitality of the life force. This is a strikingly novel concept compared to the conventional poetic wisdom that emphasizes life's transience, not its persistence; however, the implicit complaint about existence as a

vale of suffering is wholly within the orthodox semantic field of the Laments (*jukkai*) theme.

110 STKBS 1764

makura ni hajiyo	Feel shame before the pillow,
shiru to koso ie	For 'tis said to be all-knowing!
madoromu o	What if he who
yume ni toikuru	visits only in dreams, should
hito ya mimu	see me dozing?

*Keikandō*, Advanced Stage: [KKS 676. Love. Lady Ise.]

shiru to ieba	For 'tis said to be
makura da ni sede	all-knowing, I made sure to sleep
neshi mono o	without a pillow—
chiri naranu na no	Still my name, no mere dust,
sora ni taturamu	now rises to the sky on rumor?

The third line, a crucial point here, comes to mean “I shall not doze off”—it is a marvelous turn. (p. 144)

*Chikubun* 726: Were I sleeping, he who comes to me in a dream, seeing me thus, would blame me for being shallow. Therefore “feel shame before the pillow” and desist from sleeping, it says. “It is said to be all-knowing” means that the person will come to know.

*Chikurinshū kikigaki* 166: Would he who comes to me in a dream conclude that I have dozed off, forgetful of my longing? Thus it says, “feel shame before the pillow.”

The link turns on the speaker’s paradoxical quandary, that her lover visits only in dreams, yet she may not go to sleep for fear that he will find her indifferently dozing instead of being beset in wakeful anxiety. The situation is amusing, if we wished to be unfeeling about it, but since this verse is classified under the Advanced Stage in the *Keikandō*, clearly that would not be an appropriate response. What characterizes the late stage is precisely an impartiality of attitude that takes any *maeku* at all as a serious (*ushin*) utterance and deals with it accordingly; this goes as well for expressions of naiveté, as in this link. Here Shinkei justifies the *maeku* through what Kenzai calls a “marvelous” (*kimyō*) turn or allusive variation on the *honka*, KKS 676 by Lady Ise. In this turn, the third line of the poem, *neshi mono o* (though I slept), is transformed into the implied statement “I shall not doze,” and the whole situation changed so that it is not rumor that the speaker fears but the charge of indifference from the lover. In other words, “feel shame before the pillow” (*makura ni hajiyo*) implies, “I shall not take to bed,” and the subject of the verb “know” (*shiru*) is not the omniscient pillow of Ise’s poem, that intimate sharer of one’s most private thoughts, but the man of the speaker’s dreams. Here it is well to note that according to popular belief, to see a person in a dream signifies that he/she is thinking of

oneself; from this perspective, the speaker's "shame" and consequently the impossibly problematic nature of the situation become more understandable.

112 STKBS 1866

kuyashi ya kokoro	Burning with regret, the heart
ajikina no mi ya	within this miserable body!
hitoyo neshi	It was but a night
hito ni asaku mo	I lay with him, and too naively
waga tokete	yielded to passion.

*Chikubun* 630: This illustrates the longing to meet again the loved one [*aite awazaru koi*]; he beguiled her with many assurances that he would come again and again.

*Asaji* 54: It is impossible to respond to such a *maeku* in a simple manner. The sense of the verse itself is plain enough to see, but I cite it to show how it gives full consideration [to the *maeku*]. (p. 332)

*Kenzai zōdan*: This verse is from Shinkei's Kantō period. It was composed in a thrice, even before the calligrapher had finished recording the previous verse, and he said that Sōgi spoke of it as an exceptionally marvelous verse. (p. 402)<sup>40</sup>

*Keikandō*, Middle Stage: [*Kokin rokujō* 987. "A Mountain Well." Tsurayuki.]

kuyashiku zo	It is too bitter:
kumisometekeru	shallow in the ways of drawing
asakereba	another's heart,
sode no mi nururu	I have only wet my sleeves in
yama no i no mizu	the water of the mountain well.

There are two interpretations to this poem [as it relates to the link]. In the one the speaker regrets having momentarily yielded her heart to the other despite his indifference. In the other, she feels that in cases where the other comes for several nights, one may indeed expect him to remain in one's affections for the repeated demonstrations [of fidelity], but to be thus so attached to him after no more than a single night's meeting is really galling. It is the [rankling] feeling of being unable to yield wholly, and from having yielded all too frivolously. He [Shinkei] said that in *renga* if one composes in the orthodox mode, one would employ the first interpretation; it is particularly common in the works of the middle period. (p. 138)

*Adequacy of response*. "It is impossible to respond to such a *maeku* in a simple manner" (*kayō no maeku ni wa, naozari ni tsukete wa tsukegataki mono nari*)—that is, the *maeku*'s emotional intensity demands a psychological response that is wholly adequate to it. Sōgi's expressed admiration in the *Asaji* for this *tsukeku* is confirmed by *Kenzai*'s report, which also incidentally reveals the quickness of Shinkei's response at the actual session. This aspect of his talent is belied in his critical writing by his frequent attacks on the practice of rapid-fire composition, which he felt led to

insufficient reflection upon the meaning of the maeku. The most thorough among the commentaries, however, is the *Keikandō*; it details the complex depth of Shinkei's response here, apart from revealing the presence of a foundation poem.

One can only add that the tsukeku fully accounts for the maeku's twin ideas, as clearly presented in its two lines, of bitter regret in the heart (*kuyashi ya kokoro*) on the one hand and the hapless misery of the body (*ajikina no mi*) on the other. In effect, the construction that this was no more than a single night's affair underscores the physical passion into which the subject fell, and which leaves her still in a miserable state of sensual yearning; as may be gathered from the *Chikubun*, this desire for the repetition of an initial singular experience is apparently the meaning of the thematic motif of *aite awazaru koi* (love after a single meeting). *Asaku mo* ("too naively"), on the other hand, precisely accounts for the bitter regret now raging in the subject's heart.

*Orthodox and unorthodox readings.* An important point to observe in the *Keikandō* passage is its clear recognition of the variability of interpretations of waka employed in renga. It is tempting to see this as a blanket statement on the indeterminacy of meaning, a philosophical stance for which there is ample evidence in Shinkei's *Sasamegoto*. In this instance, however, the distinction being drawn is only that between a simple and a complex reading of Tsurayuki's poem. The first "orthodox" or mundane mode of interpretation (*shōfūtei*) takes it at face value simply as an expression of regret at naively (*asakereba*) surrendering oneself to a man who does not merit such trust, and thus reaping only tears (*sode no mi nururu*, "I have only wet my sleeves") from the experience. The second reading delves into the self-conflicted psychology of the subject, focusing on the ambiguous, complex resonance of *asashi* (lit., "shallow") in the poem as it influences the same term in the tsukeku. This shallowness or naiveté can refer to her gullibility in assuming that one night's meeting is but the prelude to many nights of bliss, or to her ignorance in the ways of drawing another's heart to her own—here taking into consideration the polysemic phrase *kumiso-mete*, which brings together the senses of "drawing" water from the well and "probing" the depths of another's heart and "drawing it out" through a sympathetic response. Similarly, *somu* means both "for the first time"—this is the subject's first experience—and "to be permanently dyed" with love's color.

In sum, Shinkei's reading of the poem, which mediates his response to the maeku, takes the subject's bitter regrets (*kuyashi ya*) to be directed less at the scarce lover than at her own inadequacy of response (*asaku mo*), her

easy because inexperienced drifting into physical love without a mature knowledge of the complexity of the human heart, including her own. There is also the implication that superficiality in these matters, the inability to “draw deep” into the bottomless well of love, beyond the easy satisfaction of the senses, can only lead to burning frustration, perhaps to obsession, “the feeling of being unable to yield wholly” and of “having yielded too frivolously” (*yoku tokezu asaku toketaru to iu kokoro*), as the *Keikandō* puts it. There is perhaps a discipline of the heart, just as much as of the body, and to yield or trust fully is a matter of the first.

114 STKBS 1904

wakareji ni	A comfort to me
nagusamenishi mo	along the road where we parted,
utsuroite	they are changed.
ouru kuzuba mo	The growing arrowroot leaves also
aki ni au iro	meet with autumn in faded hues.

*Asaji* 1: This verse culls from the following poem [*SIS* 306. Partings. Anonymous.]:

wasuru na yo	This remember: when upon
<i>wakareji ni ouru</i>	<i>the growing arrowroot leaves</i>
<i>kuzu no ha no</i>	<i>on this road of parting,</i>
<i>akikaze fukaba</i>	the <i>autumn</i> wind comes to blow,
<i>ima kaerikomu</i>	then will I be returning soon.

“A comfort to me” [*nagusamenishi*] refers to the words “then will I be returning soon” [*ima kaerikomu* in the foundation poem]. “Along the road where we parted” [*wakareji ni* in the *maeku*] summoned the words “the growing arrowroot leaves” [*ouru kuzuba* in the *tsukeku*]. The arrowroot leaves are things that also change in color when autumn comes. Therefore, although she had found comfort in his promise to return, the message is that he has since changed. The verse uses the foundation poem in a truly interesting way. (pp. 317–18)

*Chikubun* 671: It is bad to use direct or plain language in verses on Love. This is based on the spirit of the poem “This remember . . .” [*SIS* 306 quoted]. Through *mo* [also], it becomes a Love verse. It is a truly remarkable use of the foundation poem.

Without the crucial particle *mo*, whose suppressed first referent is the changed heart of the other, the *tsukeku* would be a purely seasonal verse on Autumn. There is indeed something almost quelling about the swift precision of Shinkei’s aim here. The clarity, and deceptive facility, of the move from *maeku* to *tsukeku* through the intervention of the *honka* is truly the mark of an adept. In leaps like this, *renga* becomes as it were a dance of language, a verbal performance powered by the supple sinews of the mind.

116 STKBS 1922

omou kokoro zo	Soul mad with longing
sora ni ukaruru	wanders off into the sky.

karasu naku  
shimoyo no tsuki ni  
hitori nete

A crow shrieks—  
before the moon of a frosty night  
I lie alone.

*Shinkei renga jichū* 39: It would be utterly absurd to see this crow as a harbinger of dawn. The verse says, while I lie alone lamenting my fate, deep into the night a lone male crow floats up against the sky, enduring like myself the chill clarity of the moon's rays in the frosty night, and calling to mind a sense of desolation.

*Chikurinshō no chū* 187: Lying all alone in the cold of the night, taken out of myself in an extremity of longing, my state of mind is equivalent to that crow—such is what “soul wanders off into the sky” [*sora ni ukaruru*] means.

*Chikubun* 704: One hears of the so-called “mad crows” [*ukaregarasu*].

“*The chill and icy*”: on the brink of madness. An exceptionally arresting verse in Shinkei's “chill and icy” (*hie-kōritaru*) mode. The weird appearance of the lone black crow silhouetted against the white moonlight has in it something of the rigorous austerity and intense exaggeration of black-ink paintings inspired by a Zen mind. Longing here is pitched so high as to break beyond the bounds of the human, and even beyond the nostalgic splendor of art, into the realm of madness, the nihilism of the abstract. Yet it is held in check at this very extremity and thus evokes a stark tension characteristic of the mind behind Shinkei's poetry of the chill and icy.

This is poetry of extreme desire and extreme deprivation, one that holds before the mind the intense allure and also the wholly vacant transparency of desire. There is, according to Kaneko, but a thin line separating this link from haikai.<sup>41</sup> If I read him right, he refers to the elements of exaggeration and incongruity common to both; the chill and icy would therefore lie precisely in that thin line that holds Shinkei's poetry here poised between an extreme rigor and control on the one hand and the outbreak of the comic on the other. It is poetry, I believe, that is informed by a deep sense of ironic incongruity that refuses to dissolve into, or indulge in, the catharsis of comic laughter, although it is certainly but a step away from cosmic laughter. One can also say that the chill and icy is *sabi*, or existential loneliness, sensed at its most extreme pitch, where it borders on madness.

## Travel

130 STKBS 2253

ike ni naku  
hitori no oshi o  
mi ni shirite  
tabine kanashiki  
fuyu no yamazato

That cry torn from  
the lone male duck in the pond:  
I know it in my body.  
Desolate nights of sojourn in  
a mountain hamlet in winter.

*Oi no susami* 51: The meaning of the link with the *maeku* is wholly understandable. To deliberately respond to “pond” [*ike*] by means of “mountain hamlet” [*yamazato*] is a measure of the author’s utmost efforts. Among Lord Teika’s poems is one I believe that also uses the two together. It is true, nevertheless, that the poet would have been capable of making such a link even without the poem. For everything depends upon the reach of the poet’s own mind.

*Chikurinshō no chū* 217: This is about listening to the moving cries of the duck in the pond throughout the night and feeling just as lonely, while spending a night in a mountain village in winter on a journey. It was perhaps inspired by such a poem as this one [*Shūi gusō* 1649. Winter]:

mono omowanu	Let he who feels no
hito no kikekashi	sorrow in things listen!
yamazato no	From the frozen pond
kōreru ike ni	deep in the mountain village,
hitori naku oshi	a male duck weeps all alone.

*Yuki no keburī* 55: With regard to the method of this verse, it is appropriate enough to have a duck in a mountain village in winter. One might think the existence of a pond there unnatural, but again, why not? Is not the feeling truly desolate and moving? In this author’s poetry, and in Senjun’s as well, there is a suggestiveness [*omokage*] that hovers about the words of the verses as such. One should read them with the greatest thoughtfulness.

*Keikandō*, Middle Stage: The linking is not so minute, but it is good. Saying “in a mountain hamlet” [*yamazato*] instead of “in the shadow of the mountain” [*yamakage*] shows that the poet has given much thought to getting the scene right. The method belongs to the middle stage. Through the sadness of sleeping alone himself, the speaker feels at one with the male duck. It recalls the feeling of the line “Chill the tail of the Mandarin duck, in layers of frost flowers.” (p. 137)

Three of the four commentaries observe the unusual placement of the pond in a mountain setting (instead of in the usual lowlands), and the *Keikandō* in particular points out the crucial effect of locating the scene in the “mountain village.” The implication is that the mountain interior is a lonelier geography than the marshland in the plains, while the word “village” or hamlet underscores the traveler-subject’s loneliness amidst the presence of others who, unlike himself, belong there; he is a stranger, the outsider within a tight-knit village community. In other words, the verse skillfully brings out with sharp poignancy the line *mi ni shirite* (“I know it in my body”) in the *maeku*. While Sōgi is wholly justified in saying that Shinkei is capable of making such a connection without the precedent of Teika’s poem, Shinkei’s admiration for Teika, as expressed in his critical writings, was such that it would be hard to believe that he did not have his poem in mind here.



134 STKBS 2325

tsui ni yuku	A temporary lodging
michi no konata no	on this side of the road all
kari no yado	must go, in the end.
yasumishi hodo o	To recover the time he rested,
isogu tabibito	the traveler hastens onward.

*Chikubun* 816: The “temporary lodging” is the one where the traveler rested.

The *maeku* is Buddhist in import: this mundane existence is but a “temporary lodging” (*kari no yado*) on the universal road to death and ceaseless transmigration. As Kenzai notes, Shinkei transforms that figurative expression into a literal one, an inn where the traveler spent the night. The point of the link, however, is the almost savage irony generated by the juxtaposition of the two contextual frameworks—one philosophical, the other worldly, such that this unwary traveler who begrudges even the time he lost in sleep is seen to be hastening on to his doom.

136 STKBS 2397

satorazuba	Without understanding,
nori no sawari to	would it not become a hindrance
nari ya semu	to the Dharma?
fune ni kaze miru	In the boat, observing the wind
oki no ukigumo	in the drifting clouds at sea.

*Chikubun* 794: “To understand” [*satoru*] means to carefully observe and discern the wind conditions and such.

As in the previous link, the Buddhist-oriented *maeku* is transposed into a mundane Travel context, here of a boat about to embark for the high seas. It is important to observe the clouds out at sea and discern from them the lay of the wind, in order to steer the boat safely to its destination. Here *nori*, Buddhist Dharma or teaching, in the *maeku* is understood as its homonym, the *renyōkei* form of the verb *noru*, to get on a vehicle that will convey one someplace. Still, the double vision inherent in the *renga* link suggests that the *tsukeku* can also be seen figuratively: this boat’s destination may be “the other shore” (*higan*) of enlightenment, and its passage there can be “obstructed” by the “clouds” of unknowing or ignorance (*satorazuba*). By itself the *tsukeku* is not Buddhistic in theme; in fact Shinkei’s transformation of the *maeku* into a simple Travel context suggests that his task at this point in the session is to move away from Buddhism. Nevertheless, the effect of contiguity in *renga* linking is such that the *tsukeku* inevitably becomes “infected,” as it were, with the *maeku*’s theme, so that the *tsukeku* carries the traces of the former theme in its deep structure in the very process of

moving away from it in its surface structure. We should remember that Shinkei himself observed in the *Shiyōshō* that a verse does occasionally straddle two themes at once, and he gave the example of the intimate relation between Love and Laments. The same can easily obtain between Buddhism and Travel.

138 STKBS 243 I

mata-ne ni nareba	Lying down again, the bed
toko mo natsukashi	is yet warm with memories.
kaeru ni mo	Returning, he seeks
onaji yado toru	along the route he traveled,
tabi no michi	the same inn.

*Keikandō*, Beginning Stage: This is a model of the beginning stage. (p. 134)

The situation in the *maeku* is one wherein a woman has just seen her lover off in the early dawn and goes back to bed (*mata-ne*), wrapped in the memories of the shared night and the scent of the other that still clings to the bedclothes. Shinkei links up to this Love verse by analogically transposing its concept into a Travel framework. On his way back, this traveler stays at the same inn as when he set out, drawn by pleasant memories (*natsukashi* in the *maeku*) of his earlier sojourn there. The diction of the *tsukeku* is clear and simple; its meaning is explicit and uncomplicated; the link itself is close, based on the verbal correlatives *mata* (again) = *kaeru* (returning), *onaji* (the same); *ne* (sleep) = *yado* (inn, lodging). It is for these three reasons that Kenzai holds it up as an exemplary verse of the beginning stage; the handling of the *maeku* is orthodox and competent, and the depth and complexity of the mind-heart are not engaged or at play.

### Miscellaneous

140 STKBS 244 I

chigireru haru no	Upon the promised springtime
omokage mo ushi	memory casts a gloomy shadow.
wakamizu ni	In the young waters,
yuki o kumu made	drawing but whiteness of snow:
mi wa oite	Such has this body aged.

*Chikurinshō no chū* 238: This means that although one speaks of “young waters” [*wakamizu*], the reflected image of one’s hair white as snow makes the springtime gloomy.

*Chikurinshū kikigaki* 195: The promise was made to last until old age. [SKKS 1708. Miscellaneous. “Composed when he scooped mountain water.” Priest Nōin.]

ashihiki no	In the water below
yamamoto mizu ni	the foot-dragging mountain,

kage mireba	I stare at my image:
mayu shirotae ni	So aged, the eyebrows
waga oinikeri	are flaxen white.

The shadow of gloom (*omokage mo ushi*) in the *maeku* is most probably cast by the memory of someone absent, through death or estrangement, with whom the speaker exchanged love vows in a springtime past. In the *tsukeku*, this “promised springtime” (*chigireru haru*) assumes an altered referent: the “promise” of ever vigorous health signified by the New Year’s ritual of scooping the fresh “young waters” from clear springs; similarly, the sense of *omokage* shifts from “shadow” (of a memory) to the old man’s “reflected image” on the clear waters. The link is at once seamlessly dexterous and quite moving; it belongs to that realm of ironic pathos known as *aware*. Both verses are on compound topics, Spring and Love in the *maeku*, and Spring and Laments in the *tsukeku*. The *honkadori* technique here is in the typical *renga* mode of simple citation of a precedent poem’s concept without overt variation. The tersely compressed yet allusive expression *yuki o kumu made* (lit., “till I am drawing snow”) is a good example of *renga* diction.

142 STKBS 2449

waga furusato to	'Tis the birds chirping, as if
tori zo saenuru	to say, “Our own old village!”
ta ga ueshi	Who planted those trees,
kozue no nobe ni	tips lost in the shrouding mists
kasumuran	across the fields?

*Oi no susami* 13: The old village has fallen to utter desolation, leaving only fields of planted trees, their tips lost in mist, and not a single remembrance of the people who once made their world there. Looking at the birds dwelling familiarly in the treetops, the poet has linked up to the *maeku*, “It’s the birds chirping, ‘Our old village,’” by investing it with feeling [*kokoro o irete*]. The design of the verse is arresting [*omoshiroku*], and it is, moreover, moving [*aware*].

*Chikurinshō no chū* 4: The design of the link is one wherein the old village has become a wild field, and the men who planted the trees are lost in anonymity; there are only the birds in the treetops chirping freely as if in their own old village.

*Chikubun* 11: What was formerly an old village inhabited by people has been taken over by the birds as their own.

In both the *Chikurinshō* and Shinkei’s own collection, the *Shingyokushū*, this verse is classified under Spring. It appears under Miscellaneous in the *Shinsen Tsukubashū* presumably because the primary feeling is not seasonal but belongs to the topos of *kaikyū* (remembering the past). *Furusato* (old village) in the *maeku* marks it as a Travel verse; Shinkei connects

to it by means of the *kaikyū* theme, while introducing Spring in the image of the mists or haze (*kasumi*).

The design of the link is drawn in sharply incisive lines while accommodating an original conception—this is what Sōgi means by “arresting.” It is built around the contrast between the birds singing in the trees and the people who once planted them and are now gone; this dialectical method of evoking what is absent in what is present frequently occurs, as we have seen, in Shinkei’s hokku. The gay chirping of the birds, secure in their “own old village” (*waga furusato*) is juxtaposed against the silent enshrouding mists, a metonymical feature of the landscape that simultaneously functions as a symbolic metaphor for the obscurity that has overtaken the former inhabitants of the old village (“who planted those trees”). The passage from *maeku* to *tsukeku* is like that of a cheerful, foregrounded scene suddenly stilled and receding back in the mists of time, from where only the faint chirping of the birds echo in remembrance of what has passed; it is the quality of this “passage” that is both arresting and “moving” (*aware*) at the same time, and is the mark of the poet’s investment of his heart-mind (*kokoro o irete*, as Sōgi says) in his verbal utterance.

144 STKBS 2479

furuki yashiro ni  
ume niou koro

yuki usuki  
hiwada no shinobu  
katsu moete

Season of plum blossoms wafting  
in the silence of the old shrine.

While through thin snow  
on the cypress-bark eaves, green  
the yearning ferns unfurl.

*Chikubun* 824: In the context of the link to the *maeku*, this [scene] refers to the shrine; in the verse by itself an ordinary house is meant.

The first gentle stirrings of life in early spring are juxtaposed here with the age of the shrine. The link does not primarily depend on word association, although this is present, but on a tonal allusiveness in which the plum blossoms’ delicately wafting scent and the unfurling of the “yearning ferns” (*shinobu* in its double sense) are invested with a faint suggestion of nostalgia for the past. It is another instance of what would later be called linking by fragrance (figuratively) in the Bashō school of haikai.

148 STKBS 2607

mada konu kure no  
aki no hatsukaze

shitaba chiru  
yanagi ya kari o  
sasouran

Still to come, already at dusk  
A touch of autumn’s first winds.

Leaves showering  
from the tips of waving willows—  
to lure the wild geese?

In the maeku, the emphasis is on the touch of coolness in the wind at dusk, marking the passage of the season from summer to autumn. In the tsukeku, this subtly tactile quality is evoked visually in the leaves floating loose from the tips of the trailing willows; furthermore, the conceit of “luring” (*sasou*) the wild geese who migrate from the north in autumn ties in securely with the phrase *mada konu* (still to come) in the maeku.

150 STKBS 2609

mitsu no sakai ni  
ima zo mayoeru

omowazu no  
tsuki o futsuka no  
sora ni mite

Through the three worlds blindly  
am I wandering, this very moment!

Soul-struck  
gaze on the second-day moon,  
in a vast sky.

*Asaji* 31: This is about a feeling that strikes instantaneously, apart from any logical reason. It shows the bone-deep virtuosity of a keen mind. The second-day moon appears, I believe, in a poem by Priest Jichin. (p. 326)

Sōgi means the poem below, *Shūgyokushū* 4325. “First Love.” Priest Jichin.

aru ka naki ka  
kokoro no sue zo  
aware naru  
*futsuka no tsuki ni*  
kumo no kakareru

Is it there, not there?  
how pitiful the trace of this  
heart that loved:  
Faint gleam of *the second-day*  
*moon* behind a veil of cloud.

*The distant link.* The “three worlds” (*mitsu no sakai*) are those of desire, form, and non-form, the totality of the dharmas that constitute the mundane consciousness of existence. “Wandering blindly” (*mayoeru*) refers to the ordinary state of ignorance in which one lives—desires, acts, thinks, according to the viciously mechanistic circular logic of this triple world where the nexus of external phenomena (form) and mind (non-form, i.e, sensations, thoughts) generates desires that, never reaching fulfillment, are doomed to ceaseless repetition. The maeku is in this sense explicitly Buddhist in theme.

On the surface, Shinkei’s tsukeku is not as such Buddhist; in fact the “moon” would place it in the topos of Autumn. The apparent lack of verbal semantic relation between the two verses is such that we may characterize the intervening space as Distant (*soku*): an instance where the link, invisible on the linguistic surface (*kotoba*), exists mainly in the deep structure of the mind (*kokoro*). *Soku*, it should be noted, does not refer to a slack link; on the contrary, it is often where the link is most apparently absent that its presence is most perceptible. *Soku* is marked by that sudden tension that grips the mind when the link comes into focus in the sheer act of reading,

which in renga more than in any other genre means the act of understanding.

The tsukeku is in effect a symbolic figure, an image as Ezra Pound defined it (“an intellectual and emotional complex in an instant of time”), of the maeku speaker’s sudden intuition of his own state of delusion. Once this is understood, then it becomes equally clear how Shinkei has interpreted *ima zo* (this very moment) as that instant of spontaneous illumination—and this is Sōgi’s observation as well—when the speaker, gazing at the second-day moon glinting chill and thin in the vast autumn sky, recognizes there the frailty or ungroundedness of his own condition as a creature of circumstance, someone heretofore blind to the very forces holding him in thrall.<sup>42</sup> Such is the power of the image that we sense as well the promise of a greater illumination in the future waxing of this moon; in that sense the present moment of *ima zo* may be characterized as the Buddhist “awakening of the mind” (*hosshin*). The potential fullness of wisdom belongs, however, to the proliferating overtones of the image; the focus of the link itself is that awakening to the perilous frailty of the human condition that is the beginning of wisdom. Incidentally, this image of the thin moon in the vast sky may also be read as a symbolic figure for the religious-philosophical content of Shinkei’s mode of “coolness and slenderness” (*yasesamuku*), an aesthetics of mental and rhetorical economy inseparable from a Buddhist philosophy of mind and existence. Sōgi’s comment on this verse, that it shows the “bone-deep virtuosity of a keen mind” (*rikon no fūkotsu*), is wholly apt in describing the inspired leap from the maeku to the tsukeku.

154 STKBS 2701

tsumadou shika no	The calls of the stag seeking his
koe zo fukeyuku	mate, far into the night wears on.
takasago no	On the waiting pines
matsu ni onoe no	high on Takasago hill falls
kaze ochite	silent the wind.

*Goku Shibakusa* 158: There is nothing particularly arresting about this verse. I had no other choice since with the maeku the Nocturnal images had already been exhausted, and then of course Takasago is the one place where one reads the deer. In truth I am quite satisfied with the verse as it is, rather than calling upon such colorful images as crimson leaves and [pink] bush clover. (pp. 43–44)

*Chikubun* 972: This is a non-predicative verse; it is in the categorical mode. Its feeling is similar to the following poems [*SIS* 191. Autumn. Anonymous]:

akikaze no	With each sweep
uchifuku goto ni	of the cool autumn wind
takasago no	the air sounds
onoe no shika no	with the cries of the deer
nakanu hi wa nashi	daily on Takasago Hill.

[SKKS 290. Autumn. “Written along the place depicting Takasago in a screen painting in the Saisho Shitennō Hall.” Fujiwara Hideyoshi.]

fukukaze no	The blowing wind
iro koso miene	has no visible color, true—
takasago no	still in Takasago
onoe no matsu ni	already the feel of autumn
aki wa kinikeri	is on the hilltop pines.

The effect of Shinkei’s *tsukeku* is to make the *maeku* tense in a wonderfully subtle way. By saying that the wind among the pines has died down, in one stroke he evokes the earlier hour when the deer’s calls were heard intermittently through the sound of the wind in the pines. This contrasts with the present moment when the wind has stilled (*kaze ochite*) and only the stag’s calls, now weaker due to the elapsed time, break the silence. His verse, in other words, points up and justifies the line *koe zo fukeyuku* (lit., “the voice is wearing on,” with the emphatic particle *zo*). The passage of time is expressed in the wind’s falling off and the deer’s faltering voice as the night deepens into silence. Additionally, *matsu* (pines)—conventionally read with its homonym, the verb “waits”—responds to “seeking his mate” in the *maeku*, imbuing the night itself with a quality of longing, and further underscoring, on the level of feeling, the sense of long duration in the term *fukeyuku*.

Shinkei’s own commentary explains how both necessity and personal aesthetics governed his choice of images here. He could not resort to Nocturnal images—say, the moon in response to “night” in the *maeku*, since their allotted occurrence in this section of the sequence has already been exhausted. “Deer” in the *maeku* signifies an Autumn theme; to reject the colorful autumnal imagery of crimson leaves and pink bush clover in favor of the “colorless” evergreen pines was not a matter of formal necessity but aesthetic choice; it evinces both his taste for the austerity of *sabi* and his concern for *tsukeai* (linking) as a motion of dialogic understanding. A colorful imagery would have contradicted both the sense and very feeling of the *maeku*. As for Kenzai’s two poem citations, they are apparently meant to give the authority of precedent to the association between the place-name Takasago and “deer”/“pine,” as well as the occurrence of all three items in autumn poems. (However, there is no exclusively autumnal image in Shinkei’s verse, thus it is classified under Miscellaneous in the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*.)

The construction of the verse as “non-predicative” (*muinaru ku*) and belonging to the categorical mode (*koto shikarubeki tai*) points to Kenzai’s awareness of a mode of poetry that does not explicitly assert or express anything notable, but merely names things as they are. In the terminology

of Shinkei's criticism, such apparently empty verses would correspond to the *henjodai* mode, which he valorized because they best demonstrate the fact that the poetry of renga does not lie in the isolated verses as such, but in the vital links between them.<sup>43</sup> The following verse is in the same mode.

156 STKBS 2737

fuyugare no	In winter-withered
nobe ni sabishiki	fields the color of loneliness
iro miete	apparent.
yūhi no shita no	The glinting line of river
mizu no hitosuji	beneath the dying sun.

*Chikubun* 865: In the passing hour of the evening light; things look white. An arresting verse.

In the *maeku* as such “the color of loneliness” (*sabishiki iro*) refers to the withered fields of midwinter, empty of the vitality of green and the vibrant hue of flowers. In the *tsukeku* this “color of loneliness” over the whole landscape becomes distilled into the chill white glint of the slanting sunlight on the slender river flowing across the fields. In other words, loneliness or *sabi* is symbolically imaged as a cold, “colorless” reflection. The paradox clearly requires a second-order, deep reading whereby “loneliness” becomes equivalent to absence of color—that is, the emptiness of phenomenal form in the Buddhist ontological sense. Loneliness is precisely the momentary yet essential appearance of this “glinting line” of white light before the dark of evening that erases all distinctions among forms. In essence there is only black or white (a polarity reducible to one). Form is not a substance but indeed a “color,” not in the sense of applied pigment but of “reflection.” Lacking a self-identity, form is only a function, an *effect* (as in “greenhouse effect”) of temporality, the vital mutual operation of a network of circumstances. The impersonal loneliness of *sabi*, of which this link is, as it were, a poetic demonstration, is the cognition of this existential truth. A masterly example of the aesthetics of reduction (“distillation” is perhaps the better word) both in its conception and in its intensely spare diction, this is to my mind one of the most brilliant instances of the poetry of the renga link. When the *Chikubun* describes it as “arresting,” it is no doubt pointing to all that is implied by the apparent paradoxicality of its difficult wit.

158 STKBS 2763

suguru zo oshiki	Gone, how swiftly! The line
kari no hitotsura	of white geese across the sky.
funabito mo	Even the boatman
sao o wasururu	forgets to ply his oar:
aki no umi	the sea in autumn.



*Chikubun* 474: Even by itself the verse has an arresting conception. The [use of the] word “autumn” is evocative.

As Kenzai remarks, the *tsukeku* can stand on its own as an autonomous verse due to the effectiveness of its evocation of “autumn”—the way the word is activated through the invention of an efficient context, here of a boatman so absorbed in the scenery that he has forgotten to ply his oar. The nature of that scene of “the sea in autumn” (*aki no umi*) is left to the reader’s imagination; the quality of “open-endedness,” which is, I believe, the essential aspect of the whole aesthetics of *yojō* or evocation, lies precisely in this suspension of explicit definition, this refusal to trespass on the reader’s space. This reserve makes it, if you will, a non-transgressive writing, one that awaits the reader’s response to bring it to a provisional closure.

But Shinkei’s verse is, of course, itself a response to another. Within the framework set up by the other, we understand that the boatman is lost in a reverie of regret for the line of white geese momentarily outlined in the sky, now gone and leaving it, as well as the mind, a vastly rapt emptiness. In other words, the boatman’s absorption in the tranquil seascape and sky was occasioned by that swift passage of white against a limitless blue. Visually the two verses compose, as it were, two frames in a scroll painting or a film. In rhetorical terms, however, the two successive moments are juxtaposed to animate each other; the one inscribing a presence, the other displacing it into the memory as the trace of an absence. That neither presence nor absence registers itself as such, however, but only through the force of the juxtaposition is precisely what governs the dialectics of the interaction of two verses in a *renga* link.

162 STKBS 2613

inaba no kaze no  
oto zo shizumaru

The sound of the wind in the  
rice stalks suddenly stilled.

furu ame no  
ashi no maroya wa  
to o tojite

Reed-straw hut  
beneath dripping legs of rain:  
door shut tight.

*Goku Shibakusa* 133 (p. 36): It is the practice to call the huts of the keeper of small rice fields and the like *ashi no maroya* [reed-straw hut]; here the name occurs in continuity with *ame no ashi* [legs of the rain]. [*KYS* 173. Autumn. Minamoto Tsunenobu.]

yū sareba  
kadota no inaba  
otozurete  
ashi no maroya ni  
akikaze zo fuku

As darkness falls,  
from the rice stalks by the gate  
a footfall sounds, then  
rustles over the reed-straw hut—  
the blowing autumn wind!

*Chikubun* 870: This brings out the feel of “legs of the rain.” The poem, “As evening falls, / from the rice stalks by the gate. . . .”

In a succession of montage-like frames similar to the effect of the preceding link, Shinkei here interprets the sudden stillness of the winds in the *maeku* as the tense, momentary calm before a storm, which has broken out in the *tsukeku*. The verse is clearly a radical allusive variation on the *Kinyōshū* poem by Minamoto Tsunenobu (1016–97). The fact that it is designated to be in the mode of “ineffable depth” (*yūgen*) in Shinkei’s *Kokemushiro* collection (SSS 2012) indicates that the link is susceptible to an “uncanny” reading, that is to say, one that registers a sense of the inexplicability of phenomenal occurrence when viewed from an open mind. Winds sighing among the rice stalks, a sudden weird silence, and then the eruption of rain—three moments related only by temporal contiguity. Science may isolate the physical forces interacting to produce the rain and posit a relationship of causation from one moment to the next. But this chain of causation, when logically pursued, extends indefinitely into the past and future, and it is precisely the indeterminacy of this extension in two directions, which must nevertheless determine the present instant, that constitutes the sense of *yūgen*. The link, in other words, brings out the mysterious quality of that pregnant interval that generated the difference or the turn from wind to rain. And it is this uncanny feeling that emerges when we concentrate, meditate upon, the relation between *maeku* and *tsukeku* here. In particular its trace is apparent in the *sabi* quality of the image of a lone straw-thatched hut amidst the pouring rain, its shut-in (*to o tojite*), vulnerable isolation, its radical “unrelatedness” to the dripping “legs of rain” crawling all over it. The tactile immediacy of this dripping wet rain and the sense of ineffableness that hangs over the whole scene typify that unusual combination of skin-close objectivity and boundless inwardness that characterizes Shinkei’s poetry at its most compelling level.

164 STKBS 2821

aramu kagiri ya	It will last for as long as I
ware-hito no michi	live: the way of self and other.
yamazato ni	The lone bridge of
kayou kuchigi no	decaying timber, leading into
hitotsubashi	the mountain village.

In the *maeku*, “the way of self and other” (*ware-hito no michi*), referring to human interaction with others, is seen as an activity that ends only with one’s death. In the *tsukeku*, *aramu kagiri* (as long as I am), whose implicit subject is “I” in the *maeku*, acquires an altered referent to become

“as long as *the bridge* is.” Consequently the sense of the link becomes “as long as the bridge between myself and the mountain village remains, I shall interact with the people there.” However, this bridge that enables human communication is already in a state of decay, a detail that points up and simultaneously contracts the idea of extent in the adverbial *kagiri* (“as long as,” but also “to the limit of”) in the *maeku*. The feeling behind this link is somewhat ambiguous. But since the speaker is clearly a recluse dwelling up on the mountain, connected to the village in the foothills by a single old bridge, then the *tsukeku* may be read as an expression of self-ironic vulnerability. A recluse precisely because he has turned his back on mundane human intercourse, the subject nevertheless finds himself momentarily rendered insecure by the thought that the rotting bridge cannot last much longer. In this reading the *maeku*’s construction would be something like “Its days are numbered— / the way of self and other.” The prospect of total isolation, in other words, reveals a momentary wavering in the priestly subject’s resolution. Again, set against the prior sense of the *maeku* as such, the appearance of this rift ironically underscores the possibility that the longing for the warmth of ordinary human companionship is so deep-seated it ends only with death.<sup>44</sup>

168 STKBS 2877

oku fukaki  
michi o oshie no  
tayori nite

inu no koe suru  
yoru no yamazato

To guide me to  
the teachings, I take the path  
deep and remote.

Far into the night, the barking  
of a dog in a mountain village.

*Chikurinshū kigigaki* 246: [GYS 2257. Miscellaneous. Fujiwara Teika.]

satobitaru  
inu no koe ni zo  
shirarekeru  
take yori oku no  
hito no ie’i wa

That rustic feeling  
in the barking of a dog  
gives it away wholly:  
the abode of the wise sages  
deep within the bamboo grove.

The *maeku* follows a procedure contrary to the orthodox practice in Buddhist training, where one studies the teachings as a means of understanding the ultimate principle and attaining enlightenment. Instead this subject proceeds directly along “the way deep and remote” (*oku fukaki michi*)—that is, the path of Zen meditation—and having thus achieved enlightenment, makes that the means (*tayori*) of comprehending the true significance of the teachings. The teachings as embodied in the words of the scriptures first become revealed, as it were, in the light of an achieved wisdom.

Interestingly, Shinkei ignores the Buddhist context of the *maeku*, choosing instead to interpret “the path deep and remote” in the literal sense of a road in the mountain interior deep in the night. It is possible that with the *maeku*, the maximum serial occurrence for Buddhism, which is three, had been reached, and it was therefore necessary to shift away from the theme. In the process, the subject implicitly turns into someone who has lost his way in the mountains at night and, suddenly hearing the sound of a dog barking, is reassured there must be a village not too far away. In this amazing revision, the dog’s barking is the fateful “guide that teaches” (*oshie no shirube*) or illumines the obscure trail (*oku fukaki michi*) for the lost traveler, leading him out of the maze and into the village. Through the mediation of the *honka* by Teika, this village is understood to be none other than the hidden abode of the sages of the bamboo grove, so that the more esoteric and mysterious implications of the Buddhist *maeku* is preserved, albeit as a Taoist overtone, in the *tsukeku*.

170 STKBS 2909

mada shiranu  
miyama no oku o  
shimeokite

maki tatsu niwa no  
yūgure no iro

Staking off a place  
deep within remote mountains  
I have yet to know.

The dimming shadows of dusk upon  
the stand of cedars in the garden.

*Chikubun* 862: This refers to a mountain and stream landscape garden. Since it is in every way like the deep mountains, it is a projection of the mountains I have yet to know.

Like the pair above, this link is not particularly notable. I cite it for cultural interest, for what it reveals of the religious impulse behind the practice and reception of the art of the landscape garden in the Muromachi period. The aim was apparently to evoke the tranquillity of mountain reclusion right within one’s backyard, so to speak. The predominance of foliage and evergreen trees over colorful flowering plants in the Japanese landscape garden suggests that the religious-aesthetic ideal of *sabi*, the essential characteristic of medieval poetry, operated here as well. It confirms, moreover, the hold of the ideal of reclusion over the various forms of Muromachi culture.

172 STKBS 2913

ame ni ya naramu  
fuku kaze no koe

sue nabiku  
tanaka no take ni  
hato nakite

Will it turn to rain?  
Voice of the blowing wind.

From the swaying tops  
of bamboos in the rice field,  
a dove is crooning.

*Chikubun* 864: “A dove croons before the rain.” In the *Tale of Genji*, there is mention of a so-called house dove crooning from among the bamboos.<sup>45</sup>

*Keikandō*, Middle Stage: There is a folk saying that the dove calls forth the rain. (p. 139)

This link is somewhat similar to an earlier one on the reed-straw hut in pouring rain. Although it lacks the deep inwardness of the other, it has the same sense of the uncanny, which is here the presentiment of a gathering storm. The “voice of the blowing wind” (*fuku kaze no koe*) in the *maeku* comes to be the index of an unspecified yet disturbing quality to which the *tsukeku* gives voice and body through the dynamic image of the faint crooning of a dove amidst the loud creaking of the wildly swaying bamboos. The whole scene is as it were taut with an imminence, an affect of holding at bay the very storm that would dissolve it. The vividly fresh clarity with which a rustic setting is brought forth as a direct experience, apparently unmediated by pastoral poetic precedent, is rare in the history of Japanese poetic materials and their usage.

174 *STKBS* 2941

ishi no ue ni mo  
yo o zo itoeru

midarego ni  
waga ikishini no  
aru o mite

The world, be it in hovel or  
firm stone, turns wearisome.

In that single move  
at the go board I see revealed:  
my life and death.

*Chikubun* 902: He becomes enlightened [about the truth of mundane existence] through winning and losing in *go*.

The sense of world-weariness so openly admitted in the *maeku* is clarified in the *tsukeku* as springing from a realization of the arbitrariness of event, of our fate as a creature of ungovernable circumstance. Like winning or losing (here figuratively expressed as “life and death”) in the game of *go*, one’s luck can always change in a single move. There is no constancy; mutability is the law of mundane existence. As a collective discourse about nature and existence, *renga* abounds in what even then were doubtless already considered clichés. These have, of course, never prevented anyone from acting contrary to the lessons embedded in them. Various forms of gambling were popular; rapid-composition *renga* itself was performed for stakes and prizes (one reason why sober practitioners had to distinguish their activity as “serious” or *ushin renga*). The warring of medieval warriors may be said to be the “highest” form of risk-taking, in that they literally staked their lives on it. In short, the mundane attitude—expressed in the cliché, “life is a game”—was more prevalent in medieval culture than is generally supposed from the otherworldly character of the artifacts that

have survived from this period. Shinkei's satirical reduction of firm foundation stones to the minuscule black and white stones in a game of chance, the ironic tension in this forced identification of two dimensions, may be said to be a method of registering the truth of a familiar cliché in a strange, new way.

176 STKBS 2971

furitsumoru	Foothills beneath
yuki no yamamoto	a deepening pall of snow
kururu hi ni	as twilight falls.
kane hitokoe no	Far away in the cedar grove
ochi no sugimura	the muffled boom of a bell.

In stark contrast to the preceding, this pair is wholly devoid of ideational content on the surface. It clearly belongs to that type of *Shinkokinshū* poetry to which Brower and Miner gave the name “descriptive symbolism.” As a poetic method, it shares with some black-ink painting an interest not in phenomena themselves or what they might mean in the semiotic code of iconic conventions but in a quality of contemplation. It is not a poetry of the voice. Rhetorical inflection is here reduced to a minimum; we do not hear a person talking, or sense a subject thinking and feeling. What we do sense is a listening and a gazing, the same non-appropriative and non-intrusive attitude induced by the highly formal yet seemingly natural design of a landscape garden or flower arrangement.

It is not that nothing happens in this link, but all that happens is the inscription of a punctuation or a spacing—in the Derridean sense. The sound of the bell in the *tsukeku* has the effect of settling the landscape yet deeper beneath the snow and dark of the *maeku*. A sound punctuates the silence, the silence enables the sound; the space of the difference from *maeku* to *tsukeku* has the effect of making the *maeku* suddenly appear, as when we take a step back, or forward, to focus an image. This sudden coming into appearance of phenomena from the far side of mundane perception, when achieved in a poem through a mind-opening contemplative process, gives it a quality that Shinkei called “ineffable remoteness,” and this link is a fine example of it.

182 STKBS 3056

kaze mo me ni minu	Invisible as the wind to the eye,
yama no amabiko	the mountain echo from the sky.
monogoto ni	In everything,
tada arinashi o	is and is-not are wholly
katashi nite	a matter of form.

*Oi no susami* 60: Both the wind and the echo do in fact exist, yet they are at the same time empty of form. Therefore is and is-not are but formal distinctions. “In everything” [*monogoto ni*] means that in these two things [the wind and the echo] one may become enlightened regarding the provisional and empty nature of all phenomena. No doubt the *maeku* was conceived to link up to the word “call out” [*yobu*] or “answer” [*kotauru*] in the verse preceding it. Is it not a marvelous feat of transformation indeed, to be put in this very difficult position and still come up with such a link as this? (p. 165)

*Chikubun* 940: It is difficult to connect to “echo” [in the *maeku*]. Since it is itself a reply that echoes something in the verse preceding it, it is difficult to connect to the same word again in a different way. Yet the verse does exactly this. It says that like the echo, everything, including human life, has no fixed, determinate existence.

*Chikurinshō no chū* 289: The echo is a thing whose existence or non-existence is indeterminate. The meaning of the link is that there is the middle truth of True Reality [*chūdō jissō*], apart from the two truths of the empty and the provisional [*kūke*]. Since this echo is something that is different from either the empty or the provisional, it bears a meaning that enlightens us regarding all things.<sup>46</sup>

The commentaries are thorough in explicating the Buddhist view of reality as evoked by Shinkei’s inspired response to the difficult image of the “echo” (*amabiko*) in the *maeku*; Sōgi is particularly admiring. Still, compared to numerous others of the *tsukeku* so far cited, this one seems wholly didactic and intellectual, lacking in the poetic evocativeness of Shinkei’s best work. No doubt such ratiocinative verses have their place in the varied tapestry of rhetorical modes that constitutes the hundred-verse sequence, but read in the context of the isolated verse-pair unit, it is not very appealing, apart from that brief spark of wit basic to the structure of the *renga* link.

186 STKBS 3084

kono kokoro koso  
hotoke narikere

Such a mind is, indeed,  
that of a Buddha!

midorigo wa  
mada omoiwaku  
koto mo nashi

The infant-child  
is still free from drawing  
distinctions.

*Chikubun* 1033: It is honest and direct, being free of desire.

An unexpected yet thoroughly competent link. Wisdom and compassion characterize the Buddha-mind. Shinkei seizes on the first, particularly its aspect of impartiality (*musabetsu, byōdōshin*), and draws the analogy with the infant’s mind in the prelinguistic stage when it has not yet learned the categorical distinctions among phenomena inscribed by the language system and has yet to separate itself as a subject from the other. The analogy

is between a true ignorance (the infant child) and an enlightened wisdom (the Buddha): between the beginning and end of a process there is a likeness. The verse may also be read ironically: the infant is still to acquire the knowledge based on illusory—which is to say, conditioned—discriminations. On another level, the infant would not know the distinction between the mind of a Buddha and a layman. In Buddhist training, to reach the end is to realize that one has been there all the time without knowing it. This is to collapse beginning and end, to forget the middle of two points, which is also to erase the whole notion of points.

Kenzei's interpretation is significant as a Muromachi psychological reading that ascribes the mental activity of discrimination to desire. Desire by its very nature signifies a lack that can be filled only by an object; thus Lacan, for instance, posits it precisely as that which is constitutive of the Subject. That is, the primary separation between subject and object arises from desire. It is worth noting, in this connection, that Freud recognized an all-embracing "primary ego feeling," of which our present ego is but a shrunken residue, that corresponds "to a more intimate bond between the ego and the world about it."<sup>47</sup> But he was skeptical about pointing to this primary sense of oneness with the universe as the origin of religiosity, choosing instead to see it as no more than the infant's feelings of helplessness and longing for the father (why not for the mother, one might ask).

Shinkei's view on this issue is not revealed by the link above, for it rests on an analogy, and the ontological status of a trope is a problematic one. His task was to illumine *in what way* the infant may be said to be like a buddha, not to propose a primordial origin for the wisdom of non-discrimination. We are aware that the aim of Zen practice is to attain (return?) to the Original Mind, and a childlike spontaneity or lack of calculation has been, in Buddhism, Taoism, and Christianity, celebrated as one of the characteristics of saints and sages. This is all, however, an outgrowth of Kenzei's reading, and in renga there are only readings powered by desire, a desire above all to interrogate the prior text, cause it to reveal itself for an instant before the revelation in its turn becomes a question in an endless chain of signifiers whose signified or referent is constantly being displaced, from one verse to the next, in a series of desire-generated differentiations marking the tense vibrant space of the many between the one of the "infant-child" and the Buddha.

188 STKBS 3088

sa mo araba  
are tote nado ka  
isoguran

"If it be so,  
so be it!" Having said thus,  
why the hurry?



hikari no kage zo  
hito o omowanu

For the shadow trails the light,  
implacably, indifferent to men.

*Asaji* 59: Here, too, the manner of linking is clear. The way in which the author has linked up to this *maeku* demonstrates mastery. The *maeku* requires great care, for it is truly a difficult one to handle. Such a response—the verse as such—sounds nice and easy, but is not the sense [of the link] arresting? (p. 333)

*Hikari no kage* (lit., “the shadow of the light”) is a reference to *kōin* (light-and-shadow), an allegorical term for time, as in the proverb *Kōin ya no gotoshi* (Time is like a [swift] arrow). Sōgi’s commentary is admirably precise and to the point, and confirms Ijichi’s observation that Shinkei’s move here shows a seemingly “artless virtuosity” (*musōsana tsukeai no takumisa*). The contradiction posed by the *maeku* is indeed difficult to resolve, for it forecloses precisely that sense of stark resignation suggested by the declaration, “If it be so, so be it!” Shinkei’s solution is to read the resignation as a willful, angry resolve, while retaining the *maeku*’s starkness of inflection by introducing the idea of the equal implacability of the march of time. *Precisely because* (this is the force of *zo*) time does not stop for man, because night follows day as inexorably as light casts a shadow, one must make haste (*isogu*) before the dark falls; this is the altered sense of *sa mo araba are*. Such is the thin line that divides passive resignation and an active resolution.

190 STKBS 3096

waga mi ni nitaru  
oi no awaresa

The pathos of that aging body  
bears to myself a resemblance.

iro mienu  
kokoro mo hate wa  
yowarikite

Undetected by the eye,  
the spirit too, in the end,  
begins to falter.

*Guku Shibakusa* 189: The situation in the *maeku*, which compares another person and myself, is transformed to mean that like my body, even my spirit, has aged, becoming weaker. (pp. 53–54)

*Oi no susami* 56: The aging in the *maeku* refers to someone else. The point of the link, “bears to myself a resemblance,” turns on the spirit. There are these two things: body and spirit. The decline of the body is indeed plainly visible to the eye, but the spirit is something that is not outwardly manifest. This is true, and yet when one has aged, the spirit itself weakens even as the body—such is the idea by which the link is achieved. (pp. 163–64)

*Chikubun* 938: A marvelous verse. Since the spirit also becomes exhausted, it resembles the body in its aging.

*Yuki no keburī* 65: “Bears to myself a resemblance” in the *maeku* refers to someone else’s aging. The method of linking specifies the resemblance to lie in the spirit. The

deterioration of the body is something visible to the eye. The spirit is not outwardly visible, but the fact that it nevertheless also declines is cause for sadness.

This verse recalls Shinkei's poems on aging discussed in Part One. The proliferation of commentary, all of them excellent and thorough, indicates the moved response elicited by this verse that hews uncomfortably close to the reality of aging, and evokes contrapuntal echoes, within English poetry, to Shakespeare's raving old king and Dylan Thomas's "Do not go gentle into that good night." Is the denial of aging in some Western traditions to be ascribed to the dominance of the heroic strain in them? To what extent is the heroic allied with a primal fear of death, and what effect does an unreflective complicity with this cultural value have on contemporary society's rejection of such weak creatures as old people and children? What is the price for our mean-hearted and cowardly denial of the reality of time?

It is not that Japanese culture shows no traces of a shrinking before the fact of extinction. The ancient chronicles give a precise record, in the story of Izanagi's descent to Yomi, of the fear and abhorrence that marked man's primal encounter with a rotting corpse. Indeed Shintō's most important ritual, that of purification (*misogi, harae*), originates from Izanagi's therapeutic act of washing away in the river the pollution that adhered to him from the contact, a process that unleashed, ironically enough, both the forces of good and evil in the world. There is no permanent recovery from the taint of knowledge.

Here death is not finally conquered or erased but merely kept at a distance (the "warding off" of *harau*). It was no doubt Buddhism with its ringing insistence on impermanence that brought death back to the foreground of human observation. The *Heike* in effect tells us that the medieval warriors' reaction to this homily was much like that figured in link 188: the obstinately stalwart resolution of "If it be so, so be it!" It did not befit the heroism of warriors to "go gentle into that good night." One does not wait dumbly for death's coming; one rushes headlong to pit the vitality of life against its dark foe—this is also the ideology that informs Mishima's life and writings, in particular his view, expressed through Isao in *Runaway Horses*, that history is real and happens only and precisely because some men courageously dare to challenge the status quo with the greatest thing they have to lose, their lives. That is, history, which is the unfolding of a narrative in time, is the dynamic inscription of a difference upon the deadening sameness or inertia of abstract time. To defy death is also to know the full weight of time in the sense of making it real.

Yet the *Heike*'s own overarching agenda is apparently not history as heroic narrative but the didactic theme announced by its opening passage

on the evanescence of human achievement (*shogyō mujō*) and the inevitability of the drift from power to impotence (*jōsha hissui*). Its potent instrument for transmitting this message is the rhetoric of *aware*, pathos, whose influence on Japanese culture has been so deep and extensive that tough-minded writers like Mishima conceived a veritable, though possibly misguided, disgust for it. It persists in contemporary cultural products, most notably television dramas of all genres, whether heroic, mock-heroic, romantic, or humorous, and may be said to constitute the most durable strain in popular culture, although its origins in the Heian period were decidedly aristocratic.

Shinkei, in his poetry, and expressly in his critical writings, sought to inculcate *aware* as the most appropriate response to both the mundane and the metaphysical limitations of the human condition in that sole, certain middle ground between the “mindless” states of an infant-child and a buddha. The verse above is merely one expression of this attitude. It refuses the idealism that would stake the deathlessness of the heart-mind (*kokoro*) as a bulwark against Izanami’s rotting body (*mi*). The mind’s dwindling responsiveness to life’s sound and fury is also of the body (*waga mi ni nitaru*); these are, unfortunately, not two, not separate. In Shakespeare, love brings the maddened king to a sober acceptance of death. The stoic grace of *aware*, which is ultimately nothing more, or less, than an empathetic response to temporality, or the presence of death in life, fulfills much the same function in Japanese culture.

192 STKBS 3106

yowaku nariyuku  
yamakaze no sue

kane tōki  
sato ni wa yume ya  
nokoruran

Ineffably growing fainter—  
the wake of the mountain wind.

With the remote echo of  
the bell over yon village, dreams—  
do they yet linger?

*Chikubun* 944: This was the fifth verse on the first page [of a hundred-verse sequence]. Sōgi felt that it was an especially fine one.

The subliminally faint tremor of the wind as it dies down in the mountain is evoked twice in the *tsukeku*; first, in the remoteness of the booming bell’s echo as it drifts in from the distant village in the foothills, and second, in the imagined traces of the dreams there. The time is clearly at dawn, and the point of view would have to be understood as that of a priest or recluse dwelling in the mountains. The link is, for all the minutely close tonal relation among the images, extremely subtle. It turns around the distance between the priestly mind, which is—or strives to be—liberated from the illusory, and the mundane mind that is still caught in the thrall of dreams.

This distance, syntactically marked by the contrastive function of *wa* in *sato ni wa* (lit., “as for the village”), is said to be great (*kane tōki / sato*). The tolling of the temple bell, allegorically the signal of an “awakening,” sends back only a distant echo from the village, while in the mountain the wind, which both stirs up and scatters dreams, is dying down. But ironically this distance between the mundane and supra-mundane is reduced in the very gesture of inscribing it. In the very act of wondering about the dreams of a world—or rather the “dream world”—he has renounced, the priestly subject shows himself still susceptible to a certain mind-wandering or drift, slippage. In this sense the faint tremor of the dwindling wind in the *maeku* becomes charged with significance as the “prefiguration” of a yearning for the dream even as it vanishes. The link is in effect a meditation on the ineffable mystery of desire, the longing for something as elusive as the trace of a dream.

198 STKBS 3296

kanashi ya sate mo  
nani mumarekemu

saki no yo o  
mireba namida no  
nushi mo nashi

Such sorrow this! What reason then  
was there to be born at all?

In the world before,  
I seek, and find no “I”  
weeps these tears.

*Keikandō*, Advanced Stage: The *maeku* is taken to mean “seeing that everything is in essence empty [*honrai kū*], what then is that which became myself?” The interpretation of the word *nani* [“why,” “what reason” in the translation] is of utmost importance here. Since the subject “I” does not exist, what is the thing that was born? The verse is simple compared to the emotionally involved *maeku*, but its mind [*kokoro*] is limitless. (p. 144)

*Chikubun* 1090: This is about the root source of life-and-death. Seeking in the world before, one finds no distinction between good and bad. These tears flow from a mind that makes the distinction.

As may be gathered from Kenzai’s exegesis, the link is based on the radical transformation of *nani*, “why” in the *maeku*, to mean “what” in the *tsukeku*, so that “What reason was there to be born?” suddenly assumes the wholly different cast of “What is there in the previous world that gave birth to my sorrowful life in this one?” Both readings of *nani*, however, ask the question of the cause or reason and origins of existence, although only rhetorically in the *maeku* as such. Shinkei’s reply is ironic: there is nothing and no one in the previous world that is the cause and source of these tears; *nushi* is used here in the philosophical and grammatical sense of “subject,” while retaining its common senses of “master, owner.” The response is given from the level of impartiality, a perspective that transcends the mundane belief in karmic causation and the dualisms of subject and object, this

world and anterior worlds. All the dharmas are at base empty, there is *nothing* causing these tears, they are in that sense unreal. Or to put it in the language of the *Chikubun*, existence as such is neither painful nor pleasurable. It is the mind itself that draws the distinction.

Returning now to the maeku within the context of the tsukeku's response, we should note how the force of *kanashi ya* ("sad" + emotive particle *ya*) gains in depth and complexity from this new perspective. In the maeku as such, the sorrow is caused by disappointment, the frustration of mundane desire. Now it is caused by the realization that this sadness has no true basis (*nushi mo nashi*), that suffering is illusory, the product of an unenlightened mind, and that existence itself has no original, determinate ground.

At its highest level, *aware* is the tragic pathos generated by this dialectical awareness that suffering *does* in fact exist on the mundane level, where experience confirms its truth, but its existence cannot rationally be founded on firm ground and is therefore illusory. When registered as a sense of existential loneliness, an awareness of the "subject-less" (*nushi mo nashi*) impersonality of the dharmas, *aware* is more appropriately called *sabi*. The austere loneliness of *sabi* that informs what we sense to be a characteristically medieval poetic is born of the stark knowledge of the absence of comfort; at its extremity, this knowledge generates Shinkei's distilled poetry of the "chill and icy." Again, when the mind, acknowledging its own poverty, becomes open to the bottomless depth and elusively shifting margins of phenomena, that awareness is registered as *yūgen* (ineffable depth) or in Shinkei's terminology, *yōon* (ineffable remoteness). All these terms, from *aware* to *yūgen*, signify modes of aesthetic-philosophical responses to the tension between desire (for the security of presence, permanence, substantiality) and knowledge of its groundlessness. They spring from that middle ground (*chūdō*) between the is (*ke*) and is-not (*kū*) that establishes and undercuts both in the very same stroke and constitutes, according to Tendai philosophy, the true "ground" of being.



## Shinkei Alone and with Other Voices: Two Hundred-Verse Sequences

The two *hyakuin* translated and analyzed in this section have already been introduced in Part One within the context of Shinkei's literary biography. The two are chronologically proximate: "Cuckoo" (*Hototogisu*), the solo sequence, was composed shortly after his arrival in Shinagawa, Musashi (Tokyo), in midsummer of 1467, and the second, "Broken Beneath Snow" (*Yuki no oru*), dates from the winter of the following year, 1468, by which time a local *renga* group had consolidated around him. Together the two texts provide an excellent opportunity to hear Shinkei alone and then as one among several voices and to observe thereby the clear difference between these two events. (For translations, without commentary, of both texts, see the Appendix.)

Given the common understanding of *renga* as an impersonal code-bound art that has no place for individual self-expression, it would seem anomalous to describe the 1467 solo sequence as a long integral lyric poem figuring the state of a distinct sensibility at a particular point in time. But that is what Shinkei's *dokugin* is. In other words, in his hands the *renga* sequence composed by one individual shows its real possibilities as an expressive lyric poem. We are made to see that the formal conventions of the genre—the use of a special poetic lexicon and predetermined themes, and the grammatical rules of frequency, duration, and intermission governing them—constitute in themselves a language like any other. This language can be spoken, particularly in the case of solo composition, in order to express the pressures of real circumstance upon an individual human destiny. And that expression here is as always tied to the act of interpretation, the will to understand and translate an impersonal language in the light of one's own experience.

The expressiveness of the 1467 sequence, what distinguishes it from other solo or collective sequences, lies in a number of distinct yet mutually resonant modalities of feeling that remain in the memory and become akin to the work's signature in the reader's mind. There is to begin with a distinct sense of self and phenomena in a state of drift. It is signaled by the unusually early introduction of the Travel theme in verse 4 and its subsequent high frequency in the first half of the sequence: by verse 58, it has been sounded no less than five times. This is a remarkable statistic, especially in view of the fact that it will recur only once thereafter, in 87. It argues for the theme's immediate urgency for the author and reflects his recent arrival in Shinagawa after a long sea voyage from the Ise coast and the Kyōto–Ise journey preceding it. Yet this sense of implacable drift breaks beyond the topos of Travel. The windswept clouds in the chill rays of moonlight in link 2/3, formally a pair of purely seasonal verses, belong to the same modality. It infects the ostensive Love theme of 13/14, shadows 18 (Autumn + Laments), 21/22 (Spring), and 37 (Miscellaneous, with its image of a ship sailing away), surfaces with clarity in 75 (Laments, a statement about the utter absence anywhere of a place of rest and refuge), and reaches a climax in 85 (Autumn), which resembles 2/3 except that the focus is on the harrowing sound of the wind scouring the autumn sky.

Related to the drift leitmotiv is the remarkably high frequency of the lexical category Waters in this sequence; it occurs all of six times, and mostly in extended runs of three or four verses each time. This is significant in comparison, say, with the 1468 *hyakuin*, where Waters occurs in the occasional isolated verse three times and only once in a series of three units. And when we include items like “dew,” “tears,” “mist,” and “rain,” which do not belong to the Waters category but are alike in their wetness, its special place in this work (and indeed in the whole of Shinkei's poetic symbology) emerges as a distinct characteristic. Although obviously correlated to the drift motif when it occurs in the thematic context of Travel, the sensation of wetness has two other registers in the work. It may, like the dew laving the moss in 35, or spring rain finely infusing the plants in 95, connote a gracious nurturing power, in contrast to the “parched rice” of the impoverished in 62, or the summer heat overcoming a traveler in 58/59. Moreover, the cool clarity of water is also a positive image of spiritual refreshment and transcendence of the mundane. But the wetness of dew and rain also figures a sense of vulnerability, the feeling of being exposed to and overcome by circumstance. Such is the modality of the feeble cries of insects in the rain-rifled grass of verse 6, the sleeves drenched in oar spray in 12 and glistening in dew-tears in 31, the lone fisherman's hut “dripping in salt-spray” in 49, the boat hurtling past in the swollen currents of 91, and so on.

At its most extreme, where the mind unflinchingly confronts the fact of its own existential vulnerability, the modality of wetness shifts over into that of a chill, piercing transparency—of moonlight in 3 and 84/85, of ice in 10, of the wind in 99/100.

Yet a third resonant leitmotiv sounds the somber tone of loneliness and loss; this is already familiar to us from the numerous elegiac waka cited in Part One. In this sequence it is most palpable in the aura of ineffable remoteness, both spatial and temporal, that hangs over a great many of the verses. There is the last light flickering out from the bush clover branch of 7, followed by the deserted road of 8, and the winter-secluded hut in 9. Waves never meet in 13, time shifts implacably in 15, and cherry blossoms fall in obscurity in 20/21, where *mono sabishiki zo* (“an utter loneliness in things”) verbalizes the motif as an existential condition. The motion of the poet’s mind from 29 to 35 is particularly arresting. From 29, where the war-ruined capital is imaged as an old village inhabited only by the harsh winds, the traveler persona awakens to an uplifting vision of Mount Hiei, guardian of the nation’s peace (32/33), only to note the failure of that moral vision in present reality (34), and subsequently seek solace in the beneficence of waters in 35. Verse 68, on the sadness of greening leaves after the white splendor of flowers, is introduced by a *maeku* of inward turmoil, 72 mourns the irrecoverable setting of the Buddhist moon of the soul, and link 87/88 details the obliteration of a path leading back to the past. In sum the 1467 sequence is unified by a sensibility playing upon the finite, mutually correlated modalities of drifting, vulnerability, loneliness, and loss. These motifs constitute its particular expressiveness beneath the always already inscribed, impersonal thematic fields of the *renga* genre, and mark its contingency, the temporal character of its speech within historical time.

To read the 1468 collective sequence after Shinkei’s lyrical interior “monologue” is like emerging into the broad light of day and listening to a conversation among friends involved in a common project that is none other than the *hyakuin* itself. True, Shinkei is still incorrigibly recording the tragedy of his age; the *hokku*, as I explain in the commentary, may be read as a lament on the times’ moral disorder, and the acute sense of drifting in the earlier piece reappears in his *tsukeku* in 62/63 and 90/91. But this time he is predominantly a man conversing with other men, and also a *renga* master ensuring through the unspoken hints in his own verse that the sequence keeps moving along in new directions and, through allusions to older poems and prose literature, that it achieves variety and textural density. It is not surprising, for instance, that he most often initiates the shift into a new theme: ten times compared to Sōgi’s eight, Nagatoshi’s six, Kaku’a’s five, and so on in descending order. Similarly, it is he who first



introduces an allusion to an older poem in verse 25, a move accompanied by a simultaneous breathtaking shift from Summer to Love. He plants the significant terms, *kumo to naru* (“turn into a cloud”), that would raise the specter of the goddess of Fuzan legend in link 39/40; *awaii* (“millet rice”) in his verse 45 is calculated to evoke the famous Taoist anecdote of the dream of Han-tan; he inspires Sōetsu’s allusion to the “robe of feathers” motif in 63/64, which in turn leads to the image of Kaguyahime (from *Taketori monogatari*) in 65. In this way, the 1468 sequence concretely shows us Shinkei in the public role of renga master, one that is often neglected because of the modern perception of his strikingly distinctive poetic voice compared with other renga poets, celebrated or otherwise.

That said, it must be recognized that we will not find in this Musashi hyakuin the beauty of sequence that Sōgi and his disciples Shōhaku and Sōchō will demonstrate in the “Three Poets at Minase” two decades later. Nor is it appropriate to look for the sustained passages of finely modulated and movingly expressive lyricism found in Shinkei’s dokugin. Needless to say, the quality of a session is a function of the nature of the group itself. A consistent artistry of sequence is difficult to achieve with so many participants, and there are eleven in this case. An essential factor in Sōgi’s later success in perfecting the artistry of the renga sequence as a whole, as Kidō Saizō has observed, was his training of close and immediate disciples of notable ability like Shōhaku and Sōchō (*RS* 1: 448). The long association of these three produced the artistic kinship and mutual understanding that marks the Minase sequence.

In Musashi in the winter of 1468, on the other hand, we have no less than three types of participants: Shinkei and his disciple Sōgi were in effect visiting poets from the capital; Nagatoshi, Norishige, Mitsusuke, and Ikuhiro were local Eastern samurai; Kaku’a, Shun’a, and Ken’a were Jishū monks, as was in all probability Sōetsu; about Hōzen, we know nothing at all (see Chapter 4). The wonder is not that this mixed company did not produce a distinctly artistic sequence but that the work is as good as it is. Not that anyone among the group was a rank amateur. Kaku’a and Sōetsu in particular seemed to have a competent grasp of the classical poetic language, and the warriors made up in arrestingly fresh conceptions for what they lacked in aesthetic refinement and proved themselves competent and interesting participants, especially in the latter half of the session.

Were one to sum up the particular appeal of the 1468 Musashi sequence, it would lie in the genial spectacle of the pure lyric poet Shinkei interacting with the robust personalities of the Kantō, assisting in that process of “softening the hearts of stern warriors” that he saw as poetry’s mission, particularly in his war-torn age. Again, as in the case with the

preceding dokugin, its appeal lies in its very temporality: the historic fact that present and future renga master are performing together in a session (it is fascinating, for instance, that Sōgi responds to fully eight out of Shinkei's seventeen verses, a high number considering the several other participants); that this is one of the few extant works from this time involving leading poets in a provincial milieu; and that Musashi, later to blossom into Edo and Tokyo, is the actual setting of the session and indeed surfaces in the verses themselves. There is, finally, the palpable sense of a conversation among several voices, each one bringing to bear upon the verse at hand a different mind and point of view, working each in his own way with the common formal language of the genre in the very act of speaking it.

There are four manuscript copies of the 1467 solo sequence, all dating from the late Edo period. The best among them is the copy made by Nankyoku Enshū sometime in the Bunka era (1804–18) and deposited in the Osaka Temmangū Shrine archives. It is the text included in the definitive edition of Shinkei's renga, *Shinkei sakuhinshū* (SSS), and is used in this translation. The SSS text of the 1468 sequence is also from the Osaka Temmangū Shrine and done by the same copyist during the same period. Although I have used it in the main, I have supplied two words missing in verses 17 and 18 of this text from the Itsukushima Jinja Nozaka-gūjike Text, which is Kaneko Kinjirō's main source in *Shinkei no seikatsu to sakuhin*. Similarly I have preferred to use the Nozaka Text version of verses 10 (*yowaki hikage* instead of *kohagi ga kage* in the Temmangū Text), 21 (*tōmi . . . chirite* for *hiromi . . . ochite*), 28 (*shiite* for *shirite*), 74 (*ume* for *hana*), and 96 (*manabu* for *mukau*) for the principal reason that these variants are better from the logic of linking and sequence, slight though the differences are. Though of earlier provenance, being a copy from the late sixteenth century, the Nozaka Text is also clearly corrupt in several places and requires in its turn to be collated with the Temmangū version. In short, it is not possible to state definitively which is the more accurate of the two.

The commentaries that accompany the translation are based on the work I did for the Shinkei seminars with Professor Kaneko many years ago. They are collated with his later definitive reading in *Shinkei no sakuhin to seikatsu* and further modified by my thinking on renga in the course of reflecting on Shinkei's thoughts on the subject. Following accepted practice, I note the theme and principal lexical categories for each verse and list the conventional word associations (*yoriai*) between verses where they are present. My primary concern, however, has been to go beyond formal categories and elucidate as precisely as possible the specific nature of the link between contiguous verses, as well as to trace the path of a movement across a series of verses, where it is discernible.

As is well known, and this is Shinkei's central critical tenet, the poetry of renga does not lie in the individual verses but in the relation between them. To put it strictly, one reads, not the verses themselves, but the charged space between them. Elsewhere I have described the poetry of linking as that instant when the maeku suddenly becomes charged with significance through the action of the tsukeku. The tsukeku is akin to a switch that sends an electric current running from itself to the maeku and then back again. Or it might be understood as a catalyst that triggers a chemical reaction in the configuration of the preceding verse. For instance, the links in verses 3–5 of the 1468 sequence are uncomplicated and for that very reason provide a good illustration of what I mean. Verse 3 is purely a description of a wintry night scene along the river; Kaku's tsukeku instantly makes that scene perceptible to the senses; he translates it to a complex of sensations. "Listening" (*kikeba*) actualizes the cry of plovers in the maeku, and "night wind drifting past my pillow" renders its winter night as a chill sensation on the skin. Verse 4, in other words, repeats verse 3 but with a difference, and it is in this palpable sense of a difference wherein lies the poetry of the link. It shows us that the gap between the verses has a real functional value; it is a charged space wherein one may read the operation of a mind or sensibility. In turn Norishige translates the tactile sensation of cold in link 3/4 to the olfactory perception of a fragrance in the air. In doing so, he activates the "wind" in the maeku as the bearer of a scent that drifts in from one knows not where. In this link 4/5, the verb *kiku* in its auditory sense drops out of consciousness to be replaced by its other sense of "to smell." Similarly we are transported instantly into the thematic field of Spring; at this point the Winter tonality of link 3/4 has also dissolved from the plane of consciousness.

In isolation, verse 4 of this three-verse series is indeterminate. Although it makes literal sense, it has no significance; it is an ambiguous utterance waiting to be *read*, a muteness wanting a voice to make it *speak*. This reading, this speaking of the maeku, is the tsukeku. The blankness of the single renga verse is here clearly evidenced by the fact that verse 4 has one value in connection with its maeku and another in the light of its tsukeku: within the context of the former, it refers to the chill of the winter wind sensed through the cries of the plovers; with the latter, it means a light spring breeze faintly scented with flowers.

In his classic book on poetry, Owen Barfield locates the site of our aesthetic pleasure in a poem in "a felt change of consciousness" that occurs on our first encounter with it. Significantly, he is at pains to make us understand that this phrase be taken with some exactitude. He does not mean merely that the poet enables us to see the world in a new way through

another's eyes; he refers quite specifically to "the actual moment of change," that instant on reading the poem when we pass "from one plane of consciousness to another" through the power of the poet's imagination as concretized in the poem's specific diction.<sup>1</sup> It is not the one plane or the other as such that triggers the poetic experience but the *passage* between them. This is if anything even truer in renga in which neither the single verse nor the sum of the 100 verses constitutes the poem itself; the verses are there, as it were, to trace the invisible but palpable *passages* between them. In other words, we find here a peculiar genre that has apparently isolated the site of poetic pleasure and instituted its refinement and expansion through no less than ninety-nine minute turns of consciousness. Closer to our own time, Roland Barthes has also located "the pleasure of the text" in the discontinuities that open up between or among distinct planes of language, consciousness, orthodoxy and paradox, and so on, in one and the same work.<sup>2</sup> Locating the bliss of reading in the close attention to the seam, the fault, the interstices in the fabric of the text, Barthes's book recalls the Japanese *zuihitsu* in the simultaneous promiscuity and ellipticality of its discourse. It is indeed itself a kind of renga and can be read with profit as a sort of radical introduction to what is most essential about it.

Historically however, all this has been said before by Kenkō in the celebrated statement that in all things it is the beginnings and endings—that is, the transitions from one state to another—that are most moving. *Mujō* (temporality), the single most powerful idea in medieval Japanese culture, is always apt to be invested with a sense of melancholy. Nijō Yoshimoto saw renga with its ever shifting boundaries as a literary demonstration of the principle and thereby a means of attaining salvation.<sup>3</sup> It is possible, however, that the overwhelming popularity of renga practice had equally as much to do with the pleasure generated by temporality itself.

### "Cuckoo"

#### A Hundred-Verse Solo Sequence

Composed by Shinkei in Musashi in the  
Summer of Ōnin 1 (1467)

1	hototogisu kikishi wa mono ka fuji no yuki	Shall I yet marvel to have heard you, cuckoo? Mount Fuji in snow!
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*First Fold, Front.* Summer: *hototogisu* (cuckoo). Mountains: *Fuji*. Named Place: *Fuji*. Falling Phenomena: *yuki* (snow).

Shinkei's elation at his first encounter with the Kantō landscape may be sensed in the buoyant quality of the first three verses of this sequence. The

encounter is fittingly celebrated by the opening panegyric on the region's most renowned geographic feature, Mount Fuji. An extremely well-turned-out and inspired hokku, it fulfills the seasonal requirement through the image of the cuckoo, bird of summer, whose song is cherished because heard so rarely. The elliptical terseness of the diction conceals a comparison of two terms and a favoring of the last; it may be paraphrased at length thus: "Here in the Kantō, I heard the rare call of the cuckoo and marveled greatly, but what is that compared to the noble peak of Fuji, snowcapped even in the midst of summer? Full of wonderful sights indeed is the Kantō, but Mount Fuji is the greatest of them all!" The verse is a witty, fresh rendition of the "land-praising song" (*kunibome uta*), one of the most ancient modes of Japanese poetry. Indeed Shinkei's consciousness of joining the ancient *Man'yōshū* bards in their praise of Mount Fuji presently becomes manifest in the second verse.

1	hototogisu kikishi wa mono ka fuji no yuki	Shall I yet marvel to have heard you, cuckoo? Mount Fuji in snow!
2	kumo mo tomaranu sora no suzushisa	Not a cloud stops to linger upon the coolness of that sky.

Summer: *suzushisa* (coolness). Rising Phenomena: *kumo* (cloud).

It must be a pleasure for readers to recognize the allusion here to Akahito's famous *chōka*, *MYS* 317, on Mount Fuji, in particular the last four lines in the following passage:

Fuji no takane o ama no hara furisakemireba wataru hi no kage mo sakurai teru tsuki no hikari mo miezu <i>shirakumo mo</i> <i>iyukihabakari</i> <i>tokijiku zo</i> <i>yuki wa furikeru</i>	When we gaze up upon the heavenly plain at the lofty peak of Fuji, the light of the crossing sun is obscured, the rays of the shining moon become invisible, <i>even the white clouds</i> <i>dare not traverse it</i> <i>and no matter the season</i> <i>it is white with fallen snow.</i>
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The verse maintains the summer seasonal theme through the word *suzushisa* (coolness), which brings out the effect of the snow in the hokku, and the freshness of the sky, in which Fuji's snowcapped peak rises sheer and majestic in the almost cloudless blue sky. The link is comprehensible without knowledge of Akahito's *chōka* of course, but the allusion adds a dimension of sublimity lent by an age-old poetic tradition.

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|---|---|--|
| 2 | kumo mo tomaranu<br>sora no suzushisa           | Not a cloud stops to linger<br>upon the coolness of that sky.                |
| 3 | tsuki kiyoki<br>hikari ni yoru wa<br>kaze miete | So pure the rays of<br>moonlight, the wind is naked<br>to the eye—the night. |

Autumn: *tsuki* (moon).

Traditionally the third verse perceptibly moves away from the first two. Thus while Shinkei maintains the sweeping panoramic view of the sky—now without Mount Fuji—he shifts to a different time and season and images bathed in the utter clarity of autumn moonlight. The luminosity of the evening is brought out in the radical diction of *yoru wa / kaze miete*, signifying that the night, normally dark, is wholly illuminated, so transparent that even the wind, though invisible, is apparent to the eye. In the context of this verse alone, this is an unnatural and exaggerated turn of phrase, of the kind Shinkei employs to transmit the precise quality of an intense poetic vision. In the context of the link with verse 2, however, *kaze miete* alludes to the clouds blown away by the wind; that is to say, the wind is “visible” in the wisps of cloud trailing across the illuminated sky.

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|---|---|--|
| 3 | tsuki kiyoki<br>hikari ni yoru wa<br>kaze miete | So pure the rays of<br>moonlight, the wind is naked<br>to the eye—the night. |
| 4 | yume odorokasu<br>aki no karifushi              | Startled, dreams fall away:<br>a transient sleep in autumn.                  |

Autumn: *aki* (autumn). Travel: *karifushi* (transient, temporary sleep).

Here occurs a major shift in mood; from the heightened elation of the first three verses, the poetic persona is, as it were, recalled to his condition as a homeless exile. Significantly, the moment of awakening coincides with the unusually early introduction of the Travel theme. Awakened from dreams by the streaming moonlight and the wind in 3, the persona now finds himself in some makeshift wayside lodging. Continuing into verse 6, this new mood is one of pathos and lonely vulnerability.

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|---|---|--|
| 4 | yume odorokasu<br>aki no karifushi          | Startled, dreams fall away:<br>a transient sleep in autumn.            |
| 5 | okimasaru<br>tsuyu ya yadori ni<br>fukenuan | Dew soaking deep<br>about my lodging, is the night<br>so far advanced? |

Autumn: *tsuyu* (dew). Travel: *yadori* (lodging). Word Association: *karifushi* = *yadori*.

As distinct from the situation in the preceding link, here in link 4/5 it is the wetness of the thick dew that startles the traveler awake, intruding upon his dreams. The two situations evoke and mutually contrast distinct sensations: the first is sharp, instantaneous, and luminous; the second is of a chill moistness slowly penetrating. The subtle distinction thus generated by juxtaposing the same unit, verse 4, against two contexts (3 and 5) well illustrates the generic nature of renga as a poetry of montage and the kaleidoscope rather than one of linear plot development. Each verse signals a turn, a twist, a rearrangement, of elements into a new poetic image.

5	okimasaru tsuyu ya yadori ni fukenu ran	Dew soaking deep about my lodging, is the night so far advanced?
6	mushi no ne yowaki kusa no murasame	Grass clumps in the passing shower the insects' voices are frail.

Autumn: *mushi* (insects). Falling Phenomena: *murasame* (passing shower). Word Association: *tsuyu* = *murasame*.

As readers of Japanese poetry will know, the image of dewdrops in the *maeku* carries a hint of tears, which in this case alludes to the traveler's lonely vulnerability. That same feeling now becomes projected upon the objective image of unseen insects crying in the rain-rifled grass that functions in effect as their "lodging"; similarly, the dewdrops of the *maeku* are modified as those left by the "passing shower." Seemingly distant, this link is actually quite close in that it falls in with the *maeku* in a seamless integrity of poetic feeling. The method of bridging that distance between the traveler and the insects, man and his environment, is the typical one of analogy. Indeed, if one were to distill all the manifold ways of linking one verse to the next in renga, it will be seen that they are all based on the rhetoric of the metaphor. The method recalls the operation of poetry in the Heian lyrical narrative, where metonymical details in the setting turn to metaphors in the poems composed by the characters.

6	mushi no ne yowaki kusa no murasame	Grass clumps in the passing shower the insects' voices are frail.
7	hagi ga e no shitaba nokorazu kururu no ni	On the bush clover branch, the lower leaves flicker out in the darkening meadow.

Autumn: *hagi* (bush clover).

The sense of pathos (*aware*) in the passage from 4 to 6 now gives way to the mood of impersonal loneliness known as *sabi*. It creates here a modal

and aesthetic continuity among such thematically diverse verses as this final one in the Autumn series 3–7, verse 8 (Miscellaneous), and verse 9 (Winter). On the meadow where insects are crying in the wet grass, evening gradually settles, a process represented in the small focused image of the last light flickering out from the lower leaves of a bush clover branch.

Professor Kaneko finds *kururu* (“darkening with the dusk”) in this verse unnatural in conjunction with its adverbial modifying clause *shitaba nokorazu* (lit., “with no lower leaves remaining,” that is to say, “all the way down to the lowest leaves”). He implies that it was most likely a scribal misreading of *karuru* (“withering”), and that is how he interprets the verse. Accordingly, the link would hinge on the shower in the *maeku* scattering the withered bush clover leaves, the “grass” where the insects would now be crying. Such a link however, “though intricately minute, is labored [*kudo*]” (*Seikatsu to sakuhin*, p. 273). The “withering” version is indeed unsatisfactory in dwelling too much on the pathos of the insects—on top of being wet, they would be left without a lodging in this case, and so I have chosen to adhere to the letter of the text as preserved. While unusual, the combination *shitaba nokorazu / kururu* is not so much unnatural as arresting and compelling; it is the sort of slightly dissonant expression Shinkei occasionally resorted to in order to transmit the exact nuance of a poetic image. Moreover, he would doubtless have pointed to a kind of precedent in *KKS* 260, an Autumn poem by Tsurayuki whose last two lines are *shitaba nokorazu / irozukinikeri*, “[Mount Moru] has wholly taken on color, down to the lowest leaves.” Whereas Tsurayuki evokes the gradual coloring of the autumn mountain until it is wholly bright, Shinkei traces the opposite process, following the sunlight declining in the meadow until it flickers out from the lower leaves, leaving the whole in darkness.

7	hagi ga e no shitaba nokorazu kururu no ni	On the bush clover branch, the lower leaves flicker out in the darkening meadow.
8	yuku hito mare no okagoe no michi	Seldom a passerby's shadow on the road over the hillcrest.

Miscellaneous. Mountains: *oka* (hill).

We move away from the meadow and up along the hill road where no one passes. A completely still and empty scene at dusk, it has a finality or aspect of closure that suggests its position as the end of the Prelude, the introductory passage to the whole sequence.

8	yuku hito mare no okagoe no michi	Seldom a passerby's shadow on the road over the hillcrest.
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9	fuyugomoru fumoto no io wa shizuka nite	Winter-secluded, the hut below the hill rapt in quietness.
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*First Fold, Back.* Winter: *fuyugomoru* (winter-secluded). Mountains: *fumoto* (foothill). Dwellings: *io* (hut).

The Miscellaneous verse 8 by itself is non-seasonal, and it comes to function as a transition to the Winter theme here; the *sabi* mood, however, remains the same. The linking method consists principally of deploying elements into a spatial arrangement, as in a painting. Along the empty hillcrest road of the *maeku*, the eye comes upon an isolated hut nestled on the foothills of some mountains farther up in the background. It can be assumed that the *maeku* is meant to be the view as seen by the hermit from his hut.

9	fuyugomoru fumoto no io wa shizuka nite	Winter-secluded, the hut below the hill rapt in quietness.
10	kōru bakari no mizu zo suminuru	Chill clarity of the water in a moment turning to ice!

Winter: *kōru* (turn to ice). Waters: *mizu* (water). Word Association: *fuyu* = *kōru*.

In striking contrast to the calm placidity of the *maeku*, this verse sets up an image of intense, concentrated power. The chill clarity of water about to freeze over links up to 9 not only as a Winter image, understood to be a pond or a stream by the hut but, more important, as an objective correlative of the hermit's mental power at the utmost stage of concentration when the mind becomes wholly empty and still, congealing into the Void that is the object of its meditation. This is an unparalleled example of the "chill and thin" (*hieyase*) mode that manifests Shinkei's poetic sensibility at its deepest, most intense level. It is also a noteworthy poetic demonstration of his famous homage to water in all seasons in the following passage from *Hitorigoto*, his 1468 critical essay:

Indeed nothing is as profoundly moving, or as refreshingly clear, as water. The water of spring makes the heart tranquil, stirs memories, and is somehow achingly appealing. In summer it feels chillingly cold at the source of limpid rivers or by the bank of a spring. And the mere sound of autumn water is enough to brace and clarify the soul. Again, nothing is as alluring as ice. Amidst the reaped rice fields at morning, the thin transparency of water turned to icicles along the eaves of ancient cypress-bark roofs, the look and feel of the dew that has frosted on the grasses and trees of withered fields—are they not arresting and compelling? (p. 469)

10	kōru bakari no mizu zo suminuru	Chill clarity of the water in a moment turning to ice!
11	uchishiore asakawa wataru tabi no sode	Swiftly wilting as I cross the morning river: sleeves of travel.

Travel: *tabi no sode* (sleeves of travel). Waters: *asakawa* (morning river).

The Waters imagery introduced in 10 continues here and through verse 13 in the first of six such passages in the whole sequence. Such a high frequency is one of the distinguishing features of this work; it attests to the special place of water in Shinkei's symbolic lexicon and evokes as well, when it occurs as here in a Travel context, the immediate personal circumstance that this sequence was composed shortly after his long sea voyage from the Ise coast to Shinagawa (Tokyo), a journey that would turn out to be a permanent exile from his temple home in the capital city, Kyoto.

It is somewhat problematic to define precisely the link between 10 and 11. The obvious way would be to transpose the water in 10 to the morning river of 11; the verse would then be about the keenly tense sensation of crossing the icy river on foot in the morning. But as Kaneko observes (p. 275), such a reading is contradicted by the word *uchishiore*—which means “droop or wilt,” like delicate flowers in a hot sun, or “become damp and weak,” lacking in energy. In other words, a rift in poetic logic would open up between the two verses.

Shinkei is demonstrably a poet with an acute sense for the nuances of poetic language, and therefore we must presume that he intended the link to be read in another way. I believe that apart from the close association between “water” and “river,” no other semantic and situational similarity is intended between the two verses, nor are they intended to fall together in an integral unity of feeling. The only way to read this would be as an instance of the *soku* or Distant Link based principally on sensibility and conceptualization rather than the usual plot-like associations from one verse to the next. In short the contradiction or stark contrast between 10 and 11 is in fact the point of the link. We are presented as it were with two juxtaposed and opposite processes: water congealing into ice, and crisp fabric crumpling with moisture. The one is an image of intensifying power, the other of its depletion. Circumventing word association and plot continuity, such a distant link between apparently disparate terms challenges us to find the abstract idea that would set them vibrating in relation to each other. It is in fact no different from *shinku* or the Close Link except in being almost wholly invisible.

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| 11 | uchishiore<br>asakawa wataru<br>tabi no sode | Swiftly wilting<br>as I cross the morning river:<br>sleeves of travel. |
| 12 | sao no shizuku mo<br>kakaruru funamichi      | Drenched in the oar spray—<br>taking passage on a boat.                |

Travel: *funamichi* (lit., “ship-road”). Waters: *funamichi*. Word Association: *sode* (sleeve) = *sao no shizuku* (drops of oar spray); *kakaruru* (hang upon, adhere to).

The link hinges upon the transformation of the journey on foot to one by boat. Or to put it more strictly, *wataru* (cross), itself ambiguous in the *maeku*, becomes specified here as a crossing by boat. Simultaneously the pathos of the wilted sleeves, evoking in this context both the physical and emotional strain of the journey, is intensified by concretely imaging them this time as drenched in the oar spray. Compared to the preceding, this link is quite close.

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| 12 | sao no shizuku mo<br>kakaruru funamichi            | Drenched in the oar spray—<br>taking passage on a boat.                               |
| 13 | motometsutsu<br>yoru se mo shiranu<br>naka wa ushi | Waves that ever seeking,<br>never meet in a single current—<br>the torment of loving. |

Love: *naka wa ushi* (the relationship between lovers is painful). Waters: *se* (current of the waves).

In one single dramatic yet smooth move, Shinkei shifts into the Love theme by transforming the waves, an obvious metonymical adjunct to the situational frame of the *maeku*, into a metaphorical image for the failure of lovers to come together. In this new context, the drops of spray in the *maeku* also become a metaphor for tears, and the emotional fatigue there is redefined as one of suffering frustration, the strain of a desire that finds no relief.

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|----|--|---|
| 13 | motometsutsu<br>yoru se mo shiranu<br>naka wa ushi | Waves that ever seeking,<br>never meet in a single current—<br>the torment of loving. |
| 14 | wakare no koma wa<br>hiki mo kaesazu               | The departing horse would not be<br>stayed, restrain it as I would.                   |

Love: *wakare* (parting).

A flashback to the moment of the lovers' parting, the verse is about the inevitability of separation; taken with the *maeku*, it is also about the impossibility of repeating that single meeting, of recalling what has passed.

The horse has departed, it will not turn back, and the waves are left to drift forever out at sea.

14	wakare no koma wa hiki mo kaesazu	The departing horse would not be stayed, restrain it as I would.
15	utsuriyuku toki o koyoi no urami nite	Each hour, as it shifts, is yet more bitter this night.

Love: *urami* (bitterness).

The departing horse in the *maeku* now becomes identified with the allegorical figure in the common saying that time flits by as swiftly as “a galloping horse glimpsed through a chink in the fence” (*hima o yuku koma*). One might try to stop it, like the horse in the *maeku*, but to no avail. The persona waits for her lover, but only the time comes and goes, each passing hour (*utsuriyuku toki*) leaving only a diminishing expectation and an ever greater deposit of resentment. That she cannot arrest the passing moments (*hiki mo kaesazu*, “restrain it as I would”) and postpone her disenchantment is the point of the link. Seemingly pointless and difficult by turns, it comes out to be rather wonderful when one has puzzled it out.

15	utsuriyuku toki o koyoi no urami nite	Each hour, as it shifts, is yet more bitter this night.
16	chigiri ni wataru ariake no tsuki	Holding to its promised course, the moon in the paling sky.

Autumn: *ariake no tsuki* (remaining moon at dawn). Love: *chigiri* (vow, promise).

Primarily an Autumn seasonal verse, this sounds the Love theme solely through the word *chigiri*, which refers to the lover’s “promise” in conjunction with the *maeku*. In the verse as such, however, *chigiri* points to the “fixed” course of the moon in the sky through the night; it has traversed the sky as ordained and now remains in the paling dawn sky. The lover, however, has not come as promised; he has been false to his vows, leaving the woman to wait out the empty hours with only the faithful moon for company until the dawn. *Chigiri*, therefore, is the pivot upon which the link turns; the contrast between the two situations, one natural, the other human, one demonstrating fidelity, the other its absence, sharpens with irony the persona’s feelings of “bitterness” (*urami*).

16	chigiri ni wataru ariake no tsuki	Holding to its promised course, the moon in the paling sky.
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|----|---|--|
| 17 | yo no naka ya<br>kaze no ue naru<br>nobe no tsuyu | Such is our world:<br>dewdrops teeming in the meadow<br>before the wind. |
|----|---|--|

Autumn: *tsuyu* (dew). Laments: *yo no naka* (the mundane world). Falling Phenomena: *tsuyu*.

Leaving the Love theme behind, Shinkei now employs the same image of the moon's fidelity to a fixed course, which gives it the aspect of permanence, to thematize the opposite, wholly transient character of our human existence. He sets against the tranquil presence of the moon the myriad dewdrops gleaming on the meadow grass at dawn but soon to be scattered by the wind. The contrast is enforced by the spatial juxtaposition of celestial moon and terrestrial dew and meadow, and by the ironic consciousness that both are in fact following their own distinct "preordained" destinies.

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|----|---|--|
| 17 | yo no naka ya<br>kaze no ue naru<br>nobe no tsuyu | Such is our world:<br>dewdrops teeming in the meadow<br>before the wind. |
| 18 | mayoiukaruru<br>kumokiri no yama                  | Groping astray in mountains<br>obscured in mist and cloud.               |

Autumn: *kiri* (mist). Laments: *mayoi* (delusion, ignorance). Mountains: *yama* (mountain). Rising Phenomena: *kumo*, *kiri*.

Moving from meadow to mountains, the poet continues the allegorical mode of presentation in the *maeku* with a restatement of the human condition. Whereas the former focused on mutability, this one images worldly existence (*yo no naka*) as a state of wandering delusion, the darkness of a soul lost in endless craving. Such a Buddhist allegorical reading of *kumokiri* (mists and cloud) is a conventional one in *renga* and *waka*, as well as in the *Nō* plays. Like the dew in the *maeku*, the mists and clouds as such are momentary, elusive phenomena, apt to be dispersed by the wind, yet there is irony in the fact that man takes them, in his ignorance, to be real.

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|----|---|--|
| 18 | mayoiukaruru<br>kumokiri no yama              | Groping astray in mountains<br>obscured in mist and cloud.       |
| 19 | naku tori no<br>kozue ushinau<br>hi wa kurete | Birds cry,<br>losing their treetop perches<br>as sunlight sinks. |

Miscellaneous.

In the mountain the sunlight is extinguished from the treetops, and in the ensuing darkness the birds cry in consternation and alarm. Delineating a wholly objective scene, this verse impacts on the *maeku* by activating the

line *mayoiukaruru* (“groping astray”) on the plane of sound, giving a pathetic cast to the cries of the birds as they grope about for their perches in the dark.

19	naku tori no kozue ushinau hi wa kurete	Birds cry, losing their treetop perches as sunlight sinks.
20	mono sabishiki zo sakura chiru kage	An utter loneliness in things— shadow of scattering cherry.

Spring: *sakura* (cherry).

Within this wholly new context, the same bird cries take on a subtly different cast. They become more distant, a faint sound heard in the background, delicately accenting the mood of vacant and grey loneliness, or *sabi*, that occupies the poetic foreground. *Ushinai* (lose), whose object was “treetops,” now comes to refer to the loss of the cherry flowers among which the birds had been disporting themselves. Birds and flowers constitute, of course, an irresistibly linked pair in Japanese and Chinese painting.

20	mono sabishiki zo sakura chiru kage	An utter loneliness in things— shadow of scattering cherry.
21	furusato no haru o ba tare ka toite min	As for springtime in the old village, who would come to see it?

Spring: *haru* (spring). Dwellings: *furusato* (old village).

*Mono sabishiki* (vague loneliness) becomes redefined as arising from the location of the cherry trees in an old abandoned village. The splendor of their blossoming, and the lonely beauty of their scattering, transpire in a vacuum with no one to appreciate them. Loneliness refers, then, to the absence of human response; the underlying thought is that of transient and wasted beauty.

21	furusato no haru o ba tare ka toite min	As for springtime in the old village, who would come to see it?
22	kasumi hedatsuru kata wa shirarezu	Through impenetrable haze one would not know the way.

Spring: *kasumi* (haze). Rising Phenomena: *kasumi*.

The link here is quite obvious: to the rhetorical question in the *maeku*, this is certainly one sort of response. The whole, however, would gain in

poetic depth if one read the obscuring haze as an allusion to the distancing effects of time. Such a reading would, it seems to me, felicitously bring out the essential character of the image of the “old village” (*furusato*) in the *maeku*, apart from having a precedent in another *tsukeku* by Shinkei himself in the *Shinsen Tsukubashū* (see no. 142, *ta ga ueshi*, in Section I above). In Kaneko’s reading, this is a Travel verse in which the old village of the *maeku* turns into the traveler-persona’s hometown. His vision cut off by the haze, he gazes toward his hometown uncertain of the way back to it and feels a pang of homesickness. Such a reading also invests the link with more interest and appeal, but I feel it is problematic to posit a traveler-persona here. The point of view of both 21 and 22 seems to be that of an impersonal third-person narrator or observer, not that of a persona involved in any dramatic action. The question is whether the poetic sentiment is one of an elegiac longing for the past, or for one’s originary place. Ultimately no doubt the one may be said to be a symbolic correlative of the other.

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| 22 | kasumi hedatsuru<br>kata wa shirarezu            | Through impenetrable haze<br>one would not know the way.                |
| 23 | musashino wa<br>kayou michi sae<br>tabi ni shite | Across Musashi Plain<br>even the daily round takes<br>one on a journey. |

*Second Fold, Front. Travel: tabi ni shite* (on a journey).

Musashi Plain is so vast, the houses so few and far between, that even a simple trip in the course of daily business feels like a journey. (This sounds like an actual impression made by Musashi upon Shinkei, who was used to the shorter distances and confined terrain of Kyoto.) And when the thick haze blurs this vast, uniformly featured landscape, it is all too easy to lose one’s way.

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|----|--|---|
| 23 | musashino wa<br>kayou michi sae<br>tabi ni shite | Across Musashi Plain<br>even the daily round takes<br>one on a journey. |
| 24 | nagameshi ato no<br>tōki yamakage                | Before my gaze hills receded<br>into the shadows far behind.            |

Travel: *ato no tōki* (the far distance left behind).

Reinforcing the impression of the vastness of Musashi Plain, this verse evokes the long time it takes to traverse it by saying that the hills before one’s eyes gradually recede into the shadowy distance behind, as one moves on toward one’s daily destination; the experience is like going on a journey (*tabi ni shite*).

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|----|--|--|
| 24 | nagameshi ato no<br>tōki yamakage                | Before my gaze hills receded<br>into the shadows far behind.     |
| 25 | waga mi yo ni<br>omowazu henuru<br>toshi wa ushi | Bitter to find<br>the years have passed her by,<br>all unawares. |

Laments: *mi* (one's self, one's life), *yo* (the world), *henuru toshi* (the years that have passed).

Signaling an exciting shift after the near-linear, cumulative progression from 22 to 24, Shinkei here translates the image of vast spatial distance in the *maeku* into a temporal one, as the numerous years that have passed the persona by without her being aware of it. In diction and conception, the verse itself and the link with *nagameshi* (gazed upon) in the *maeku* are an unmistakable allusion to Ono no Komachi's poem, *KKS* 113:

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|--|---|
| hana no iro wa<br>utsurinikeri na<br>itazura ni<br><i>waga mi yo ni furu</i><br><i>nagameseshi ma ni</i> | Faded now the glow<br>on the flower, <i>while vainly</i><br><i>I passed the years,</i><br><i>gazing lost upon a world in</i><br>the dark of the long rains. |
|--|---|

In the context of the link, the hills in front of the traveler, which eventually recede into the distant shadows behind him, turn to the future years facing Komachi's persona in her youth, which in time become the "distant shadows" (*tōki . . . kage*) of her past. *Nagameshi* (gazed upon) in the *maeku* takes on the second meaning of "brooded upon" here, and *omowazu* (suddenly, catching one unawares) brings out the woman's realization that she has wasted those years in brooding introspection while the vibrant bloom of her beauty faded—a whole life has passed her by without her marking it. In this way the technique of alluding to old poems in *renga* is a kind of paradigm for the method of linking itself, which may be described as the continuous displacement of the referent, or the progressive manipulation of the *maeku*'s context. The *maeku* is transposed into a new framework through the *honkadori* device, while the old poem instantly or momentarily acquires a new past as it were by being cited within a new context.

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| 25 | waga mi yo ni<br>omowazu henuru<br>toshi wa ushi | Bitter to find<br>the years have passed her by,<br>all unawares. |
| 26 | hakana ya inochi<br>nani o matsuran              | So fleeting this breath of life,<br>for what does it wait?       |

Laments: *inochi* (life).



This verse is in effect a comment on the situation in the *maeku*. Looking back upon the years of her past, the persona feels as if they have glided away in a dream, fleetingly. Now on the threshold of old age, she wonders what else life could hold in store, except more of the same unenlightened drifting. The underlying viewpoint here is as Kaneko observes, the Buddhist idea that a life devoid of spiritual aspiration is one lived in illusion, no more substantial than a dream.

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|----|---|--|
| 26 | hakana ya inochi<br>nani o matsuran             | So fleeting this breath of life,<br>for what does it wait?                         |
| 27 | yasaki ni mo<br>tsumadou shika wa<br>tatazumite | Right in the arrow's path<br>still the deer, searching for<br>its mate, hesitates. |

Autumn: *shika* (deer).

Another startling contextual shift so soon after that of 24/25; Koma-chi's persona, the subject of the earlier link, here turns into a deer. This dramatic, tension-filled juxtaposition suddenly activates the second line of the *maeku*, "for what does it wait" (*nani o matsuran*), through the figure of the deer hesitating right before the arrow's path; it also lends a concrete dimension to the *maeku*'s first line, "So fleeting this breath of life" (*hakana ya inochi*). The perilous moment on the brink of life and death gains an added richness and depth when we dwell on the detail that it is his great longing for his mate that has driven the deer into this crisis. In the way it sets the splendor of longing against the certainty of death, the verse is a signal departure from the Buddhist view of love as an illusion. Or again, we might say that its ineffable depth is owing precisely to the Buddhist teaching that love is ultimately a vain delusion.

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|----|---|--|
| 27 | yasaki ni mo<br>tsumadou shika wa<br>tatazumite | Right in the arrow's path<br>still the deer, searching for<br>its mate, hesitates. |
| 28 | akikusa shigemi<br>shiranu hitokage             | Through the rank autumn grass<br>dim glimmer of a human shadow.                    |

Autumn: *akikusa* (autumn grasses).

Shinkei develops the situation above by shifting to the other end of this confrontation, to the hunter wielding bow and arrow. We seem to feel the deer's fearful start as it senses but does not clearly see a human shadow among the dense, tall grasses. The atmosphere at this moment becomes eerie and uncanny; the link is made not only through a plot-like progression but more important, through a poetic evocation of mood that would later become known in Bashō school haikai as *nioi-zuke* (linking by fragrance), a

late variant on the whole aesthetics of *yojō* or suggestiveness that is foregrounded in Shinkei's poetics and itself constitutes the basis of renga as poetic art.

28	akikusa shigemi shiranu hitokage	Through the rank autumn grass dim glimmer of a human shadow.
29	furusato ni nowaki hitori ya kotauran	In the desolate hamlet, the field-cleaving wind alone echoes in answer.

Autumn: *nowaki* (lit., "field-cleaving," i.e., typhoon, gale). Travel: *furusato* (old village). Word Association: *akikusa* = *nowaki*.

In this new link, it is a traveler who senses or thought he saw a human shadow among the swaying tall grasses, but when he called out, there was no answer but the whistling of the wind. This vague, eerie presence, coupled with the stormy wind cleaving the rank grasses, combine to reinforce the ghostly atmosphere in this deserted village long abandoned to the elements, its inhabitants either dead or gone elsewhere. The passage from 27 to 29 is quite vivid visually; the handling of the three successive moments evokes the method of montage in film. We are presented with three related frames, each reinforcing the other to suggest a half-emerging narrative in which the feeling of some crucial scenes are quite specific but the plot itself is still undecided, to be provided, perhaps, by the reader.

29	furusato ni nowaki hitori ya kotauran	In the desolate hamlet, the field-cleaving wind alone echoes in answer.
30	karine no tsuki ni mono omou koro	A time of wakeful thoughts upon a transient bed beneath the moon.

Autumn: *tsuki* (moon). Travel: *karine* (transient sleep).

Here the old village becomes the object of the persona's thoughts as he lies wakeful beneath the moon, traveling away from home and yearning for his family and friends there. Sadly, however, his thoughts encounter no human response, only the sound of the ravaging wind there (*nowaki hitori ya / kotauran*). To better understand this link, we should note Kaneko's observation (p. 285) that this "old village," now interpreted as the persona's hometown, must refer to Kyoto. Its desolate aspect evokes none other than the ruined city during the Ōnin War, the same that turned Shinkei himself into an exiled traveler and refugee in the Kantō.

30	karine no tsuki ni mono omou koro	A time of wakeful thoughts upon a transient bed beneath the moon.
31	sode nurasu yamaji no tsuyu ni yo wa akete	On sleeves wet with dew on the mountain trail glistens the dawn.

Autumn: *tsuyu* (dew). Travel: *yamaji ni yo wa akete* (dawn on the mountain trail). Falling Phenomena: *tsuyu*. Word Association: *tsuki* (moon) = *tsuyu*.

Shinkei now locates the traveler along a mountain trail, adds the detail of the dew to evoke tears glistening in reflected moonlight, and activates the phrase *mono omou koro* (time of wakeful thoughts) by specifying the coming of dawn. That is, he suggests that the persona has been rapt in disturbing thoughts through the night until the dawn, which finds his sleeves all damp with dew/tears. Both sentiment and image are classic and wholly conventional; this is an unprepossessing *yariku* (lit., “sending-on verse”) whose object is simply to move the sequence along.

31	sode nurasu yamaji no tsuyu ni yo wa akete	On sleeves wet with dew on the mountain trail glistens the dawn.
32	kumo hiku mine ni tera zo miekeru	As the cloud banks lift, high on the peak a temple lies revealed.

Buddhism: *tera* (temple). Mountains: *mine* (peak). Rising Phenomena: *kumo*.

The simple *maeku* now reveals itself to be the prelude to a kind of epiphanic moment. Awakening at dawn with tear-stained sleeves, the traveler gazes up at the peak, where the clouds are just drifting away to reveal a temple. The emphatic *zo* clearly expresses his surprise at this revelation; against the depressed mood signaled by tears, it should be understood as containing a positively reassuring, bracing influence. The careful arrangement of the various details of the landscape, along with the evocation of mood, has a natural, inevitable quality that makes this a rather exquisite link.

32	kumo hiku mine ni tera zo miekeru	As the cloud banks lift, high on the peak a temple lies revealed.
33	omokage ya waga tatsu soma no ato naramu	Memory traces the timbers that he raised— here in image.

Buddhism: *waga tatsu soma* (the timbers that I raise). Mountains: *soma* (timbers).

One of the most moving moments in this whole solo sequence, this verse gives an extraordinarily intimate sense of the man behind the impersonal poetic mask, as he longingly traces in the contours of the temple the remembered image of Enryakuji, the temple on Mount Hiei where he had undergone twelve years of priestly training before being assigned to the Jūjūshin'in in Higashiyama, whose head priest he eventually became. From this perspective, one can read an autobiographical undertone in the Travel verses from 29 until this point.

The allusion to Enryakuji is embodied in the second line, which is taken

from the poem composed by Mount Hiei's founder, Dengyō Daishi (Saichō), upon the temple's construction.

SKKS 1921. "Composed when he built the Main Hall [Enryakuji] of Mount Hiei." Dengyō Daishi.

anokutara	Hark, ye Buddhas
sammyaku sambodai no	of perfect wisdom, unparalleled
hotoke-tachi	and compassing all:
<i>waga tatsu soma ni</i>	Confer your invisible powers on
<i>myōga arasetamae</i>	<i>the timbers that I raise here!</i>

Commemorating the founding of Mount Hiei as a religious center in Enryaku 7 (788) when Saichō was only twenty-one, this famous poem is also cited in the *Wakan rōeishū*, *Ryōjin hishō*, and Shunzei's treatise, *Korai fūteishō*. Within the context of the link, the emphatic force of *zo* in the *maeku* now comes to express the poet's profound emotion at the unexpected evocation of a fond memory from his now vanished existence in the capital.

33	omokage ya	Memory traces
	waga tatsu soma no	the timbers that he raised—
	ato naramu	here in image.
34	yomogi ga shima no	Immortal Island: not one tree
	hana no ki mo nashi	flowers amidst the rank growth.

Spring; *hana* (flower). Word Association: *soma* = *yomogi* (mugwort weed, rank growth).

*Yomogi ga shima* has at least two connotations. *Yomogi* as such is the mugwort weed; one of the representative wild plants in the classical poetic lexicon, it usually connotes a neglected garden or a house in a ruinous condition. It is the central image, for instance, in the *Tale of Genji's* "Yomogyū" (Wormwood patch) chapter, about the impoverished Hitachi Princess. The association between "mugwort" and "timber" in the *maeku* is based on poems like the one below.

GSIS 273. Autumn. Sone Yoshitada.

nake ya nake	Cry on, you crickets,
<i>yomogi ga soma no</i>	cry on in <i>the mugwort weeds</i>
kirigirisu	<i>corded thick as timber—</i>
sugiyuku aki wa	for the passing of autumn
ge ni zo kanashiki	is wholly sad indeed.

*Yomogi ga shima* (lit., "island of mugwort"), however, so inelegant in name, also refers to Mount Hōrai (Ch. P'eng-lai), the fabled mountain-island paradise where Taoist immortals dwell, as well as to the island country of Japan itself.

Here Shinkei employs all these connotations of *yomogi*. The tone of the verse as such is clearly elegiac. In the *maeku*, momentarily elated at the memory of Mount Hiei, the persona envisions it, and by extension the islands of Japan itself as the immortal abode of wise sages, Mount Hōrai (*yomogi ga shima*). However, returning to present reality, he sees that what is before him is in fact no more than a ruinous weed-choked place where “not one tree flowers” (*hana no ki mo nashi*). The lament can only be properly understood as an evocation of the war-torn country; not improbably, Shinkei might have been remembering that Hiei was established to protect the nation from evil influences, but the “invisible powers” invoked by Dengyō Daishi in the poem have apparently withheld their blessing. The contrast being drawn is that between the remembered vision (*omokage*) of a tranquil ideal realm and the present national reality. “Flower,” as has been noted previously in Shinkei’s biography, connotes the grace and beauty of a moral sensibility in Shinkei’s poetry; its maiming in the depredations of war is the primary image in the poem *ima no yo wa* from the spring of 1471 (cited in Chapter 6). Another poem, “Lament Drawn by Flowers” from *Shinkei’s Waka in Ten Styles*, confirms the place of flowers in his criticism of his times.

	fuke arashi chirasu bakari no yo no naka ni fuku kotowari no hana ya nakaran	Blow, winds of storm! in a world bent only on tearing asunder, where finds there a single stirring flower of truth.
34	yomogi ga shima no hana no ki mo nashi	Immortal Island: not one tree flowers, amidst the rank growth.
35	haru fukami midori no koke ni tsuyu ochite	Deep into spring, dewdrops trickle on the greening moss.

Spring: *haru* (spring). Falling Phenomena: *tsuyu*.

In a startling turnabout, we leave the dark tonality raised by the ironic juxtaposition of miraculous vision and disappointing reality in link 33/34. Here 34 acquires a purely descriptive cast in conjunction with 35, yet another instance of the fact that in *renga*, the verse as such is ambiguous until fixed by a neighboring context. It is late spring, the flowers all fallen (“not one tree flowers”) in the now luxuriantly verdant island, a process represented by the pure image of dewdrops laving the moss, heightening its greenness. The allusion to Japan as Mount Hōrai in the *maeku* is reinstated; nature as such, perceived in all its rich and bountiful beauty, suggests the blessed abode of the Taoist immortals.

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| 35 | haru fukami<br>midori no koke ni<br>tsuyu ochite | Deep into spring,<br>dewdrops trickle on<br>the greening moss.  |
| 36 | iwa kosu mizu no<br>oto zo kasumeru              | Blurring to a murmur—sound of<br>water coursing over the rocks. |

Spring: *kasumeru* (hazy). Waters: *mizu* (water).

This verse is equally appealing in its attitude of rapt contemplation of nature. It immediately recalls the moss of the *maeku*, which must be upon these rocks. “Deep,” which modifies the spring season in the sense of “late, advanced” and is associated with “moss” and “green” in the *maeku* as well, here acquires a new context: the sound of the mountain stream is softened by the thick carpet of moss, and similarly the waves are broken up into droplets of dew laving it—*zo* being in effect the signal that we should associate the thick moss and blurred sound. Introducing the second Water passage in the sequence, this link eloquently recalls Shinkei’s rhapsody on water in *Hitorigoto*: “The water of spring makes the heart tranquil, stirs memories, and is somehow achingly appealing.” Along with the sensation of a moist greenness, spring water in Shinkei is symbolic of the pure vitality of life; it also connotes a nurturing, solacing power.

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| 36 | iwa kosu mizu no<br>oto zo kasumeru         | Blurring to a murmur—sound of<br>water coursing over the rocks.                |
| 37 | isogakure<br>nami ni ya fune no<br>kaeruran | As the waves recede<br>behind the shore cliffs is that<br>a ship sailing away? |

*Second Fold, Back.* Miscellaneous. Waters: *nami* (waves), *fune* (ship), *iso* (rocky coast).

In a sweeping move that opens up the pictorial vista of this poetic painting scroll, Shinkei relocates the detail of a mountain landscape in the *maeku* to the craggy seacoast. As the waves pull back, blurring to a murmur upon the rocks, the persona gazes out to sea at a ship receding in the distance. Referring to a sound in the *maeku*, *kasumeru* is here interpreted visually. Tonally, this verse shares with the preceding a sense of the vacant, suspended tranquillity characteristic of spring in the classical poetic vocabulary.

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| 37 | isogakure<br>nami ni ya fune no<br>kaeruran | As the waves recede<br>behind the shore cliffs is that<br>a ship sailing away? |
| 38 | waga omoine no<br>toko mo sadamezu          | In sleep restless with desire<br>the bed yields no place to settle.            |

Love: *omoiné* (sleep broken by yearning thoughts).

The vanishing ship has no direct relation to the sleepless persona whose eye momentarily registers it here, but it somehow reinforces the intensity of the yearning that keeps her tossing restlessly in bed—a motion, moreover, that evokes the waves of the *maeku*. The link is subliminal, yet no less effective; it is also instructive on the subject of thematic shifts in *renga* in demonstrating how the Love theme can be introduced into a wholly descriptive verse.

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|----|--|--|
| 38 | waga omoine no<br>toko mo sadamezu           | In sleep restless with desire<br>the bed yields no place to settle.              |
| 39 | yume ni dani<br>ikani mien to<br>kanashimite | Were it only in a dream<br>could I but somehow see him—<br>she pleads in sorrow. |

Love: *yume* (dream).

The depth of the persona's desolation may be gauged by the paradoxical logic of her situation. She seeks to assuage her longing for an absent lover by dreaming of him at least, but that very longing drives out sleep and dreaming. Thus she is trapped in a state of restless frustration from which there is neither escape nor relief, an intolerable physical sensation ("the bed yields no place to settle") so acute the mind cannot overcome it.

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| 39 | yume ni dani<br>ikani mien to<br>kanashimite | Were it only in a dream<br>could I but somehow see him—<br>she pleads in sorrow. |
| 40 | kakotsu bakari no<br>tamakura no tsuki       | Only resentment forms on the<br>pillowing arm, the empty moon.                   |

Autumn: *tsuki* (moon). Love: *kakotsu* (blame, resent); *tamakura* (pillowing arm).

The "pillowing arm," symbolic of the intimacy of lovers, acquires a paradoxical intensity due to the absence of the other, a human absence marked by the cold, transparent rays of moonlight. Highly elliptical yet precise, the verse imagistically distills the sense of desolation in the *maeku*; it also brings out the utter futility of feelings of resentment against an absent object.

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| 40 | kakotsu bakari no<br>tamakura no tsuki      | Only resentment forms on the<br>pillowing arm, the empty moon. |
| 41 | ajikinaku<br>musebu ya aki no<br>toga naran | For these sobs<br>of despair, is not autumn alone<br>to blame? |

Autumn: *aki* (autumn).

The object of resentment now shifts to the autumn season itself, whose most moving feature is the moon, as the long-suffering persona is finally

reduced to sobs (*musebu*) of despair. This move does not detract from the reader's impression that the dark emotional tonality has become too pervasive at this point in the sequence; this is in fact the fourth verse in the same vein. Still, there is psychological acuity in the underlying observation that a person at the end of her tether, inner resources exhausted, will blame any irrelevant thing in her despair. In other words, the verse is a comment about the subject's loss of mental control; blaming the season is a measure of her helpless predicament.

41	ajikinaku musebu ya aki no toga naran	For these sobs of despair, is not autumn alone to blame?
42	uezuba kikaji ogi no uwakaze	Unplanted, they would be dumb, the reeds souging in the wind.

Autumn: *ogi* (reeds).

This plainly contradicts the rhetorical question posed in the *maeku*: autumn, now represented by the sound of the wind over the withered reeds, is not melancholy as such but thinking makes it so. Having “planted” the grasses herself, she is the cause of her own condition. In effect the verse is a metaphorical affirmation of the pathetic fallacy in that nature does not constitute the cause and source of feeling but only its language. The root of feeling is “implanted” in the human heart itself; but for that fertile ground, nature would be virtually silent in the sense of expressing nothing.

This verse is not original with Shinkei. It appears in the first official *renga* anthology from 1356–57, the *Tsukubashū* (1116, Miscellaneous, by Sugawara Nagatsuna) as the *tsukeku* in the following pair:

ukikoto mo ware to shirubeki aki naru ni uezuba kikaji ogi no uwakaze	Autumn comes, letting me know myself the cause of my own misery. Unplanted, they would be dumb, the reeds souging in the wind.
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This *tsukeku* was originally composed for a thousand-verse sequence held sometime in the Bunna era (1352–56), and there its *maeku*, quoted below, was somewhat different from the *Tsukubashū* version.

ukikoto wa kokoro ni taenu aki naru ni	Unending the gloomy thoughts in the heart— for it is autumn.
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It is interesting to examine which of the three *maeku*, including Shinkei's, sets off the same *tsukeku* most effectively. Clearly, the original version is quite weak, doubtless the reason why it was revised for inclusion in the



official anthology. The second, much improved version crisply activates the tsukeku; Shinkei's version, similarly effective, is slightly more subtle in being indirect ("Is autumn alone to blame?"), thus increasing the impact of the image of reeds sounding in the wind.

The question of why Shinkei should include another's composition in his own solo sequence is an interesting one, given his strictures against plagiarism in *Sasamegoto*. There he concedes the possibility of coincidental similarity, innocent of copying, between two verses by different contemporary poets. But then he also quotes two hokku by himself side by side with similar versions by other poets as an instance of plagiarism. In the case of the *Tsukubashū* verse here, we might speculate that he had forgotten its original provenance and it had joined the latent fund of verses in his poetic imagination. But since it is given in exact fidelity to the *Tsukubashū* text, with no attempt whatsoever to conceal its source by modifying a word here and there, it is more likely that he intended it to be recognized as such and was interested in demonstrating how it acquires a different cast when placed against a different maeku. It is significant to note that in the *Hyakuban renga awase* (Renga contest in 100 rounds, dated 6.25.1468), Shinkei responded to a similar urge to pit his skill against the *Tsukubashū* poets of a century earlier by composing his own tsukeku to the original maeku from a contest in which Gusai and Shūa, with Nijō Yoshimoto as judge, vied with each other in composing the better tsukeku. In short, the inclusion of *Tsukubashū* 1116 in this solo sequence is best seen as a quotation from an older source, which a modern poet modifies by giving it a new maeku and tsukeku—a new context, in other words, in the manner of *honkadori*.

42	uezuba kikaji ogi no uwakaze	Unplanted, they would be dumb, the reeds souging in the wind.
43	haru o nao wasuregatami ni sode hosade	Still now, a memento of that indelible spring— sleeves that will not dry.

Spring: *haru* (spring).

In the verse itself, wet sleeves evoke sorrow at spring's passing. In relation to the maeku, however, they are a "memento" (*katami*) of a past spring when the persona wet her sleeves planting the reeds, the same that now in autumn move her to tears. In other words, within the context of the link, this spring season does not exist in the narrative present but only in the memory. The circumstance that made that spring so "difficult to forget" (*wasuregatami*) is suggested in the next verse. Here we should note the clever way Shinkei found to shift to Spring by conceiving it as a flashback in time from the autumnal present of the maeku.

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| 43 | haru o nao<br>wasuregatami ni<br>sode hosade | Still now, a memento<br>of that indelible spring—<br>sleeves that will not dry. |
| 44 | kasumi ada naru<br>ato no awaresa            | The sadness in the wake<br>of the vanished haze.                                |

Spring: *kasumi* (haze). Rising Phenomena: *kasumi*.

Wet sleeves are now ascribed to sorrow at the ephemerality (*ada naru*) of that symbol of spring, the haze. *Ada*, however, also means “fickle, inconstant,” and therefore suggests a fleeting love affair that ended in the subject’s abandonment.

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|----|---|--|
| 44 | kasumi ada naru<br>ato no awaresa           | The sadness in the wake<br>of the vanished haze.                     |
| 45 | awayuki no<br>kieyuku nobe ni<br>mi o shire | In the thin snow<br>dissolving in the meadow<br>is my fate revealed. |

Spring: *awayuki* (thin snow). Laments: *mi*. Falling Phenomena: *awayuki*.

The link is based on a simple parallelism between the ephemeral haze and the easily melted spring snow, an analogy only heightened by the contrastive juxtaposition of rising and falling phenomena. The new element is in the subject’s predictable reading of the same evanescent nature in her own existence.

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| 45 | awayuki no<br>kieyuku nobe ni<br>mi o shire | In the thin snow<br>dissolving in the meadow<br>is my fate revealed. |
| 46 | hito mo tazunenu<br>yado no ume ga ka       | The fragrance of plum flowers<br>draws no visitor to the abode.      |

Spring: *ume* (plum blossoms). Dwellings: *yado* (abode, house).

The elusive fragrance of plum blossoms wafting in the empty air, unappreciated by anyone, is also an image of transience, but the feeling that emerges from the verse is primarily that of loneliness or *sabi*. Kaneko observes that although plum blossoms have a frequency value of five in a standard sequence, Shinkei has condensed them all into this single outstanding occurrence, a fact that indicates their special personal significance for him. Below I quote a waka he composed in 1463, along with his own commentary, to suggest that the image of plum blossoms wafting their fragrance in vain is associated in Shinkei’s poetic imagination with the pathos and fear of his own obscure end. In other words, this image in conjunction with the last line of the *maeku* (*mi o shire*, “my fate revealed”) reflects his consciousness of the possibility that a similar fate awaited him.

ware nakuba  
shinobu no noki no  
ume no hana  
hitori niowamu  
tsuyu zo kanashiki

When I am gone,  
plum blossoms by those eaves  
deep with moss-fern:  
the sadness of a fragrance  
drifting alone in the dew.

I was imagining the flowers blooming by the moss-deep eaves of my old cottage when I, who have had such joy in them these many years, have vainly passed away in some unknown place.

This was written in 1463 when he was forced to abandon Jūjūshin'in, his "old cottage" in the capital and was staying in Kii Province. Now four years later, in an exile that would prove permanent in the Kantō, we find him using the same image in the same way. No doubt the conjunction between the plum blossoms' fragrance and an enforced banishment from the capital was inspired by the famous poem by Sugawara Michizane, *SIS* 1006: Miscellaneous Spring, "While gazing toward the plum blossoms of his home when he was banished [from the capital]."

kochi fukaba  
nioi okoseyo  
ume no hana  
aruji nashi tote  
haru o wasuru na

When the east wind blows,  
send your fragrance from afar,  
O flowers of the plum—  
Forget not the springtime  
though your master is gone.

46 hito mo tazunenu  
yado no ume ga ka

The fragrance of plum flowers  
draws no visitor to the abode.

47 kakureiru  
tani no toyama no  
kage sabite

Where I live hidden in  
the valley, the mountain's shadow  
deepens with time.

Laments: *kakureiru* (living in hiding, as a recluse). Mountains: *tani* (valley), *toyama* (foothills).

The "abode" (*yado*) in the *maeku* now becomes specified as a hermit's cottage in an isolated mountain valley. *Kage sabite* ("the shadow deepens with time") is an arresting turn of phrase to render his consciousness of the many lonely years he has spent there; its deeply somber mood of *sabi* heightens by contrast the wafting, elusive fragrance of the plum blossoms.

47 kakureiru  
tani no toyama no  
kage sabite

Where I live hidden in  
the valley, the mountain's shadow  
deepens with time.

48 keburu sukunaku  
miyuru ochikata

Meager the hearthsmoke  
rising off in the distance.

Miscellaneous.

In a typical move in the delineation of landscape in renga, Shinkei sketches the view as seen from the valley abode. From the mountain hamlet in the distance, the rising hearthsmoke looks as sparse as the rustic peasants' means. A *sabi* grayness and austerity unites the distinct lives of commoners and their recluse observer.

48	keburi sukunaku miyuru ochikata	Meager the hearthsmoke rising off in the distance.
49	shio taruru suzaki no ama no hanareio	Dripping in saltspray at the far end of the sandspit: a lone fisher's hut.

Miscellaneous. Waters: *suzaki* (sandspit). Dwellings: *hanareio* (a hut off by itself).

From the mountains, the landscape now shifts to an open coastal scenery, focusing in particular upon a single fisherman's hut at the tip of a long, narrow sandspit projecting out at sea. Such scenery, which would be unknown in Kyoto, recalls that at this time Shinkei was living by Shinagawa Bay. Apart from the counterpoint between mountain and sea imagery, a contrast is also being drawn between the scant smoke rising in the air, and the saltspray dripping down the fisher's hut. This last image, *shio taruru*, is particularly arresting in the way it precisely evokes a concrete tactile sensation. A beautiful scene lent pathos by the suggestion of a harsh existence wholly exposed to the elements, this begins the third Water passage in the sequence.

49	shio taruru suzaki no ama no hanareio	Dripping in saltspray at the far end of the sandspit: a lone fisher's hut.
50	toma fuku fune ni nami zo naraeru	With the sedge-roofed boat, the white cresting waves align!

Miscellaneous. Waters: *fune* (boat), *nami* (waves).

While sustaining the painterly mode of the *maeku*, this verse has left pathos behind and is wholly concerned with visual design. It gives the impression of a dynamic scene—waves cresting high and white in rows about the sedge-roofed boat, momentarily arrested by the observing eye into an ordered pattern, and has the satisfying aesthetic appeal of an *ukiyo-e* print. Along with this visual beauty, there is a specifically verbal wit in *naraeru* (learn, copy, model oneself upon), which transmits the idea that the cresting waves are “patterning” themselves after the triangular shape of the boat's roof.

50	toma fuku fune ni nami zo naraeru	With the sedge-roofed boat, the white cresting waves align!
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51	furu yuki ni tomonaki chidori uchiwabite	Companionless amidst the falling snow, the plover calls out in sorrow.
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*Third Fold, Front.* Winter: *yuki* (snow), *chidori* (plover). Waters: *chidori*. Falling Phenomena: *yuki*.

The poet now blurs the visual clarity of the seascape with a screen of falling snow, accentuating the whiteness of the cresting waves, and pointing up the whole with the lone figure of a plover crying on the cold, white shore. The brilliant shift into Winter is accompanied here by the introduction of lyrical pathos or *aware*.

51	furu yuki ni tomonaki chidori uchiwabite	Companionless amidst the falling snow, the plover calls out in sorrow.
52	hitori ya nenan sayo no matsukaze	Alone can I drift off to sleep— night astir with the pine winds.

Love: *hitori-ne* (sleeping alone).

The cries of the lone plover turn to the rustling of the wind in the pines as heard by a woman awaiting her lover; her heart gives a slight tremor at the sound, indicating her uncertainty as to whether she can endure sleeping alone through such a night. The metaphorical association between lone plover and woman is quite clear, as is the semantic contiguity of *tomonaki* (companionless) and *hitori* (alone). It would be poetically unappealing, I believe, to fuse the two visual frames—one wintry, the other miscellaneous as to season—for that would result in a redundancy of image (and sounds). It would be contrary, moreover, to Shinkei's own teachings about economic precision in the matter of poetic diction, the need to have "a keen sense for discriminating which words in the *maeku* ought to be adopted and which discarded" in the process of linking (*SSG*, p. 124). Thus I read the link here as Distant: the only thread running between the two verses is a sense of lonely deprivation; the image of the plover is not in the present frame but has been transformed into a metaphor for the lonely woman.

52	hitori ya nenan sayo no matsukaze	Alone can I drift off to sleep— night astir with the pine winds.
53	twarezuba mi o ikani sen aki no sora	Unvisited, what shall I do with myself? the empty autumn sky.

Autumn: *aki no sora* (autumn sky). Love: *towaru* (be visited).

The idea of being visited corresponds of course to the "waiting" implied by the second meaning of *matsu* (pine trees, wait) in the *maeku*, and a shift

to Autumn is accomplished with the image of the woman gazing vacantly at the autumn sky. Otherwise, compared to 51/52, this is a plain and Close link in that the verse merely expands on the sentiment already given in the *maeku*, and there are no other shifts in referent.

53	towarezuba mi o ikani sen aki no sora	Unvisited, what shall I do with myself? the empty autumn sky.
54	tanomeokitsuru tsuki no yūgure	So much and long dependent upon: this evening of moonrise.

Autumn: *tsuki* (moon). Love: *tanomeoku* (rely upon, trust).

In the autumn sky, the moon has risen, it is evening, the time when the woman's lover promised to come. As she gazes at that moonlit sky, she is taken with anxiety as to what she would do with herself (*ikani sen*) should he fail her. Another Close link, but the effect is more striking than that of 52/53; the sense of classic rightness in both the diction and conception is quite satisfying.

54	tanomeokitsuru tsuki no yūgure	So much and long dependent upon: this evening of moonrise.
55	tsurenaku mo tsuyu no nasake wa arinubeshi	Indifferent he might be, yet a dewdrop of pity must lodge in his heart?

Autumn: *tsuyu* (dew). Love: *tsurenashi* (cold, indifferent, cruel), *nasake* (feeling, pity, compassion).

Still anxiously awaiting a man who has not come at the appointed time, the woman is now clutching at the smallest straw, relying upon an assumption that although he has proven himself indifferent to her, nevertheless he might still come out of charity. Such is the depth of her obsession, or desperation.

This ends the Love passage beginning with 52 and immovably fixed upon the pathetic figure of an anxiously waiting woman. Such a view of love as experienced by the female seems quite cruel, and it is certainly feudal. Yet it is the conventional view in the imperial *waka* anthologies and has the weight and authority of the Heian romantic narratives as well, in particular the *Tale of Genji*, required reading for aspiring *renga* poets as for the *waka* poets before them. Shunzei, for instance, declared during the "Poetry Contest in 600 Rounds" that "the poet who has not read the *Genji* is much to be deplored" (*NKBT* 74, p. 442), and Shinkei himself counted that work as among those exhibiting a "refined diction and behavior of appealing sensibility" (*SSG*, p. 132). Is it possible that for the male *renga*

poets the traditional mythos of the female love experience was symbolic of their own deep, frequently frustrated desires, whether sexual or otherwise? We cannot explain the persistence of the Love theme, so conceived, in Japanese poetry until the nineteenth century except by presuming that it gave the male poets an opportunity to dwell upon and thus relieve, through the code-bound, formal, and acceptable language of poetry, the pressures and anxieties of repressed individual will in a feudal society.

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| 55 | tsurenaku mo<br>tsuyu no nasake wa<br>arinubeshi | Indifferent he might be,<br>yet a dewdrop of pity must<br>lodge in his heart? |
| 56 | sode ni shigure no<br>susamajiki koro            | Days of chill autumn showers<br>piercing through my sleeves.                  |

Autumn: *shigure* (incessant rain), *susamaji* (chill). Falling Phenomena: *shigure*.

In the context of the link, the chill wetness of this wholly seasonal verse is an objective correlative to the maeku persona's emotional state. The man's indifference and the now apparent futility of the self-deceiving thought in the maeku (that theoretical ounce of charity) affect her like the incessant, chill autumn showers. There is a subliminal ironic contrast as well between the meager "dewdrop of pity" (*tsuyu no nasake*), which turns out to be nonexistent, and the chill pouring rain that cruelly assaults her spirit. This is a dramatic, psychologically acute link.

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| 56 | sode ni shigure no<br>susamajiki koro          | Days of chill autumn showers<br>piercing through my sleeves.         |
| 57 | yama fukami<br>yuki no shitamichi<br>koekanete | In mountains deep<br>under snowdrift the trail<br>is hard to follow. |

Winter: *yuki* (snow). Travel: *yamagoe* (mountain crossing). Falling Phenomena: *yuki*. Mountains: *yamagoe*.

The persona whose sleeves are wet with rain now becomes a traveler impeded by the extreme adverse conditions in the snow-covered mountains. The two verses are linked by a parallelism between two figures suffering exposure to the harsh elements of distinct seasons; there is a contrapuntal effect, however, in the fact that the maeku image is properly read symbolically, while the tsukeku describes an objective situation. That is to say, the maeku evokes the tonality of the feeling of the tsukeku's persona.

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| 57 | yama fukami<br>yuki no shitamichi<br>koekanete | In mountains deep<br>under snowdrift the trail<br>is hard to follow. |
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58	iwao no kage ni fuseru tabibito	A traveler lies prostrate in the shadow of a great rock.
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Travel: *tabibito* (traveler).

The progression from 57 to 58 is obvious: the traveler, plodding in the snowbound mountain trail, is overcome with fatigue and has fallen in the shelter of a huge rock. The shift in point of view from the subjectivity of the traveler himself in 57 to an impersonal narrator here is highly effective and dramatic. It demonstrates how the manipulation of point of view is one more parameter operating in the progression of a renga sequence.

58	iwao no kage ni fuseru tabibito	A traveler lies prostrate in the shadow of a great rock.
59	natsu zo uki mizu ni hitoyo no mushirokaze	Summer goes hard— ah, for a night on a rushmat fanned by the seabreeze.

Summer: *natsu* (summer). Travel: *hitoyo no mushirokaze* (one night on the rushmat in the breeze). Waters: *mizu* (water).

The fallen traveler is now conceived as having been overcome by the summer heat in the hills and dreaming of the seashore with its cool breezes. The suddenness of the shift from the cold of winter in the preceding link to the heat of summer here is quite bracing and impressive. Here begins the fourth Water passage.

59	natsu zo uki mizu ni hitoyo no mushirokaze	Summer goes hard— ah, for a night on a rushmat fanned by the seabreeze.
60	e no matsu ga ne ni tsunagu tsuribune	A fishing boat moored to the roots of a great pine tree in the cove.

Miscellaneous. Waters: *e* (cove), *tsuribune* (fishing boat).

The sense of tranquil ease and relief in the *maeku*'s vision becomes concretely realized here as we imagine a man lounging in the fishing boat, enjoying the delicious wind stirring the pine branches. The visual scene as such may be appreciated aesthetically, suggesting as it does a detail from a landscape painting of the Southern School.

60	e no matsu ga ne ni tsunagu tsuribune	A fishing boat moored to the roots of a great pine tree in the cove.
61	kurekakarū naniwa no ashibi takisomete	As the dark gathers along Naniwa Bay, reed fires are lit one after another.

Miscellaneous. Waters: *Naniwa*. Named Place: *Naniwa*.



From the detail in the *maeku*, the visual perspective widens to include the long shoreline of Naniwa Bay (Osaka) in a panning motion suggestive of the cinema camera. There is also a filmic quality in the evocation of the small fires lighting up here and there in the gathering dusk. The easeful delight in the preceding link shifts here to the somber tonality of *sabi*.

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| 61 | kurekakarū<br>naniwa no ashibi<br>takisomete | As the dark gathers along<br>Naniwa Bay, reed fires are lit<br>one after another. |
| 62 | kareii isogu<br>koya no awaresa              | Hurrying with the parched rice—<br>the pathos in the hovels.                      |

Miscellaneous. Dwellings: *koya* (hut, hovel).

The reference to the humble fare of the fishermen's families along the coast, their lack of means and leisure, would stem from Shinkei's own observation of the daily life of the peasant poor during his travels. Compassion for the poor and defenseless (here, *koya no awaresa*, "the pathos in the hovels") is no doubt a conventional sentiment in a Buddhist priest, but Shinkei's biography indicates that it was a moral conviction born of personal experience (see Chapter 3). Indeed the importance of *sabi* in his work must be viewed as the artistic inscription of a clear-eyed recognition of deprivation, whether material, social, or existential.

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| 62 | kareii isogu<br>koya no awaresa               | Hurrying with the parched rice—<br>the pathos in the hovels.                 |
| 63 | wabinureba<br>namida shi sosogu<br>karagoromo | Bewailing fortune,<br>he weeps copious tears upon<br>the once splendid robe. |

Laments: *wabinureba* (bewailing fortune). Word Association: *kareii* (parched rice) = *Karagoromo* (Chinese, i.e., splendid, robe).

The frugal meal in the *maeku* now becomes an aspect of the much reduced circumstances of a former aristocrat. As readers of the *Tales of Ise* will recognize, the fixed association between "parched rice" and "Chinese robe" has its source in Section 9 of that Heian classic. There the courtier hero, depressed by his failures in the capital, travels east in search of a place to live. At Yatsunashi in Mikawa Province, his party stops by a marsh to have a meal and he composes the following poem, which so moved his companions that "their tears fell upon the *parched rice* until it swelled."

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <i>karagoromo</i><br>kitsutsu narenishi<br>tsuma shi areba<br>harubaru kinuru<br>tabi o shi zo omou | As a <i>Chinese robe</i><br>worn softly familiar was<br>my wife to me—<br>my heart is weary, thinking<br>how far away I have come. |
|---|--|

Shinkei's verse is an instance of *honzetsu*, a technique of linking through allusion to an episode in a well-known prose work; it is similar to the *honkadori* method of alluding to a famous poem. Here, the sorrowful figure of Narihira in the *Tales of Ise* is like an evocative shadow casting an ambiguous light upon the present persona whose situation is vaguely similar. The difference, that this man is actually wearing a "Chinese robe"—it is not a metaphor—merely points up the apparent aim of the *honzetsu* device, which is to superimpose upon the present scene an intertextual reference, in order to enrich its feel and texture.

63	wabinureba namida shi sosogu karagoromo	Bewailing fortune, he weeps copious tears upon the once splendid robe.
64	urami narikeri hito no itsuwari	Become this bitter resentment: the treacherous words of a man.

Love: *urami* (resentment), *itsuwari* (lie, deception). Word Association: *wabi* = *urami*.

The maeku's miserable state is revealed to be due to a man's deceitfulness in the past. This negative experience has ruined her, robbed her of all interest and hope for the future, and so she harbors a deep-seated resentment against him. The shift to a female persona would seem to be signaled by *urami*.

Although I have followed Kaneko's reading, in turn based on Ichijō Kanera's placement of both *urami* and *itsuwari* in the thematic field of Love (*Renju* 899), it seems to me possible to read this verse within the maeku's framework of Laments. That is, the "lie" for which the persona bears the man a deep grudge would be a false accusation of treason, which led to the former's fall from courtly society and a miserable existence. I mention this alternative interpretation because of Shinkei's known objection to a wholly code-bound reading in which a verse's meaning is governed by the presence in it of certain thematically predetermined words. Instead of considering words in isolation, he advocated attention to its integral message, which is here simply grievous resentment at a man's deception. He also said that it can happen that a verse will straddle two thematic fields, particularly in the case of Love and Laments (see Chapter 6). This verse could very well be such an instance.

64	urami narikeri hito no itsuwari	Become this bitter resentment: the treacherous words of a man.
65	waga shiranu koto nomi yoso ni na no tachite	For an affair of which I knew naught, my name grew notorious to others.

*Third Fold, Back.* Love: *na no tachite* (become the subject of rumor; acquire a bad name).

The man's deceitfulness (*itsuwari*), which one assumed to be a matter of his faithlessness in the preceding link, turns out to be something else again here: he has been spreading false rumors about intimate relations with her, a slander to ruin her name. If we go by the alternative reading of 64 in the preceding link, it is first here, in 64/65, that the thematic frame definitely shifts from Laments to Love. Read this way, the shift becomes more dramatic.

65	waga shiranu koto nomi yoso ni na no tachite	For an affair of which I knew naught, my name grew notorious to others.
66	toishi sono yo wa yume ka utsutsu ka	That night you came to me: Was I dreaming? Was it real?

Love: *toishi* (visited); *yume* (dream).

To preclude confusion, it must be said at once that the matter of slander in the preceding link is now wholly irrelevant to this one, which centers around the dream-like quality of one single night of love, the feeling immortalized in Section 69 of the *Tales of Ise*, to which this verse makes a clear allusion. In that episode, the Priestess of the Ise Shrine appeared before the erstwhile hero sometime before midnight, left again before three, then sent him this poem after dawn.

kimi ya koshi ware ya yukikemu omōezu <i>yume ka utsutsu ka</i> nete ka samete ka	Came you to me, or might I perhaps have gone to you? I cannot fathom it— <i>Was I dreaming? Was it real?</i> Was I sleeping? Awake?
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The verse makes no specific reference to the identity of its speaker; from the context of the *Ise* story and the poem above, it could be either Narihira or the priestess (*kimi ya koshi*). In connection with the *maeku* also, the same is true, since both would have had to bear the brunt of scandal. What is pertinent to note here is that Shinkei is playing, somewhat disingenuously to be sure, upon the very ambiguity concerning the reality of that night. If it were indeed a dream, then both parties can claim to be wholly innocent; in particular, *waga shiranu / koto nomi* (lit., “something of which I am ignorant”) is made to artfully resonate against *omōezu* (“I cannot fathom it”) in the poem of the priestess. When even I cannot tell whether it was a dream or real, what basis can there be for such rumors? This link is distinguished by a humorously ironic wit in the psychological reversal operating between *maeku* and *tsukeku*.

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| 66 | toishi sono yo wa<br>yume ka utsutsu ka       | That night you came to me:<br>Was I dreaming? Was it real?         |
| 67 | kaerusa wa<br>kokoro mo madoi<br>me mo kurenu | On the way back,<br>my heart was in a turmoil,<br>blinded my eyes! |

Love: *kaerusa* (the way back); *madou* (to be deluded, confused).

The persona being evoked here is Narihira, and the speech in the *maeku* would have to be his as well in the context of the link. Coming away from that “incredible” tryst, he is so overwhelmed that he cannot think or see clearly (“blinded my eyes”), and is therefore unable to decide whether or not it actually happened. The allusion is to Narihira’s reply to the poem by the priestess quoted earlier:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| kakikurasu<br>kokoro no yami ni<br>madoiniki<br>yume utsutsu to wa<br>koyoi sadameyo | I wander delirious<br>through the roiling darkness<br>within my heart—<br>Was it a dream? Reality?<br>I beg you decide, tonight! |
|--|--|

Shinkei’s method here of responding to an allusion to one poem by citing another, albeit from the same episode in the *Tales of Ise*, is rather unusual but highly effective.

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| 67 | kaerusa wa<br>kokoro mo madoi<br>me mo kurenu | On the way back,<br>my heart was in a turmoil,<br>blinded my eyes! |
| 68 | aoba kanashiki<br>hana no yamakage            | Sad the greening leaves on<br>hills lately white with flowers.     |

Spring: *hana* (flowers). Mountains: *yama*.

Definitely a Distant link; the shift from delirious passion to heartbroken regret for the vanished cherry blossoms is utterly amazing. A Distant link, it must be noted, does not indicate a loose connection but rather a subtle, unexpected one. Conventional word associations are usually absent in it or, if present, do not begin to explain the move from one verse to the next. *Kaerusa* (“on the way back”) is the clue to the linking transition here; it is reinterpreted to mean the persona’s “return” from viewing the flowers at their height, which is to say, just before their certain scattering. Yet the verse as such is set later in the season, when the trees are beginning to teem with green foliage. The force of *kaerusa*, in other words, exists only in that wide gap that the reader must bury to read the connection. The “sadness” (*kanashiki*) is at the recollection of the flowers’ splendor, which has left not a trace in the greening leaves. In this new context the inner turmoil (*kokoro*

*mo madoi*) in the *maeku* becomes redefined as the helplessness one feels at the inevitable passing of something beautiful. The link is informed by passion—for love in the *maeku*, for beauty in this verse.

- |    |   |  |
|----|---|--|
| 68 | aoba kanashiki<br>hana no yamakage            | Sad the greening leaves on<br>hills lately white with flowers.   |
| 69 | mizu ni uku<br>tori no hitokoe<br>uchikassumu | Across the water<br>the floating note of bird cry<br>turns hazy. |

Spring: *kasumu* (be hazy). Waters: *mizu* (water), *uku tori* (floating bird).

The bird cry floating hazily across the water is a wholly objective image, but it takes on a delicate hint of pathos in connection with the *maeku*'s sadness at the vanished flowers. Another effect of the juxtaposition is to bring out the quality of vague, gentle nostalgia in the *maeku*: the image of the flowers (*hana no . . . kage*) formerly so vivid to the eye turns nebulous and ineffable in the memory, like a cry floating through haze. As in the preceding case, we have here a Distant link based neither on a plot-like continuity nor on a synecdochic alignment of details in a single visual plane, but solely upon poetic sense and concept. The fifth Water passage begins here with a note of tranquillity recalling the second such passage at the end of the front page of the second fold.

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 69 | mizu ni uku<br>tori no hitokoe<br>uchikassumu | Across the water<br>the floating note of bird cry<br>turns hazy.  |
| 70 | fune yobau nari<br>haru no asanagi            | Someone calling out to the boat—<br>Calmness of a spring morning. |

Spring: *haru* (spring). Waters: *fune* (boat).

The bird cry turns to the voice of someone calling out to a boat on the water. The link is Close; both are metonymical features of a wholly relaxed and tranquil spring morning scene. Like the bird cry, the man's voice sounds remote as it drifts across the hazy air over the water.

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|----|---|---|
| 70 | fune yobau nari<br>haru no asanagi          | Someone calling out to the boat—<br>Calmness of a spring morning.           |
| 71 | omoshiroki<br>umi no higata o<br>osoku kite | Entranced by the<br>wide curving beach at ebb tide,<br>he was slow to come. |

Miscellaneous. Waters: *umi no higata* (the sea at ebb tide).

The gracefully curving beach at ebb tide is so appealing that the person taking his morning walk slows down to appreciate it. His elation and sense

of well-being before the scenery, we may imagine, caused him to call out gaily to the boat in the distance as another might playfully throw a stone across the water. It is a delicate and satisfying link.

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 71 | omoshiroki<br>umi no higata o<br>osoku kite | Entranced by the<br>wide curving beach at ebb tide,<br>he was slow to come. |
| 72 | tsuki no irinuru<br>ato wa shirarezu        | Once the moon has set, nothing<br>remains to trace its passage.             |

Autumn: *tsuki* (moon).

Along with the graceful line of the coast at low tide, we now momentarily glimpse the pale outline of the moon as part of the scene that so captivated the persona in the *maeku*. But the verse itself evokes a later moment, when “the moon has set” (note how the perfective suffix *nu* activates *osoku kite*, “slow to come,” in the *maeku*), and the viewer, first noting its disappearance, is struck with a sense of the ineffableness of things, how the moon is visible to the eye at one moment and in the next wholly absent and leaving no trace of its earlier presence (*irinuru / ato wa shirarezu*). This Distant link contrasts the elation of the *maeku* with the bereft feeling that succeeds it. There is an unspoken gap in time that exists only in the space between the two verses but must be read in order to make the link comprehensible.

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|----|--|---|
| 72 | tsuki no irinuru<br>ato wa shirarezu         | Once the moon has set, nothing<br>remains to trace its passage.                   |
| 73 | kuraki yori<br>kuraki o omou<br>aki no yo ni | In the autumn night,<br>imaging the path out of darkness<br>into deeper darkness. |

Autumn: *aki no yo* (autumn night). Buddhism: *kuraki yori kuraki* (from darkness into deeper darkness). Word Association: *tsuki* (moon) = *kuraki yori kuraki*.

The moon of the *maeku* now turns into the Buddhist “moon of the mind-heart” (*kokoro no tsuki*). The darkness that ensues after its setting (*tsuki no irinuru / ato*) is read as “the long night of ignorance” (*mumyō chōya*), the state of samsaric delusion in which sentient creatures wander through karmic cycles of birth and death, passing from one realm of suffering to another until enlightenment is attained. The link itself is unmistakably an allusive variation and reading of the famous poem by the Heian poetess Izumi Shikibu:

SIS 1342. Laments. “Composed and sent to Priest Shōkū.” Masamune’s Daughter, Shikibu.

*kuraki yori*  
*kuraki michi ni zo*  
*irinubeki*  
*haruka ni terase*  
*yama no ha no tsuki*

*Out of darkness*  
*into yet deeper darkness is the*  
*path I must enter—*  
 Shed your rays from afar, O moon  
 verging on the mountain crest!

In Shinkei's reading the moon hovering on the mountain crest of Izumi's poem has set, plunging the world into the utter darkness of suffering delusion, so that her plea gains in urgency and despairing pathos. One senses in this reading the *mappō* (latter days of the Buddhist Dharma) consciousness that strongly informs medieval literature, and Shinkei's own writing with it. The poem *fukeneri* (quoted in Part One, Chapter 4), which laments the setting of the Buddhist moon before man's moral indifference, provides substantial insight into this particular link.

73	<i>kuraki yori</i> <i>kuraki o omou</i> <i>aki no yo ni</i>	In the autumn night, imaging the path out of darkness into deeper darkness.
74	<i>kiri furu nozato</i> <i>kumo no yamazato</i>	Mist falls on the meadow village, Clouded the mountain village.

Autumn: *kiri* (mist). Rising Phenomena: *kiri*, *kumo*.

The semantic content and rhetorical doubling in the verbal structure of “out of darkness into deeper darkness” (*kuraki yori kuraki*) are here reproduced on the plane of concrete visual image; the link is essentially a translation of one set of terms into another. Mists and clouds also constitute a metaphor for the darkness of ignorant delusion, emphatically seen here as a universal condition (*nozato* / . . . *yamazato*). Formally and conceptually, the link is wholly Close.

74	<i>kiri furu nozato</i> <i>kumo no yamazato</i>	Mist falls on the meadow village, Clouded the mountain village.
75	<i>mi o yasuku</i> <i>kakushiokubeki</i> <i>kata mo nashi</i>	Nowhere a refuge, not a moment's respite for the tired spirit.

Laments: *mi o kakusu* (live in hiding, i.e., from the mundane world).

Even in the remote countryside—the meadow and mountain hamlets of the *maeku*—where one would expect to find a tranquil refuge from mundane suffering, the darkness of unknowing reigns. Such a verse is profitably read against the background of Shinkei's prose account of his wanderings as a refugee from the Ōnin War in the opening passage of his 1471 critical essay *Oi no kurigoto*; it evokes his sense of homeless drifting, of being

hounded by circumstance, and, most of all, a deep weariness of spirit, which resonates here as well. “Mists and clouds” would then allude to the spiritual darkness that breeds war.

75	mi o yasuku kakushiokubeki kata mo nashi	Nowhere a refuge, not a moment's respite for the tired spirit.
76	osamare to nomi inoru kimi ga yo	“Cease this tumult!” That is all I pray for in my Lord's reign.

Laments: *osamare to inoru* (“Cease this tumult,” I pray).

A series of Close links started from 73 and will continue until 77, in contrast to the predominance of Distant links in the passage before. Hounded by the restless tides of war, unable to find shelter anywhere, the *maeku* persona is driven to scream, so to speak, to the warring forces to pacify themselves in that singular verb in the imperative, *osamare*; this is like commanding the turbulent waves to calm down or snarling dogs to be still. With the reference to the war-torn reign of the then Emperor Go-Tsuchimikado (r. 1465–1500), private lament widens to implicate the public sphere. In the summer of 1464, just prior to his coronation, this emperor did Shinkei the signal honor of summoning him for a *renga* session. The encounter, fondly remembered in one of the poet's three extant letters, lends a specifically personal character to this public prayer.

76	osamare to nomi inoru kimi ga yo	“Cease this tumult!” That is all I pray for in my Lord's reign.
77	kami no tame michi aru toki ya nabikuran	For he is a god, the times may yet come to bend to the right Way.

Shintō: *kami* (god).

As indicated in the translation, I have chosen to render the first line *kami no tame* (“for he is a god”) as a reference to the divine nature of the Emperor (*kimi*) in the *maeku*; that is to say, because he is a god, the time must come when the Way will be observed, and peace restored to the troubled realm. It may, however, be taken in a more general sense thus: “by the grace of the gods, the time must come. . . .” Kaneko paraphrases the sense of the link in this way: “Since it is precisely in times when the Way of worshipping the gods is properly observed that the world is at peace, I pray to the gods for peace in His Majesty's reign.” In this reading, the primary link is from “pray” in the *maeku* to “gods” here, and the governing idea is that worshipping the gods constitutes the way of civil order. One wonders, however, why Shinkei did not then write *kami no michi / aru tame toki ya /*



*nabikuran*. The distinction between the two readings is a minor one, since both are based on the same Shintō political-religious ideology that is as old as the *Man'yōshū*, an anthology for which Shinkei demonstrably felt an affinity. Even in the medieval period, this ideology was closely bound up with the Japanese sense of nationhood. The idea that the Emperor's divinity empowers him to influence the times toward peace fits in well with the allegorical image of subjects bowing in homage to the sovereign in the following verse.

77	kami no tame michi aru toki ya nabikuran	For he is a god, the times may yet come to bend to the right Way.
78	kaze no mae naru kusa no suezue	The grasses bowing their heads in serried ranks before the wind.

Miscellaneous. Word Association: *nabiku* (bend) = *kusa* (grasses), *sue* (tip, head).

*Nabiku* in the *maeku*, whose referent or subject is “the times” (*toki*), is displaced here by grasses with their tips or “heads” bending in the wind. The image is clearly a metaphor for the pacified times anticipated in the *maeku*, when the unruly, warring subjects would be “bowing” in reverence before the immanent divine power of the sovereign. This power, as we know from the *Man'yōshū*, is conventionally imaged as a pacifying “divine wind” (*kamikaze*) and is especially invoked when the country is in peril. For all these reasons, this link must be said to be very close indeed.

78	kaze no mae naru kusa no suezue	The grasses bowing their heads in serried ranks before the wind.
79	fuyu no no ni koboren to suru tsuyu o mite	Seeing dewdrops about to spill over in the winter meadow.

*Remaining-Trace Fold, Front*. Winter: *fuyu no no* (winter meadow). Falling Phenomena: *tsuyu* (dew).

*Suezue*, the “tips” of the blowing grasses in the *maeku*, come into focus yet again with the addition of dewdrops upon them, while simultaneously undergoing a semantic shift to signify the temporal “end” of those same grasses now withered by winter. In the verse itself, the “end” is expressed in the momentarily stilled image of the dewdrops about to spill over (*koboren to suru*), but in the context of the link, the precise nuance of the reduplicative *suezue* (the distant final end) is captured in the cumulative effect of the advancing season, as daily the autumn wind spilled the dewdrops over and over again, until the present moment in winter, when the grasses have all shriveled. Such is the minute intricacy of the work of words, and the bounty

hidden in the empty spaces, in Shinkei's renga. This link and the following are slightly Distant.

79	fuyu no no ni koboren to suru tsuyu o mite	Seeing dewdrops about to spill over in the winter meadow.
80	harawaji mono o koromode no yuki	I could not brush them away— the snowflakes upon my sleeves.

Winter: *yuki* (snow). Falling Phenomena: *yuki*. Word Association: *tsuyu* = *koromode* (sleeves).

*Koboru* (spill over) in the *maeku* becomes charged here by juxtaposition with *harau* (brush off), a tense conjunction further pointed up by their contrastive potential-mode suffixes *-mu* and its negative, *-ji*. The dewdrops, moreover, are now to be understood as teardrops in conjunction with “sleeves.” Seeing dewdrops about to spill in the meadow, the persona is brought to mind of her own tears spilling on her sleeves, a memory so personally moving that now as snowflakes fall upon those same sleeves, she cannot find the heart to brush them away. The diction of this verse, which functions as a transition from the objective to the subjective emotional plane, is quite detailed in configuration in relation to the *maeku*, but its conception is perhaps a bit labored and unnatural. The coupling of external nature and human emotion in a wave of pathos, usually carried off in such a seemingly natural manner in Japanese poetry, is not wholly successful in this otherwise technically arresting verse.

80	harawaji mono o koromode no yuki	I could not brush them away— the snowflakes upon my sleeves.
81	tsumorikuru hito yue fukaki waga omoi	Gathering ply on ply, because of him my anguish grows still deeper.

Love: *hito yue no omoi* (a yearning caused by someone).

*Tsumorikuru* (pile up in layers) is clearly associated with “snow” in the *maeku*, while modifying the persona's deepening anguish in the verse as such. In the context of the link, the snow, which is now a metaphor for her attachment or obsession, has become so deep she cannot, even if she would, “brush it away.” The link is close, and more successful in translating the objective image than the preceding.

81	tsumorikuru hito yue fukaki waga omoi	Gathering ply on ply, because of him my anguish grows still deeper.
82	ikuyo ka tada ni akashihatsuran	How many more nights shall see the end of these useless dawns?

Love: *tada ni akasu* (spend a useless night).

Still the pivot of the link here, *tsumorikuru* now signifies the accumulated nights the persona has spent alone. The design of the link is constituted by the binary opposition between the series of empty nights from the past up to the present moment and the haunting vision of the similarly empty nights stretching into the future. The moving effect of the verse lies precisely in this setting up of two quantities against each other—one already weighed in the anguish of experience, the other still a yawning space in the mind but already shadowed with the foreknowledge of futility. The fact that the ironic opposition is posed rhetorically as a question is also highly effective; it is perhaps the most expressive use of the interrogative mode in this whole sequence. That its full effect is only to be realized in relation to the *maeku* demonstrates the unique poetry of *renga*.

82	ikuyo ka tada ni akashihatsuran	How many more nights shall see the end of these useless dawns?
83	aramashi o nezame sugureba wasurekite	Hopes of release, held in wakeful moments, slide into forgetfulness.

Laments: *aramashi* (hopes for the future).

*Aramashi* signifies the persona's hopes of escaping from the cycle of desire and suffering through spiritual discipline. Felt most keenly in the wakeful moments of dawn, such a hope is eventually forgotten as the day advances and he or she is caught again, willy-nilly, in the grip of mundane desire. Whereas in the previous link verse 82 refers to amorous desire nightly frustrated by the lover's non-appearance, in this link it refers to religious aspiration repeatedly betrayed by a weak resolve. *Tada ni* (uselessly, vainly) in the *maeku* is the pivot of this impressive major shift; the passage seems to be building toward a climax.

83	aramashi o nezame sugureba wasurekite	Hopes of release, held in wakeful moments, slide into forgetfulness.
84	tsuki ni mo hajizu nokoru oi ga mi	Shameless before the lucid moon, the remnants of an aging life.

Autumn: *tsuki* (moon). Laments: *oi ga mi* (an aging life).

The desire to renounce a banal mundane existence repeatedly aborted for lack of resolve, the persona has now merely grown old, his spiritual potential unrealized, his mind grown indifferent to the inner purity symbolized by the Buddhist moon (*tsuki ni mo hajizu*), except in moments of fearful wakefulness (*nezame*) like this one, which, unfortunately, "soon

slides into forgetfulness.” Here the progression of feeling recalls a similar passage in verses 48–50 of the “Three Poets at Minase” sequence to be composed by Sōgi and his disciples two decades later.

84	tsuki ni mo hajizu nokoru oi ga mi	Shameless before the lucid moon, the remnants of an aging life.
85	fuku kaze no oto wa tsurenaki aki no sora	Harrowing, the sound of the wind sweeping through the autumn sky.

Autumn: *aki no sora* (autumn sky).

The climax of the passage of self-reflection initiated in 82, this is one of those wholly objective images that take on human significance only through their contiguous position in relation to the situational field of the previous verse. It is a particularly fine example of the topological nature of renga poetry, which is like a chemical reaction that occurs on the basis of the verse’s specific position within a pair, and eventually in a series, and then in the sequence as a whole. Here the cruel (*tsurenaki*) sound of the wind is an objective correlative of the aging persona’s own fearful consciousness, as he nears his end, of his utter alienation from the hope of salvation signified by the moon. In the context of the link, moreover, *nokoru* (remaining) in the *maeku* reverberates with and suggests an image of remaining clouds dispersed by the wind scouring the autumn sky.

85	fuku kaze no oto wa tsurenaki aki no sora	Harrowing, the sound of the wind sweeping through the autumn sky.
86	mukaeba yagate kiyuru ukigiri	In a while, right before my eyes the floating mists have vanished.

Autumn: *ukigiri* (floating mists). Rising Phenomena: *ukigiri*.

Sight is joined to sound as the whistling wind becomes visualized as a force rending apart the floating mists of comfortable illusions, leaving only the vast open sky of autumn (*aki no sora*), here a symbol of the Void. Forcibly stripped of all illusions and confronted with this emptiness, the ordinary mind senses it as cruel and harrowing, which is a measure of its own inadequacy before it. This link is in Shinkei’s inimitable “chill and thin” style.

86	mukaeba yagate kiyuru ukigiri	In a while, right before my eyes the floating mists have vanished.
87	michi wakuru masago no ue no uchishimeri	On the fine sand the trail of footprints moistens over.

Travel: *michi wakuru* (tracing a path).

Kaneko reads the link to mean that the mists obscuring the traveler's vision as he plods on gradually clear up, until he can clearly see the path without going astray. As indicated in my translation, I read the path over the sand (*masago no ue*) as a trail of footprints that become moistened over (*uchishimeri*), that is, flattened out and effaced, in the wetness along the beach. I feel it is more striking, poetically, to see a subliminal parallel between the mists that vanished (*kiyuru ukigiri*) before the persona's eyes in the *maeku* and a trail that dissolves as he follows it here. A disappearance occurs in both cases, but they involve different phenomena and processes. The link is forged not through the unity of a narrative progression (the mists are not necessarily in the same temporal and visual frame as the *tsukeku*'s trail on the sand), but solely through an inner metaphorical juxtaposition. Thus it could be characterized as Distant, and similar to what Bashō would call "linking by fragrance" or evocative resonance.

87	michi wakuru masago no ue no uchishimeri	On the fine sand the trail of footprints moistens over.
88	furuki iori zo namida moyōsu	Still the ancient hermitage causes the tears to well.

Laments: Remembering the Past: *furuki iori* (ancient hermitage).

*Uchishimeri* (moistens over) translates here as the welling up of tears (*namida moyōsu*) at the sight of an ancient hermitage long empty of its inhabitant. Similar moments occur several times in the *Narrow Road to the Deep North*, when Bashō pays a pilgrimage to the former abodes of hermits. Moreover, the dissolving footprints in the *maeku* subtly reverberates against *furuki* (old) here, evoking as it does the process of dissolution through time. A long time has passed, "effacing" the life that used to inhabit this shelter, but its trace, the ancient hermitage, still has the power to move the mind-heart. This would be the significance, I think, of the emphatic and contrastive *zo* in the context of the link.

88	furuki iori zo namida moyōsu	Still the ancient hermitage causes the tears to well.
89	tachibana no ki mo kuchi noki mo katabukite	The orange-blossom tree is rotting with age, and the eaves are sagging.

Summer: *tachibana* (orange blossoms). Laments: Remembering the Past: *noki . . . katabukite* (eaves sagging).

In contrast to the subtlety of the preceding, this link is obvious and unremarkable; it expands upon the ruinous age of the hermitage in the image of the rotting tree in the garden ("orange blossoms" are conven-

tionally associated with remembrance of the past) and the sagging eaves. Such a straightforward, thoroughly visible link also constitutes one method in *renga*, and it is useful in creating a variety of poetic effects. It is not, however, Shinkei's characteristic manner.

89	tachibana no ki mo kuchi noki mo katabukite	The orange-blossom tree is rotting with age, and the eaves are sagging.
90	tou hito mare no samidare no naka	Hardly anyone calls, through the long dark rains of June.

Summer: *samidare* (rainy season in summer, modern *baiu* or *tsuyu*).

The scene of ruined hut and garden now becomes enveloped in a mood of dim and timeless loneliness through the evocation of the poetic associations around *samidare*, the monthlong rains that fall continuously from June to July, an overcast and melancholy season. The orange blossoms in the *maeku* also come to life as a fragrance wafting in the drenched atmosphere, evoking romantic associations that belong to the dimly remembered past of the famous *Kokinshū* poem (no. 139, *satsuki matsu*) and allusions to it in later poetry and prose. Here begins the sixth and final Water passage in the sequence; it ends with another rain image in verse 95.

90	tou hito mare no samidare no naka	Hardly anyone calls, through the long dark rains of June.
91	se o hayami yūkawabune ya nagaruran	In the swift current, was that boat cast adrift upon the evening river?

Miscellaneous. Waters: *se* (current), *kawabune* (riverboat).

Only the image of the *samidare* rains falling in the deserted space is taken up in this link, which leaves behind the associations from the past in the *maeku*. The observing eye notes how swift and swollen the river has become due to the long, incessant rains and wonders if the empty boat drifting past was cut loose from its moorings by the force of the current. The link is more Distant than Close.

91	se o hayami yūkawabune ya nagaruran	In the swift current, was that boat cast adrift upon the evening river?
92	tomaranu nami no kishi o utsu koe	The incessant sound of waves pounding the shore.

Miscellaneous. Waters: *nami* (waves), *kishi* (shore).

In a close link, the force of the current in the *maeku* is translated here into an auditory image. As Kaneko suggests, the word *tomaranu* (incessant,

without stopping) echoes *nagaruran* (flowing past, drifting) in the upper verse; although it refers primarily to the pounding sound of the waves in the verse itself, it also activates the image of the wayward boat hurtling swiftly past in the *maeku*.

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 92 | tomaranu nami no<br>kishi o utsu koe              | The incessant sound of<br>waves pounding the shore.                             |
| 93 | yamabuki no<br>chirite wa mizu no<br>iro mo nashi | Yellow mountain roses—<br>with each petal shower the water<br>turns, colorless. |

*Remaining-Trace Fold, Back.* Spring: *yamabuki* (yellow mountain roses; Japanese kerria). Waters: *mizu* (water). Word Association: *kishi* = *yamabuki*.

Couched in the paradoxical language of a riddle or a Zen *kōan*, this verse by itself apparently means that the yellow petals outspread on the water are so vivid that the water itself suddenly loses its color, that is, becomes muted and dim. By calling attention to the absence of one term in *mizu no / iro mo nashi* (lit., “the water has no color”), the verse enhances the profuse presence of the other term, the vivid loveliness of the yellow petals themselves.

In connection with the *maeku*, “the water has no color” is meant to invite a contrastive juxtaposition with the proposition that “the water has a voice” (*mizu no koe ari*), as may be deduced from the sound of waves pounding the shore (*nami no / kishi o utsu koe*) in the *maeku*. Furthermore, through the mediation of the conventional poetic lore that the color of the *yamabuki* is like that of the yellow dye extracted from the berries of the *kuchinashi* (gardenia or cape jasmine), commonly written as the ideographic pun “no-mouth,” they were conventionally imaged as mute. Thus another hidden proposition in this link is that in contrast to the water, which has a voice but “no color,” the roses have a color but no voice.

The playfulness of the method here is certainly more characteristic of comic *haikai no renga* than the refined *ushin renga* later to become epitomized by the work of Sōgi and his disciples. It is interesting to note, indeed, that the common association between *yamabuki* and *kuchinashi* apparently originates from *Kokinshū* poem 1012 by Monk Sosei, which is classified under the “Eccentric Poems” (*haikai no uta*) section in that anthology. There is no doubt that Shinkei loved and was skillful in the play of wit, punning, and double meaning that is ultimately the very life of *renga* poetry itself, since a verbal art of linking transformation is impossible without it. Still, as this verse illustrates, he made it a point not to indulge in wit for its own sake but to serve his equal love for poetic beauty, for the precise, vivid, and simultaneously subtle image.

Speaking of subtlety, I have so far followed Kaneko and presented the

link here as based on the contrast between the vividness of a sound and the equal but mute vividness of a color. However, I wonder if Shinkei did not intend the link to turn also on the word *tomaranu* (incessant, without stopping) in the *maeku*. That is to say, *chirite wa mizu no / iro mo nashi* (“with each petal shower the water / turns, colorless”) might also mean, that each time the petals fall, they glow vividly for a moment on the water before disappearing within the trough of the cresting wave as it folds over against the riverbank, leaving the water “colorless” again. Personally, I prefer this reading since it focuses in a precise yet subtle manner on the dynamics of the moment and in effect transposes upon the visual plane the incessant pounding of the waves (their coming and going) against the shore of the *maeku*. As a link not based wholly on verbal correspondences but more on the conceptual dynamics of the image, I find it tighter and more satisfactory. The imagistic progression from verse 91 to 93 is somewhat reminiscent of the following poem from the *Shinkokinshū*.

SKKS 160. “Presented for a Hundred-Poem Sequence during the reign of the Cloistered Sovereign Horikawa [r. 1087–1106].” Provisional Middle Counselor [Minamoto] Kunizane

	iwane kosu kiyotakigawa no <i>hayakereba</i> nami orikakuru kishi no yamabuki	Hurling over rocks, the Crystal Falls River flows so <i>swift</i> , the waves are cresting back upon the mountain roses on the shore.
93	yamabuki no chirite wa mizu no iro mo nashi	Yellow mountain roses— with each petal shower the water turns, colorless.
94	yae oku tsuyu mo kasumu hi no kage	The eightfold dewdrops also a hazy shimmer in sunlight.

Spring: *kasumu* (be hazy). Word Association: *yamabuki* = *yae*- (eightfold, many-layered).

“Eightfold,” while evoking the profusion of dewdrops, recalls by association the manifold petals of the yellow mountain roses in the *maeku*. The muted glimmering of a myriad dewdrops in the overcast atmosphere also activates *mizu no / iro mo nashi*, the muted color of the water, by analogy. The linking method, a typical metonymical progression from one aspect of a scene to another, by blurring the surrounding vegetation and the air in a cloud of haze, again brings out the vividness of the flowers. In contrast to the focus on dynamic motion in the preceding link, this one evokes a mood of still tranquillity. Such a juxtaposition between motion and stillness (*dō* and *sei*) is later to become a typical move in Bashō school haiku and *renku*.



- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 94 | yae oku tsuyu mo<br>kasumu hi no kage         | The eightfold dewdrops also<br>a hazy shimmer in sunlight.      |
| 95 | harusame no<br>komakani sosogu<br>kono ashita | The spring rain is<br>seeping finely over all,<br>this morning. |

Spring: *harusame* (spring rain). Word Association: *tsuyu* = *ame*.

“Seeping finely over all” (*komakani sosogu*) momentarily brings to vivid life, by association of cause and effect, the profuse dewdrops of the *maeku*, at the same time that the scene widens to include all that the eye can see on a hazy, tranquil morning of soft spring rain. Keeping in mind the appeal that water and other images of moisture had for Shinkei, one senses in this scene the grace and nurturing power of the rain that seeps into all the grasses and trees. It recalls the “Medicinal Herbs” chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*, in which the Buddha’s all-encompassing wisdom and compassion is likened to a thick cloud (*mitsu’un*) spreading over all, a fine rain infusing everything with life.

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 95 | harusame no<br>komakani sosogu<br>kono ashita | The spring rain is<br>seeping finely over all,<br>this morning.   |
| 96 | omoikudaku mo<br>kinuginu no ato              | A heart is breaking into shards<br>in wake of the dawn’s parting. |

Love: *omoikudaku* (torn in anguish); *kinuginu* (parting of lovers at dawn).

This verse marks a startling major shift from the beneficent tranquillity of the seasonal *maeku* to the now familiar mood of anguish connected with the Love theme; the link is Distant. The connection hinges on *komakani* (finely, minutely), which is here echoed in *omoikudaku*, a compound verb coupling *omou* (think, feel, yearn), and *kudaku* (shatter into tiny pieces, like china). Thus the objective image in the *maeku* comes to express a subjective state of mind, and in a marvelous transformation, the tranquil threads of spring rain now seem like needles spreading a fine pain in the woman’s heart as she stares desolately out at the spring morning scene after her lover’s departure. The verse captures both the bereft feeling as well as the indefinable anxiety close upon the moment of parting after a night of shared intimacy. It ends the absorbing run of minutely conceived links that began in 92.

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| 96 | omoikudaku mo<br>kinuginu no ato               | A heart is breaking into shards<br>in wake of the dawn’s parting.       |
| 97 | koishisa no<br>nakute sumu yo mo<br>aru mono o | Surely there are<br>worlds where one can live free<br>of this yearning. |

Love: *koishisa* (yearning, desire).

From here to verse 99 is a series of broadly conceived, generalized statements on the human condition that are closely linked by the logic of reason. Given the unbearable anguish of 96, the desire for release from desire and all its attendant suffering is thoroughly understandable. *Sumu* (to live) is also being used in its other sense, “clear, transparent,” that is, without the pollution of desire.

97	koishisa no nakute sumu yo mo aru mono o	Surely there are worlds where one can live free of this yearning.
98	ikani shite ka wa kokoro yasumen	But how can I ever find the way to quiet my mind?

Laments: *kokoro yasumen* (pacify, make tranquil the heart-mind).

Although it is possible to attain to a higher realm of liberation from desire—that is in effect the sum of Buddhist teaching—the way of mental discipline required to arrive there is difficult to follow. Perhaps because he was a priest and accustomed to reflect upon the darker depths of the human heart, Shinkei had taken a realistic measure of the deep-seatedness of desire. Two poems on Lament from his 1468 hundred-poem sequence may be taken as an illuminating commentary on the burden of the present link.

ōumi o nomu tomo nao ya akazaran kagiri naki yo no hito no kokoro wa	Though he drank all the vast ocean dry, he would still be dissatisfied: a world without bounds in the-world, this heart of man!
nanigoto mo omoisutetsu to iu hito mo inochi no uchi wa itsuwari ni shite	That in all things he has renounced desire: the man who says so is living a lie, as long as life within him breathes.

Buddhism might preach with certitude the existence of “a world / . . . free of this yearning” (*koishisa no / nakute sumu yo*) but human experience shows that there is seemingly no end to the sea of *samsara*, that the desiring heart of man constitutes in itself “a world without bounds” (*kagiri naki yo*), which only death might conceivably destroy.

98	ikani shite ka wa kokoro yasumen	But how can I ever find the way to quiet my mind?
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99	tsukiyo ni mo tsuki o minu yo mo fushiwabite	On moonlit nights, and even nights blotted of the moon, I lie disconsolate.
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Autumn: *tsuki* (moon).

Again the connection with the *maeku*, and indeed with the two poems cited, is clear. The most representative expression of the effect of the autumn moon on the heart is probably this poem from the *Kokinshū* (KKS 184, Autumn, Anonymous).

konoma yori morikuru tsuki no kage mireba kokorozukushi no aki wa kinikeri	I see the moon's rays dripping between the trees and know that autumn, that heart-consuming season, is once more upon us.
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Why the presence of the moon (*tsukiyo ni mo*) should stir such longing thoughts in the beholder's gaze is best left to the imagination. Why its absence (*tsuki o minu yo mo*) should stir a yearning as well is all too clear. At any rate, against the theoretical possibility of its cessation, Shinkei sets the immovable certitude that to live is to desire; the human heart seems constitutionally addicted to it. Moreover, that desire in its boundlessness seems wholly incommensurate to its object, remaining constant despite the object's presence or absence, and thus ultimately beyond fulfillment.

99	tsukiyo ni mo tsuki o minu yo mo fushiwabite	On moonlit nights, and even nights blotted of the moon, I lie disconsolate.
100	kaze yaya samuku inaba moru toko	About the rice-warden's pallet, The chill of the wind deepens.

Autumn: *inaba* (lit., "rice-place," rice granary or rice fields ripe with grain).

The sequence ends, after the vainly enlightening generalizations in the preceding three verses, in Shinkei's chill and thin mode and the final link is Distant. Verse 100 is in effect a final evocative and distilled image of the human condition of everlasting toil and sorrow beyond consolation. Moving imperceptibly but inexorably from autumn to the chill of winter, it is a somber, open-ended closure that simultaneously points the way to another beginning of the manifold circles of desire and suffering, and beauty, nature, and time, that is existence as the medieval *renga* poets inscribed it in their poetic scrolls.

“Broken Beneath Snow”: A Hundred-Verse Sequence  
 Composed by Shinkei, Sōgi, and Others in Shinagawa,  
 Musashi, in the Winter of Ōnin 2 (1468)

1	yuki no oru kaya ga sueno wa michi mo nashi Shinkei	Reeds broken beneath snow across the plain’s horizon— there is no path.	Shinkei
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*First Fold, Front.* Winter: *yuki* (snow). Falling Phenomena: *yuki*.

Shinkei’s hokku is manifestly no more than an objective image of a pathless, snow-covered landscape in winter. It conforms to the emerging conventions of the important first verse in citing the actual season of composition as its primary topic, and in its wholly autonomous formal shape—in renga the hokku, above all, must be able to stand on its own. It has one controversial aspect, however, and that is the unmistakable undertone of lament that informs it, particularly the strongly emotive final line with its negative inflection, *michi mo nashi* (“there is no path”). Composed in Musashi Plain in the second year of the Ōnin War, the verse is in fact a metaphor of the times; the image of heaps of reeds broken under the weight of snow all across the plain suggests a wasted battlefield, and the absence of a path implies the moral bankruptcy of the age, in that *michi* may also be interpreted as “the Way.” The rule that nothing inauspicious or emotional should disturb the tranquillity of the Prelude section has yielded here to the pressure of circumstance, yet in the magnitude of the view it unfolds before the eye and the depth of emotion it evokes, this hokku attains to a sublimity rare, because difficult, in a three-line seventeen-syllable poem.

1	yuki no oru kaya ga sueno wa michi mo nashi Shinkei	Reeds broken beneath snow across the plain’s horizon— there is no path.	Shinkei
2	yūgure samumi yuku sode mo nashi Sōgi	Not a moving figure in sight across a frozen twilight.	Sōgi

Winter: *samumi* (cold).

Sōgi’s second verse is a model of its kind in the way it maintains the scenery introduced by Shinkei, while enhancing its bleak mood. “Cold” naturally echoes “snow” in the hokku, and *yuku sode mo mizu* (lit., “not a moving sleeve is seen”) is quite closely connected to *michi mo nashi* (“there is no path”) both in syntax and semantic significance. As may be gleaned from its technical name, *waki* (lit., “alongside,” that is, “a companion

verse”), the second verse follows alongside the hokku as a kind of accompaniment; there should not be a visible gap between the two but a harmonious blending. In its simple, unassuming character, Sōgi’s verse in effect tranquilizes the ever so subtle yet poignant lament in the hokku by fusing it within an impersonal feeling for the wintry and deserted twilight scene.

2	yūgure samumi yuku sode mo nashi Sōgi	Not a moving figure in sight across a frozen twilight. Sōgi
3	chidori naku kawara no tsuki ni funē tomete Norishige	As plovers cry along the river shallows, a boat glides up beneath the moon. Norishige

Winter: *chidori* (plovers). Waters: *kawara* (shallow riverbed), *funē* (boat). Word Association: *samumi* = *chidori naku* (plovers crying).<sup>4</sup>

This is not so apparent in the translation, but the bleak tonality of the first two verses breaks down completely here: the poetic landscape, heretofore still and deserted, instantly becomes cluttered with images: crying plovers, the river, a boat anchoring, the moon. True, the *daisan* (third verse) should signal a definite shift and strike out in a new direction, but Norishige overshoots the mark; the distance is too wide between 2 and 3. Nevertheless, if we ignore the imperfect execution and focus on the intended link, we see that the chill rays of moonlight evoked by the verse echoes “cold” in the *maeku*; the boatman is wholly alone on the riverbank, there are no other “moving figures,” only the cries of the plovers and the luminous moon. Still, the verse as such links only slackly to its *maeku*.

3	chidori naku kawara no tsuki ni funē tomete Norishige	As plovers cry along the river shallows, a boat glides up beneath the moon. Norishige
4	kikeba makura o suguru sayokaze Kaku’a	Listening, I feel the night wind drifting past my pillow. Kaku’a

Miscellaneous.

Kaku’a compensates for the crowded effect of the *maeku* with a simple verse. Having anchored his boat, the speaker senses the wind drifting over his pallet within, interspersed with the calls of the plovers.

4	kikeba makura o suguru sayokaze Kaku’a	Listening, I feel the night wind drifting past my pillow. Kaku’a
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5	sakurabana sakuran kata ya niouran Nagatoshi	Cherry blossoms— already in flower yonder? a wafting fragrance. Nagatoshi
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Spring: *sakurabana* (cherry blossoms).

Although marred by the aural and inflectional redundancy of *sakurabana / sakuran . . . / niouran*, Nagatoshi's verse manages to deftly introduce the Spring theme by imagining the scent of cherry blossoms carried by the wind of the *maeku*. The turn is effected by reinterpreting the verb *kiku* (to listen) in the *maeku* in its other sense of "to smell" (usually said in conjunction with incense and perfumes), thus generating the verb *niou* (waft a fragrance) in the third line.

5	sakurabana sakuran kata ya niouran Nagatoshi	Cherry blossoms— already in flower yonder? a wafting fragrance. Nagatoshi
6	haru ni okururu yamakage no sato Sōetsu	Spring comes late to the village in the mountain's shadow. Sōetsu

Spring: *haru* (spring). Mountains: *yama* (mountain). Dwellings: *sato* (village).

The scent of cherry blossoms, now interpreted as the glowing of their color (the other sense of *niou*), recedes further in the imagination as Sōetsu introduces a mountain village where spring comes later than in the plains. Dwelling in the mountain's shadow, the speaker expresses a nostalgic anticipation of the flowers' bright splendor. Poetically, this splendor held only in the mind sharpens by contrast the remote, lonely atmosphere of an isolated hamlet.

6	haru ni okururu yamakage no sato Sōetsu	Spring comes late to the village in the mountain's shadow. Sōetsu
7	kane kasumu onoe no kikori tomo yobite Mitsusuke	Hazy booms the bell on the peak where a woodsman calls out to his fellows. Mitsusuke

Spring: *kasumu* (hazy). Mountains: *onoe* (peak). Rising Phenomena: *kasumu*. Word Association: *kikori* (woodsman) = *yamakage* (mountain's shadow).<sup>5</sup>

A clear spatial contrast is being drawn between the peak of the mountain, where the woodsmen are preparing to descend after finishing the day's work, and the village below ("in the mountain's shadow"), where they live.

The verse is notable in evoking the feeling of an everyday scene among common people, an unusual occurrence in the courtly waka tradition and revealing the country origins of the samurai participants here. The “haziness” of the temple bell’s booming is particularly effective in summoning the feel of the warming air in early spring, compared to its clear tones in winter.

7	kane kasumu onoe no kikori tomo yobite Mitsusuke	Hazy booms the bell on the peak where a woodsman calls out to his fellows. Mitsusuke
8	kaeru ka kumo no nokoru hitomura Hōzen	Will it return as well? The cloud bank left behind. Hōzen

Miscellaneous. Rising Phenomena: *kumo* (cloud). Word Association: *kasumu* = *kumo* (cloud).

The link between the sounds of the woodsmen’s departure and the word “return” (*kaeru*) is clear. In the verse itself, “return” refers to the “cloud left behind” (*kumo no nokoru*), hanging on the peak of the *maeku*; in this context it means “disperse.” This simple image enhances the slow, vaguely nebulous atmosphere of the spring dusk of the *maeku*.

8	kaeru ka kumo no nokoru hitomura Hōzen	Will it return as well? The cloud bank left behind. Hōzen
9	harekumoru ame sadamenaki aki no sora Shun’a	Now clear, now clouded in rain, the restlessly shifting autumn skies. Shun’a

*First Fold, Back.* Autumn: *aki* (autumn). Falling Phenomena: *ame* (rain).

Will the remaining cloud disperse, clearing the sky, or will more clouds darkly gather, bringing back the rain? How uncertain is the autumn weather. The Miscellaneous, seasonally neutral *maeku* emerges as a perfect transition between the Spring season of verses 5–7 to Autumn here. It is particularly illustrative of how in *renga*, the same image (here, the clouds) acquires a wholly different value within a changed context, and the link generates, as Shinkei conceives it in *Sasamegoto*, a continual process of recontextualization, what in modern terms would be called displacement.

9	harekumoru ame sadamenaki aki no sora Shun’a	Now clear, now clouded in rain, the restlessly shifting autumn skies. Shun’a
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10	yowaki hikage zo tsuyu ni yadoreru Ken'a	Feeble the gleam of sunlight lodging motionless in the dew. Ken'a
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Autumn: *tsuyu* (dew). Falling Phenomena: *tsuyu*. Word Association: *ame* (rain) = *tsuyu*.

With the emphatic particle *zo*, a clear contrast is drawn between the restlessly “shifting” (*sadamenaki*) sky on the one hand and the frail stillness of the sun’s reflection as it “lodges” (*yadoreru*) in the dew. This juxtaposition of motion and stillness is a notable method of linking in *renga*. By itself and in connection with the *maeku*, this single verse by Shun’a is quite impressive. The dew is understood to be from the rain mentioned in the previous verse.

10	yowaki hikage zo tsuyu ni yadoreru Ken'a	Feeble the gleam of sunlight lodging motionless in the dew. Ken'a
11	sasa no ha ni mushi no ne tanomu no wa karete Shinkei	Even as insects cry pleading in the bamboo grass, the meadow withers. Shinkei

Autumn: *mushi* (insects). Word Association: *tsuyu* (dew) = *mushi, no* (meadow).

The primary connection hinges on the evocation of the word “feeble” (*yowaki*) in the *maeku*, which comes to lend its pathos to the declining insects and vegetation here. Similarly, *yadoreru*, “lodges, dwells,” reverberates against the insects’ imminent loss of their “shelter” as the meadow plants wither with advancing autumn. A beautifully seamless link.

11	sasa no ha ni mushi no ne tanomu no wa karete Shinkei	Even as insects cry pleading in the bamboo grass, the meadow withers. Shinkei
12	makura omowanu yowa no matsukaze Sōgi	Indifferent to my lonely pillow, wind in the pines at midnight. Sōgi

Love: *makura* (pillow). Word Association: *sasa* (bamboo grass) = *makura*.

*Omowanu* (indifferent, unsympathetic) links up to the meadow of 11 that withers *despite* the plea of the insects, but in verse 12 as such, the reference is to the wind whose harrowing sound exacerbates the loneliness of the persona who lies awake at midnight, having waited in vain for one who did not come. In effect, Sōgi translates the *maeku* into a metaphor for his persona’s state of mind, even while it remains a metonymical adjunct of the present scene. The faint chirping of insects in the grass and the



soughing wind in the pines combine to evoke the sadness of ephemerality in both the insect and human worlds. Another good link between Shinkei and Sōgi.

12	makura omowanu yowa no matsukaze Sōgi	Indifferent to my lonely pillow, wind in the pines at midnight. Sōgi
13	yume yo nado hito koso arame itouran Norishige	Dreams, unbidden you come to others, then why shun me? Norishige

Love: *yume* (dream). Word Association: *makura* (pillow) = *yume*.

An elliptical diction is characteristic of renga, but this one is particularly difficult in its abbreviated second line, *hito koso arame* (lit., “there are indeed people . . .”). Its effect is to draw out the irony of a situation in which the one who is most eager to see her beloved in a dream is unable to do so. “Indifferent” (*omowanu*) in the *maeku* and “shun” (*itou*) here are synonymous; within the context of the link, the wind is understood to have broken into the persona’s dream, though that is not necessarily apparent in the verse’s diction, wherein the agent of “shun” is wholly the “dream.” For this reason, Kaneko detects a misstep here, a “gap” (*zure*), in Norishige’s manner of linking. Nevertheless, since the wind in connection with dreams is conventionally seen as a disruptive force, it is also possible that Norishige was depending on the sheer magnetic effect of contiguity to signal the association.

13	yume yo nado hito koso arame itouran Norishige	Dreams, unbidden you come to others, then why shun me? Norishige
14	kakute mo kokoro nao ya matamashi Mitsusuke	So be it, but still the heart would wait, even so. Mitsusuke

Love: *matsu* (wait).

Within the context of the link, the logical object of “wait” would be the “dream” of the loved one, but in the verse itself, it would be the man himself. He clearly “shuns” her in not coming to her even in a dream, since in ancient belief a person who longs for someone appears in the latter’s dream. The verse is essentially an expression of desperate yearning against the certitude of loss, and that is what Sōetsu picks up in the next link.

14	kakute mo kokoro nao ya matamashi Mitsusuke	So be it, but still the heart would wait, even so. Mitsusuke
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15	kono mama no wakare to iite ideshi yo ni Sōetsu	“We part, for the last time,” he said, and left me thus in this world of night. Sōetsu
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Love: *wakare* (parting). Laments: *ideshi yo* (left the mundane world).

Given the situation revealed in this verse, where the lover does not come because he has said goodbye for the last time and renounced the world of desire itself, the *maeku* gains a greater force of despair. This pair highlights the procedure of reading in *renga*, which always involves a doubling back to the *maeku* in order to comprehend the *tsukeku* in its light. *Kakute mo* (“so be it, but”) in particular acquires a new tension of meaning through Sōetsu’s introduction of the speaker’s real circumstance; this night of waiting turns out to be a permanent condition.

15	kono mama no wakare to iite ideshi yo ni Sōetsu	“We part, for the last time,” he said, and left me thus in this world of night. Sōetsu
16	kumo ni mo ato wa taenu yamamichi Kaku’a	Even its traces have vanished in the clouds: the mountain path. Kaku’a

Miscellaneous. Mountains: *yamamichi* (mountain path). Rising Phenomena: *kumo* (clouds).

The point of view shifts here to the man who left society for a life of reclusion in the mountains. In verse 16, the referent of “traces” (*ato*) is the path obscured by clouds; in relation to 15, however, “traces” refers metaphorically to the memory of the mundane existence, including the world of love, that the persona has rejected; this is a good demonstration of the typical operation of polysemic reference in *renga*. The path between two opposed existences has been obliterated, thus enforcing the permanence of the parting (*kono mama no / wakare*) in 15, yet the very observation suggests that the speaker is not yet wholly immune to a nostalgia for the past. The shift in perspective here infects the *maeku* in such a way that it should be read as: “We part, for the last time,” I said, and left her and the world.

16	kumo ni mo ato wa taenu yamamichi Kaku’a	Even its traces have vanished in the clouds: the mountain path. Kaku’a
17	sewashinaki shiba no io ni toshi o hete Nagatoshi	Restive in the brushwood hut, the years have passed. Nagatoshi

Laments: *toshi o hete* (pass the years). Dwellings: *shiba no io* (brushwood hut).

The speaker has not attained the utter tranquillity in solitude that he expected. Nevertheless, while enduring his restlessness at the constricted lifestyle in the brushwood hut, he finds that the time has lengthened into years, and he is now wholly cut off from the world by the isolating clouds (*kumo ni ato wa / taenu*) up the mountain crest where he dwells.

17	sewashinaki shiba no io ni toshi o hete Nagatoshi	Restive in the brushwood hut, the years have passed.	Nagatoshi
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18	shigure kanashiki fuyu no kuregata Ikuhiro	Sad the falling rain in the dim winter twilight.	Ikuhiro
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Winter: *shigure* (intermittent rain, either in autumn or winter), *fuyu* (winter).  
Falling Phenomena: *shigure*.

The passing years of solitude have not dimmed the hermit's human sensibility, in particular to the moving quality of the rain on cold winter evenings. The sense of *sabi* or impersonal loneliness here is best understood within the philosophical context of eremitism.

18	shigure kanashiki fuyu no kuregata Ikuhiro	Sad the falling rain in the dim winter twilight.	Ikuhiro
19	sode nurenu tsuki no tabine mo ikanaran Sōgi	How would it be, were sleeves wet only with moonlight, these nights of sojourn?	Sōgi

Autumn: *tsuki* (moon). Travel: *tabine* (travel-sleep). Word Association: *shigure* (rain) = *nuru* (wet).

An ironic rhetorical question serving to reinforce the tonality of the *maeku*, while subtly shifting the thematic context to Travel. The verse projects a situation contrary to the actual one, where the persona's sleeves are in fact wet both with rain and tears. In the poetic tradition, travel is always done alone (in stark contrast to the modern Japanese practice of it as a group activity, which completely misses the essential nature of travel as an experience of human rootlessness and solitude). The conjunction between eremitism and travel in *renga* is influenced by the Buddhist symbolism of existence as a temporary dwelling (*kari no yado, kari'io*). Sōgi's construction of the link is quite satisfying in its ironic indirection.

19	sode nurenu tsuki no tabine mo ikanaran Sōgi	How would it be, were sleeves wet only with moonlight, these nights of sojourn?	Sōgi
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20	kaeru miyako zo aki o wasururu Shun'a	Mind on returning to the capital, one <i>can</i> be oblivious to autumn. Shun'a
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Autumn: *aki* (autumn). Travel: *kaeru miyako* (returning to the capital). Word Association: *tsuki* (moon) = *aki*.

A general statement as such, the verse should be read as a comforting reminder to the traveler of 19: I understand, traveling in autumn is sad enough to make one weep, but think how glad you will be on your return to the capital. Note the typical ellipsis *aki o wasururu*, “forget the autumn”; it is not necessary to specify its melancholy, for, in the waka tradition since the *Kokinshū*, autumn has ever been known as a “heart-consuming” season (*kokorozukushi no aki*).

20	kaeru miyako zo aki o wasururu Shun'a	Mind on returning to the capital, one <i>can</i> be oblivious to autumn. Shun'a
21	no o tōmi taorishi kusa no hana ochite Shinkei	So broad the plain, the wildflowers I plucked have since fallen. Shinkei

Autumn: *kusa no hana* (wildflowers). Travel: *no o tōmi* (so distant the plain).

The plain is so vast that at some point, the wildflowers I had plucked as I traveled through it have withered and fallen. The plain's expanse may be measured by the span of time that elapses while crossing it, and the temporal space is in turn concretely defined by the blooming, then withering, of the fields. In this arresting link, Shinkei contrasts the feeling of anticipation at journey's beginning (when one's mind is focused on the destination, and one may “forget” the loneliness of autumn in delight at the profusion of wildflowers blooming in the meadows) with the loneliness the persona feels in gazing at those same flowers, withered now, across the vast expanse that still separates him from the capital. In effect, the verse restores the melancholy evoked by autumn and suggests that it is as inescapable as the passing of time itself. Thought, a conscious anticipation, has not as long a span; only time remains, defeating any enthusiasm or delight.

21	no o tōmi taorishi kusa no hana ochite Shinkei	So broad the plain, the wildflowers I plucked have since fallen. Shinkei
22	kawaru yadori zo tou hito mo naki Kaku'a	At these shifting abodes, no one ever comes to call. Kaku'a

Travel: *kawaru yadori* (different or changing lodgings).

“Shifting” or “changing” (*kawaru*) resonates with the fallen flowers (*hana ochite*) of the *maeku*, and the flowers’ absence becomes lack of companionship here. The journey across the vast plain is now imaged as a lonely series of transient sojourns from one inn to another.

22	kawaru yadori zo tou hito mo naki Kaku’a	At these shifting abodes, no one ever comes to call. Kaku’a
23	aramashi no hodo koso sasoe yama no oku Norishige	It’s enough to invite a long-cherished vision: deep mountain recesses. Norishige

*Second Fold, Front.* Laments: *aramashi* (hopes or wishes, usually frustrated).

In *renga*, *aramashi* usually refers to an abiding wish to renounce mundane existence for a higher life as symbolized by that persistent image of spiritual aspiration in medieval literature, the hermit’s hut in the mountains. For obvious reasons, however, that wish seldom comes to fruition, and the desire signaled by *aramashi*, which is no more than a grammatical inflection, “would it were so,” is usually better rendered as “what might have been.” Traveling in the mountains, the persona is brought to mind of his long-standing desire, and the *maeku* then comes as an afterthought: were he in fact to “change” his abode and move to the mountains, no one would come to visit, he might never endure the loneliness there. The *maeku* would then read: “At my changed abode / no one would ever come to call.” The emphatic *koso* underlines the powerful attraction of the mountains for the speaker, but the equally emphatic *zo* of the *maeku* means that fear of solitude is a strong deterrent to a higher life.

Kaneko’s reading is slightly different and also interesting. “While talking about our plans to flee the world for the deep mountains, we encouraged one another [in the idea], but were I actually to change my abode for one there, no one would come to visit anymore. Such is the way of the world” (*Seikatsu to sakuhin*, p. 343). This reading takes a conversation among friends as the subject of *sasou* (invite, attract, draw towards) and *hodo* as signifying a temporal duration (“while conversing about . . .”) rather than a degree. The extreme ellipsis of the diction makes interpretation difficult, but Kaneko is undoubtedly right within the context of the link; I offer mine as a variant reading.

23	aramashi no hodo koso sasoe yama no oku Norishige	It’s enough to invite a long-cherished vision: deep mountain recesses. Norishige
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24	hatsu hototogisu suguru murasame Nagatoshi	In the wake of the passing shower, the first calls of the cuckoo! Nagatoshi
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Summer: *hototogisu* (cuckoo). Falling Phenomena: *murasame* (passing shower).

“Cuckoo” and “passing shower” constitute an associative pair in the verse itself. The affinity, which is marked in the waka vocabulary, is based on the observation that this bird likes to sing out in the wake of a shower. Again, the cuckoo makes its home in the remote mountains, and its call is heard so rarely in town and city that as an image in renga it may occur only once in a sequence.

The link may be paraphrased thus: “In the stillness after a shower, suddenly the call of a cuckoo is heard. Such is that voice that it transports my spirit to the deep, remote mountains.” Its feeling recalls one of Shinkei’s famous hokku: *Hitokoe ni / minu yama fukashi / hototogisu* (“In that single cry, / the depths of unseen mountains— / cuckoo”). Here the link is very fine indeed, not only in lyrical feeling, but also from the perspective of the uniquely renga-like effect by which a word or words in the maeku suddenly become charged with a new meaning within a changed context. In this instance, *sasou* is pinned down in the sense of “summon up, conjure, transport [the mind].” Of course, it is imperative in this reading to note that the persona who hears the cuckoo is not in fact in the mountains.

24	hatsu hototogisu suguru murasame Nagatoshi	In the wake of the passing shower, the first calls of the cuckoo! Nagatoshi
25	urameshi na konu yo amata ni mata narite Shinkei	They hurt me. Again, the unvisited nights drag on, too many. Shinkei

Love: *urameshi* (bitter, hurting).

By itself the verse expresses a woman’s grief for the continued absence of her lover. He came once, after subjecting her to many anxious nights of waiting, but since then, *once again* (*mata*), he has stayed away several nights running. In the metaphorical doubling that constitutes renga’s specific poetry of the link, the image of the cuckoo is superimposed upon that of the lover as the “object” of the persona’s emotion. For many nights, she had been waiting in anxious expectation for the *first* cry of the cuckoo, but after that single time, *once again* the bird has remained silent. The weight of the link bears centrally on the word *hatsu* (first) in the maeku, which suddenly becomes intensified through *mata* (again) in Shinkei’s verse. That single cry of the bird and that single visit by the other, and all the waiting

before and since, fall into a taut connection through this seemingly innocuous semantic juxtaposition. This masterly link that simultaneously marks a breathtaking shift to the Love theme is clearly an allusive variation on SKKS 214, Summer, by Fujiwara Ietaka:

ikani semu konu yo amata no hototogisu mataji to omoeba murasame no sora	I know not what to do— Too many the unvisited nights, cuckoo—yet, when I would wait no longer, suddenly, the passing shower in the sky!
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Apart from transposing the *honka* into a Love context, Shinkei's link effects an intricate variation through a reversal of its situation. In the former, the cuckoo is still to come; in the latter, it has come and gone.

25 urameshi na konu yo amata ni mata narite Shinkei	They hurt me. Again, the unvisited nights drag on, too many. Shinkei
26 makura no shiran hitorine mo ushi Sōgi	Depressing too to think my pillow knows of my sleeping alone. Sōgi

Love: *makura* (pillow); *hitorine* (sleeping alone).

The conventional conceit that the pillow, that intimate accessory, is omniscient about one's true situation and thoughts is reflected in such a love poem as Lady Ise's KKS 676, *shiru to ieba*, quoted in the *tsukeku* section. The verse focuses on the misery of feeling oneself unloved and someone else—the pillow personified, knowing it. A simple, predictable link that does not quite do justice to the rhetorically crucial words (*amata ni, mata*) in Shinkei's verse, it functions mainly to move the sequence along within the thematic field of Love.

26 makura no shiran hitorine mo ushi Sōgi	Depressing too to think my pillow knows of my sleeping alone. Sōgi
27 kokoro dani omoiyowareba naki mono o Sōetsu	When this very heart, weakened by longing, can hold no more. Sōetsu

Love: *omoiyowaru* (weakened by longing).

Focusing on the persona's loss of control and its self-exposure, this verse, taken with the *maeku*, suggests the reason for the pillow's coming to know her utter misery. The concept behind it is similar to a poem by

Princess Shikishi about the force of a desperate, hidden longing, SKKS 1034, Love, “On secret passion, one in a sequence of 100 poems.”

	tama no o yo taenaba taene nagaraeba shinoburu koto no yowari mo zo suru	O jewel-strand of life, if you would break, break quickly! for hanging on and on, I will soon be too frail to hold locked this passion!
27	kokoro dani omoiyowareba naki mono o Sōetsu	When this very heart, weakened by longing, can hold no more. Sōetsu
28	namida wa shiite nao ya ochinan Shinkei	Still the tears would fall, defying reason, all the more. Shinkei

Love: *namida* (tears).

The link with 28 is clear, and close—this is in fact the third close link in a series from 26. The adverbial *shiite* (obstinately, defying reason) charges with irony the first and last lines in the *maeku*, *kokoro dani / naki mono o* (lit., “even though the heart is not”). The logic (or ironic illogic) of the link yields: although the weakened heart is depleted and *can hold* no more, yet fall the tears, against all reason, even more. The Temmangū Text has *shirite* (know) instead of *shiite* here, producing a different but even more involved logic:

kokoro dani omoiyowareba naki mono o namida wa shirite nao ya ochinan	When this very heart, weakened by longing, can hold no more. Tears, do they know it so, and fall all the more.
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Shinkei’s use of the word “know” in this other version violates the rule against repetition of the same lexical item in close proximity. “Know” occurs in verse 26, “my pillow *knows*,” and Sōgi’s *tsukeku* below also includes it, “who would *know*.” As we know (again!) from his critical works, Shinkei frowned on a slavish conformity to the rules that the concrete circumstances involved. Nevertheless, as Kaneko observes, it is most probably due to the occurrence of the same word three times in short intervals that in the Nozaka Text *shirite* has been emended to *shiite*. In the *shirite* version, the irony lies along a different path of reasoning: I know that I have yielded all my heart to passion, and it is this very knowledge of my weakness that makes me weep. In effect, I weep because I am weak, and weep *the more for knowing* (*shirite nao*) myself so weak. So precise, and yet



so complex, are the effects of the smallest adverbials and verbal shifts in renga diction.

In renga it is apparently the Love theme that inspires the most involuted turns of reasoning, the most intricate nuances of emotion; these are often accompanied by a sense of irony. Doubtless Love refers to the emotion between men and women, but almost incidentally, as it were. It seems important to point out that, as a major theme in renga, Love has a more comprehensive significance and represents all deep-seated desire and attachment, the dynamic impetus of action as well as the single, essential source of human suffering. Renga poetry may be seen as having two basic foci: nature, the external world, which is always depicted through the temporal perspective of the four seasons; and human affairs (*jinji*), in which desire or yearning constitutes the primary experience. Deep and persistent, never fulfilled, ever frustrated; cause of rancor toward the other, of insecurity and a bad conscience, as well as the occasion for self-analysis and knowledge, Love is the topos corresponding to all that is implied by “civilization and its discontents” as Freud analyzed it in European society. For this reason, it is understandable that the poet-priests of renga should see in the theme a persistent challenge and a weighty subject matter. In it they were perhaps reading and writing their own frustrated desires, their religious conviction—for they were ineluctably of their time—that desire is suffering, and their equally firm, but thoroughly human, experience that desire nevertheless constitutes the very fabric of the only reality that most of us will ever know.

28	namida wa shiite nao ya ochinan Shinkei	Still the tears would fall, defying reason, all the more. Shinkei
29	kimi ga yo o tare shirakawa no tagitsunami Sōgi	Who would know of those bygone times, the currents swirling on White River? Sōgi

Remembering the Past: *kimi ga yo* (lit., “the times of our lord”).

Following Shinkei’s lead in introducing *honkadori* into the sequence in verse 25, Sōgi now effects a link through KKS 830, Laments, “Composed on the night when the former Chancellor [Fujiwara Yoshifusa] was laid to rest by the White River,” by Priest Sosei:

chi no namida ochite zo tagitsu shirakawa wa kimi ga yo made no na ni koso arikere	The crimson of blood, my tears fall, swirling with the currents of White River— a name now laid to rest with the vanished times of our lord.
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Those “times of our lord” were so long ago that no one would remember them now, although the Shirakawa (lit., “White River”) still flows, as then, in swirling currents.<sup>6</sup> With the *maeku*, the reading becomes: those days are beyond memory, but these tears, as if possessed of a knowledge of their own, are *still* falling now as then. *Nao* (still more), an adverb of degree in the *maeku* as such, acquires the temporal force of “still, yet” in *Sōgi*’s interpretive link, which simultaneously moves the sequence away from the preceding series of close links and shifts to a new theme.

29	kimi ga yo o tare shirakawa no tagitsunami Sōgi	Who would know of those bygone times, the currents swirling on White River? Sōgi
30	furuki sakura no kage zo sabishiki Ikuhiro	So lonely, the scant shade of the aged cherry tree. Ikuhiro

Spring: *sakura* (cherry).

The area around Shirakawa was famous for its cherry blossoms and the so-called “six *shōji* temples” (*rokushōji*), among them the Hosshōji, built by Retired Emperor Shirakawa in his detached palace there, and the Saishōji of Retired Emperor Toba (r. 1107–23). In all likelihood, the verse is alluding to a particular cherry tree in the grounds of the Saishōji that figures in a poem by the *Shinkokinshū* poet Asukai Masatsune (1170–1221). Masatsune was also one of the most skilled kickball (*kemari*) enthusiasts among Go-Toba’s courtiers, and his poem refers to the cherry that marked the northeast corner of the kickball court at Saishōji.<sup>7</sup>

SKKS 1455. Miscellaneous. “The cherry tree at the Saishōji Temple had long stood as one of the tree-bases for kickball. When he heard that the aging tree had been toppled by a storm, he ordered some courtiers to transplant another cherry tree where the old had been. Coming before anyone else to see it, he recalled how for many years and up until this past spring he had stood familiarly in the shade of the old tree, and composed this poem.”

narenarete mishi wa nagori no haru zo to mo nado <i>shirakawa no</i> <i>hana no shitakage</i>	Fondly through all the years, how could my gaze know it held the memento of a final springtime, <i>the shade</i> <i>of the flowers at Shirakawa.</i>
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The ghostly “shade” of Masatsune’s aged cherry in this poem casts an allusive reflection upon this verse, a distant link to the *maeku*’s reference to Shirakawa and the past lives that inhabited it.

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| 30 | furuki sakura no<br>kage zo sabishiki<br>Ikuhiro                | So lonely, the scant shade<br>of the aged cherry tree.<br>Ikuhiro                                 |
| 31 | amata heshi<br>haru no mi tsuraki<br>kusa no to ni<br>Nagatoshi | After many years, only<br>the springtime, poignant as ever<br>by the grass-hut door.<br>Nagatoshi |

Spring: *haru* (spring). Dwellings: *kusa no to* (grass-hut door).

Nagatoshi presents a hermit who finds that although he has been able to endure the trials of reclusion through the years, spring alone (*haru no mi*) still retains the power to pain him, to pierce through his mental detachment. Within the context of the link, “by the grass-hut door” marks the location of the *maeku*’s “aged cherry tree,” and the tree becomes the objective correlative of the aging persona’s feelings in springtime. Here the “loneliness” beneath the cherry’s shade alludes not to a bygone time but to the fact that it has become so old and exhausted it puts out fewer and fewer blossoms each spring. It is this implicit image of a few lovely blossoms on a gnarled old tree that figures the subject’s complex feeling of poignancy. Furthermore, when *haru no mi* is read as “the body in spring,” another layer of suggestion appears, and the focus would be on the persona’s aging body in contrast to the plants burgeoning outside his door.

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| 31 | amata heshi<br>haru no mi tsuraki<br>kusa no to ni<br>Nagatoshi | After many years, only<br>the springtime, poignant as ever<br>by the grass-hut door.<br>Nagatoshi |
| 32 | kasumu to mo naku<br>samuki yamakaze<br>Norishige               | So cold the wind in the mountains,<br>the haze is barely able to form.<br>Norishige               |

Spring: *kasumu* (be hazy). Mountains: *yama* (mountain).

The haze, sign of spring’s arrival, is caused by the warmer air, but here in these mountains the temperature is so cold it does not form. The “cold wind” tenses up the phrase “body in spring” in the *maeku*—the aged body feels the coldness more than ordinarily in the poignant season of spring. Kaneko observes that the verse, however, fails to recreate or respond to the singular force of *nomi*, “only,” in the *maeku*. In that sense, the link may be said to be a bit slack.

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| 32 | kasumu to mo naku<br>samuki yamakaze<br>Norishige | So cold the wind in the mountains,<br>the haze is barely able to form.<br>Norishige |
|----|---|---|

33	yuki harau ochikatabito no sode kiete Shinkei	Distantly, a figure, sleeves brushing off the snow— melts away. Shinkei
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Winter: *yuki* (snow). Word Association: *kasumu* = *sode* (sleeve). Falling Phenomena: *yuki*.

Shinkei picks up on the distant perspective already suggested in the *maeku* and, in a delicately quick turn sensible only in that blank space between the verses, suggests that the haze, “barely able to form” (*kasumu to mo naku*), has turned back to snow in that uncertain transition between late winter and early spring. In verse 33, it is the figure of the traveler, here imaged metonymically as a sleeve fluttering in the cold wind, that vanishes (*kiete*) in the whirling snow. In the context of the *maeku*, however, the reference is to the barely formed haze that dissolves, dispersed by the “cold wind” that brought the snow.

The link focuses on a moment arrested briefly within the ebb and flow of things, their coming into and passing out of existence as figured here by the traveler, the haze, and the snow. It has that ineffably remote (*yōon*) quality Shinkei himself valued, and it is characteristic of classical poetry that focuses upon the mystery of the appearance and disappearance of phenomena in the flow of time. The more doggedly and delicately the poet attempts to capture the fleeting moment, that exact instant when presence becomes absence or vice versa, the closer does he approach the heart of things as understood in the philosophy of emptiness.

33	yuki harau ochikatabito no sode kiete Shinkei	Distantly, a figure, sleeves brushing off the snow— melts away. Shinkei
34	kareno ni takaki akatsuki no kane Sōgi	High above the withered plain, the booming of the dawn bell. Sōgi

Winter: *kareno* (withered field).

Clearly inspired by Shinkei’s *maeku*, Sōgi follows up with an equally impressive verse that links to it by a contrastive juxtaposition. The figure dissolves from the horizon of vision in the snowy dimness of pre-dawn, and in a while the temple bell announcing the dawn echoes high above the lightening plain. Where all was nebulously remote in the previous moment, now all is gauntly visible on the withered plain from which the snow has cleared. The transition between the two moments, that pregnant pause between the dissolution of the one and the coming into appearance of the

other, is unspoken, but it has to be felt for the link to be properly appreciated. A truly fine example of renga as high poetry, and as a poetry of the gap, the charged pause, the interval.

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| 34 | kareno ni takaki<br>akatsuki no kane<br>Sōgi          | High above the withered plain,<br>the booming of the dawn bell.<br>Sōgi    |
| 35 | ariake no<br>kage ya sayaka ni<br>fukenuran<br>Kaku'a | Chillingly clear,<br>the form of the remaining moon<br>has aged.<br>Kaku'a |

Autumn: *ariake* (remaining light of the moon at dawn).

Kaku'a proves himself equal to Sōgi's *maeku*. He maintains its open and wide vista by focusing on the white clarity of the remaining moon in the cloudless sky of dawn. The succession of images—the booming echo of the bell rising in the sky, and then the entrance of the moon into the field of vision—is, I think, quite inspired. This passage of three impressive links from 33 to 35 is characterized by a precise economy of diction and depth of feeling that Shinkei called the “chill and thin” mode.

A word about the handling of seasons in renga seems appropriate here. As apparent in the change from ~~spring to winter~~ in 33 and from winter to autumn here in 35, seasonal progression does not follow the natural cycle but shifts alogically from one season to another according to the internal necessities of the sequence as it evolves and the rules of intermission and duration that govern it. In other words, in renga time does not follow the mundane calendar but a formal aesthetic one, as influenced by the fortuitous dynamics of the specific session. Time is not an objective chronology but an experience in the round; what is at issue is a feeling for the essential nature or *hon'i* of phenomena as movement and appearance grasped through the temporal dimension of the seasons. The isolated renga verse is, formally speaking, indeterminate. Thus it is possible for it to signify in two temporal registers according to context, as the snow in 33 is spring snow in conjunction with its *maeku* but winter snow when linked to its *tsukeku*. The same is true of the dual seasonal character, wintry and autumnal, of the “remaining moon” here. No doubt these seasonal transitions unmediated by a Miscellaneous verse are difficult to handle and therefore interesting, but they merely underline the basic ambiguity of renga diction and the fact that this is a poetry of gaps and spaces, a kind of readerly writing. As in a kaleidoscope, the picture changes at every turn, but it is the way in which the practitioner achieves that turn that bears watching. Indeed, one could say that in renga the picture is not really visible unless one has “observed” the turn.

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|----|---|--|
| 35 | ariake no<br>kage ya sayaka ni<br>fukenuran<br>Kaku'a | Chillingly clear,<br>the form of the remaining moon<br>has aged.<br>Kaku'a |
| 36 | uchinuru yado no<br>yonayona no aki<br>Mitsusuke      | Night after night of autumn<br>in sleep-hushed lodgings.<br>Mitsusuke      |

Autumn: *aki* (autumn). Travel: *yado* (lodging).

A simple verse counting the long nights spent in various travel lodgings in autumn, Mitsusuke's *tsukeku* reveals its true significance in relation to its *maeku*: awakening each dawn in a different lodging, I see the remaining moon more chillingly, and more clearly, each time, as the season ages and gradually I forget mundane attachments and draw ever closer to the spirit of travel. On the symbolic plane, the pallid clarity of the moon in the *maeku* is seen as the ultimate stage of a progressive meditation on the true human condition.

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|----|--|--|
| 36 | uchinuru yado no<br>yonayona no aki<br>Mitsusuke             | Night after night of autumn<br>in sleep-hushed lodgings.<br>Mitsusuke                          |
| 37 | yama fukami<br>ine moru hita no<br>oto wa shite<br>Nagatoshi | In mountains so deep<br>audible the clatter of pipes<br>guarding the rice stalks.<br>Nagatoshi |

*Second Fold, Back.* Autumn: *ine* (rice stalks); *hita* (wood clappers).

Something like the old Japanese equivalent of the scarecrow, *hita* (lit., "board for pulling") is a device set out in the rice fields to scare away birds and animals. Also called *naruko* ("crying child"), it consists of narrow bamboo pipes suspended on boards and attached to a rope, in such a way that the pipes clatter when the rope is pulled. No doubt because it serves its purpose best when the plants are heavy with the ripening grain, it is an autumn image, as are the rice stalks themselves.

The location of the lodgings in the *maeku* is here specified as a farming village in the mountains, where the deep silence of the night is broken by the hollow clapping noise of the *hita*. As the nights pile on, his sleep often interrupted by this noise, the traveler's sensitivity to the essence of autumn is increasingly sharper. The verse as such is quite appealing in its evocation of rusticity but the handling of the link is not very effective; Nagatoshi's bald diction does not sustain the pathos of the *maeku* on the level of poetic tone.

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|----|--|--|
| 37 | yama fukami<br>ine moru hita no<br>oto wa shite<br>Nagatoshi | In mountains so deep<br>audible the clatter of pipes<br>guarding the rice stalks.<br>Nagatoshi |
| 38 | tsuraki wa sate mo<br>yamu toki mo nashi<br>Shun'a           | Even here is no respite<br>from the painful toil.<br>Shun'a                                    |

Laments: *tsuraki* (painful, harsh).

*Sate mo*, which I have rendered “even here,” is a clear reference to the *maeku*'s mountain location—“even here” in the remote hills far from the rat race, so to speak, the harsh toil of the struggle for existence asserts itself. Interrupting the farmer's rest, the sound of the wooden clappers comes to represent the labor involved in ensuring the harvest after all the toil of planting.

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|----|---|--|
| 38 | tsuraki wa sate mo<br>yamu toki mo nashi<br>Shun'a          | Even here is no respite<br>from the painful toil.<br>Shun'a                      |
| 39 | kumo to naru<br>hito no katami no<br>sode no ame<br>Shinkei | Indelible memory<br>of someone become a cloud—<br>rain on my sleeves.<br>Shinkei |

Love: *katami* (memento, traces); *sode no ame* (“rain on sleeves,” i.e., tears).

Another startling thematic shift by Shinkei, who transposes the pain of *tsuraki* into the context of Love and death. The smoke of cremation at the other's funeral rose to join the clouds (*kumo to naru*), which now fall as rain and tears upon the sleeves we once shared—such is her memento. *Sate mo*, “even here” in the *maeku* is reinterpreted as “even now”; even now when she is long gone, there is no end to my suffering. Her indelible memory is this incessant rain of tears upon my sleeves.

*Kumo to naru* (“turn into a cloud”), along with the rain image, is an unmistakable allusion to a famous anecdote in the preface to the *Kao-t'ang fu* by Sung Yü (290–223 B.C.) in the *Wen hsüan*. It recounts that when the King of Ch'u was on an excursion in Kao-t'ang, the heavenly goddess of Mount Wu (Wu-shan) appeared before him while he was dozing and he made love to her. When the goddess departed at dawn, she said: “You may find me in the high slopes on the southern face of Mount Wu, changed into a morning cloud at dawn and become the rain falling at dusk.”<sup>8</sup> The poetic motif of “the dream of Wu-shan” (*J. Fuzan no yume*) was an inspiration to medieval Japanese poets from Teika to Shōtetsu and Shinkei. Shōtetsu

evoked it to illustrate the *yūgen* mode in the *Shōtetsu monogatari*, and Shinkei himself used it as a metaphorical image of the “ineffably remote” (*yōon*) style in *Sasamegoto*.<sup>9</sup> Murasaki Shikibu alludes to it in a poem exchange in the “Aoi” chapter of the *Tale of Genji*, and the famous anecdote of Narihira’s brief, dream-like encounter with the Ise Priestess may have been inspired by this same Chinese legend. Its abiding appeal doubtless lay in the ethereality of the meeting, the essential mystery of love, which is as fleeting and empty as clouds and rain, yet has the power to hold the mind in thrall. In sum it belongs ineluctably to the medieval aesthetics of presence and absence, and of emptiness. As Kaneko observes, in introducing such a Chinese poetic allusion, Shinkei here was exercising his role as a learned guide and teacher to those participants of the session who were still amateurs in the images of classical poetry. At the same time, the allusion lends an ironic and tragic overtone to the whole link, in the implication that an all too real suffering is rooted upon the ephemerality of a dream.

39	kumo to naru hito no katami no sode no ame Shinkei	Indelible memory of someone become a cloud— rain on my sleeves. Shinkei
40	yume yori hoka wa nani o tanoman Sōetsu	What else, apart from the dream, is there left to rely on? Sōetsu

Love: *yume* (dream).

With the word “dream,” Sōetsu happily signals his recognition of Shinkei’s erudite Chinese allusion. On the first level, it connects to the *maeku* thus: now when she is dead and an actual meeting rendered impossible, what else can I *hope for* except that she visit me in dreams? On the second level where the anecdotal allusion takes effect, the link would go like this: now when she has joined the clouds, what else can I *rely upon* apart from that unforgettable dream of love whose reality is evidenced by its indelible traces, these tears upon my sleeves? This last reading projects the bereft king as poetic voice or subject and resonates with the rich ambiguity of the “dream of Wu-shan” motif.

40	yume yori hoka wa nani o tanoman Sōetsu	What else, apart from the dream, is there left to rely on? Sōetsu
41	chiru hana ni tsurenaki oi o nagusamete Sōgi	In the scattering flowers I find solace, midst callously lingering old age. Sōgi



Spring: *hana* (flowers). Laments: *oi* (old age); *yume no yo* (life as dream, in the context of the link).

Sustaining the twists and turns that enliven this passage of the session, Sōgi takes “dream” from the romantic context of Love in the preceding two verses and views it from a philosophical standpoint. Life itself is an insubstantial dream; in that truth, which is manifest even now in the flowers scattering before my eyes, I take comfort from the callousness (*tsurenaki*) of old age, this life that persists despite my weariness. From this perspective, the *maeku* would read: “What else, apart from the truth that this life is but a dream, is there left to rely on?”

As evidenced by the importance of Heian social rituals celebrating people’s birthdays after forty, longevity was undoubtedly desired. Even then, however, a tenacious clinging to life was felt to show a lack of sensibility, and in the medieval period, as we know from Kenkō’s *Tsurezuregusa* and its influence upon Muromachi literati, such a sentiment became dominant. The categorical observation, that it is precisely because phenomena are ephemeral that they have the power to move us, may be said to be the basis of the medieval aesthetics of *aware*. Spiritual grace and beauty, no less than morality, is here grounded on the wholly human, experiential knowledge of death and mutability. Still, Sōgi’s verse is a wholly unexpected turn after the high-flown, emotionally involved tone of the preceding two; everyone must have perked up in attention and fallen into a mood of bracing sobriety.

41	chiru hana ni tsurenaki oi o nagusamete Sōgi	In the scattering flowers I find solace, midst callously lingering old age. Sōgi
42	haru no kokoro wa mukashi ni mo nizu Ikuhiro	The heart that looks on spring is not now what it was of old. Ikuhiro

Spring: *haru* (spring). Laments: *mukashi* (former times; of old).

Ikuhiro’s verse is in effect a comment on the attitude reflected in Sōgi’s. Whereas in the days of one’s youth, one could feel only a poignant regret for the falling flowers, now in old age one can gaze upon them with calm equanimity as a comforting example of one’s own mortality. The difference is between the fear and the acceptance of death.

42	haru no kokoro wa mukashi ni mo nizu Ikuhiro	The heart that looks on spring is not now what it was of old. Ikuhiro
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43	sumu yama wa hi mo nagakarade okuru mi ni Mitsusuke	Living in the mountains, the days do not seem long— body engaged in chores. Mitsusuke
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Spring: *hi nagashi* (days are long). Mountains: *yama* (mountains).

(Again, Mountains; we are now almost halfway into the sequence and have seen Waters but once, quite a contrast with Shinkei's solo sequence.) The change from former days (*mukashi*) and the present in the *maeku* is here redefined as a shift of residence from town to mountains. The spring days, conventionally sensed as long, do not seem so to me here, where each day is taken up with the various physical chores necessary to sustain life in wholly uncultivated surroundings. The implication is that the subject has abandoned the refined existence of the capital city, where one could enjoy the long spring days at one's leisure. Mitsusuke was also the author of verse 7 on woodsmen winding up the day's work in the mountains; might he have been impatient with aristocratic conceits?

43	sumu yama wa hi mo nagakarade okuru mi ni Mitsusuke	Living in the mountains, the days do not seem long— body engaged in chores. Mitsusuke
44	hata utsu mine no shiba o oritsutsu Nagatoshi	Plowing the fields, gathering brushwood on the peak. Nagatoshi

Spring: *hata utsu* (plowing the fields). Mountains: *mine* (peak).

A simple link enumerating the concrete tasks that engage the subject of the *maeku*, making him feel that even the long spring days are short (*hi mo nagakarade*).

44	hata utsu mine no shiba o oritsutsu Nagatoshi	Plowing the fields, gathering brushwood on the peak. Nagatoshi
45	aware ni mo awai isogu hi o takite Shinkei	Pitifully, he hastens to make a fire for the frugal bowl of millet. Shinkei

Autumn: *awai* (millet meal).

Shinkei sustains the topic of a humble and harsh existence, bringing out in particular its poverty—the subject cannot afford rice—and its lack of leisure in the word *isogu* (“hasten”). There is a shift in point of view,

however, as the speaker is obviously not himself a peasant but an observer moved to compassion by the poverty of that class. As in 39, Shinkei introduces an image, *awaii isogu*, “hurries [to make] millet rice,” calculated to summon an anecdotal allusion (*honzetsu*) to the “dream of Han-tan” in the following verse, in the interest of enlivening the session. Poetic and anecdotal allusions were a means of generating variety and enriching the aesthetic texture of the sequence, but, needless to say, they required a degree of learning in the participants.

45	aware ni mo awaii isogu hi o takite Shinkei	Pitifully, he hastens to make a fire for the frugal bowl of millet. Shinkei
46	makura hodonaki tsuyu no karifushi Sōgi	Barely an interval on the pillow, the traveler’s sleep on the dew. Sōgi

Autumn: *tsuyu* (dew). Travel: *karifushi* (transient sleep, usually on a journey).

The peasant in the *maeku* becomes a traveler whose sleep is quickly broken by his unfamiliar makeshift bed close to the elements. Awakening, he quickly boils millet for a simple breakfast before going off again. “Pitifully” (*aware ni mo*) refers to the primitive circumstances of this journey, but its effective force really emerges on the plane of the anecdotal allusiveness of the millet image.

This anecdote has its source in the T’ang tale *Chen chung chi* (J. *Chin-chūki*) and is variously known in Japanese literary citation as *kōryō issui no yume* or *awaii issui no aida* (“a dream seen in the space of a pot of millet boiling over”), *Kantan no yume* (“the dream at Han-tan”), or *Kantan no makura* (“the pillow at Han-tan”). While staying at an inn in Han-tan, a youth called Lu Sheng (J. Rosei) fell asleep on a pillow borrowed from the Taoist wizard Lü-weng (J. Ryo’ō) and dreamed a whole life as a rich and celebrated man in the capital. Awakening, he was shocked to find that while he was living a lifetime in the dream, the interval that had elapsed was in fact so brief that the millet simmering in the pot by his bed was not even cooked yet. It is said that through this dream, Lu Sheng was instantaneously enlightened about the evanescence of glory and the frailty of human existence.

In Sōgi’s verse, *makura hodonaki*, “barely an interval on the pillow,” is a terse elliptical response to “millet” in Shinkei’s *maeku*, and the pathos of *aware* there comes to refer to the evanescence of Lu Sheng’s dream of glory in Han-tan.<sup>10</sup>

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|----|---|--|
| 46 | makura hodonaki<br>tsuyu no karifushi<br>Sōgi               | Barely an interval on the pillow,<br>the traveler's sleep on the dew.<br>Sōgi              |
| 47 | megurikinu<br>furusato ideshi<br>yowa no tsuki<br>Norishige | It has come round again,<br>the midnight moon when I left<br>the old village.<br>Norishige |

Autumn: *tsuki* (moon). Travel: *furusato* ("old village," one's hometown; it may indicate the capital if one is from there; also, an old village encountered on a journey). Word Association: *tsuyu* (dew) = *tsuki*.

Verse 47 expresses a conventional sentiment of longing for one's hometown. The moon that shone that midnight when I left my village, having completed one revolution along its fixed course, has come round again; I have now spent a full year away from home on a lonely journey. However, the linking context places primary emphasis on how "swiftly" that year has gone (*hodonaki*, "barely an interval" in the *maeku*), as if it were no more than a dream seen in a temporary lodging on a journey. As often in *renga*, the link is more interesting than the isolated verse as such. Here it renders time ambiguous and comments on how memory collapses a long duration into the space of a brief interval; in this sense the dream at Han-tan is no more than a dream within the dream of life itself.

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|----|---|--|
| 47 | megurikinu<br>furusato ideshi<br>yowa no tsuki<br>Norishige | It has come round again,<br>the midnight moon when I left<br>the old village.<br>Norishige |
| 48 | wasurenu mono o<br>hito ya wasuren<br>Nagatoshi             | I have not forgotten, but<br>has she perhaps done so?<br>Nagatoshi                         |

Love: *wasuru* (to forget).

The moon is the same as when I departed, and so am I—still faithful to the one whom I left in my hometown—but what of her? The longing for the hometown, a subordinate theme in the preceding link, here becomes the primary one; it is expressed as a sense of insecurity regarding one's roots and relationships while away from home. Nagatoshi is alluding to Fujiwara Yoshitsune's poem below, *SKKS* 941, Travel, "Composed when people presented poems on the topic 'Traveling Beneath the Moon' during the Ten Moon-Poems Contest held at the Waka Bureau."

*wasureji to  
chigirite ideshi  
omokage wa*

Light of a memory  
*we vowed never to forget  
as I departed—*

miyuran mono o  
furusato no tsuki

does it touch her gaze still,  
the moon over the old village.

Nagatoshi's verse is rather blunt in expression, but the allusion to this *honka*, which specifies the function of the moon in the link, gives it a more delicate undertone.

48 wasurenu mono o  
hito ya wasuren  
Nagatoshi

I have not forgotten, but  
has she perhaps done so?  
Nagatoshi

49 kawaraji no  
sono hitofude o  
inochi nite  
Shinkei

That single letter saying,  
"I shall not change," I cling to  
as my very life.

Shinkei

Love: *hitofude* (letter).

The connection is clear. Shinkei intensifies the uncertainty of the *maeku*, gives it a dramatic edge of desperation, for the persona's *raison d'être* (*inochi nite*) rests on no more than a promise of fidelity inscribed on a piece of paper. Kaneko notes a shift in point of view to that of a woman. No doubt he is right, since according to poetic and social convention, it is the woman who waits. As has been observed earlier, this is less important than the fact that in Japanese classical poetry, we find male poets reading their hopes and desires in the female situation.

49 kawaraji no  
sono hitofude o  
inochi nite  
Shinkei

That single letter saying,  
"I shall not change," I cling to  
as my very life.

Shinkei

50 hakanaki ato to  
miru zo kanashiki  
Mitsusuke

To see it but an empty trace—  
I am bereft twice over!

Mitsusuke

Love: *hakanaki ato* (empty, ephemeral trace).

The link deepens the emotion of the *maeku* and lends it even greater ironic force by exploding the desperate hope expressed there. That vow of fidelity has proven to be, finally, groundless. The hope for the future expressed in the letter has now become a thing of the past—the "trace" (*ato*), that is, literally speaking, the lover's handwriting (*hitofude*), proved to be without reality. The force of the emphatic *zo*, which I have rendered "twice over," refers to the fact that the speaker suffers a double loss: that of the lover's hoped-for fidelity and her very reason for existence (*inochi nite*). The force, indeed, is greater if *hakanaki ato* is interpreted to mean that the lover has died, and that is what I suggest in the translation; Sōgi interprets it the same way in his *tsukeku* below.

50	hakanaki ato to miru zo kanashiki Mitsusuke	To see it but an empty trace— I am bereft twice over! Mitsusuke
51	chitose to mo iishi ya itsu no tsuka no matsu Sōgi	“A thousand years,” they prayed, when might it have been? Pine tree by the grave mound. Sōgi

*Third Fold, Front. Elegy: tsuka (grave mound).*

“A thousand years” (*chitose*) is directly associated with the long-lived pine but refers also by ironic contrast to the much briefer lifespan of the person buried in the grave; the irony is enforced by the double entendre in *tsuka no matsu* (“pine tree by the grave mound”), which can also be read *tsuka no ma* (an instant). Indeed the same pine tree that was planted in durable memory of the deceased, an “evergreen” trace, is the ephemeral or “empty trace” (*hakanaki ato*) in the *maeku*. Destroyed by the elements, the tree itself has proved as fleeting as the person it was meant to commemorate, thus lending force to *miru zo kanashiki* (rendered “bereft twice over” in the translation).

Kenkō’s *Tsurezuregusa* includes a passage that might have inspired Sōgi: “but in the end, even the *pine tree* that groaned in the storm winds is broken into firewood before it reaches its allotted *thousand years*, and the *old grave* is plowed up and turned into rice land. *How sad it is that even this last memento of the dead should vanish.*”<sup>11</sup> One of the “Nineteen Old Poems” in the *Wen hsüan* contains a similar passage: “Emerging from the city gates I gaze straight ahead, / and see nothing but hills and burial mounds. / Old graves have been plowed into rice fields, / and their pines and oak trees splintered for kindling. / Only the pale willows filled the air with their sighs, / piercing with a myriad sorrows the heart.”<sup>12</sup> Perhaps Kenkō himself was influenced by these lines when he wrote the passage in the *Tsurezuregusa*. Sōgi in turn demonstrates his effective study of old classical writing by his adept use of it in this link. As previously mentioned, it was in Shōtetsu’s circle that the value of old *zuihitsu* like the *Tsurezuregusa* and Sei Shōnagon’s *Makura sōshi* first came to be appreciated. This is evident in Shinkei’s *Sasamegoto*, which cites Kenkō and praises his aesthetic philosophy, and now in this allusion by Sōgi, Shinkei’s renga disciple.

51	chitose to mo iishi ya itsu no tsuka no matsu Sōgi	“A thousand years,” they prayed, when might it have been? Pine tree by the grave mound. Sōgi
52	kokoro ni hikeru funaoka no haru Shinkei	A memory pulling at the heart, springtime at Funaoka Hill. Shinkei

Spring: *haru* (spring). Named Place: Funaoka. Word Association: *matsu* (pine) = *hiku* (pull).

Drawn by Sōgi's excursion into the classical past, Shinkei echoes his "when might it have been?" by evoking the old associations around Funaoka, a hill in Murasakino north of Kyoto. It was the custom among Heian courtiers to hold the "pine-pulling" ritual there on the first Rat day of the year as part of the New Year's festivities, the so-called *nenohi-asobi*. This practice of pulling up pine seedlings to ensure longevity, an instance of sympathetic magic, is reflected in the following poem from the *Fubokushō* I, "Day of the Rat," by Minamoto Tsunenobu.

ne no hi shite	As we hold the Rat Day
yowai o noburu	the span of our lives to prolong
<i>funaoka wa</i>	<i>on Funaoka hill,</i>
<i>matsu no chitose o</i>	are gathered and piled high
tsumeru narikeri	<i>the thousand years of the pine!</i>

More specifically, what "pulls at the heart" (*kokoro ni hikeru*) about Funaoka is not only that it was the scene of longevity rituals but was also a gravesite, as we read, again, in Kenkō: "On some days certainly, many more than one or two are seen to their graves at Toribeno, Funaoka, and other mountainsides, but never a day passes without a single funeral."<sup>13</sup> The effect of this simple verse is to heighten with moving irony the mortality figured in Sōgi's image of a grave mound by conjoining it with the auspicious significance of the pine-pulling ritual. It also ties the *maeku* to a specific place and shifts the season to Spring. Interestingly, this is the only occasion in the whole sequence where Shinkei links up to a verse by Sōgi; in all the other instances where they are paired, it is the other way around. This case is so singular one wonders if no one else could come up with an appropriate link and so it fell to Shinkei to step into the breach.

52	kokoro ni hikeru funaoka no haru Shinkei	A memory pulling at the heart, springtime at Funaoka Hill. Shinkei
53	kasumi sae tsuki wa akashi no ukimakura Nagatoshi	Even the haze is gloomy, this sad drifting beneath the bright Akashi moon. Nagatoshi

Spring: *kasumi* (haze). Travel: *Akashi no ukimakura* (drifting pillow at Akashi). Named Place: *Akashi*. Word Association: *oka* (hill) = *Akashi*.

(Waters finally reappear after a long absence.) Famous place-names (*nadokoro*, *meisho*) constitute a marked category in the renga lexicon due to their literary and historical associations, as we have just seen above and

see here with the evocation of Genji's exile on the Akashi coast. The link with the *maeku*, however, is at once so mechanical and then so involved it is difficult to grasp, and thus gives an impression of slackness. On the evidence of the *Renju*, entry 86, "hill" and "Akashi" make an associative pair based on a passage in the "Akashi" chapter that recounts how on the night of the violent storm that drove Genji from his imperiled lodgings at Suma and into the safer haven of Akashi, his protector, the Lay Monk of Akashi, "had arranged for his daughter and her women to move [from the coast] to a house in the *hills*." Funaoka (orthographically, "ship" and "hill") in the *maeku* therefore becomes the hills of Akashi in this verse, and "ship" in the place-name understood to be the one that miraculously appeared during the storm to transport Genji from Suma to Akashi. Furthermore, this boat "pulls at the heart" (*kokoro ni hikeru* in the *maeku*) of Genji, that is, compels him, because its mysterious arrival in Suma tallies with a dream he had while wallowing in a reverie of hopelessness. In the dream, his father's ghost takes his arm and pulls him up, urging him to leave Suma for his safety. This is all very interesting in explaining the shift from Funaoka to Akashi, but the verse itself is obscure in diction and therefore conception. It is an attempt to evoke Genji's feeling of hopeless drifting in exile—*ukimakura* containing the common double meaning of "gloomy" and "floating," and is best appreciated as an echo of the following poem by Genji in the "Akashi" chapter.<sup>14</sup>

	tabigoromo urakanashisa ni akashikane kusa no makura wa yume mo musubazu	In travel garments muffling in sadness the heart, the nights are long until the dawn, and barren, the grass pillow, of dreams.
53	kasumi sae tsuki wa akashi no ukimakura Nagatoshi	Even the haze is gloomy, this sad drifting beneath the bright Akashi moon. Nagatoshi
54	moshio no toko ni kari kaeru koe Sōgi	Farewell calls of the wild geese, upon the pallet of salt-seaweed. Sōgi

Spring: *kari kaeru* (wild geese departing). Waters: *moshio* (salt-seaweed). Dwellings: *toko* (bed, pallet).

Retaining the coastline geography of the *maeku* through "salt-seaweed," Sōgi also accentuates its feeling by introducing the calls of the wild geese as they migrate back to the north in spring. The subject's identity is ambiguous; by the unavoidable association evoked by sheer contiguity, it



can be imagined to be Genji, and then again it may be just an anonymous fisherman. The very indeterminacy makes possible a transition away from the world of the novel.

54	moshio no toko ni kari kaeru koe Sōgi	Farewell calls of the wild geese, upon the pallet of salt-seaweed. Sōgi
55	hitoyo no mi kareru tomaya ni nezame shite Shun'a	Sleepless in the sedge-grass hut he rented for only a night. Shun'a

Travel: *hitoyo kareru* (rented for one night). Dwellings: *tomaya* (sedge-grass hut).

Apart from the semantic proximity of lexical items in connection with those in the *maeku*—pallet = hut/night; salt-seaweed = sedge-grass—and the implication that the sleepless persona hears the calls of the wild geese, the verse seems only slightly connected. Nor does it advance the sequential progression very much. As such, and in connection with the preceding, it lacks the poetic chemistry springing from *kokoro*, for all the firm clarity of its semantic design.

55	hitoyo no mi kareru tomaya ni nezame shite Kaku'a	Sleepless in the sedge-grass hut he rented for only a night. Shun'a
56	ukimi no ue zo namida soinuru Sōetsu	There is cause enough for tears in this miserable life. Kaku'a

Laments: *ukimi* (miserable self, life, or lot).

The sequence remains bogged down in the feelings of gloom introduced in 53 with “drifting / gloomy pillow” (*ukimakura*) and recurring here with “miserable life.” The new, potentially interesting element in the *maeku*, “for only a night” (*hitoyo no mi*) falls by the wayside, although it could have advanced the sequence in another direction. The sense of stagnation becomes quite noticeable at this point.

56	ukimi no ue zo namida soinuru Kaku'a	There is cause enough for tears in this miserable life. Kaku'a
57	tarachine no omou o miru mo kurushiki ni Sōetsu	The added pain of seeing the anxiety in my parents' eyes. Sōetsu

Laments: *tarachine no omou* (parents' anxiety).

Finally, Sōetsu releases the session from stagnation by a skillful interpretation of the *maeku* focusing on the inflectional effect of *zo*, which I render as “cause enough.” A miserable lot is bad enough (*ukimi no ue zo*), but the added knowledge that it is causing my parents anxiety and grief is truly hard to bear (*tarachine no . . . mo*). Sōetsu in this way skillfully brings out the impact of the emphatic *zo* in the *maeku* in his own response. At this point the sequence quickens with life again, a sense of forward motion that will not slacken again until the final verse.

57	tarachine no omou o miru mo kurushiki ni Sōetsu	The added pain of seeing the anxiety in my parents' eyes. Sōetsu
58	ima kon tote mo sutsuru yo no naka Norishige	This world do I renounce, though death come this very moment! Norishige

Laments: *sutsuru yo* (renounce the world).

In verse 58, the urgent motivation for renouncing the world is the knowledge that death, the crucial event determining one's next existence, may come “this very moment” (*ima kon*) and one must assure the salvation of one's soul. In the context of the link, however, the first motivating force is the misery and suffering of a mundane existence. By cultivating inner wisdom, the persona releases not only himself but his anxious parents from this suffering.

58	ima kon tote mo sutsuru yo no naka Norishige	This world do I renounce, though death come this very moment! Norishige
59	tsumi aru o mukae no kuruma osoroshi na Shinkei	Yet knowing my sins, to meet the Vehicle of the Law fills me with terror. Shinkei

Buddhism: *tsumi* (impurity, sin).

Shinkei sets *mukae no kuruma* (lit., “the carriage [come] to fetch me”) in tense juxtaposition with *ima kon* (“come this very moment”) in the *maeku*, turning the urgency of renunciation into the tension of fear, as the persona worries how his sins will be reckoned before the Vehicle of the Law. This last image is an allusion to the parable of the burning house in the *Lotus Sutra*, where the Buddha saves the children, absorbed in their play inside, from the conflagration by telling them about the three fabulous carriages that awaited them outside.<sup>15</sup> Here, the persona is fearful that his sins may disable his hopes for salvation as symbolized by the coming vehicle

or carriage, and that he may be condemned forever to the “burning house” that is mundane existence as seen in Buddhist literature. That fear raises the urgency of renunciation expressed in the *maeku*.

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| 59 | tsumi aru o<br>mukae no kuruma<br>osoroshi na<br>Shinkei | Yet knowing my sins,<br>to meet the Vehicle of the Law<br>fills me with terror.<br>Shinkei |
| 60 | mikari no kaesa<br>no mo hibiku nari<br>Sōgi             | Riding home from the royal hunt—<br>the very fields seem to resound.<br>Sōgi               |

Winter: *kari* (hunting). Word Association: *tsumi* (sin) = *kari*.

Sōgi effects a quick and startling major shift into a purely descriptive mode following the emotionally involved passage from 56 to 59. The Buddhist vehicle of redemption turns into a grand carriage with outriders, taking a party home from the hunt; the referent of the respectful prefix in *mikari* may also be shōgunal or of the daimyō class. The fear and trembling of the *maeku* is for the “sin” of taking animal life committed by these men.

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| 60 | mikari no kaesa<br>no mo hibiku nari<br>Sōgi                 | Riding home from the royal hunt—<br>the very fields seem to resound.<br>Sōgi             |
| 61 | arare chiru<br>nasu no shinohara<br>kaze ochite<br>Norishige | As hail beats down<br>on the bamboo-plain of Nasu,<br>the wind falls still.<br>Norishige |

Winter: *arare chiru* (hail falling). Named Place: Nasu. Falling Phenomena: *arare*.

Following Sōgi’s lead, Norishige produces a wholly descriptive verse that skillfully animates *no mo hibiku* (“the very fields resound”) through the auditory image of hail pattering on the bamboo grass. The hunting party has passed on, the wind is still, and there is only the unnaturally loud sound of hailstones on the dry bamboo blades: a concentrated, impactful image.

The Kantō geographical setting, Nasu in northern Shimotsuke Province (Tochigi Prefecture), brings the sequence close to the home of these Eastern warrior-participants and, of course, to Musashi itself, where the session is being held. Nasu, anciently known for its hunting fields, was, as readers of the *Tale of the Heike* will recall, the hometown of the Minamoto warrior Nasu no Yoichi, the long-distance archer who successfully shot down the fan attached to the Heike boat as it bobbed up and down on the waves, in one of the memorable episodes in that work. Nasu was also the site of the “life-killing stone” (*sesshōseki*) in the Nō play of that title, and the stone

would later figure in Bashō's *Narrow Road to the Deep North*. A precedent for the image of hail on the bamboo-grass field of Nasu is this vivid poem by Minamoto Sanetomo (1192–1219), Teika's poetry student and the last Minamoto shōgun, assassinated in his prime (*Kinkaishū* 217, *KT* 29698).

mononofu no	As warriors reach back
yanami tsukurou	into the arrows in their quiver,
kote no e ni	on their raised gauntlets,
arare tabashiru	hailstones recoil with a patter
nasu no shinohara	on the bamboo-grass plain of Nasu.

It is quite likely that Norishige, amateur poet and warrior who belonged to the Ōgo clan based in the neighboring province of Kōzuke (Gumma), intended an allusion to this poem by another warrior-poet as a *honka* to his verse.

61	arare chiru	As hail beats down
	nasu no shinohara	on the bamboo-plain of Nasu,
	kaze ochite	the wind falls still.
	Norishige	Norishige
62	kusa no kage o mo	On the open Azuma Road, I seek
	tanomu azumaji	shelter in the shadow of the grass.
	Nagatoshi	Nagatoshi

Travel: *Azumaji* (Azuma Road). Named Place: Azuma.

Nagatoshi introduces the figure of a lone traveler on the open, wintry plain, forced to shelter among the grass from the falling hail. “Azuma Road” falls in with Nasu Plain in the *maeku* and continues the local Kantō setting of this passage, while “*shadow of the grass*” (*kusa no kage*) logically emerges from “bamboo grass” above as a metonymical adjunct. The verse as such draws out the sense of vulnerability latent in the *maeku*'s objective scene.

62	kusa no kage o mo	On the open Azuma Road, I seek
	tanomu azumaji	shelter in the shadow of the grass.
	Nagatoshi	Nagatoshi
63	minu kuni no	Is the wanderer's fate
	tsuchi to ya naran	to become a clod of earth in
	mi no yukue	an unknown country?
	Shinkei	Shinkei

Travel: *minu kuni* (unseen [alien] country). Grievance: *mi no yukue* (the end/destination of life or self).

The feeling of vulnerability rises to a poignant pitch as Shinkei's persona contemplates death on the road in Azuma, “the unknown country.” Given

the coincidence with the session's actual location, and Shinkei's real situation at this time as a traveler in the Kantō from the capital, there is no doubt that he is reading himself into this verse.<sup>16</sup> Yet its resonance is such that it would have spoken equally to the warrior-participants of the session, members of the Ashikaga-Uesugi alliance to whom death away from their hometowns was always a concrete possibility, given the state of civil war in the Kantō at this time. Technically, "clod of earth" (*tsuchi*) is a metonymical adjunct to "shadow of the grass" (*kusa no kage*) and continues the satisfying chain of mutually resonating imagistic details starting from verse 60. The Nozaka Text has *tama* (spirit, shade) instead of *tsuchi* in this verse; I follow the Temmangū Text because *tsuchi* is in my opinion more effective poetically in the links with verses 61 and 63.

63	minu kuni no tsuchi to ya naran mi no yukue Shinkei	Is the wanderer's fate to become a clod of earth in an unknown country? Shinkei
64	hate mo kanashiki amatsu'otomego Sōetsu	Pitifully sad is the end, ethereal maiden of the sky. Sōetsu

Miscellaneous.

Sōetsu brings in the word *hate* (end) in association with Shinkei's *yukue* (destination) above, thus bringing to a close the passage begun in 60. The subject of the maeku's lament for a possible death in alien surroundings here becomes the *amatsu'otomego* (maiden of the sky), image of an ethereal creature set in a tense and tragic juxtaposition with "clod of earth" in the maeku. In effect Sōetsu opens up a whole new realm of associations with the story immortalized in the Nō play *Robe of Feathers* (*Hagoromo*). In the play, a fisherman steals the robe of feathers of a Heavenly Maiden who has come down to earth. Unable to return to the sky without it, she is in danger of dying and becoming permanently mired on earth. As the signs of earthly suffering begin to appear on her, happily the fisherman relents and returns her feathery robe, and she performs a beautiful dance for the earth in thanksgiving. A hauntingly lyrical symbolic play, *Robe of Feathers* is one of the most enduring pieces in the Nō repertory.

The first line of the verse, *hate mo kanashiki* ("pitifully sad is the end"), evokes the imminent death or "decay of the angel" (*tennin gosui*—the title, incidentally, of the last novel in Mishima's final opus). This is marked by five signs: her crown of flowers withers, her heavenly robe becomes dirtied with the dust of the earth, sweat pours from her armpits, darkness descends upon her flickering eyes, and she loses pleasure in her heavenly home.<sup>17</sup> The

following passage in Arthur Waley's rendering of the play is particularly evocative of the link between 63 and 64 as it focuses on the tragic contrast between the earthy and ethereal.

Angel: Like a bird without wings,  
I would rise, but robeless  
Hakuryo: To the low earth you sink, an angel dwelling  
In the dingy world.  
Angel: This way, that way,  
Despair only. . . .  
Chorus: Then on her coronet,  
Jewelled as with the dew of tears,  
The bright flowers drooped and faded.  
O piteous to see before the eyes,  
Fivefold the signs of sickness  
Corrupt an angel's form.<sup>18</sup>

The way Sōetsu translates the idea of exile and an earthly death in Shinkei's verse into the Heavenly Maiden legend is a truly inspired move, showing imagination and lyrical feeling. Kaneko also cites another version of the Hagaromo legend in the Tango *fudoki*, in which one of a group of eight angels has her robe of feathers stolen and, unable to return to the sky with the others, is condemned to wander the earth.<sup>19</sup>

64	hate mo kanashiki amatsu'otomego Sōetsu	Pitifully sad is the end, ethereal maiden of the sky. Sōetsu
65	omokage no tsuki ni koishi mo ato nakute Mitsusuke	Her shimmering image, the moon draws all his yearning, yet is it void of trace. Mitsusuke

*Third Fold, Back.* Autumn: *tsuki* (moon). Love: *omokage* (image, shadow, reflection; trace, wake, memory).

Mitsusuke continues within the realm of tale and legend introduced by Sōetsu, while effecting a shift of referent to another heavenly maiden, Kaguyahime, the Shining Princess in the *Tale of the Bamboo-Cutter* (*Take-tori monogatari*). She spends some years on earth, forming attachments to her foster parents and the Emperor, but in the end returns to her true home in the moon. "Pitifully sad is the end" (*hate mo kanashiki*) would then refer to the parting scene in the tale, when Kaguyahime dons the heavenly robe of feathers and ascends to the moon escorted by the resplendent creatures who had come to fetch her. The subject of the sentiment in the verse is the emperor; the imagery poetically evokes the shimmering radiance of Kaguyahime's being, as well as the romantically ephemeral, and ethereal, relationship between the two.

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| 65 | omokage no<br>tsuki ni koishi mo<br>ato nakute<br>Mitsusuke | Her shimmering image,<br>the moon draws all his yearning,<br>yet is it void of trace.<br>Mitsusuke |
| 66 | hitodanome naru<br>kosu no akikaze<br>Norishige             | Hope leaps at a rustling sound—<br>bamboo blinds in the autumn wind.<br>Norishige                  |

Autumn: *akikaze* (autumn wind). Love: *matsu koi* (waiting love, in concept).

Norishige repeats the same movement of yearning expectation, then deflation, in the *maeku*'s verbal configuration: a stirring in the bamboo blinds causes the persona, now a woman, to momentarily think that her lover has come, but it is only the sound of the autumn wind. A precisely drawn image, the verse fills the *maeku*'s third line, *ato nakute* ("void of trace") with a new significance in this changed context. Hope leaps, then dies, leaving no trace, like the autumn wind that stirred the blinds and gave rise to hope in the first place.

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| 66 | hitodanome naru<br>kosu no akikaze<br>Norishige       | Hope leaps at a rustling sound—<br>bamboo blinds in the autumn wind.<br>Norishige            |
| 67 | shitamomiji<br>tare ni wakeyo to<br>midaruran<br>Sōgi | Crimson-dyed lower leaves<br>part to make a path for whom—<br>swaying all tremulous.<br>Sōgi |

Autumn: *momiji* (crimson leaves).

Sōgi continues, with an added richness through the image of crimson leaves trembling in the wind, the mood of ethereal courtly romance begun in 65. Resonating with the image of the wind-stirred blinds (*kosu no akikaze*) in the *maeku*, the swaying of the trees' lower foliage (*shitamomiji . . . midaruran*), now colored with the autumn, becomes an objective correlative for the emotional state of a woman waiting for her lover; the specific term, *shitamomiji* (crimson lower leaves), moreover, delicately evokes a lady's flowing hem and sleeves as glimpsed beneath the swaying bamboo blinds of the *maeku*, at the same time that it suggests the hidden, repressed quality of her longing. The verse is rich with the subtle mystery of the Heian romance.

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| 67 | shitamomiji<br>tare ni wakeyo to<br>midaruran<br>Sōgi | Crimson-dyed lower leaves<br>part to make a path for whom—<br>swaying all tremulous.<br>Sōgi |
| 68 | kureba kaeru<br>yama zo harukeki<br>Kaku'a            | As darkness falls, the mountain<br>of my home recedes yet farther.<br>Kaku'a                 |

Miscellaneous. Mountains: *yama* (mountain).

Kaku'a effects a linking contrast between the brightly colored leaves swaying by the persona's feet and the shadowy mountain in the distance; we have left the Love theme behind. The colored lower leaves of the *maeku* still function as a symbol, but of a different "excitement"—this persona's feelings of anxiety about the long distance he has yet to traverse in the dark before reaching home. Here around me, the bright leaves are discernible, as if to make a path for someone, but all is dark farther on.

68	kurureba kaeru yama zo harukeki Kaku'a	As darkness falls, the mountain of my home recedes yet farther. Kaku'a
69	yuku kata mo isa shirakumo o naka ni mite Shinkei	Uncertain too of the way ahead, he sees the white clouds massed between. Shinkei

Travel: *yuku kata* (the way ahead).

Shinkei deepens the anxiety in the *maeku* simply by adding the detail of thick clouds hovering between the traveler and his destination. Through the contrastive juxtaposition of *kaeru* (return) and *yuku* (go), he also places the persona in a real impasse: dusk finds him far from the mountain of his home, while before him, the way ahead is further obscured by clouds. By this contrast, Shinkei shifts the context in such a way that instead of being on his way home, the persona is traveling away from it. The way ahead obscure, he looks back to where he started, but that point too has receded in the dark. In this link, the emphatic *zo* in the *maeku* and *mo* (also) here are made to carry the load of the signifying contrast in an outwardly simple yet quick and skillful turnabout.

69	yuku kata mo isa shirakumo o naka ni mite Shinkei	Uncertain too of the way ahead, he sees the white clouds massed between. Shinkei
70	suginuru tori no kasukanaru koe Shun'a	Faint sound of birdcall flitting swiftly past. Shun'a

Travel: *suginuru* (went past). Word Association: *kumo* (cloud) = *tori* (bird).

This verse is most effective when the traveler is understood to be walking beneath the obscuring clouds of the *maeku*. Uncertain of his direction, he suddenly hears the faint calls of a bird as it flits swiftly past him overhead. The concentrated auditory image impacts upon the *maeku* as an



accent: the sound coming from nowhere and disappearing into the unknown way ahead sharpens the isolation of the traveler within the obscur- ing clouds. This is a poetically satisfying link.

70	suginuru tori no kasukanaru koe Shun'a	Faint sound of birdcall flitting swiftly past. Shun'a
71	tabibito no koyuru sekito no akuru yo ni Nagatoshi	With the dawning light, the barrier-gate opens for the crossing traveler. Nagatoshi

Travel: *tabibito* (traveler), *sekito* (barrier-gate).

Here the fleeting birdcall is heard by the traveler as he prepares to cross the barrier-gate in the faint light of dawn. Kaneko observes that the link, based on the semantic similarity between *suginuru* (went past) and *koyuru* (cross over), effects no great variation from the *maeku*, and that the “faint calls” (*kasukanaru koe*) of the bird do not come to life in this verse. It is true that the aural image is not as startling and satisfactory here as in the preceding link. Nevertheless, the time, which is specified as early dawn when the night has just begun to lift, seems to me to enhance the birdcall to some degree, as if it were a harbinger of the light. Furthermore, the configuration of the scene, with the barrier-gate just before the traveler, while the bird itself has already passed it overhead, is not without poetic appeal in the disjunction of pace and movement suggested by two kinds of “crossings.”

71	tabibito no koyuru sekito no akuru yo ni Nagatoshi	With the dawning light, the barrier-gate opens for the crossing traveler. Nagatoshi
72	tomo o ya matan iwagane no michi Sōetsu	I think I'll await a companion at the foot of the craggy trail. Sōetsu

Travel: *michi* (road, trail).

Within sight of the barrier-gate, the traveler decides to rest a while and wait for someone to accompany him in climbing the rocky trail up to it. Given the Kantō setting of the session, Sōetsu most probably had the Hakone mountain pass in mind here. The link consists of the now familiar technique of adding metonymical details—here, the path between the crags—in the course of developing a narrative.

72	tomo o ya matan iwagane no michi Sōetsu	I think I'll await a companion at the foot of the craggy trail. Sōetsu
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73

ki no shita o  
hatsuyuki nagara  
kieyarade  
Mitsusuke

Here in the shadow of  
the trees, the first snow patches  
have yet to dissolve.  
Mitsusuke

Spring: *hatsuyuki* (first snow of the year; spring snow). Falling Phenomena: *yuki*.  
Word Association: *tomo* (companion, friend) = *yuki*.

In the classical vocabulary, “first snow” refers to the light snowflakes that fall in early spring and dissolve quickly in the warming air; here in the cold shadow of the deep mountains, however, they remain whitely on the ground without melting.

In its visual design of white splotches of snow against the dark and still bare, gnarled branches of ancient trees, the verse has the aesthetic quality of an ink-wash painting. Semantically, “have yet to dissolve” (*kieyarade*) subtly resonates against the *maeku*’s “I think I’ll await a companion” (*tomo o ya matan*) to suggest a new reading: I am thinking of waiting for a companion to share the beauty of this scene of white snow patches in the shadow of the aged trees.

“Companion” or “friend” (*tomo*) makes an associative pair with “snow” here through the mediation of the lines from a poem by Po Chü-i, “Sent to Yin Hsieh-lu,” inscribed in Japanese literature through their citation in *Wakan rōeishū* 734, under “Associating with Friends”: “Forsaken by [former] companions in the zither, poetry, and wine, / I long for you most when the snow, the flowers, and the moon are in their season.”<sup>20</sup> The sentiment behind the link in this instance, one that recurs in various contexts in Japanese classical sources, was summed up by Kawabata Yasunari in his Nobel Prize acceptance speech:

When we see the beauty of the snow, when we see the beauty of the full moon, when we see the beauty of the cherries in bloom, when in short we brush against and are awakened by the beauty of the four seasons, it is then that we think most of those close to us, and want them to share the pleasure. The excitement of beauty calls forth strong fellow feelings, yearnings for companionship, and the word “comrade” can be taken to mean “human being.”<sup>21</sup>

As evidenced by the central place of *aware* in Shinkei’s aesthetics as well, in the traditional Japanese sensibility cherished even by a modern writer like Kawabata, the sense of beauty is never divorced from the human condition. Indeed it is what binds people in a common human sympathy.

The currency during the Muromachi period of the lines from Po Chü-i may be observed also in a linked-verse handbook from 1494, *Renga yoriai* (Renga word associations). An entry in this text explains that to “friend,”

one links the number “three” to refer to “the three friends” (*sanyū* or *mitsu no tomo*), which are variously, the zither, poetry, and wine; snow, moon, and flowers; or pine, bamboo, and plum.<sup>22</sup>

73	ki no shita o hatsuyuki nagara kieyarade Mitsusuke	Here in the shadow of the trees, the first snow patches have yet to dissolve. Mitsusuke
74	katsu saku ume ni niou asatsuyu Shinkei	Yet sweet is the morning dew as one by one plum blossoms unfurl. Shinkei

Spring: *saku ume* (blossoming plum). Word Association: *kiyu* (dissolve, vanish) = *tsuyu* (dew).

Shinkei maintains the aesthetic orientation of the *maeku* by evoking the classic combination of snow and plum blossoms, traditionally the earliest flowers of the year. The verbal pivot of the link is carried by *katsu*, meaning “one after another” in verse 74. In the context of 73, however, it registers as “on the other hand”; in this sense it activates *nagara* (“while . . .”) there: while the first snow has yet to dissolve, on the other hand, the plum blossoms are already unfolding one after another. The tone of the link has a delicacy and cool freshness that together constitute one of Shinkei’s signature styles. The scent of plum blossoms has a noble delicacy poetically enhanced by the coolness of remaining white snow and the ineffable effect of *katsu* here as an adverbial evoking, in slow motion as it were, the very unfurling of the petals in the fresh dew.

74	katsu saku ume ni niou asatsuyu Shinkei	Yet sweet is the morning dew as one by one plum blossoms unfurl. Shinkei
75	haru no no ya narenu sode o mo kawasuran Norishige	Ah, the spring meadows— even the sleeves of strangers brushing each other. Norishige

Spring: *haru no no* (spring meadow).

From the subtle poetry of 74, Norishige shifts to a livelier mood suggesting the carefree gladness, the sense of release from winter bondage brought on by spring. The scene is of people enjoying spring and its flowers in the meadow, much as the Japanese hold “flower-viewing” (*hanami*) parties even now under the cherry blossoms. “Sleeves of strangers / brushing each other” is delicately suggestive of romance, and subliminally of the unfurling petals in the *maeku*.

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| 75 | haru no no ya<br>narenu sode o mo<br>kawasuran<br>Norishige | Ah, the spring meadows—<br>even the sleeves of strangers<br>brushing each other.<br>Norishige |
| 76 | kasumi shiku e ni<br>fune kayou miyu<br>Sōgi                | On the bay overhung with haze<br>boats seen gliding to and fro.<br>Sōgi                       |

Spring: *kasumi* (haze).

Sōgi's poetic camera pans away from the meadow to take in the larger, distant, and tranquil view of the bay overspread with haze, through which boats can be seen silently gliding past each other—a motion that subtly repeats, with a difference, the close image of sleeves brushing one another in the *maeku*.

Here ends the generally tranquil mood begun in verse 70, a passage characterized by a consciously aesthetic orientation and painting-like scenes, evocativeness, and subtle poetry. As such, it contrasts with the complex, emotionally involved, and depressed mood of several of the preceding passages.

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|----|---|---|
| 76 | kasumi shiku e ni<br>fune kayou miyu<br>Sōgi            | On the bay overhung with haze<br>boats seen gliding to and fro.<br>Sōgi           |
| 77 | kokoro naki<br>hito no yūbe wa<br>munashikute<br>Sōetsu | For the man devoid<br>of feeling, the dimming evening<br>holds nothing.<br>Sōetsu |

Laments: *kokoro naki* (lit., “lacking a heart-mind”).

Contemplating the tranquil seascape of the *maeku*, Sōetsu locates it temporally at dusk and states that for someone without sensibility, such a scene holds no significance, is *munashi* (in vain, empty, useless). This is merely an indirect way of saying that the evening scene is a deeply moving sight, but that quality is a function of the beholder's *kokoro*; the gaze is contemplative and enabled by the operation of the mind-heart. The classical overtones of this verse are unmistakable; it resonates with allusions to older poems using the vocabulary of *kokoro ari* or *kokoro nashi* and of *aware*.

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|----|---|---|
| 77 | kokoro naki<br>hito no yūbe wa<br>munashikute<br>Sōetsu | For the man devoid<br>of feeling, the dimming evening<br>holds nothing.<br>Sōetsu |
| 78 | susumuru kane o<br>aware to mo kike<br>Shinkei          | Hear the infinite sadness in<br>the lesson of the booming bell.<br>Shinkei        |

Buddhism: *susumuru kane* (the bell signaling and promoting apprehension of the Buddhist truth).

The ensuing discourse between two priests turns inevitably Buddhist as Shinkei introduces the tolling of the temple bell at evening and enjoins the hearer to recognize there, and respond with *aware*, to the central lesson of *mujō*, the “mutability” of human existence. *Kokoro naki* is more specifically delineated here as the absence not only of feeling as such, but of a sensibility founded upon a sense of *mujō*. What is at issue is *aware* in its medieval sense as a sensitive and compassionate responsiveness to things in their sheer temporality, a concept formally inscribed in poetic criticism by Shinkei himself in *Sasamegoto* and elsewhere.

A possible *honka* for the link between evening, the bell, and *aware* as a feeling of sadness is a poem by Priest Jakuzen in the *Shinkokinshū*.

SKKS 1956. Buddhist Poems. “On [the lines] ‘the day has ended, my life approaches its dissolution,’ one in the sequence of 100 Buddhist Poems that he presented to various people.”<sup>23</sup>

kyō suginu inochi mo shika to odorokasu iriai no kane no koe zo kanashiki	This day has ended; and soon too shall this life— in the mind-bracing booming of the evening bell, echo of an infinite sadness.
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In another possible *honka* for the link, *Fūgashū* 2036 below, the connection between the uselessness (*munashi*) of the evening for the man devoid of sensibility, as expressed by the *maeku*, and Shinkei’s allusion to the lesson of the evening bell, is much clearer.

FGS 2036. Buddhist Poems. Priest Kyōshō. “On the spirit of [the words] ‘unperceiving and unknowing, unalarmed and unafraid.’”<sup>24</sup>

odorokade kyō mo munashiku kurenu nari aware ukimi no iriai no sora	Unmoved as ever, yet another day has drawn to a useless close; the pathos of drifting souls as the evening bell fades in the sky.
78      susumuru kane o aware to mo kike Shinkei	Hear the infinite sadness in the lesson of the booming bell. Shinkei
79      sakazuki o megurasu madoi oshiki yo ni Nagatoshi	Passing the sake cup in a happy circle, the night ends too soon. Nagatoshi

*Remaining-Trace Fold, Front.* Miscellaneous.

In an impressive shift marking the entry into the Fourth Fold, the final movement of the sequence, Nagatoshi transposes Shinkei's *maeku* into the context of an all-night party. As friends and guests enjoy each other's company with talk and wine far into the night, the tolling of the temple bell breaks upon their consciousness, calling to mind the passing time (*oshiki yo*), the brevity of joy, and their own mortality. Here *aware* gains a sharper poignancy; the reality of time is experienced unexpectedly, precisely because it had been forgotten in the pleasures of companionship and wine.

79	sakazuki o megurasu madoi oshiki yo ni Nagatoshi	Passing the sake cup in a happy circle, the night ends too soon. Nagatoshi
80	koto no ne nokoru ariake no sora Sōgi	The zither's notes linger on with the moon in the paling sky. Sōgi

Autumn: *ariake* (remaining light, of the moon at dawn).

Sōgi links up to the *maeku* by focusing on the expression *oshiki yo*, a night cherished and regretted in its passing, and by analyzing it into two metonymical details—the notes of the *koto* (zither) and the clear autumn moonlight—that come to represent what has been enjoyed. In the paling night, the last notes still echo in the hearts of the listeners, who would have wished the music would never end, while the moon remains momentarily in the sky before it too is taken by the dawn light. The way in which *nokoru* (remaining, lingering) activates *oshiki* (cherished and regretted) in the *maeku* is subtle and fine indeed; it is a movingly delicate turn, a moment caught and held for a while in its passing.

80	koto no ne nokoru ariake no sora Sōgi	The zither's notes linger on with the moon in the paling sky. Sōgi
81	kie mo senu mi o wabihito no aki fukete Ikuhiro	Lamenting his body that would not melt, hapless man in deepening autumn. Ikuhiro

Autumn: *aki* (autumn). Humanity: *wabihito* (hopeless, unfortunate person fallen in the world, living in reduced circumstances). Word Association: *koto* (zither) = *wabihito*.

*Nokoru* (remain, linger) becomes the verbal pivot of the link as Ikuhiro gives it a new turn in the synonymous expression *kie mo senu* (does not melt or disappear), whose referent, however, is a man's body. Depressed, kept

awake by endless thoughts of his misfortune, a man bitterly regrets the persistence of his own life as the long night pales and the melancholy autumn ages. Where “lingering” in the previous link was to be cherished, here it is to be decried. Otherwise, this link is somewhat slack and mechanical because trained principally on the verbal. The conventional association between “zither” and “hapless person” is based on the following *Kokinshū* poem.

KKS 985. Miscellaneous. Yoshimine Munesada [Bishop Henjō].  
 “Composed and sent to a dilapidated house from where he had heard a woman playing the zither, when he was down in Nara.”

<i>wabihito no</i>	Thinking, as I gaze,
sumubeki yado to	of the <i>hapless person</i> that
mirunabe ni	must dwell in this house,
nagekikuwawaru	a <i>zither</i> sounds from within
<i>koto no ne zo suru</i>	to add to the mournfulness.

Apart from the mechanical verbal link between the two terms above, the *kokoro* of the poem itself does not come to life in Ikuhiro’s verse, so that it cannot be called a *honka* in the sense of the *Shinkokinshū* usage of this technique. Nonetheless such is the power of the empty space in renga tsukeai that the allusion imparts to the link an ambiguous evocativeness that need not be further specified.

81	kie mo senu mi o wabibito no aki fukete Ikuhiro	Lamenting his body that would not melt, hapless man in deepening autumn. Ikuhiro
82	kumokiri ikue sumeru yamazato Sōetsu	Ply on ply, the cloudy mists over the mountain village where I live. Sōetsu

Autumn: *kiri* (mist). Rising Phenomena: *kumokiri*. Word Association: *kie* (melt, disperse) = *kiri*.

The hapless man in the *maeku* is imaged here as living in an isolated mountain village covered by mists and cloud. Such an image reinforces the depressed tonality of the *maeku* and alludes, it seems to me, to Prince Hachi’s reclusion in the mist-covered *mountain village* of Uji in the *Tale of Genji*. Prince Hachi, victim of political misfortune and also of a personal tragedy in his wife’s early demise and the burning of his mansion in the capital, is a classic case of a *wabihito*, a man fallen from society and living in isolation and straitened circumstances. In the “Hashihime” (Lady of the bridge) chapter, he composes a poem whose last two lines echo the words

*kie mo senu / mi* in the *maeku*; furthermore, the prose passage that follows makes the link between the *wabihito* image and a mist-covered mountain village clear.

mishi hito mo	She who dwelt
yado mo keburu ni	beside me, my home, all
narinishi o	have turned to smoke;
nani tote waga <i>mi</i>	to what end does <i>this body</i>
<i>kienokorikemu</i>	remain, unmelted, behind?

Such longing consumed him, for he had nothing left to live for. To his abode surrounded by *range upon range of mountains*, no one came to visit. . . . As he passed the days and nights gazing on peaks where the morning *mists* never lift. . . .<sup>25</sup>

Sōetsu's handling of *honka* and *honzetsu* here as a linking technique is rather good.

82	kumokiri ikue sumeru yamazato Sōetsu	Ply on ply, the cloudy mists over the mountain village where I live. Sōetsu
83	samidare wa mizu no koe senu tani mo nashi Shinkei	The long June rains: not a valley but resounds with the swollen waters. Shinkei

Summer: *samidare* (monthlong rains in summer). Falling Phenomena: *samidare*. Waters: *mizu* (water).

In a barely perceptible move that suddenly transports us into summer, Shinkei responds with an inspired piece on the natural scenery. Imagistically sharp, the verse brings into vivid life the layers of clouds and mists over the mountains of the *maeku* (*kumokiri ikue / . . . yamazato*) by redefining them into the dense clouds that bring the constant, long rains of the Fifth Month (*samidare* is modern *baiu* or *tsuyu*, the rainy season from June to July), swelling the streams and rivers all over the valley. The poetic effect of the verse, it seems to me, gains more power and interest if *sumeru* (“dwelling, living in”) in the *maeku* is read as the homonymous verb, also in its stative inflection, meaning “clarified, purified.” The layers of clouds, having fallen as rain over a long period, have lifted from the mountain village, the sky is clear, now only the swollen torrents resound all over the mountain in the aftermath of the long rains. Read thus, the link becomes more arresting, and the scene itself rendered with a fresh and bracing, *sugasugashii* tone that is one aspect of Shinkei's poetic sensibility. Moreover, the passage from 81 to 83 acquires a symbolic dimension when *kumokiri* in 82 is interpreted as the Buddhist “clouds and mist” of religious unknowing in association with the *wabihito* of 81. The dispersal of these



clouds would then evoke the spiritual exaltation that is the feeling one instinctively senses in 83. In this reading, the *maeku* would read: “Ply after ply, the clouds and mists / now *clearing* from the mountain village.” It is noteworthy, in this connection, that in *Sasamegoto* Shinkei cites a verse by Gusai similar in imagery to his *tsukeku* here and that he classifies it under the symbolic mode.<sup>26</sup>

83	samidare wa mizu no koe senu tani mo nashi Shinkei	The long June rains: not a valley but resounds with the swollen waters. Shinkei
84	nagare no sue ni ukabu mumoregi Hōzen	At the mouth of the swift current, a buried tree floats into view. Hōzen

Miscellaneous. Waters: *nagare* (current, flow).

Hōzen skillfully translates the aurality of Shinkei’s image of resounding torrents into a tactile and kinetic force so strong it has pried loose a long-buried tree stump (*mumoregi*) along its course and propelled it all the way down to the river’s mouth. Here ends the three-verse passage of objective description of natural scenery marked by a dynamic vividness. Norishige returns to human affairs (*jinji*) themes in the next verse, which ends the first half of the movement on the face or front of the Fourth Fold, the Remaining-Trace Fold (*nagori no ori*).

84	nagare no sue ni ukabu mumoregi Hōzen	At the mouth of the swift current, a buried tree floats into view. Hōzen
85	au se ni mo yoshi ya kakotaji natorikawa Norishige	Hide it I would not, could we but meet, in spite of Rumor River. Norishige

Love: *au se* (lit., “meeting shoals”). Waters: *se, kawa* (river). Named Place: Natorikawa (“Rumor River”). Word Association: *mumoregi* (buried tree) = *se*, Natorikawa.

The *maeku* motif of the sudden exposure of what is deeply hidden, as imaged in the “buried tree,” is transformed into the possible exposure of a hidden love. The force of the river’s current becomes a metaphor for the power of a repressed passion, which is such that it would risk exposure and gossip for a single meeting with the beloved. The *yoriai* pair *mumoregi* = *se*, *Natorikawa* has its source in KKS 650, Love, Anonymous.

<i>natorikawa</i> <i>seze no mumoregi</i>	Were the <i>buried tree</i> to float into view upon the
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arawareba  
ikani semu to ka  
aimisomekemu

*shoals of Rumor River,*  
what did I think to do, lost in  
the rapture of that first tryst?

In Norishige's verse, the situation is one wherein the persona has not in fact achieved even a first tryst, and the expressed indifference to rumor is in contrast with the anxiety mirrored in the *honka*. In this way, the verse may be said to be a true allusive variation on the foundation poem.

85        au se ni mo  
           yoshi ya kakotaji  
           natorikawa  
                 Norishige

Hide it I would not,  
could we but meet, in spite  
of Rumor River.

Norishige

86        yoso ni morenan  
           iro zo monouki  
                 Shun'a

My unassuaged hue become apparent  
to others—that would be misery!

Shun'a

Love: *morenu iro* (lit., "a hue leaking out," i.e., a hidden passion exposed).

Shun'a develops the logic of the *maeku* in the following manner: if we could meet or had in fact met, I would not care if the affair became known to others, but what would really pain me is that they should discover my hidden, unrequited longing, the truth that you do not deign to meet me. The reasoning turns, it would seem, on a point of pride or the desire for personal satisfaction. I can endure the rumor if we were in fact having an affair, but the exposure of this unassuaged love is a different matter altogether. The force of the emphatic *zo* turns on this linking contrast between the two hypothetical situations.

86        yoso ni morenan  
           iro zo monouki  
                 Shun'a

My unassuaged hue become apparent  
to others—that would be misery!

Shun'a

87        kaimami mo  
           arawa to ashi no  
           ha wa karete  
                 Shinkei

Leaving gaps naked  
to the eye, the hedge of  
reed leaf shrivels.

Shinkei

Winter: *ashi no ha karete* (reed leaves wither). Love: *kaimami* (glimpse through gaps in the hedge).

Shinkei brings the motif of exposure, which began in 84, to an apparently simple, yet allusively rich ending with another vividly sharp picture that has the primary purpose of shifting to the new theme of Winter. The image is of a small, poor hut surrounded by a miscanthus hedge that has shriveled, exposing the shabbiness of its interior to the onlooker. In effect, the verse specifies the concrete situation in which the persona of 86 finds himself or herself, with *yoso ni morenan* ("apparent to others") reverberat-

ing in the image of the gaping hedge; and *iro*, “color, hue,” usually alluding to love-longing, acquiring here its second sense of “form, appearance.” In this context, the *maeku* becomes an expression of the persona’s feelings of shame at the poverty of his/her surroundings, and may be rendered thus: “Evidence of my poverty bared / to others—that is too wretched!”

Kaneko detects a delicate evocation of the destitute life of the reed cutter (*ashikari*) along the Naniwa shore, in the famous legend of that name.<sup>27</sup> Apart from the appropriateness of the setting, the link brings out in particular the reed cutter’s complex feeling of mingled shame and longing for his former wife, forced by their destitution to seek her fortune in the capital, where she eventually becomes a nobleman’s wife, though still emotionally attached to her former husband. She seeks him out, he hides from her, and it is his feeling of mortification at her discovery of his unchanged poverty that is brought out by this link. The pathos of this old legend has clearly appealed to authors and readers for centuries down to our time, as witness Tanizaki’s novella *Ashikari* and Higuchi Ichiyō’s reworking of the tale in the short story “Jūsan’ya” (The thirteenth night).

87	kaimami mo arawa to ashi no ha wa karete Shinkei	Leaving gaps naked to the eye, the hedge of reed leaf shrivels. Shinkei
88	fuyu wa sumarenu sumika to o shire Mitsusuke	In winter, I would have you know, this abode is not to be endured. Mitsusuke

Winter: *fuyu* (winter).

Mitsusuke simply gives voice to what is already concretely illustrated in the *maeku*; he directly expresses the feelings of the unfortunate inhabitant of the hut, bringing out its nakedly unprotected character, open as it is to the harsh elements in winter.

88	fuyu wa sumarenu sumika to o shire Mitsusuke	In winter, I would have you know, this abode is not to be endured. Mitsusuke
89	miyako ni wa yuki mezurame ya ono no yama Sōgi	In the Capital City, they cherish the rare snow, but here in Mount Ono! Sōgi

Winter: *yuki* (snow).

Sōgi locates the unendurable wintry abode of 88 in snowy Mount Ono and thereby signals a clear allusion to Section 83 of the *Tales of Ise*. There, Narihira travels from the capital to visit his former patron Prince Koretaka.

Disappointed by his meager prospects in society, the prince had become a monk living in a hermitage at Ono, “where the snow was quite deep, since it was at the foot of Mount Hiei,” as the *Ise* text says. Within this anecdotal context, verses 88 and 89 are to be understood as words spoken by the lonely prince to the man who used to be his companion in the refined, courtly activities of his former life.

89	miyako ni wa yuki mezurame ya ono no yama Sōgi	In the Capital City, they cherish the rare snow, but here in Mount Ono! Sōgi
90	shigure ni tsuki no kage mo susamaji Kaku'a	Piercingly chill the moonlight in the wake of the sudden rains. Kaku'a

Autumn: *tsuki* (moon), *susamaji* (piercingly chill).

*Shigure*, written with the ideographs “time” and “rain,” are the rains that suddenly fall and as suddenly cease in the change of season from late autumn to early winter. Here it is best to place the time in autumn, since the moon as such and the term *susamaji* are both indices of this season in renga. In the context of the link with 89, Kaku'a says in effect that living in remote Ono is just as unendurable in autumn as in winter. The verse as such, in isolation, is impressively stark; however, the link with 89 is general, not minute or close. Such a method of merely adding new elements to the *maeku* instead of activating or transforming it is also one way of linking, and characterizes the run from 88 to 90.

90	shigure ni tsuki no kage mo susamaji Kaku'a	Piercingly chill the moonlight in the wake of the sudden rains. Kaku'a
91	kogarashi no sora ni ukaruru aki no kumo Shinkei	Swept adrift across the storm-scoured sky, the clouds of autumn. Shinkei

Autumn: *aki no kumo* (clouds of autumn). Rising Phenomena: *kumo*.

Once more tightening the sequence after the slackness of the preceding run, Shinkei responds to 90 with an equally stark verse that animates its *susamaji* feeling in the image of clouds set nakedly drifting in the “tree-withering storm” (*kogarashi*) that swept across the sky. The moment captured here is the interval between the intermittent rains of the *maeku*, when the moon appears starkly clear, illuminating the moving clouds before the sky darkens again in rain. It is a masterly link in the way it tenses up the *maeku* and brings the two verses together in an integral, seamless node of feeling (*kokoro*), the mode of “the single, undulating line” (*hitofushi ni*

*inagashitaru*) or of “monochromatic integrity” (*mono isshiki ni*) in Shinkei’s critical vocabulary. It is also worth noting that like 63, this verse has a certain autobiographical dimension; the image of storm-swept clouds suggests Shinkei’s poetic projection of his situation as a refugee in the Kantō region, helpless before the shifting tides of the Ōnin War.

91	kogarashi no sora ni ukaruru aki no kumo Shinkei	Swept adrift across the storm-scoured sky, the clouds of autumn. Shinkei
92	kari mo uchiwabi kure wataru koro Mitsusuke	Lonesome too the wild geese flitting in the dusk shadows. Mitsusuke

Autumn: *kari* (wild geese).

The tension of the preceding link dissolves into a softer, more generalized melancholy as Mitsusuke shifts into the classic modality of an autumn evening. Against the now dimming clouds of the *maeku*, he points up the white silhouettes of the wild geese as they fly, crying, across the sky. The contrast between this link and the preceding demonstrates how the same verse, here 91, can acquire a wholly different cast within a new context; it illustrates again the open, ambiguous, or provisional character of the single verse in *renga*. Thus ends the front of the Fourth Fold, in the minor key.

92	kari mo uchiwabi kure wataru koro Mitsusuke	Lonesome too the wild geese flitting in the dusk shadows. Mitsusuke
93	mi ni kagiru namida naraji to nagusamete Norishige	Not I alone weep these tears— I solace myself. Norishige

*Remaining-Trace Fold; Back.* Love: *namida* (tears). Word Association: *kari* (wild geese) = *namida*.

An uncomplicated link based on the conventional associative pair indicated above, and competent in the way it responds to the particle *mo* (also) in the *maeku* through *mi ni kagiru . . . naraji* (lit., “not limited to myself”)—that is, the wild geese know sorrow as well. The source of the *yoriai* pair is KKS 221, Autumn, Anonymous:

nakiwataru <i>kari no namida ya</i> ochitsuramu mono omou yado no hagi no e no tsuyu	Are they tears dropped by the wild geese as they flew, crying, across the sky— the dew on the bush clover about my brooding abode.
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The link, in other words, is made more interesting through the allusion to the sentimental conceit in the *Kokinshū* poem; possibly the pleasure of inscribing such an allusion and having the other participants recognize it was more important in this case than the sentiment itself.

93	mi ni kagiru namida naraji to nagusamete Norishige	Not I alone weep these tears— I solace myself. Norishige
94	shina koso kaware yo wa ukarikere Nagatoshi	Desire takes various forms, yes, but 'tis all one world of misery! Nagatoshi

Love: *shina* (kinds, degrees), *yo* (the world, here, of love). Laments: *ukiyo* (miserable world).

The words *ushi* (miserable, depressing) and *ukiyo* are classified under Laments in *Renju* 900, but given the sense of the *maeku* and the allusion to the *shina sadame* section in the “Hahakigi” (Broomtree) chapter of the *Genji* here, the main theme is probably Love. Still, one can only agree with Shinkei’s observation that it is not always possible to distinguish between Love and Laments, since the one tends naturally to slide into the other.<sup>28</sup>

As distinct from link 92/93, where the speaker finds “solace” in the thought that even nature partakes of sorrow like his, here the comfort is to be found in the more philosophical attitude that love or, more properly, desire, dooms everyone, not only the *maeku*’s persona, to suffering. The ranks and degrees, the circumstance and object, of each attachment might change (*shina koso kaware*), but the misery is all the same; desire in all its varied manifestations redounds to one result. One wonders if this allusion to the *Genji* implies Nagatoshi’s judgment that the novel is indeed beguiling in its depiction of various forms of love but it is ultimately one long tale of woe.

This verse initiates a passage of content-oriented discourse running until 96; in 97 Sogi shifts to the mode of “objective” description, which continues until 99, and the sequence ends, appropriately, in the auspicious spirit of verse 100.

94	shina koso kaware yo wa ukarikere Nagatoshi	Desire takes various forms, yes, but 'tis all one world of misery! Nagatoshi
95	me no mae ni aru o odoroke mutsu no michi Sōetsu	Awake and be amazed: the six realms of illusion are right before your eyes! Sōetsu

Buddhism: *mutsu no michi* (the six realms).

The maeku concept that all variety is a function of one and the same becomes translated here into the Buddhist principle of non-dualism; all phenomena are but provisional aspects of one ultimate principle. The so-called “six realms or worlds” (better known in its *on*-reading, *rokudō*)—of hell, hungry ghosts, beasts, demons, humans, and heavenly beings—through which one allegedly transmigrates according to the degree of one’s merits, or lack of same, belong to the world of ignorant desire, which is all “one world of misery.” These six worlds are not anywhere else but here, “right before your eyes” (*me no mae ni / aru*); you have only to look into yourself and all around you to see that everyone suffers, whether in castle or hovel. When you have, through spiritual discipline, attained enlightenment, you will see that these distinctions are all illusory.

95	me no mae ni aru o odoroke mutsu no michi Sōetsu	Awake and be amazed: the six realms of illusion are right before your eyes! Sōetsu
96	manabu mo utoki uta no kotowari Shinkei	The principle of poetry remains, despite all one’s study, obscure. Shinkei

## Miscellaneous.

(The Temmangū Text has *mukau*, “face, confront,” instead of the “study” [*manabu*] in the Nozaka Text; in this case the two verbs are synonymous in that both are actions by a subject vis-à-vis an object, and Shinkei’s point is that this is not the way to understand things.) In the passage from 94, which has successively touched upon the large topoi of Love, Laments, and Buddhism, Shinkei now adds the theme of poetry in a characteristic statement: “the principle of poetry” (*uta no kotowari*), that is, its truth, which is founded on emptiness, cannot be understood only through diligent study; it requires as well an intuition generated by direct personal experience, that is, through the way of Zen meditation. Technically, the implicit link here is between the maeku’s “six worlds” and the so-called “six principles” (*rikugi*) of poetry. Better understood as the six modes of poetic expression, the concept represents a theory of poetic types that Shinkei defines and illustrates in section 35 of *Sasamegoto*. The point of the link is that like the concept of various worlds in Buddhism, the idea of categories in poetry will not lead one to its essential nature, which transcends, while encompassing, these. Like the truth of Buddhism, poetic truth is “right before your eyes” (*me no mae ni aru*), it only needs an open, infinitely expansive mind to grasp it. In both poetry and Buddhism, and as we know Shinkei’s criticism fuses the two, categorical distinctions have only a provisional reality; the point is to leap right into the source, that is,

the Original Mind, “the ground of the mind” (*shinji*) or the ultimate *kokoro* itself, and experience it directly. Given Shinkei’s philosophy, the link from Buddhism to poetry at this juncture in the sequence is indeed revealing of its author.

96	manabu mo utoki uta no kotowari Shinkei	The principle of poetry remains, despite all one’s study, obscure. Shinkei
97	ura tōku tamatsushimayama uchikasumu Sōgi	Remotely mysterious across the bay, Isle of Jewels enveloped in haze. Sōgi

Spring: *kasumu* (be hazy). Named Place: Tamatsushima. Word Association: *uta* (poetry) = Tamatsushima.

Another impressive link between the two leading poets of the group; it is almost as if Sōgi is reading Shinkei’s mind in evoking here the ideal of ineffable depth, or profound ambiguity, called *yūgen*. He links to the poetry theme through the place-name Tamatsushima (lit., “Island of Jewels”), shrine of the god of poetry Tamatsushima-myōjin. Located on the coast of Wakanoura in Kii Province (Wakayama), it was the object of sacred pilgrimage by contemporary poets.<sup>29</sup> Along with that of two other poetry deities, the gods of Sumiyoshi and Kitano, the worship of Tamatsushima as the divine fount of poetic inspiration was very active in the medieval period. *Ura tōku*, which I have rendered “remotely mysterious across the bay,” puns on *ura* as both “bay” and “interior/underside” (as opposed to surface). And of course it resonates with *utoku* (obscure, remote, difficult) in the *maeku*, restating Shinkei’s statement on the difficulty of grasping the essence of poetry by saying that it is subtle and profound, and so alluding to the ideal of *yūgen*.

With this verse, Sōgi simultaneously converts Shinkei’s philosophical discourse into a concrete image, in effect shifting to a tranquil mood in anticipation of the session’s imminent end.

97	ura tōku tamatsushimayama uchikasumu Sōgi	Remotely mysterious across the bay, Isle of Jewels enveloped in haze. Sōgi
98	haru shiru oto no yowaki matsukaze Kaku’a	Spring is audible in the sound: soft murmur of the pine breeze. Kaku’a

Spring: *haru* (spring).



Kaku'a maintains the maeku's objective and tranquil mode, merely contrasting the near perspective of pine trees along the bay with Sōgi's distant view of the haze-covered island across the water.

98	haru shiru oto no yowaki matsukaze Kaku'a	Spring is audible in the sound: soft murmur of the pine breeze. Kaku'a
99	hana ni nomi kokoro o noburu yūmagure Mitsusuke	With the flowers alone breathes the heart at ease this glimmering dusk. Mitsusuke

Spring: *hana* (flowers).

The spring-like feeling in the soft murmur (*oto no yowaki*) of the pine breeze is translated here into the equally gentle stirring of white cherry blossoms. The breeze is so delicate, as if it cherishes the fragile blooms, that the heart can remain tranquil (*kokoro o noburu*), free from the anxiety that they might scatter. This reading takes *haru shiru . . . kaze* in the maeku to mean literally that “the wind knows it is spring,” and so blows only faintly. By itself, the verse evokes the stillness of a spring dusk, when the mind-heart is wholly vacant, taken out of itself as it were by a rapt contemplation of the white flowers in the growing evening.

99	hana ni nomi kokoro o noburu yūmagure Mitsusuke	With the flowers alone breathes the heart at ease this glimmering dusk. Mitsusuke
100	sakari naru mi zo yowai hisashiki Ikuhiro	May it span through long years, this life at its glorious height. Ikuhiro

Miscellaneous.

The session ends typically with an auspicious verse, here, congratulating the participants or, as would be more likely, the host of the gathering, for the fullness of his years, and wishing him an even longer life. The wish is beautifully rendered in the image of the cherry blossoms which are themselves now at the height of their flowering.

Total Number of Verses: Shinkei 19 Sōgi 16 Nagatoshi 12 Norishige 11 Mitsusuke 10 Sōetsu 10 Kaku'a 8 Shun'a 6 Ikuhiro 5 Hōzen 2 Ken'a 1



## One Hundred Poems

I close the “Reader” with a personal selection of one hundred poems highlighting the salient characteristics of Shinkei’s aesthetic sensibility. Whereas the biography culled from four dated *hyakushu*, with their eloquent autobiographical resonances, these poems are mostly from two comprehensive collections not used earlier (except for three pieces). A few among them, such as “Moon on the Mountain” and “Winter Rains in the Old Village,” do recall the mode of laments thematized in the biography, but many are wholly impersonal evocations of scenery.

The impersonality cannot be understood apart from the attitude of contemplation or “deep thought” (*chinshi*) that Shinkei required of serious poetry. Nor can one neglect the crucial influence of Zen meditation on medieval poetic practice. It is palpable in the trance-like state in which a scene—the event—registers itself with a clarity and immediacy beyond mundane perception, and so requiring from the reader a like concentration. Again, many of the poems evoke a sense of the ineffableness of phenomena, their coming into and trailing out of the perceptual field through an interrelation whose remote beginning and end are beyond rational calculation. To thus stalk the interstices of things, to simultaneously incise and dissolve their solidity, is also to use language against itself, to stalk the silence that trails the verbal like a shadow.

As for the rest, readers of Japanese will undoubtedly register Shinkei’s terse and fragmented *renga*-like idiom, his fondness for the doubleness of the *zeugma*, his occasionally unpolished (even awkward) syntax, and radically fresh conceptions. I have tried to follow the dictum “less is more” in translation, but have frequently broken it in order to transmit more than the nothing that would result from the pieces that were beyond my powers.

From *Bishop Shinkei's Waka in Ten Styles*<sup>1</sup>

The Style of Meditation (*Ushintei*)

*Flowers in the Old Village*

fukaki yo no  
noki no shinobu ni  
tsuyu ochite  
hana ni kasumeru  
ariake no tsuki

In deepest night  
about my moss-grown eaves  
dew falls,  
a hazy shimmer on the flowers,  
shadow of the lingering moon.

*Fireflies*

hotaru kie  
noki no shinobu no  
shitatsuyu ni  
hikari soiyuku  
shinonome no sora

The fireflies dimmed,  
along my yearning-moss eaves  
the hanging dewdrops  
slowly follow the light as  
dawn streaks the eastern sky.

*Old House in Moonlight*

yado fukaki  
yomogi ga tsuyu ni  
tsuki fukete  
munashi kuruma ni  
nokoru omokage

In a house deep  
within rank weeds the moon  
ages with the dew,  
fleeting, on the carriage—  
the shadow of a memory.

*Moon on the Mountain*

mate shibashi  
waga itsuwari no  
aramashi o  
susumuru yama ni  
kakaruru tsukikage

Stay a while longer,  
O moonlight hovering on  
the mountain crest,  
recalling me to what I once  
desired with a lying heart!

*Crimson Foliage*

susuki chiru  
kareno no ue no  
asagiri ni  
nokoru mo usuki  
mine no momijiba

As reed plumes scatter  
through white mists of dawn  
upon withered fields,  
hanging on but faintly, a tinge  
of red leaves on the peak.

*Mountain Rose in Winter*

miru mama ni  
hana no hoka sae  
yamabuki no  
iro ni nariyuku  
yūgure no yado

While I gaze out  
on a scene empty of flowers  
in the gloaming dusk,  
distant huts turn the color  
of molten mountain rose.

*Moon in Late Autumn*

aki no yuku  
kokoro mo sazona  
susuki chiru  
kareno no ue ni  
hosoki tsukikage

Departing autumn  
bares here its very soul—  
upon shriveled fields  
of scattering plume grass,  
gaunt silhouettes in moonlight.

*Winter Rains in the Old Village*

kono yo yori  
furinuru yado no  
sayoshigure  
ukimi o koke no  
shita ni kiku kana

Cast off by the times,  
my ruined abode on this night  
of chill rains—  
does it hear my desolate soul  
beneath the silent moss . . .

*The Bell on a Frosty Night*

shirotae no  
shimotsu izumo no  
koe fukete  
miyako no yume ni  
sayuru kane kana

White as purest cloth,  
frost glistens in the echoing  
silence at Izumo,  
as a dream of the beloved city  
chills in the clear cold bell.

*Traveler Crossing a Bridge*

tanomishi wa  
yo o hayakawa no  
ukihashi ni  
hitori tadayou  
ato no tabibito

The sum of my hopes:  
along the floating bridge of  
the times' swift river,  
a lone figure falters on the  
dwindling journey's trail.

*A Receding Feeling at Dawn*

yoyo no yume  
tou wa kokoro no  
sue kiete  
tomoshihi aoki  
akatsuki no ame

Nightly reaching out  
in the wake of a dream, soul  
as a wick dwindles,  
a lamp flame flickering green—  
the rain falling in the dawn.

Style of Ineffable Depth (*Yūgen*)*Pure Waters of Spring*

yama takami  
yuki no shitamizu  
kasumu nari  
ochikuru koe mo  
kiyoki haru kana

In mountains high,  
water pooling under the snow  
hazes over in clouds,  
while down below drips cool and  
clear the sound of springtime.

*Water Rail*

yamazato wa  
mizu no hibiki mo  
kasukanaru

Mountain hamlet—  
as the water murmurs faint  
as the moonlit shadow

sugima no tsuki ni  
kuina naku nari

behind the cedars comes  
the soft tapping of a rail.

*Mosquito Fires*

kurekakarū  
sueno no ie'i  
uchikemuri  
kayari ni kasumu  
mori no hitomura

In the growing dusk,  
the huts on the field's edge  
turn to a murky shadow,  
as mosquito fires draw a filmy  
haze before the shrine grove.

*Insects at Dawn*

yowa no mushi  
koe no chigusa no  
iro nagara  
hana ni nariyuku  
shinonome no niwa

A myriad colors  
in black of midnight, the  
insects' voices  
slowly turn to flowers, as  
dawn glides over the garden.

*Deer in the Evening Mountain*

yūgure wa  
tōzakariyuku  
yama no ha o  
nokiba ni kaesu  
saojika no koe

As evening settles,  
receding far in the distance,  
the mountain's outline  
returns close beside my eaves  
in the voice of the wild deer.

*A Wild Duck*

oyamada ya  
akatsuki samumi  
naku kamo no  
tsubasa kakikumoru  
tsuki wa shigurete

Upland rice paddies—  
a wild duck cries in the  
coldness of dawn,  
wings roiling the shadows  
beneath the raining moon.

*Hail in the Night*

koboretsuru  
arare wa sugite  
fukaki yo ni  
hitori oto suru  
noki no matsukaze

Shattering the sky,  
the hailstones passed on, and  
far into the night—  
alone the sound of the wind  
brushing the pines by my eaves.

*Remaining Wild Goose over the Inlet*

fukenikeri  
katabuku tsuki mo  
tōki e no  
kōri ni otsuru  
kari no hitokoe

Deep is the night.  
As the moon declines along  
the frozen surface  
of the distant inlet falls  
the sheer cry of a wild goose.

*Love in Winter*

okiizuru  
yume mo karenō no

In the parting wake  
of dawn on withered fields .

kinuginu ni  
omokage samuki  
yama no ha no tsuki

the dream too casts  
a shadow cold as the moon  
above the mountain ridge.

The Arresting Style (*Mempakutei*)

*Bush Warbler*

yuki wa mina  
koe yori tokete  
uguisu no  
iro ni kusaki mo  
nareru haru kana

The snows wholly  
from its voice melted away,  
the warbler, with the  
plants and trees bursts forth,  
in the colors of springtime!

*Plum Blossoms in the Night*

kokoro naki  
tori zo uguisu  
yomosugara  
nioeru ume no  
hana ni nenuran

A bird of no-mind  
indeed, the bush warbler—  
all the night long  
within the wafting scent of  
plum blossoms, sweetly asleep!

*Flowers by the Travel Inn*

fuke arashi  
mata ya nezaran  
kasumu yo no  
tsuki no tamakura  
hana no samushiro

Blow, winds of storm,  
again sleep would fail me  
on this hazy night,  
arm pillowing but moonlight,  
fallen petals a cold sword.

*Frogs in Spring Meadow*

kawazu naku  
tanomo no kogusa  
sue yowami  
koe ni wakaba no  
tsuyu mo midarete

Where frogs croak on  
the field face, so tender the  
tips of the tiny plants,  
each cry scatters in alarm  
the dew on the young leaves.

*Moon on the River*

konoma moru  
tsuki ni kawaoto  
sayo fukete  
fune ni hito naki  
uji no yamakaze

Through trees drenched  
with moonlight, the river sound  
is hushed with night;  
only an empty boat stirs in a  
drifting wind from the Uji hills.

*Evening Fog on the Inlet*

tomoshihi mo  
hosoe no hashi no  
yūgiri ni  
mukai no mura ya  
inu no koe shite

As the wavering flame  
at the narrow inlet's point  
through evening fog,  
the barking of a dog echoes  
from the dark hamlet beyond.

*Morning After a Typhoon*

asa madaki  
mushi ni tsuyu kau  
kusa mo nashi  
yowa no nowaki no  
niwa ni midarete

In the gray dawn  
there is no plant with dew  
to feed the insects:  
ravaged garden in the wake of  
a field-cleaving night storm.

*Still Garden in Frost*

ogi no ha zo  
hitori ochinuru  
shimo no niwa  
fukeyuku tsuki wa  
kaze mo soyogazu

When did the reed leaves  
crumple up, all on their own—  
Frost garden  
beneath a starkly aging moon:  
stilled in motion the wind.

*Snow in Moonlight*

yuki omoru  
toyama no kozue  
shita orete  
machiaezu izuru  
tsuki no sayakesa

Weighed with snow,  
the boughs on the foothills  
crack from below, and  
straining at the wait breaks out,  
so dazzling white, the moon.

*Woodcutter on the Road at Dusk*

takigi toru  
ochi no yamabito  
isogu nari  
yūgure hakobu  
kane no hibiki ni

Gathering kindling,  
yonder the woodsman seems to  
quicken in motion,  
as the dusk is borne aloft on  
the dimming echoes of the bell.

*Mountain Hermit's Water*

waga tame ya  
kakehi ni ukete  
matsu no ha mo  
koke no iori ni  
hakobu yamamizu

Is it for my sake—  
receiving on the bamboo trough  
the pine needles also  
I carry into the mossy hut,  
with the mountain water.

The Style of Balanced Harmony (*Reitei*)

*Haze over the Searoute*

suma no ura ya  
kokorozukushi ni  
funade seshi  
mukashi mo tōku  
kasumu nami kana

The coast of Suma?  
Departing on a boat, weary of  
heart, that storied past  
withdraws yet farther in the  
nebulous wake of the waves.

*Bush Warbler by the Hermit's Hut*

haru to dani  
hito ya oto senu

Even in springtime,  
one hears not from people here

yamakage no  
take no to akuru  
uguisu no koe

in the mountain's shadow,  
the bamboo gate opens at dawn  
to the bush warbler's song.

*Remaining Snow in the Valley*

hito no mi ka  
tani no shibahashi  
haru no kuru  
ato dani miezu  
fureru shirayuki

It's not only people—  
brushwood bridge in the valley:  
even the marks of  
spring's arrival are hidden,  
beneath a white snowfall.

*Clouds in Summer Hills*

kono yūbe  
yama no ha kiyoki  
samidare no  
nagori suzushiki  
tsuki no usugumo

This evening how pure  
the outline of the hills after  
the summer rains,  
their traces cool in wisps of  
cloud lined with moonlight.

*Crickets After a Rain*

murasame wa  
sugi no ha kumoru  
yamamoto no  
yūhi ni yowaki  
higurashi no koe

Passing shower:  
from clouded cedar boughs on  
the mountain base,  
feeble the cries of cicadas  
in the dusky evening light.

*Shintō Dances in Deep Night*

fukuru yo no  
shimo ni mo karezu  
kirigirisu  
niwabi ya nuruki  
mori no shitagusa

In the chill frost of  
advancing night unwithered  
the chirp of crickets;  
garden torches warmly damp  
on the shrine grove underbrush?

*Moonlight Like Snow*

orefusu mo  
yuki ya wa omoki  
nowaki seshi  
kusaki no ue no  
aki no tsukikage

All crumpled and torn—  
would snow have been so heavy?  
In the typhoon's wake  
upon the plants and trees,  
reflection of the autumn moon.

*Hidden-Love Tryst*

honokanaru  
mayu no nioi mo  
yosome uki  
neya ni somukuru  
tomoshihi no kage

A delicate perfume,  
your dimly drawn brow seems to  
shy from people's eyes,  
as the lamp flame that flickers  
away from the bed curtains.

*Love in Repeated Nights of Waiting*

tsurenashi na  
iku mikazuki ni

It is too cruel—  
how many nights has waxed



utsururan  
chigirishi mama no  
ariake no kage

the crescent moon,  
while a vow remained stilled  
in its meager light at dawn.

*Hérons Along the Inlet*

uchisosogi  
mizu mo yurugazu  
furu ame no  
hosoe ni kasumu  
sagi no hitotsura

As it drizzles, barely  
rippling the water, the rain  
hangs a hazy veil  
over the line of white herons,  
along the slender inlet shore.

The Lofty Style (*Chōkōtei*)

*Plum Blossoms Deep in the Night*

fukaki yo no  
ume no nioi ni  
yume samete  
kosu makiaenu  
sode no harukaze

Trailing a scent of  
plum blossoms deep in the night,  
the dream dissolves—  
barely lifting the reed blinds,  
spring breeze along my sleeves.

*Hunting by Torchlight*

tomoshi suru  
nobe no saojika  
natsu no yo mo  
mi ni shimo fureru  
yume wa miyuramu

The stag in the glare  
of torchlights across the fields—  
even in the summer night  
must feel itself chilled in  
a dream of fallen frost.

*The Evening Shower Clears*

iroiro no  
kuchiba nagarete  
miyamaji wa  
ishihara takaki  
yūdachi no ato

From a myriad trees,  
a whirling of dead leaves deep in  
the mountain trail, then  
high and bare the rocks loom—  
sheer wake of the evening shower.

*Dew on the Summer Grass*

yamazato no  
yūkage kusa ni  
tsuyu ochite  
konu aki fukaki  
higurashi no koe

Gloaming on the grass  
in the mountain village, dew  
falls, still to come,  
anon autumn wells deep within  
the clear tones of the cicada.

*Dew at Dawn*

yogareyuku  
yomogi ga sue no  
tsuyu samumi  
ariake no niwa ya  
tsuki no furusato

The dew is so cold  
on the tips of the mugwort grass  
as the night shrivels,  
the garden seems transfigured—  
a desolate village of the moon.

*Hail on the Roof*

waga io no  
noki no sugifuki  
sue kuchite  
tsutau arare no  
koe zo mijikaki

Along the eaves of  
my cottage, the cedar shingles  
decay at the ends,  
a patter of hail abruptly  
plunged in emptiness.

*Moon in the Mountains in Winter*

miyamakaze  
konoha fukimaku  
koe taete  
koke no mushiro ni  
tsuki zo fukeyuku

The sound of the wind  
swirling the dead leaves falls  
silent in the hills, as  
deep in the mossy swards sinks  
the spent rays of moonlight.

*Old Mountain Monkey*

yo zo fukaki  
kozue yori nishi ni  
tsuki ochite  
yokawa no mine no  
saru no hitokoe

Deep is the night.  
As the moon glides down behind  
the treetops to the west,  
the piercing cry of a monkey  
high on the slopes of Yokowa.

The Intricate Style (*Nōtei*)*Swallow*

sode chikaku  
irikuru tsubame  
ochikata ni  
kaeru ha hayaki  
kosu no hatakaze

Tripping in close  
by my sleeves, the swallow  
in a split flash  
of wings whirled back yonder:  
blinds quivering in empty air.

*Love in the Lamp Flame's Image*

machifukete  
izureba neya ni  
kage zo sou  
namida ni fukashi  
yowa no tomoshibi

Waiting-spent, I  
come out of the bedroom, and  
its shadow follows,  
looming large through my tears,  
the lamp flame at midnight.

The Style of Lessons for Humanity (*Bumintei*)*The Flowers Swift or Late*

tameshi uki  
kono yo ni sakite  
sue no tsuyu  
moto no shizuku to  
hana zo ochiyuku

Blooming in the world,  
a virtual image of its sorrow,  
as the dew from treetop  
or boughs dripping down low,  
fall the flowers, everywhere.

*Wind in the Mountain Cottage*

yūmagure  
nokiba no yama zo

Vagueness of dusk—  
the mountains by my eaves

iro mienu  
matsu wa arashi no  
koe ni nokorite

dissolve in form,  
yet the vanished pines remain  
in the voice of the moving wind.

*Unfolding a Scroll, Learning the Past*

makisuteshi  
uchito no fumi ni  
sumu mushi o  
harau tamoto ni  
tsuyu zo koboruru

Brushing live moths away  
from long forgotten scrolls of  
holy and secular writing,  
I find upon my sleeves  
the dew of tears brimming over.

The Style of Singular Conception (*Issetsutei*)

*Falling Leaves*

taema naku  
sasou kaze yori  
tada hitoha  
kokoro ni otsuru  
yama zo shizukeki

Rather than the  
ceaselessly drawing wind,  
but a single leaf  
falling within the soul—  
the utter quiet of mountains.

*Hailstones on Bamboo*

yo o samumi  
sawagu to kikeba  
muratoru wa  
negura no take ni  
chiru arare kana

The night is so cold  
it sounded like cries of alarm,  
village birds—  
upon their roost in the bamboos,  
the crisp patter of hailstones.

*Grass Hut in Rain*

okiidete  
waga morisutsuru  
yowa mo ushi  
ame o aruji no  
kusa no kariio

Getting up I cast out  
into a midnight gloom that  
would not be barred:  
the frail grass hut in  
the grip of the falling rain.

*Wind in the Reeds*

yūmagure  
konomoto susuki  
sumizome no  
sode tou iro no  
akikaze zo fuku

In the dusky shadow  
of the trees the autumn wind  
stirs among the reeds  
in shades drawn to the color  
of my ink-dyed monk's sleeves.

The Style of Valuing the Old (*Sonkotei*)

*Wind Over the Autumn Rice Fields*

kari nakite  
akikaze samumi  
waga yado no  
yamada no yanagi  
shita wa chiru koro

Wild geese cry,  
and so cold the gusts of autumn  
over the hill paddies  
about my hut, the willows shed  
from their tips a golden shower.

*Winter Moon over the Mountain Cottage*

yamazato wa  
yamome karasu no  
nakigoe ni  
shimoyo no tsuki no  
kage o shiru kana

In the cries of  
the lone crow echoing in  
the mountain village,  
one senses the piercing rays  
of the frosty night moon.

*The Stark Style (Gōrikitei)**Mosquito-Repellent Fire Next Door*

naraisumu  
shizuya no kahi no  
utsuriga ni  
sode ni urusaki  
tabi no karifushi

Of long habit inured,  
humble folks' mosquito fires  
send an acrid scent with  
a humming din about my sleeves—  
this restless bed on a journey.

*Summer Bamboo*

natsu zo naki  
saeda kirisute  
take no hi ni  
mizu wa shirakasu  
yama no shitakage

It cannot be summer—  
dripping through freshly cut  
pipes of bamboo,  
the water is chillingly white  
in the mountain's shadow.

*Summer Sun*

terinikeri  
natsu no sueno no  
asahikage  
kusaba o yoru no  
tsuyu mo nokosade

Brightness explodes!  
From the far end of the summer  
fields, the morning sun  
leaves not one drop of night dew  
on the glowing leaves of plants.

*Winds Before Moonlight*

yū sareba  
arashi o fukumi  
tsuki o haku  
aki no takane no  
matsu samuku shite

As evening falls,  
swollen with stormy winds  
it spits the moon:  
the looming peak of autumn,  
pines chill along the crest.

*Mostly from an Untitled Collection<sup>2</sup>**Hearthsmoke over a Distant Village*

nagaresu ni  
obune kogisute  
kemuri tatsu  
irie no mura ni  
kaeru tsuribito

Rowing up to the  
rippling sandbar, he discards  
the boat for the village  
by the inlet where smoke rises:  
a fisherman returning home.

*Pines by the Eaves*

fukikudaru  
arashi ya mine ni  
yowaruran  
fumoto no noki o  
uzumu shirakumo

In the gusting descent  
down from the peaks, did the  
storm exhaust itself?  
eaves piled with white clouds  
at the foot of the mountain.

*Mountain Abode*

sumeba ya na  
tou hito mare no  
mizu kiyoku  
kozue furitaru  
yama no shitaio

Ah, to dwell where  
people seldom visit, and pure  
the water streams  
from the time-dimmed treetops  
to the cottage on the foothill.

*Cicada in the Forest*

watatsumi no  
nami ya utsusemi  
koegoe ni  
sawagu nagisa no  
mori no shitakaze

From out at sea,  
the swollen wave crashes in  
a din of cicada voices,  
as along the shore the winds  
glide in beneath the forest.

*Smoke over a Distant Village*

taedae no  
michi mo keburu mo  
hi kurureba  
musubōreyuku  
sue no yamamoto

Dwindling, the trail,  
the smoke, as evening settles,  
merge into a darkness  
choking the inmost recesses  
of the farthest foothills.

*Wind in the Willows*

asamidori  
sora wa kasumite  
furu ame no  
yanagi ni haruru  
niwa no harukaze

Greenness at dawn:  
with the falling rain the  
clouded sky lifts  
from the willows, as a spring  
breeze stirs across the garden.

*Travel-Lodging Robe*

koromode ni  
tsui ni utsusanu  
sumizome no  
yūbe no yama wa  
waga yado mo nashi

It did not stay,  
in the end, upon my sleeves—  
the ink-dyed mountain  
at evening is as a monk's robe,  
yet finds not my shelter there.

*Morning Flowers*

yamazakura  
iro mo nioi mo  
uchishimeri  
hana ni chirasanu  
haru no asatsuyu

Deep mountain cherries:  
a rosy tint drenching in  
fragrance the air  
unruffled upon the flowers  
still dews of a spring dawn:

*Lovers' Parting in the Image of Flowers*

kinuginu no  
 iro minu yowa no  
 michishiba ni  
 yukue kasumeru  
 hana no ka mo ushi

From the wayside plants,  
 hidden in deep night as the  
 afterglow of a tryst,  
 the scent of blossoms clouds  
 in sadness the homeward path.

*Rice-Seedling Beds*

asatsuyu no  
 okabe no sanae  
 wakite matsu  
 midori zo takaki  
 haru no nawashiro

Pushing up through the  
 morning dews on the hillslope  
 the young shoots await,  
 so keen in their green,  
 the rice seedlings of spring!

*Deutzia Flowers*

nami ya koru  
 shii no wakaba no  
 urakaze mo  
 nao shirotae no  
 mine no unohana

As a wave cresting,  
 the baywind as it blows back  
 the young oak leaves  
 surges to a gleaming white—  
 deutzia blooms high on the peak.

*Cuckoo*

hitokoe wa  
 aoba yori idete  
 aoba yori  
 iro koki ono no  
 yamahotogisu

That single cry  
 issuing from green leaves  
 cast a verdure  
 yet deeper over the meadow,  
 cuckoo from the mountains.

*Deutzia Flowers in Their First Bloom*

yūzukuyo  
 kasumi mo niou  
 kage nare ya  
 sakiizuru ochi no  
 mine no unohana

Moon-risen evening:  
 even the haze seems perfumed  
 in its reflection—  
 faint white drift of deutzia  
 afloat on the mountain crest.

*Farm Birds*

murasuzume  
 ochiho o hirou  
 sato no ko no  
 tamoto ni sawagu  
 aki no yamakaze

A flock of sparrows:  
 picking at the fallen grain  
 beside the farmchild's  
 sleeve, scatter in alarm—  
 as autumn gusts from the hills.

*Mosquito-Repellent Fires*

kayari taku  
 sora ni susukete  
 yūzukuyo  
 hikari kasumeru  
 shizu ga yamazato

Burning mosquito fires  
 smudge with soot the evening sky,  
 and the rising moon  
 spreads in a filmy haze over  
 the rustic mountain village.

*Deutzia Flowers*

kumo no nami  
koete mo kiezu  
iwagane ni  
yoru shiranami ya  
kishi no uohana

Is it a white wave  
drawn to the cloud-wave that  
rolled past, leaving it  
clinging to the rocky crag?  
deutzia blooms along the beach!

*Evening Shower*

ochikata ni  
furikuru kumo no  
ashi hayami  
yuku hito sasou  
yūdachi no sora

Off in the distance  
the dripping cloud approaches  
on feet so swift  
they draw the traveler forward  
beneath the evening-shower sky.

*Love, a Listening*

tamadare mo  
hedatete kakeshi  
chigiri sae  
kareyuku koe no  
okufukaku naru

The love we vowed across  
a barrier greater than jeweled  
blinds, even so turns  
distant as your voice, to echo  
deep in the recesses of my mind.

*Moon on the Waves*

shiranami no  
kage wa sawagite  
ashi no ha no  
tsuyu ni zo fukuru  
aki no yo no tsuki

A tremor disturbs  
the sheen on the white waves,  
as on the reed leaves  
the moon deepens with the dews  
in the autumn night.

*Quail by the Inlet*

hi kurureba  
irie o tatete  
kusagakure  
fushimi no nobe ni  
uzura naku nari

As darkness falls,  
from along the curving inlet  
a quail wings off,  
its voice a secluded echo in  
the deep grass of Fushimi moors.

*Autumn Frost*

shimo nare ya  
nete no asake no  
hana no himo  
mijikaku tokuru  
aki no hi no kage

Could it be frost?  
Cords round the sleepy flowers  
in the morning air,  
undone, oh how shortly,  
in light of the autumn sun!

*Distant Sound of the Fulling Block*

ochikochi no  
sue wa hakarete  
kusagoromo  
utsu koe nabiku  
nobe no akikaze

Fathoming the  
margins of near and far,  
garment of grass—  
the pounding beat wavers in  
the autumn wind over the meadow.

*Warbler*

furu yuki ni  
 musubōrenuru  
 uguisu no  
 naku ne fukitoke  
 nobe no harukaze

Thick smothered  
 in the falling snow, the song  
 of the bush warbler,  
 in your melting breath set free,  
 O spring breeze in the meadow!

*Frost on the Bridge*

asa madaki  
 mine no kakehashi  
 kasumu nari  
 ochikatabito ni  
 shimo mayouran

In the early dawn  
 the bridge hanging from the peak  
 is clouded in haze;  
 as the distant figure below  
 uncertain seems the frost.

*Dwelling in Tranquillity*

tomo to seshi  
 kokoro ya yama o  
 idenuran  
 manako ni utsuru  
 noki no matsukaze

The mind I had made  
 a companion, has it gone away  
 from the mountain?  
 reflected on the empty eye,  
 pine winds along the eaves.

*Willows Along the River*

midarenuru  
 yanagi no kami no  
 kushidagawa  
 toku koso mizu no  
 haru no asakaze

Along Combfield River,  
 the tangled willow strands  
 loosen in waves  
 as the melted waters glide in  
 the breezes of a spring morning.

*Enjoying the Evening Cool in Summer*

sumizome no  
 tamoto ni usuki  
 miyamakaze  
 tsuki ni suzu fuku  
 yūgure no sora

Lightly stirring  
 along my ink-black sleeves  
 deep in the mountain,  
 winds blow cool the faint disk  
 of the moon in the evening sky.

*Voices of Insects Beneath the Hedge*

iro mienu  
 hana koso nakere  
 yūgure no  
 magaki ni niou  
 mushi no koegoe

In truth the hue  
 on the flowers is apparent—  
 in the shadowed dusk  
 the dim hedgerow is fragrant  
 with a myriad insects' voices.

*Hearing the Cuckoo*

hototogisu  
 suginishi koe o  
 nokosu kana  
 kururu fumoto no  
 sugi no murakumo

The cuckoo—  
 left its cry behind as  
 it flew past:  
 stilled cloud on the cedar grove  
 as evening dims on the foothills.



*Clouds at Dawn by the Sea*

akenuru ka  
matsu no hagoshi ni  
hiku kumo no  
nami ni wakaruru  
ano no tōyama

Apparition of dawn:  
the clouds slowly brush off  
the tips of the pines,  
departing in waves from the sea—  
the distant peaks of Mount Ano.

*Plum Tree on Journey's Path*

kurenai wa  
iro mo susamaji  
hitoe ni zo  
aware mo tomaru  
ume no shitakage

Crimson, the hue  
braces chill the mind;  
single-petaled,  
arresting all pathos—  
shade of the plum tree.

*Autumn Mist over the Ancient Ferry Crossing*

kumo kudari  
kiri furu ama no  
tatsu no nada  
sanagara fune o  
makeru nami kana

Clouds descend, and  
mists rain down from the heavens  
at Dragon's Crossing—  
where soon the boat is tossing  
in the grip of the coiling waves.

*Bush Warbler on the Neighbor's Bamboo*

nakagaki o  
ware ni hedatezu  
yukiore no  
take no hazutau  
uguisu no koe

Heedless of  
the hedge in between, from  
snow-bent leaves  
of bamboo reaching out  
to me, the warbler's call!

*Cloud on Evening Mountain*

hitori nomi  
koke no tobira ni  
irikuru mo  
kumo wa oto senu  
yūgure no yama

My sole guest,  
even in entering the moss-grown  
doors makes no  
sound of footfall, cloud on  
the mountain at sundown.

*Moon on the Mountain*

murasame no  
haruru mo matanu  
tsukikage o  
sode ni machitoru  
yama no ha no tsuki

Not waiting till  
the raincloud has passed off,  
the gleaming rays  
are caught on its sleeve—  
mountain ridge at moonrise.

*Sky Dimming in Snow over the Inlet*

murakamome  
ashi no ha shiroki  
yuki no e ni  
iro wakareyuku  
yūgure no sora

A flock of seagulls—  
whitely from among the reeds  
on the snowy inlet,  
a blankness slowly recedes  
into the dimming evening sky.



## Epilogue

Summer is the most appropriate season to visit the site of Shinkei's final abode in the Ōyama foothills. It is even better when the *samidare* rains are falling. From the Odakyū Line's Isehara station, Ishikura is a mere fifteen minutes' ride on the bus headed for the mountain. One gets off at the Ishikurabashi intersection and follows a small wooden sign marked *Shinkei-zuka* (The Shinkei grave mound). Across a hedge of purple and white azaleas, one leaves the main road and enters a narrow dirt trail between rice fields stretching fresh and emerald green beneath a rain-clouded sky. The still reflection of young rice plants on the water-flooded paddies is cool and startlingly clear. Farther up, the sound of a stream gurgling between the rocks is increasingly louder as one approaches an old stone bridge just around the bend. The Ōyama River has its source up in the mountain, where it creates some lovely waterfalls before flowing southeast to Ishikura. From here it meanders on a southerly course for some ten miles and finally empties into Sagami Bay. This is the same "long river whose leaping springs laved the moss and washed the shifting pebbles to a gleaming smoothness" in *Oi no kurigoto*. Here in a farmer's private land its waters have remained fresh and clear. The crooked wooden bridge where the poet used to linger at dusk, waiting for the evening moon to rise, must have been hereabouts.

Today there is not a soul abroad. Still splattering on the dirt road, the rain seems to vanish in the greenness of the rice fields. The farmer is not there, and only a long silence follows the peal of the doorbell to his house with its gleaming blue roof tiles. Around the back then, one follows a short hillside path between slender young bamboos into what is evidently a persimmon grove. Shoes sinking into the soft wet earth, one attempts to walk amidst the rank undergrowth of mugwort weeds and here and there

some stray blue dayflowers. Small hard persimmons lie scattered about on the brown earth, each one a round green head set in the middle of a stiff four-petaled collar. The old site of the Jōgyōji Temple, there is nothing here to mark the final dwelling of the man whom a local inhabitant, dead these many years, reported having heard described by his own grandfather as *Nippon ichi no utayomi* (“the greatest poet of Japan”). Now in the closed silence within the grove, only the sound of rain comes dripping long and slow through the trees. On the mugwort leaves dewdrops glisten pale in the dark.

Outside the rain is pouring harder. The great peak of Mount Ōyama to the north is completely hidden behind clouds. They drift and change formation incessantly as one watches. Once in a while the outlines of taller mountains are tantalizingly discernible. On a higher hill behind the grove there is an ancient burial mound known in the local oral tradition as Shinkei’s grave. Here on clear days one can glimpse the glinting waters of Sagami Bay far in the distance. If the local tradition is indeed correct, then it was here that Kenzai and the others gathered in the spring of 1482 to compose the hundred-verse memorial sequence.

Barely a kilometer east of Ishikura lies the old site of the Uesugi Kazuya Mansion where Shinkei used to hold renga sessions and Ōta Dōkan was murdered more than a decade later. But all this, including Ishikura, used to be Uesugi territory. Now it is principally a residential area, a pleasant walk between flowering hedges, and now and then large tracts of open land planted to vegetables. Across a peanut field dotted with yellow flowers, one notices a small shrine dedicated to the Ōta clan. It gives one pause, and summons a reflection on the role of ancestor worship in the preservation of local history.

Of the buildings in the old Kazuya estate, only the Tōshōin Temple survives, though not of course in its original structure. It is situated beside a bamboo grove, which is all that is visible from the main road. One enters the temple along a modest avenue lined with plum trees. Here on the twenty-first of April 1974, renga scholars, poets, and local historians held a memorial on the five-hundredth anniversary of Shinkei’s death, perhaps the very first since Kenzai himself passed away. Lectures were delivered, and in a not unfitting tribute, a hundred-verse haikai sequence composed. To further mark the occasion, another recently recovered piece of Shinkei’s writing was exhibited for the first time. It consisted of two fragments from a lost manuscript, mounted together as a *kakemono* of the type that might have hung in the alcove of a tea-ceremony room. The right half of the text was in Shinkei’s own hand and was clearly the beginning of a hundred-

poem sequence. The left half was a colophon written by a certain Sōyū.<sup>1</sup>

Hundred-Poem Waka Sequence  
Spring. 20 Poems. *Shaku Shinkei*.

urameshiku  
nigoru wa tsuchi to  
nareru yo no  
hito no kokoro ni  
kasumu haru kana

Upon this world—  
this earth of dross congealed  
from a finer sky,  
bitterly the heart of man now  
shrouds in haze the springtime.

These eight volumes are in the hand of Major Bishop Shinkei. He had them sent from the place called Ishikura in Sagami Province, bidding me to keep them as a remembrance (*katami*). But as the infirmities of old age weigh heavier upon me day by day, I hereby bequeath them to Kōyū, whose skill and enthusiasm for poetry are unparalleled. They include eight of sixteen volumes.

Bummei 9 [1477]. Second Month. Thirteenth Day. Sōyū [seal]

Alluding to the creation myth in the *Nihongi*, where the earth is said to be the result of gross or impure matter sedimenting from the purer air, Shinkei's poem on the tragedy of the human condition was doubtless motivated by the Ōnin War and composed sometime during his Kantō exile. The colophon itself is strangely moving. Written by Sōyū just two years after Shinkei's death, it evokes the poet's last days in Ishikura, when he evidently set his manuscripts in order and, among others, had sixteen volumes sent to Sōyū in the capital. According to this colophon the complete works, the *Shibakusa* collection, of which extant texts comprise isolated parts, must originally have been at least sixteen volumes in all; eight that made up the waka section were sent to Kōyū, and eight consisting of renga and perhaps treatises remained with Sōyū. Of Sōyū we know that he was enough of a renga poet to have two verses included in the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*, where he is identified as "Inadoko, Lord of Hyūga [Miyazaki], ally of the Hosokawa."<sup>2</sup> He is doubtless the Inadoko Motonari who figures in a contemporary Gozan source that describes how he devoutly collected Hosokawa Katsumoto's letters to himself, had the *Lotus Sutra* engraved on their backs, and sections mounted as a decorative handscroll in memory of his lord.<sup>3</sup> As we have seen in the cases of Ōta Dōshin and Dōkan, it was the practice for vassals to enter religious life at the demise of their lord. Thus Inadoko Motonari would have become Priest Sōyū at Katsumoto's death in 1473 and probably did not long survive the infirmities of which he wrote in the colophon of 1477. At any rate the fact that Shinkei entrusted his works to him testifies to the weightiness of their relationship and confirms once more the poet's own close connections with the Hosokawa clan. As for Kōyū, the "unparalleled" poet whom Sōyū

deemed worthy of inheriting Shinkei's manuscripts, no clue exists as to his identity, except that the use of the honorific in the colophon indicates a person of high social rank.

An exact reproduction of the Shinkei manuscript fragment described above may now be viewed at the Tōshōin. Likewise mounted as a *ka-kemono*, it was commissioned from a calligrapher by the temple's head priest, Mr. Adachi Hisao. Also a local historian at the Isehara City Office, Mr. Adachi had researched the documents that established the Jōgyōji as the site of the poet's final abode. The local Kantō poetic tradition to which Shinkei, Sōgi, and then Kenzai contributed ages ago evidently still survives, a tiny but well-tended garden amidst a world as dark and tattered now as it ever was in their time. The priest-historian talks with modest enthusiasm about the activities of the local haikai club and a projected lecture series on Shinkei and Ōta Dokan right here at the Tōshōin.

It is getting on toward dusk. The rain has ceased. Beneath the trees in the garden the evening shadows soften the grating newness of the large stone tablet erected in the poet's memory in 1974. The bamboo grasses that have been planted below it gleam a dark green.

kusa no kage o  
tanomu azumaji

On the open Azuma Road, I seek  
shelter in the shadow of the grass.

minu kuni no  
tsuchi to ya naramu  
mi no yukue

Is the wanderer's fate  
to become a clod of earth in  
an unknown country?

Across from the memorial stone stands the far smaller, moss-grown stupa of Ōta Dōkan's grave. Thus after five-hundred years the poet-priest and the warrior whose divergent paths had crossed in Azuma faced each other once more. Both had lived and died under the shadow of a war-torn age to which the lines carved out on the stone remain the epitaph.

kumo wa nao  
sadame aru yo no  
shigure kana

There is more fixity  
even in the clouds, in a world  
of unstill rains.

Minamiyana, Hatano  
Kanagawa  
Summer 1980

*Appendix*







## The Two Sequences Without Commentary

“Cuckoo”

A Hundred-Verse Solo Sequence

Composed by Shinkei in Musashi in the  
Summer of Ōnin 1 (1467)

*First Fold, Front*

- |   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| 1 | hototogisu<br>kikishi wa mono ka<br>fuji no yuki | Shall I yet marvel<br>to have heard you, cuckoo?<br>Mount Fuji in snow!                |
| 2 | kumo mo tomaranu<br>sora no suzushisa            | Not a cloud stops to linger<br>upon the coolness of that sky.                          |
| 3 | tsuki kiyoki<br>hikari ni yoru wa<br>kaze miete  | So pure the rays of<br>moonlight, the wind is naked<br>to the eye—the night.           |
| 4 | yume odorokasu<br>aki no karifushi               | Startled, dreams fall away:<br>a transient sleep in autumn.                            |
| 5 | okimasaru<br>tsuyu ya yadori ni<br>fukenuran     | Dew soaking deep<br>about my lodging, is the night<br>so far advanced?                 |
| 6 | mushi no ne yowaki<br>kusa no murasame           | Grass clumps in the passing shower<br>the insects' voices are frail.                   |
| 7 | hagi ga e no<br>shitaba nokorazu<br>kururu no ni | On the bush clover branch,<br>the lower leaves flicker out in<br>the darkening meadow. |
| 8 | yuku hito mare no<br>okagoe no michi             | Seldom a passerby's shadow<br>on the road over the hillcrest.                          |

*First Fold, Back*

- 9 fuyugomoru Winter-secluded,  
fumoto no io wa the hut below the hill  
shizuka nite rapt in quietness.
- 10 kōru bakari no Chill clarity of the water  
mizu zo suminuru in a moment turning to ice!
- 11 uchishiore Swiftly wilting  
asakawa wataru as I cross the morning river:  
tabi no sode sleeves of travel.
- 12 sao no shizuku mo Drenched in the oar spray—  
kakarū funamichi taking passage on a boat.
- 13 motometsutsu Waves that ever seeking,  
yoru se mo shiranu never meet in a single current—  
naka wa ushi the torment of loving.
- 14 wakare no koma wa The departing horse would not be  
hiki mo kaesazu stayed, restrain it as I would.
- 15 utsuriyuku Each hour, as  
toki o koyoi no it shifts, is yet more  
urami nite bitter this night.
- 16 chigiri ni wataru Holding to its promised course,  
ariake no tsuki the moon in the paling sky.
- 17 yo no naka ya Such is our world:  
kaze no ue naru dewdrops teeming in the meadow  
nobe no tsuyu before the wind.
- 18 mayoiukaruru Groping astray in mountains  
kumokiri no yama obscured in mist and cloud.
- 19 naku tori no Birds cry,  
kozue ushinau losing their treetop perches  
hi wa kurete as sunlight sinks.
- 20 mono sabishiki zo An utter loneliness in things—  
sakura chiru kage shadow of scattering cherry.
- 21 furusato no As for springtime in  
haru o ba tare ka the old village, who would come  
toite min to see it?
- 22 kasumi hedatsuru Through impenetrable haze  
kata wa shirarezu one would not know the way.

*Second Fold, Front*

- 23 musashino wa Across Musashi Plain  
kayou michi sae even the daily round takes  
tabi ni shite one on a journey.

- 24 nagameshi ato no  
tōki yamakage Before my gaze hills receded  
into the shadows far behind.
- 25 waga mi yo ni  
omowazu henuru  
toshi wa ushi Bitter to find  
the years have passed her by,  
all unawares.
- 26 hakana ya inochi  
nani o matsuran So fleeting this breath of life,  
for what does it wait?
- 27 yasaki ni mo  
tsumadou shika wa  
tatazumite Right in the arrow's path  
still the deer, searching for  
its mate, hesitates.
- 28 akikusa shigemi  
shiranu hitokage Through the rank autumn grass  
dim glimmer of a human shadow.
- 29 furusato ni  
nowaki hitori ya  
kotauran In the desolate hamlet,  
the field-cleaving wind alone  
echoes in answer.
- 30 karine no tsuki ni  
mono omou koro A time of wakeful thoughts upon  
a transient bed beneath the moon.
- 31 sode nurasu  
yamaji no tsuyu ni  
yo wa akete On sleeves wet  
with dew on the mountain trail  
glistens the dawn.
- 32 kumo hiku mine ni  
tera zo miekeru As the cloud banks lift, high on  
the peak a temple lies revealed.
- 33 omokage ya  
waga tatsu soma no  
ato naramu Memory traces  
the timbers that he raised—  
here in image.
- 34 yomogi ga shima no  
hana no ki mo nashi Immortal Island: not one tree  
flowers, amidst the rank growth.
- 35 haru fukami  
midori no koke ni  
tsuyu ochite Deep into spring,  
dewdrops trickle on  
the greening moss.
- 36 iwa kosu mizu no  
oto zo kasumeru Blurring to a murmur—sound of  
water coursing over the rocks.

*Second Fold, Back*

- 37 isogakure  
nami ni ya fune no  
kaeruran As the waves recede  
behind the shore cliffs is that  
a ship sailing away?
- 38 waga omoine no  
toko mo sadamezu In sleep restless with desire  
the bed yields no place to settle.
- 39 yume ni dani  
ikani mien to  
kanashimite Were it only in a dream  
could I but somehow see him—  
she pleads in sorrow.

- 40 kakotsu bakari no  
tamakura no tsuki      Only resentment forms on the  
pillowing arm, the empty moon.
- 41      ajikinaku  
musebu ya aki no  
toga naran      For these sobs  
of despair, is not autumn alone  
to blame?
- 42 uezuba kikaji  
ogi no uwakaze      Unplanted, they would be dumb,  
the reeds sighing in the wind.
- 43      haru o nao  
wasuregatami ni  
sode hosade      Still now, a memento  
of that indelible spring—  
sleeves that will not dry.
- 44 kasumi ada naru  
ato no awaresa      The sadness in the wake  
of the vanished haze.
- 45      awayuki no  
kieyuku nobe ni  
mi o shire      In the thin snow  
dissolving in the meadow  
is my fate revealed.
- 46 hito mo tazunenu  
yado no ume ga ka      The fragrance of plum flowers  
draws no visitor to the abode.
- 47      kakureiru  
tani no toyama no  
kage sabite      Where I live hidden in  
the valley, the mountain's shadow  
deepens with time.
- 48 keburu sukunaku  
miyuru ochikata      Meager the hearthsmoke  
rising off in the distance.
- 49      shio taruru  
suzaki no ama no  
hanareio      Dripping in saltspray  
at the far end of the sandspit:  
a lone fisher's hut.
- 50 toma fuku fune ni  
nami zo naraeru      With the sedge-roofed boat,  
the white cresting waves align!
- Third Fold, Front*
- 51      furu yuki ni  
tomonaki chidori  
uchiwabite      Companionless amidst  
the falling snow, the plover  
calls out in sorrow.
- 52 hitori ya nenan  
sayo no matsukaze      Alone can I drift off to sleep—  
night astir with the pine winds.
- 53      towarezuba  
mi o ikani sen  
aki no sora      Unvisited,  
what shall I do with myself?  
the empty autumn sky.
- 54 tanomeokitsuru  
tsuki no yūgure      So much and long dependent upon:  
this evening of moonrise.
- 55      tsurenaku mo      Indifferent he might be,

- tsuyu no nasake wa  
arinubeshi  
yet a dewdrop of pity must  
— lodge in his heart?
- 56 sode ni shigure no  
susamajiki koro  
Days of chill autumn showers  
piercing through my sleeves.
- 57 yama fukami  
yuki no shitamichi  
koekanete  
In mountains deep  
under snowdrift the trail  
is hard to follow.
- 58 iwao no kage ni  
fuseru tabibito  
A traveler lies prostrate  
in the shadow of a great rock.
- 59 natsu zo uki  
mizu ni hitoyo no  
mushirokaze  
Summer goes hard—  
ah, for a night on a rushmat  
fanned by the seabreeze.
- 60 e no matsu ga ne ni  
tsunagu tsuribune  
A fishing boat moored to the roots  
of a great pine tree in the cove.
- 61 kurekakarū  
naniwa no ashibi  
takisomete  
As the dark gathers along  
Naniwa Bay, reed fires are lit  
one after another.
- 62 kareii isogu  
koya no awaresa  
Hurrying with the parched rice—  
the pathos in the hovels.
- 63 wabinureba  
namida shi sosogu  
karagoromo  
Bewailing fortune,  
he weeps copious tears upon  
the once splendid robe.
- 64 urami narikeri  
hito no itsuwari  
Become this bitter resentment:  
the treacherous words of a man.

*Third Fold, Back*

- 65 waga shiranu  
koto nomi yoso ni  
na no tachite  
For an affair of which  
I knew naught, my name grew  
notorious to others.
- 66 toishi sono yo wa  
yume ka utsutsu ka  
That night you came to me:  
Was I dreaming? Was it real?
- 67 kaerusa wa  
kokoro mo madoi  
me mo kurenu  
On the way back,  
my heart was in a turmoil,  
blinded my eyes!
- 68 aoba kanashiki  
hana no yamakage  
Sad the greening leaves on  
hills lately white with flowers.
- 69 mizu ni uku  
tori no hitokoe  
uchikasumu  
Across the water  
the floating note of bird cry  
turns hazy.
- 70 fune yobau nari  
haru no asanagi  
Someone calling out to the boat—  
Calmness of a spring morning.

- 71 omoshiroki  
umi no higata o  
osoku kite  
Entranced by the  
wide curving beach at ebb tide,  
he was slow to come.
- 72 tsuki no irinuru  
ato wa shirarezu  
Once the moon has set, nothing  
remains to trace its passage.
- 73 kuraki yori  
kuraki o omou  
aki no yo ni  
In the autumn night,  
imaging the path out of darkness  
into deeper darkness.
- 74 kiri furu nozato  
kumo no yamazato  
Mist falls on the meadow village,  
Clouded the mountain village.
- 75 mi o yasuku  
kakushiokubeki  
kata mo nashi  
Nowhere a refuge,  
not a moment's respite for  
the tired spirit.
- 76 osamare to nomi  
inoru kimi ga yo  
"Cease this tumult!" That is all  
I pray for in my Lord's reign.
- 77 kami no tame  
michi aru toki ya  
nabikuran  
For he is a god,  
the times may yet come to bend  
to the right Way.
- 78 kaze no mae naru  
kusa no suezue  
The grasses bowing their heads  
in serried ranks before the wind.

*Remaining-Trace Fold, Front*

- 79 fuyu no no ni  
koboren to suru  
tsuyu o mite  
Seeing dewdrops  
about to spill over in  
the winter meadow.
- 80 harawaji mono o  
koromode no yuki  
I could not brush them away—  
the snowflakes upon my sleeves.
- 81 tsumorikuru  
hito yue fukaki  
waga omoi  
Gathering ply on ply,  
because of him my anguish grows  
still deeper.
- 82 ikuyo ka tada ni  
akashihatsuran  
How many more nights shall see  
the end of these useless dawns?
- 83 aramashi o  
nezame sugureba  
wasurekite  
Hopes of release,  
held in wakeful moments, slide  
into forgetfulness.
- 84 tsuki ni mo hajizu  
nokoru oi ga mi  
Shameless before the lucid moon,  
the remnants of an aging life.
- 85 fuku kaze no  
oto wa tsurenaki  
aki no sora  
Harrowing, the sound  
of the wind sweeping through  
the autumn sky.

- 86 mukaeba yagate  
kiyuru ukigiri In a while, right before my eyes  
the floating mists have vanished.
- 87 michi wakuru  
masago no ue no On the fine sand  
uchishimeri the trail of footprints  
moistens over.
- 88 furuki iori zo  
namida moyōsu Still the ancient hermitage  
causes the tears to well.
- 89 tachibana no  
ki mo kuchi noki mo The orange-blossom tree  
katabukite is rotting with age, and the  
eaves are sagging.
- 90 tou hito mare no  
samidare no naka Hardly anyone calls, through  
the long dark rains of June.
- 91 se o hayami  
yūkawabune ya In the swift current,  
nagaruran was that boat cast adrift upon  
the evening river?
- 92 tomaranu nami no  
kishi o utsu koe The incessant sound of  
waves pounding the shore.

*Remaining-Trace Fold, Back*

- 93 yamabuki no  
chirite wa mizu no Yellow mountain roses—  
iro mo nashi with each petal shower the water  
turns, colorless.
- 94 yae oku tsuyu mo  
kasumu hi no kage The eightfold dewdrops also  
a hazy shimmer in sunlight.
- 95 harusame no  
komakani sosogu The spring rain is  
kono ashita seeping finely over all,  
this morning.
- 96 omoikudaku mo  
kinuginu no ato A heart is breaking into shards  
in wake of the dawn's parting.
- 97 koishisa no  
nakute sumu yo mo Surely there are  
aru mono o worlds where one can live free  
of this yearning.
- 98 ikani shite ka wa  
kokoro yasumen But how can I ever find  
the way to quiet my mind?
- 99 tsukiyo ni mo  
tsuki o minu yo mo On moonlit nights, and  
fushiwabite even nights blotted of the moon,  
I lie disconsolate.
- 100 kaze yaya samuku  
inaba moru toko About the rice-warden's pallet,  
The chill of the wind deepens.

## "Broken Beneath Snow"

## A Hundred-Verse Sequence

Composed by Shinkei, Sōgi, and Others

in Shinagawa, Musashi, in the Winter of Ōnin 2 (1468)

*First Fold, Front*

- |   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| 1 | yuki no oru<br>kaya ga sueno wa<br>michi mo nashi<br>Shinkei   | Reeds broken beneath<br>snow across the plain's horizon—<br>there is no path.<br><br>Shinkei       |
| 2 | yūgure samumi<br>yuku sode mo nashi<br>Sōgi                    | Not a moving figure in sight<br>across a frozen twilight.<br><br>Sōgi                              |
| 3 | chidori naku<br>kawara no tsuki ni<br>funo tomete<br>Norishige | As plovers cry along the<br>river shallows, a boat glides up<br>beneath the moon.<br><br>Norishige |
| 4 | kikeba makura o<br>suguru sayokaze<br>Kaku'a                   | Listening, I feel the night wind<br>drifting past my pillow.<br><br>Kaku'a                         |
| 5 | sakurabana<br>sakuran kata ya<br>niouran<br>Nagatoshi          | Cherry blossoms—<br>already in flower yonder?<br>a wafting fragrance.<br><br>Nagatoshi             |
| 6 | haru ni okururu<br>yamakage no sato<br>Sōetsu                  | Spring comes late to the village<br>in the mountain's shadow.<br><br>Sōetsu                        |
| 7 | kane kasumu<br>onoe no kikori<br>tomo yobite<br>Mitsusuke      | Hazy booms the bell<br>on the peak where a woodsman<br>calls out to his fellows.<br><br>Mitsusuke  |
| 8 | kaeru ka kumo no<br>nokoru hitomura<br>Hōzen                   | Will it return as well?<br>The cloud bank left behind.<br><br>Hōzen                                |

*First Fold, Back*

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| 9  | harekumoru<br>ame sadamenaki<br>aki no sora<br>Shun'a          | Now clear, now clouded<br>in rain, the restlessly shifting<br>autumn skies.<br><br>Shun'a  |
| 10 | yowaki hikage zo<br>tsuyu ni yadoreru<br>Ken'a                 | Feeble the gleam of sunlight<br>lodging motionless in the dew.<br><br>Ken'a                |
| 11 | sasa no ha ni<br>mushi no ne tanomu<br>no wa karete<br>Shinkei | Even as insects cry<br>pleading in the bamboo grass,<br>the meadow withers.<br><br>Shinkei |



- 12 makura omowanu Indifferent to my lonely pillow,  
yowa no matsukaze wind in the pines at midnight.  
Sōgi Sōgi
- 13 yume yo nado Dreams, unbidden  
hito koso arame you come to others, then why  
itouran shun me?  
Norishige Norishige
- 14 kakute mo kokoro So be it, but still the heart  
nao ya matamashi would wait, even so.  
Mitsusuke Mitsusuke
- 15 kono mama no "We part, for the last  
wakare to iite time," he said, and left me thus  
ideshi yo ni in this world of night.  
Sōetsu Sōetsu
- 16 kumo ni mo ato wa Even its traces have vanished  
taenu yamamichi in the clouds: the mountain path.  
Kaku'a Kaku'a
- 17 sewashinaki Restive in  
shiba no io ni the brushwood hut, the years  
toshi o hete have passed.  
Nagatoshi Nagatoshi
- 18 shigure kanashiki Sad the falling rain in  
fuyu no kuregata the dim winter twilight.  
Ikuhiro Ikuhiro
- 19 sode nurenu How would it be, were  
tsuki no tabine mo sleeves wet only with moonlight,  
ikanaran these nights of sojourn?  
Sōgi Sōgi
- 20 kaeru miyako ni Mind on returning to the capital,  
aki o wasururu one *can* be oblivious to autumn.  
Shun'a Shun'a
- 21 no o tōmi So broad the plain,  
taorishi kusa no the wildflowers I plucked have  
hana ochite since fallen.  
Shinkei Shinkei
- 22 kawaru yadori zo At these shifting abodes,  
tou hito mo naki no one ever comes to call.  
Kaku'a Kaku'a

*Second Fold, Front*

- 23 aramashi no It's enough to invite  
hodo koso sasoe a long-cherished vision: deep  
yama no oku mountain recesses.  
Norishige Norishige
- 24 hatsu hototogisu In the wake of the passing shower,  
suguru murasame the first calls of the cuckoo! .  
Nagatoshi Nagatoshi

- 25 urameshi na  
konu yo amata ni  
mata narite  
Shinkei  
They hurt me.  
Again, the unvisited nights  
drag on, too many.  
Shinkei
- 26 makura no shiran  
hitorine mo ushi  
Sōgi  
Depressing too to think my pillow  
knows of my sleeping alone.  
Sōgi
- 27 kokoro dani  
omoiyowareba  
naki mono o  
Sōetsu  
When this very heart,  
weakened by longing, can hold  
no more.  
Sōetsu
- 28 namida wa shiite  
nao ya ochinan  
Shinkei  
Still the tears would fall,  
defying reason, all the more.  
Shinkei
- 29 kimi ga yo o  
tare shirakawa no  
tagitsunami  
Sōgi  
Who would know of  
those bygone times, the currents  
swirling on White River?  
Sōgi
- 30 furuki sakura no  
kage zo sabishiki  
Ikuhiro  
So lonely, the scant shade  
of the aged cherry tree.  
Ikuhiro
- 31 amata heshi  
haru no mi tsuraki  
kusa no to ni  
Nagatoshi  
After many years, only  
the springtime, poignant as ever  
by the grass-hut door.  
Nagatoshi
- 32 kasumu to mo naku  
samuki yamakaze  
Norishige  
So cold the wind in the mountains,  
the haze is barely able to form.  
Norishige
- 33 yuki harau  
ochikatabito no  
sode kiete  
Shinkei  
Distantly, a figure,  
sleeves brushing off the snow—  
melts away.  
Shinkei
- 34 karenō ni takaki  
akatsuki no kane  
Sōgi  
High above the withered plain,  
the booming of the dawn bell.  
Sōgi
- 35 ariake no  
kage ya sayaka ni  
fukenuan  
Kaku'a  
Chillingly clear,  
the form of the remaining moon  
has aged.  
Kaku'a
- 36 uchinuru yado no  
yonayona no aki  
Mitsusuke  
Night after night of autumn  
in sleep-hushed lodgings.  
Mitsusuke

*Second Fold, Back*

- 37 yama fukami  
ine moru hita no  
oto wa shite  
Nagatoshi  
In mountains so deep  
audible the clatter of pipes  
guarding the rice stalks.  
Nagatoshi

- 38 tsuraki wa sate mo Even here is no respite  
yamu toki mo nashi from the painful toil.  
Shun'a Shun'a
- 39 kumo to naru Indelible memory  
hito no katami no of someone become a cloud—  
sode no ame rain on my sleeves.  
Shinkei Shinkei
- 40 yume yori hoka wa What else, apart from the dream,  
nani o tanoman is there left to rely on?  
Sōetsu Sōetsu
- 41 chiru hana ni In the scattering flowers  
tsurenaki oi o I find solace, midst callously  
nagusamete lingering old age.  
Sōgi Sōgi
- 42 haru no kokoro wa The heart that looks on spring  
mukashi ni mo nizu is not now what it was of old.  
Ikuhiro Ikuhiro
- 43 sumu yama wa Living in the mountains,  
hi mo nagakarade the days do not seem long—  
okuru mi ni body engaged in chores.  
Mitsusuke Mitsusuke
- 44 hata utsu mine no Plowing the fields, gathering  
shiba o oritsutsu brushwood on the peak.  
Nagatoshi Nagatoshi
- 45 aware ni mo Pitifully, he hastens  
awaii isogu to make a fire for the frugal  
hi o takite bowl of millet.  
Shinkei Shinkei
- 46 makura hodonaki Barely an interval on the pillow,  
tsuyu no karifushi the traveler's sleep on the dew.  
Sōgi Sōgi
- 47 megurikinu It has come round again,  
furusato ideshi the midnight moon when I left  
yowa no tsuki the old village.  
Norishige Norishige
- 48 wasurenu mono o I have not forgotten, but  
hito ya wasuren has she perhaps done so?  
Nagatoshi Nagatoshi
- 49 kawaraji no That single letter saying,  
sono hitofude o "I shall not change," I cling to  
inochi nite as my very life.  
Shinkei Shinkei
- 50 hakanaki ato to To see it but an empty trace—  
miru zo kanashiki I am bereft twice over!  
Mitsusuke Mitsusuke

*Third Fold, Front*

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| 51 | chitose to mo<br>iishi ya itsu no<br>tsuka no matsu<br>Sōgi  | "A thousand years," they<br>prayed, when might it have been?<br>Pine tree by the grave mound.<br>Sōgi |
| 52 | kokoro ni hikeru<br>funaoka no haru<br>Shinkei               | A memory pulling at the heart,<br>springtime at Funaoka Hill.<br>Shinkei                              |
| 53 | kasumi sae<br>tsuki wa akashi no<br>ukimakura<br>Nagatoshi   | Even the haze is<br>gloomy, this sad drifting beneath<br>the bright Akashi moon.<br>Nagatoshi         |
| 54 | moshio no toko ni<br>kari kaeru koe<br>Sōgi                  | Farewell calls of the wild geese,<br>upon the pallet of salt-seaweed.<br>Sōgi                         |
| 55 | hitoyo no mi<br>kareru tomaya ni<br>nezame shite<br>Shun'a   | Sleepless in<br>the sedge-grass hut he rented<br>for only a night.<br>Shun'a                          |
| 56 | ukimi no ue zo<br>namida soinuru<br>Kaku'a                   | There is cause enough for tears<br>in this miserable life.<br>Kaku'a                                  |
| 57 | tarachine no<br>omou o miru mo<br>kurushiki ni<br>Sōetsu     | The added pain<br>of seeing the anxiety<br>in my parents' eyes.<br>Sōetsu                             |
| 58 | ima kon tote mo<br>sutsuru yo no naka<br>Norishige           | This world do I renounce, though<br>death come this very moment!<br>Norishige                         |
| 59 | tsumi aru o<br>mukae no kuruma<br>osoroshi na<br>Shinkei     | Yet knowing my sins,<br>to meet the Vehicle of the Law<br>fills me with terror.<br>Shinkei            |
| 60 | mikari no kaesa<br>no mo hibiku nari<br>Sōgi                 | Riding home from the royal hunt—<br>the very fields seem to resound.<br>Sōgi                          |
| 61 | arare chiru<br>nasu no shinohara<br>kaze ochite<br>Norishige | As hail beats down<br>on the bamboo-plain of Nasu,<br>the wind falls still.<br>Norishige              |
| 62 | kusa no kage o mo<br>tanomu azumaji<br>Nagatoshi             | On the open Azuma Road, I seek<br>shelter in the shadow of the grass.<br>Nagatoshi                    |



- 75 haru no no ya Ah, the spring meadows—  
narenu sode o mo even the sleeves of strangers  
kawasuran brushing each other.  
Norishige Norishige
- 76 kasumi shiku e ni On the bay overhung with haze,  
fune kayou miyu boats seen gliding to and fro.  
Sōgi Sōgi
- 77 kokoro naki For the man devoid  
hito no yūbe wa of feeling, the dimming evening  
munashikute holds nothing.  
Sōetsu Sōetsu
- 78 susumuru kane o Hear the infinite sadness in  
aware to mo kike the lesson of the booming bell.  
Shinkei Shinkei
- Remaining-Trace Fold, Front*
- 79 sakazuki o Passing the sake cup  
megurasu madoi in a happy circle, the night  
oshiki yo ni ends too soon.  
Nagatoshi Nagatoshi
- 80 koto no ne nokoru The zither's notes linger on  
ariake no sora with the moon in the paling sky.  
Sōgi Sōgi
- 81 kie mo senu Lamenting his body that  
mi o wabihito no would not melt, hapless man  
aki fukete in deepening autumn.  
Ikuhiro Ikuhiro
- 82 kumokiri ikue Ply on ply, the cloudy mists over  
sumeru yamazato the mountain village where I live.  
Sōetsu Sōetsu
- 83 samidare wa The long June rains:  
mizu no koe senu not a valley but resounds with  
tani mo nashi the swollen waters.  
Shinkei Shinkei
- 84 nagare no sue ni At the mouth of the swift current,  
ukabu mumoregi a buried tree floats into view.  
Hōzen Hōzen
- 85 au se ni mo Hide it I would not,  
yoshi ya kakotaji could we but meet, in spite  
natorikawa of Rumor River.  
Norishige Norishige
- 86 yoso ni morenan My unassuaged hue become apparent  
iro zo monouki to others—that would be misery!  
Shun'a Shun'a

- 87 kaimami mo Leaving gaps naked  
arawa to ashi no to the eye, the hedge of  
ha wa karete reed leaf shrivels.  
Shinkei Shinkei
- 88 fuyu wa sumarenu In winter, I would have you know,  
sumika to o shire this abode is beyond endurance.  
Mitsusuke Mitsusuke
- 89 miyako ni wa In the Capital City,  
yuki mezurame ya they cherish the rare snow, but  
ono no yama here in Mount Ono!  
Sōgi Sōgi
- 90 shigure ni tsuki no Piercingly chill the moonlight  
kage mo susamaji in the wake of the sudden rains.  
Kaku'a Kaku'a
- 91 kogarashi no Swept adrift  
sora ni ukaruru across the storm-scoured sky,  
aki no kumo the clouds of autumn.  
Shinkei Shinkei
- 92 kari mo uchiwabi Lonesome too the wild geese  
kure wataru koro flitting in the dusk shadows.  
Mitsusuke Mitsusuke
- Remaining-Trace Fold, Back*
- 93 mi ni kagiru Not I alone  
namida naraji to weep these tears—  
nagusamete I solace myself.  
Norishige Norishige
- 94 shina koso kaware Desire takes various forms, yes,  
yo wa ukarikere but 'tis all one world of misery!  
Nagatoshi Nagatoshi
- 95 me no mae ni Awake and be amazed:  
aru o odoroke the six realms of illusion are  
mutsu no michi right before your eyes!  
Sōetsu Sōetsu
- 96 manabu mo utoki The principle of poetry remains,  
uta no kotowari despite all one's study, obscure.  
Shinkei Shinkei
- 97 ura tōku Remotely mysterious  
tamatsushimayama across the bay, Isle of Jewels  
uchikasumu enveloped in haze.  
Sōgi Sōgi
- 98 haru shiru oto no Spring is audible in the sound:  
yowaki matsukaze soft murmur of the pine breeze.  
Kaku'a Kaku'a

- 99           hana ni nomi                               With the flowers alone  
             kokoro o noburu                     breathes the heart at ease  
             yūmagure                            this glimmering dusk.  
                  \*Mitsusuke                               Mitsusuke
- 100          sakari naru mi zo                     May it span through long years,  
             yowai hisashiki                   this life at its glorious height.  
                  Ikuhiro                                       Ikuhiro



*Reference Matter*



## Notes

All citations from Shinkei's works both in the text and Notes refer to the first title given under each entry in the "Shinkei's Works" section of the Introduction. The numbering of poems from imperial anthologies and other collections follows [*Shimpen*] *Kokka taikan* unless another source is cited. For complete author names, titles, and publication data for works cited in short form, see the Bibliography, pp. 433-43. For the abbreviations used here and in the text, see pp. xi-xii.

### Chapter 1

1. From Shinkei's *Hyakushu waka*. Here as with Shinkei's three other hundred-poem sequences, I have numbered the poems consecutively from 1 to 100 for convenience. The text used in SSRS is the poet's holograph of 1463, now in the archives of the Tenri Library; it is in the form of a handscroll and includes his own comments in red ink. I have also consulted the text annotated by Araki Hisashi in *SNKBT* 47 under the title *Kanshō hyakushu*. Also from the Muromachi period and now in the Kyoto University Library, it is a copy of a later variant manuscript believed to have been sent off to someone by Shinkei. Although there is some variation in the wording of the comments between the two texts, their content is generally the same.

2. The name Ta'i is no longer in current usage, and Nakusa is now part of Kaisō District.

3. Shimazu Tadao (*Rengashi no kenkyū*, p. 143) calls *Sasamegoto* "the most outstanding poetic treatise of the medieval period," representing, along with Zeami's *Nō* drama treatises, the heights of medieval Japanese thought.

4. *Yamato uta wa, hito no kokoro o tane to shite, yorozu no koto no ha to zo narerikeru* (*KKS*, p. 49).

5. Quoted in Kaneko, "Seikatsu-ken," p. 2; see also in *Kanshō hyakushu*, p. 352. This singular postscript appears only in the Kyoto University Text, which is signed "Tsuruwaka," Shinkei's childhood name. Kaneko (*ibid.*, p. 8) suggests that its unusual use here is an indication that the *jichū* were originally written for a person or persons with whom Shinkei had been familiar since childhood.

6. Wakanoura (lit., “Waka Bay”) is located in modern Wakayama City; it was from ancient times an *utamakura*, a place with poetic associations, due to the name and the presence there of the Tamatsushima Shrine dedicated to the deities of poetry, Wakahirume no mikoto and Sotoorihime. The Kinokawa River, on whose banks Ta’i was located, emptied into Wakanoura.

7. Shinkei’s poem is probably an allusive variation on the following poem by Saigyō (1118–90), GYS 2060, “On the topic ‘thoughts at the end of the year.’” According to Araki Hisashi (*Kanshō hyakushu*, p. 315), Saigyō composed it when he was living in a hut in Higashiyama after withdrawing from society.

toshi kureshi	That press of work
sono itonami wa	with which the year ended
wasurarete	is all forgotten,
aranu sama naru	and now I busy myself
isogi o zo suru	in a whole new way!

8. Araki Hisashi reads *kakaran* in line 1 as an elision of *kaku aran* (“would be like this”); I take it as the verb *kakaru*, “lean on, rely on.” An example of the latter usage is verse 22, by Sōgi, in the *Minase sangin hyakuin*: *Oi no yukue yo / nani ni kakaran*, “Old age goes before me! / What shall I lean on?” (Ijichi, *Rengashū*, p. 349).

9. Dates are here given according to the old lunar calendar, which is more than a month later than our own, and are in the format month.day.year.

10. “The conflagration raging within the three worlds” (*mitsu no sakai hi no naka ni shite*) is a Buddhist metaphor for the imperiled state of sentient beings caused by the illusory realms of desire (*yokkai*), form (*shikikai*), and the formless (*mushikikai*). Also known as “the burning house of the three worlds” (*sangai no kataku*), the metaphor stems from the famous parable in Scroll 2, Chapter 3, of the *Lotus Sutra* recounting how a great man lured his children from the burning house by promising them that rare carriages, i.e., the Buddhist “vehicles,” awaited them outside.

11. “A hell of hungry ghosts” (*gakidō*) is one of the six states or worlds (*rokudō*) into which a being is reborn according to the merits or demerits of his former existence; they are the world of hell (*jigoku*), hungry ghosts, beasts (*chikushō*), demons (*ashura*), human beings (*ningen*), and heavenly beings (*tenjō*). Occupying the second lowest state, the “hungry ghosts” (Skt. *preta*) were imaged in literature and the visual arts as naked, emaciated creatures with swollen stomachs and needle-thin throats that condemned them to perpetually unsatisfied hunger and thirst, particularly since everything they imbibed instantaneously turned to fire in their mouths. Since the “hungry ghost” image was possibly originally inspired by the sight of victims of famine and pestilence, Shinkei’s evocation of it here is especially apt.

12. “The triple calamities presaging the world’s destruction” (*ekō massei no sansai*) refers to the disasters wrought by fire, water, and wind during the age of the world’s dissolution. *Ekō* is the third of the four kalpas or cosmic ages from the world’s creation and duration of existence to its final nihility.

13. See the account of the Kakitsu Incident in Varley, *The Ōnin War*, pp. 65–70.

Varley's work is one of my principal sources for understanding the political and economic forces at work during Shinkei's age.

14. This event is noted in Suzuki, *Ōnin no ran*, p. 205.

15. See entries for 3.16, 6.3, and 6.5.1460, and 2.30.1461 in the *Hekizan nichiroku*, pp. 303, 313, 336. This journal covers the years 1459–63 and 1465–68. See also Suzuki's discussion (pp. 1–6) of Taikyoku's account of the famine.

16. Ishihara, "Jūjūshin'in kō"; the official letters to the temple are quoted in *ibid.*, p. 2, from a facsimile of the *Rokuharamitsuji monjo* in the Shiryō Hensanjo. Ishihara's article is to date the sole authoritative study on the status of Jūjūshin'in.

17. Quoted in Ishihara, p. 3.

18. Quoted in Suzuki, p. 8, from the journal *Daijōin jisha zōjiki*. A scion of the Fujiwara's Ichijō branch, Jinson was the son of the eminent statesman Ichijō Kanera (or Kaneyoshi, 1402–81), who served as Regent three times in his career. The Daijōin was the main temple of the great Fujiwara clan temple in Nara, the Kōfukuji.

19. The second sentence of the commentary in the SSRS text is somewhat obscure; I have followed the *Kanshō hyakushu* version (p. 350) in rendering it.

20. MYS 63. "Composed by Yamanoue Okura when he was in China and thinking of his homeland."

iza kodomo	Come, my men,
hayaku yamato e	let us swiftly to Yamato!
ōtomo no	In Ōtomo
mitsu no hamamatsu	the shore pines of Mitsū
machikoinuran	must be waiting and longing.

(Kojima et al., *Man'yōshū*, NKBZ 2: 97) The embassy to China embarked from Mitsu Bay (also known as Naniwazu) in Ōtomo, the ancient name for present-day Osaka. Incorporating the last two lines of MYS 63, Shinkei's poem is an allusive variation on Okura's; it is more complex and has a tone of near cynical despair at variance with the other.

21. Kaneko, "Seikatsu-ken," p. 5.

22. According to the *Chōroku Kanshō ki*, Masanaga's forces consisted mainly of samurai bands from Yamato (Nara), and Yoshinari's followers came from Kawachi and Kii. This historical work is primarily a record of the Hatakeyama clan during the Chōroku (1457–60) and Kanshō (1460–66) eras and is thus an excellent source for the succession dispute; see GR 16: 375.233–43.

23. See Ishihara, p. 4.

24. Possibly an allusion to KKS 340. Winter. Anonymous. "From the Empress's Poetry Contest in the Kampyō era [889–98]."

yuki furite	It is in the season
toshi no kurenuru	when the year draws to a close
toki ni koso	beneath falling snow
tsui ni momijinu	that the pine reveals itself
matsu mo miekere	unaltered in hue to the end.

Like this KKS poem, Shinkei probably also had in mind the following passage from

the *Rongo* (Analects): “The Master said, In the cold of the year—only then do we come to know that the pine and cypress are the last to wither” (*Rongo*, p. 214).

25. As Shinkei explains it, “three” (*mitsu*) in the poem, by which he means “the three worlds” (*mitsu no sakai*), refers to two distinct sets of fortune found there: to be born with unimpaired vision and hearing, a man and not a woman, and live into old age; or then again, to be free of the encumbrances of property, money, and family. In other words, the solace to be derived from composing poetry is beyond mundane happiness (SSRS, pp. 346–47).

## Chapter 2

1. All references to the *Goku shibakusa* are to the Bummei 11 (1479) manuscript copy in SSRS, pp. 3–64.

2. Kaneko, *Seikatsu to sakuhin*, p. 32. He bases the twelve-year figure on information in the *Sange gakushōshiki* (Prescribed forms for mountain-priest students), a work by Mount Hiei’s founder, Dengyō Daishi (or Saichō, 767–822), describing the system of education that he established there for the Tendai priesthood.

3. In China the concept and practice of *shikan*, established by Tendai’s founder Chih-i (538–97), predated the rise of Zen in the eighth century. Similarly in Japan, Zen as such did not become a major sect until the thirteenth century. On Hiei, Chih-i’s monumental treatise on *shikan* meditation, the *Makashikan* (The great stillness and insight), had long been a basic text, along with his commentaries on the *Lotus Sutra*. By Shinkei’s time, it is not clear that a strict distinction was made between the Tendai and Zen practice of meditation; Zen teaching is at any rate abundantly reflected in his critical writings.

4. SKKS 1921. “Composed when he built the Main Hall of Mount Hiei.” Dengyō Daishi.

✕	anokutara sammyaku sambodai no hotoke-tachi <i>waga tatsu soma ni</i> myōga arasetamae	Hark ye Buddhas of perfect wisdom, unparalleled and compassing all: Confer your invisible powers on <i>the timbers that I raise here!</i>
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(Kubota Jun, ed., *Shinkokin wakashū zenhyōshaku*, 8: 456; all citations and poem numbers from the *Shinkokinshū* refer to this edition.) The verse-pair is from Shinkei’s 1467 solo sequence, one of the two hyakuin translated in Part Two of this book.

5. *Mansai jugō nikki* in ZGR, suppl. vol. 2: 870b.285. The Shingon ecclesiastic Mansai (1378–1435) was Abbot of the Daigoji and Sambōin. A nephew or adopted son of the Shōgun Yoshimitsu, he exercised considerable influence in the inner circles of the bakufu during the rule of both Yoshimitsu and Yoshinori and was known as “the black-robed minister.” Also an enthusiastic renga practitioner, his name frequently appears in records of sessions sponsored by Yoshinori. His journal covers the period 1411–35.

6. *Taiheiki* 3, NKBT 36: 120.

7. *Kitano-sha ichimanku gohokku waki daisan narabi ni jo*, p. 335. This manuscript record includes only the first three verses of each of the twenty sequences, plus a preface by Ichijō Kanera.

8. See the “Rengashi nempyō” entries for the years 1428-41 in Kido Saizō, *RS*, 2: 887-91. Kidō’s two-volume work is the principal and most up-to-date modern source for renga history.

9. See *SKS* 1737 and preface to 1734; also the Preface to the whole journal on p. 532. The *Sōkonshū* is Shōtetsu’s most extensive poem collection; in the *ST* edition, it includes 11,238 poems in 15 volumes arranged chronologically from 1414 to 1459, except for the undated volumes 4-6 and 15. Covering a period of forty-five years until his death, it was compiled posthumously from his manuscripts by his closest disciple Shōkō, with a preface written by Ichijō Kanera in 1473. Extensive prose passages explaining the circumstances of the poems’ composition provide valuable autobiographical material as well as a substantial picture of the contemporary milieu.

10. Inada, *Shōtetsu no kenkyū*, pp. 69-70. This monumental, 1,332-page study is today the main secondary source for Shōtetsu’s works and biography.

11. For other poems revealing Shōtetsu’s feelings regarding the *Shinzoku Kokinshū*, see *SKS* 2129, 2293, 2296, 5055.

12. Inada, *Shōtetsu no kenkyū*, pp. 106, 109-10. English rendering of chapter titles from the *Tale of Genji* are adopted from the Edward Seidensticker translation.

13. Manuscript in the archives of the Imperial Household, Kunaichō Shoryōbu; described in Inada, *Shōtetsu no kenkyū*, pp. 986-89.

14. *Gyōkō hōin nikki*, pp. 453-54.

15. *Eikyō kunen Shōtetsu eisō*, p. 520, preface to poem 84; this is a manuscript of 117 poems composed from the First to the Seventh Month of Eikyō 9 (1437); 3 are by other authors.

16. Inada, *Shōtetsu no kenkyū*, pp. 221-22.

17. From the *Tōyashū kikigaki* (Notes from the eastern plains), p. 354. This work is a collection of poetic anecdotes that Tsuneyori heard from Shōtetsu, his waka teacher Gyōkō, and other fellow poets and friends. Although it includes entries from as early as 1427 and as late as 1456, the greater part is concentrated around the four-year period 1449-52. Its title alludes to Tsuneyori’s surname, Tō (“east”), and his official position as Constable of Kōzuke (lit., “upper plain”) Province (Gumma Prefecture) in the East.

18. *Shinkei-sōzu jittei waka*, p. 47. Also *ST* 6: 115, no. 315.

19. Ton’ā established the particular Nijō line of transmission of which Gyōkō was the contemporary representative. A priest of warrior lineage—his father was Constable of Shimotsuke Province—his orthodox mode of graceful simplicity won him a place in court poetry circles and in the five imperial anthologies that appeared during his lifetime. His reputation became firmly established in 1364, when he was appointed to finish the task of compiling the *Shinshūishū* upon the death of its original editor, Fujiwara Tameaki. He was the first *jige* poet to be thus honored. His personal poem anthology, the *Sōanshū* (Grass-hut collection), was later criticized by

Imagawa Ryōshun and Shōtetsu for being too conservative, but it wielded a great influence then and subsequently, so much so that the very title of Shōtetsu's own *Sōkonshū* (Grass-roots collection) doubtless reflects his sense of rivalry with this *jige* poet so honored in his own time. Ton'a's fame was perhaps even greater after his death: nineteen of his poems were included in the *Shinzoku Kokinshū* imperial anthology from which Shōtetsu was excluded. Since Gyōkō's authority and high connections ultimately derived from Ton'a, to criticize him was tantamount to questioning Gyōkō's own position.

20. The text of *Buke utaawase* is in Inoue, *Chūsei utaawaseshū to kenkyū* 3, pp. 62-73.

21. Saigyō's poem is SKKS 362. Autumn.

kokoro naki	Even to a self .
mi ni mo aware wa	empty at heart is disclosed
shirarekeri	a moving power—
shigi tatsu sawa no	From the marsh a snipe rising
aki no yūgure	in the autumn twilight.

22. Poem 88 (numbering mine), *Gondaisōzu Shinkeishū*, p. 417; number 388 in the *ST* and *KT* editions. The *ST* text includes an orthographic error: *ami* (net) instead of *himo* (cord, thread).

23. *Hana no himo* (flower cord) or *hana no shitahimo* (flowers' undercord) is a metaphor both for a tightly furled flower, that is, a bud, and the cords of a woman's undergarment. For its usage in poetry, see, e.g., SKKS 84 and *Kokin rokujō* 4: 3356.

24. In a perceptive early article on Shinkei's waka, "Shinkei no waka hyōgen no tokusei: gengo no jūso kōyō," Inada Toshinori analyzes the effects of this type of polysemic "layering" in Shinkei's waka diction. He points out that it is different in nature from the traditional use of puns (*kakekotoba*) and associative words (*engo*) in waka, and characterizes it as a technique of deploying two or more objects in the same spatial frame and showing how they mutually shift and develop temporally.

25. This poem by Shinkei is interestingly cited in the *Tokihide-kyō kikigaki* (Lord Tokihide's notes, p. 17) as an example of a kind of obscure poetry called *miraiki*. A collection of anecdotes on such topics as poetic diction and mental attitude, this work was written by Nishinotōin Tokihide (1531-66) in 1559 and transmits the poetry and ideas of Shōtetsu, Shinkei, and Shōkō.

26. Inada ("Shinkei no waka hyōgen no tokusei," p. 42) observes that *makikomeru* has no single precedent in all the twenty-one imperial waka anthologies, and that the only known use of it is in a poem by Shunrai (1055-1129) in his personal anthology, *Samboku kikashū* (ca. 1128). The poem is no. 364 on the lotus flower, *tamamizu* 0, in *KT*.

27. See, e.g., *Sōkonshū*, colophon to a hundred-poem sequence composed in the Kasuga Shrine in Hotoku 3 (1451), p. 562; *Eikyō kunen Shōtetsu eisō*, preface to poems 105 and 110, pp. 511-12.

28. *Nagusamegusa*, p. 121.

29. As reported in *Ungyoku wakashō* (a poetry collection dating from 1514), p. 177.



## Chapter 3

1. The Genroku renga poet is Saijun in his two-volume critical work from 1692, *Renga hajakenshō*, as cited in Saitō, *Chūsei renga no kenkyū*, pp. 147–48.

2. As reported in the *Ishijarishū* (1724), *BT*, p. 700.

3. For English-language sources on Sōgi, see Carter, “Three Poets at Yuyama,” and *The Road to Komatsubara*; and Miner, *Japanese Linked Poetry*. On Jōha, see Keene, “Jōha,” and Miner, pp. 49–56. In Japanese, a good single-volume sociohistorical account of the *rengashi* phenomenon is Okuda, *Rengashi: sono kōdō to bungaku*.

4. Aside from the previously mentioned Muromachi anthologies, the extant individual verse collections of the shichiken are gathered in a modern edition in Kaneko and Ōta, eds., *Shichiken jidai renga kushū*. This includes the six poets apart from Shinkei, whose renga collections are gathered separately in *SSS*.

5. For the most complete presentation to date of documentary materials relating to five of the seven (excluding Shinkei and Sōzei), see Ishimura, *Waka renga no kenkyū*, pp. 196–303. Kido appraises their renga styles in *RS 1*: chap. 7, “Chūkōki no renga.” The most detailed biographical study of Sōzei is Kaneko, *Shinsen Tsukubashū no kenkyū*, pp. 117–89.

6. For an enlightening study on the significance of Nōa’s work in the assimilation and transformation of Chinese aesthetics in Japanese painting, see Weigl, “The Reception of Chinese Painting Models in Muromachi Japan.” On Nōa as shogunal connoisseur, see Nakamura, “Gyobutsu gyoga mokuroku no senja Nōami ni kansuru ikkōsatsu.”

7. Mention should also be made of Ninzei (fl. 1429–55), a priest of the Ken-shōin and a waka student of Shōtetsu’s, whose name frequently appears in renga meetings with Sōzei, Chiun, and Shinkei. See Ishimura, pp. 239–49. Although as active in the contemporary renga milieu as the seven sages, Ninzei subsequently fell into obscurity, possibly because Sōgi did not hold him in high regard. He is not among the poets anthologized in the *Chikurinshō*, and there are but twelve verses by him in the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*.

8. An annotated edition of this sequence may be found in Shimazu et al., *Chikurinshō*, pp. 373–400, under the title *Bun’an yonen Chikamasa-tō Nani hito hyakuin*.

9. An annotated edition of this sequence may be found in Kaneko et al., *Renga haikaishū*, pp. 124–46. For a translation, see Hare, “Linked Verse at Imashinmei Shrine.”

10. The set of rules set down by Nijō Yoshimoto with Gusai’s help in 1372 is known as the “New Renga Code” (*Renga shinshiki*) or “New Code of the Ōan Era” (*Ōan shinshiki*). For this original version, along with Kanera’s proposed revisions and additions in 1452, and the later comments by Sōgi’s disciple Shōhaku in 1501, see Carter’s complete translation of the renga code in *The Road to Komatsubara*, pp. 41–72; see also his Introduction on pp. 33–40.

11. For an annotated edition, see Shimazu, ed., *Rengashū*, pp. 106–35. Among extant manuscripts, two have the title *Honka renga* and provide the foundation poem or waka presumably alluded to in each verse. The source for many of the

poems, however, is unknown and leads Shimazu to speculate that they were in fact composed later, on the inspiration of the verses, and not the other way round. This late inversion of the *honkadōri* method is certainly unorthodox and novel. Commentary on some of the verses is also available in Okamoto, *Shinkei no sekai*, pp. 218–37.

12. See Varley, pp. 85–86, for the nature of the Hosokawa-Yamana conflict and the circumstances surrounding the 1454 plot against Sōzen, and pp. 71–75, for the shift in the power balance among the shugo daimyō clans as a result of the Kakitsu Incident of 1441.

13. Dempō is the same person as the Jōhō who submitted a hundred verse-pairs for Shinkei's comments in the manuscript called *Jōhō renga*, dated 3.25.1462; text in Shimazu, *Rengashi no kenkyū*, pp. 291–307.

14. The text of this sequence is available only in facsimile edition in Kaneko, ed., *Renga kichōbunken shūsei*, vol. 4.

15. Unless otherwise specified, all citations and numbering of verses from STKBS are from Yokoyama and Kaneko, eds., *Shinsen Tsukubashū: Sanetaka-bon*. The abridged annotated edition in Ijichi, ed., *Rengashū*, has also been consulted for reference; it includes only the verses by the seven sages plus Sōgi, Kenzai, Shōhaku, and Sōchō.

16. In *Oi no susami*, p. 156; this work consists of Sōgi's commentaries to selected verses of the seven sages from the *Chikurinshō* anthology.

17. In his commentary to this sequence, Kaneko (*Renga haikaishū*, p. 135) reads a pun on the name Akashi, Genji's place of exile, and *akashi* in the sense of "reveal," an allusion to the Akashi monk's confession to Genji of his high hopes for his daughter. Isolated from its context in the sequence, the *maeku* as such in STKBS is ambiguous. Thus Ijichi (*Rengashū*, p. 254) interprets it as the thought of a man burdened by a secret love he may not reveal, and his reading of Shinkei's *tsukeku* is also different. My rendering, which centers on the difficult coming of the dawn (the operative pun is *akashigata*) takes account only of what the *maeku* becomes in the light of Shinkei's *tsukeku*.

18. SKS, pp. 725–27. The preface to poems 6673–75 mentions that from 11.27.1450 on, people came to the Shōgetsuan to congratulate him on this signal honor.

19. Evidently, Shōtetsu's association with the Hosokawa was of long standing, dating as far back as the Ōei era (1392–1428) during the time of Mitsumoto (1378–1428), Dōken's father and Katsumoto's grandfather. See Inada, *Shōtetsu no kenkyū*, p. 116.

20. Kaneko, *Seikatsu to sakuhin*, p. 94.

21. Colophon to the Kokemushiro Text of *Sasamegoto*, in the archives of the Ise Shrine. This text is a copy dating from the Muromachi period and consists only of Part II; quoted in *RH*, p. 24.

22. Preface to verse 1701 in *Wakuraba*, SK, p. 196.

23. Suzuki, p. 205.

24. See *Chikamoto nikki*, *Zoku shiryō taisei* 10: 315, for the entries quoted here. The Ninagawa were hereditarily appointed to the position of Mandokoro-dai due to their connection as deputy of the Ise clan, which headed that office.

25. Kaneko, *Seikatsu to sakuhin*, p. 98, has 2.6 as the date of the Ōharano excursion; Kidō (*RS* 2: 900) has 3.6, as does Varley (p. 119), who translates the *Inryōken nichiroku* entry for 3.4.1465 describing the famous shogunal outing to Kachōzan just two days previous.

26. The *Inryōken* was an office within the Shōkokuji's Rokuon'in, whose head priest (at this time Shinzui) was charged with keeping a record of matters relating to the bakufu's administration of Zen temples. The portions of the journal written by Shinzui cover the years 1435–66.

27. The Shinkei-related entries quoted below may be found in the *Inryōken nichiroku*, 134: 594–604 *passim*.

28. From Banri's Chinese poetry and prose collection, *Baika mujinzō*, ZGR 12b: 338.967, in the section *Kiyō-shuza wain no jo*. According to Banri, Kiyō was born in Kii, began studying for the priesthood at the Kenninji while still a child, and was well known for his pleasing conversation and eloquent speech. When the war broke out in 1467, he went to live at the Kamakura Gozan temple of Kenchōji. Still later he moved to Edo under the patronage of the Lord of Musashi, Ōta Dōkan (who figures in the latter part of this biography). Banri was also staying in Edo from 1485 to 1488, and it was there that he met Kiyō.

29. The recipient of this letter is unknown, but for reasons too complex to discuss here, Kaneko (*Seikatsu to sakuhin*, p. 108) believes it was most probably Hosokawa Katsumoto or his uncle Dōken.

30. See the exchange of poems between Genji and Reikeiden, one of the late emperor's former ladies, in the "Hana chiru sato" (Village of Falling Flowers; called "The Orange Blossoms" in the Seidensticker translation) chapter of the novel (*Genji monogatari*, 2: 148–49; Seidensticker, *Tale of Genji* 1: 217). The verbal/imagistic link between "village of falling flowers" and "orange blossoms" in the verse-pair culls from it.

31. For the text, see Yunoue, "Gikō no eisō Shinkei no tensaku."

32. In the chapter called "Sōgi no shōfūron" in *Shinsen Tsukubashu no kenkyū*, and the article "Shinkei no makoto no michi," Kaneko discusses the critical content of Sōgi's "orthodox style" and Shinkei's "True Way" concept, but he has still to arrive at a definitive answer to the problem of how the critical principles of one bear upon the other.

33. Here it should be noted that "verse" or "verse style" in renga refers primarily to the *tsukeku* in relation to its *maeku*, not to the individual verse as such, unless it is the *hokku* that is under consideration. Thus a verse by a particular renga poet always appears with its *maeku*, which is understood to be by someone else. Most anthologies of renga contain individual links from various sessions, not whole hundred-verse sequences.

34. *RS* 1: 452–53.

35. Text in *SSS*, pp. 34–69.

36. *Katsumoto kunshin no michi magawazaru hito nari* (*Ōninki*, p. 262).

37. The Hosokawa were among Takauji's strongest allies in his struggle to consolidate the bakufu's power against the dissident forces of the Southern Court. Katsumoto's ancestor Hosokawa Yoriyuki (1329–92) is justly famous for holding the government together upon the death of Yoshiakira in 1368, when the future

Shōgun Yoshimitsu was only ten. As Deputy Shōgun from 1367 to 1379, Yoriyuki instituted the structure of fiscal and administrative policies upon which Yoshimitsu's reign could flourish. See Varley, pp. 50–58.

38. *Ōninki*, pp. 262–66; trans. Varley, pp. 165–69.

## Chapter 4

1. Shinkei noted the date of his departure, 4.28.1467, in the colophon to a copy of the *Kokinshū* (now in the Tenri Library) that he made in Shinagawa in autumn of the same year, for he had left his library in the capital. The colophon is quoted in Kaneko, *Seikatsu to sakuhin*, p. 116.

2. *Utsuriyuku tsukihhi no hikari o mo wasure*—that is to say, forgot the passage of time due to anxiety and suspense.

3. “The myriad Ways” (*yorozu no michi*) refers to the various practices—political, economic, social, and cultural—that make up the fabric of a functioning civilized society; their abandonment brings darkness and anarchy.

4. As mentioned already in the *Hitorigoto* passage at the end of Chapter 3, the imperial family moved to the Shōgun's Muromachi Palace for safety and as a matter of political expediency, in order to signify official backing of the Hosokawa camp.

5. “Lords of the moon and dwellers of the clouds” (*gekkei unkaku*). More commonly known as *kugyō*, “lords of the moon” is a Sino-Japanese figure for the country's highest officials in the first three court ranks: the Chancellor (*Daijōdaijin*), the Ministers of the Left and the Right (*Sadaijin*, *Udaijin*), and the Major and Middle Counselors (*Dainagon*, *Chūnagon*). “Dwellers of the clouds,” also *tenjōbito*, refers to officials and nobles of the fourth and fifth ranks who were likewise allowed attendance at the court. In this official cosmological metaphor, the Emperor himself was imaged as the sun.

6. The dewdrop on a blade of grass is a metaphorical image that Shinkei frequently employed to refer to his fragile living conditions during the Ōnin War. The withering away of the sheltering grass blade suggests that it had become unsafe for him to remain in Jūjūshin'in. The temple was too closely associated with the Hosokawa-Masanaga faction and might even have been used as a base camp.

7. The text used in the translations below is the one included in *Gondaisōzu Shinkei shū*, ZGR 16a: 446.405–10. The corresponding poem numbers in the ST 6 edition are 101 to 200, pp. 94–100. The numbering is the same in KT 8: 258–60.

8. For the text of the *Azuma gekō hokkugusa*, see SSS, pp. 26–33. The numbers preceding each hokku are those of SSS Sec. I, in which the verses are numbered consecutively through six separate collections.

9. I am alluding here to the article by Edwin Cranston, “The River Valley as *Locus Amoenus* in Man'yō Poetry.”

10. The statement that the appearance of the Travel theme in verse 4 is unusually early is based on my reading of other Muromachi-period sequences. It is confirmed by Shinkei's contemporary Ichijō Kanera in his *Renga shogakushō* (Notes for renga beginners): “In modern times, just as in the front [of the first fold or sheet], one does not, in the first two verses of the back, employ verses on Love,

Laments, Famous Places, and so on" (text in Ijichi, *Rengaronshū*, 2: 298). In other words, the norm was wholly seasonal themes in the first eight verses (the Prelude or *jo* section), as well as in the first two verses of the Development (*ha*) section. For the formalities of renga sequence structure and the renga manuscript, see Miner, pp. 58-85, and figs. 1 and 2.

11. Inoue Muneo, *Chūsei kadanshi no kenkyū*, 2: 196. Inoue's three-volume work on the history and composition of waka poetry circles in the capital and provinces in the medieval period is the standard source on the subject.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16. Tamesuke resided in Kamakura from around 1292 in order to persuade the Kamakura bakufu to award him the Hosokawa estate (in Harima Province) whose ownership he was disputing with the heirs of his half-brother Nijō Tameuji (1222-86), the founder of the Nijō school. See Brower and Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry*, pp. 344-56, for an account of the family disputes surrounding Teika's material and poetic heritage.

13. In his treatise *Tsukuba mondō* (Tsukuba dialogues), written sometime in the period 1357-72, Nijō Yoshimoto credits Tamesuke with the codification of renga rules in Kamakura: "In Kamakura Lord Tamesuke published the so-called Fujigayatsu Code under the pen name Hokurin" (*RH*, p. 101). Tamesuke's mother, the nun Abutsu, was also known as Hokurin Zenni from her former place of residence in Kyoto, the Jimyōin Hokurin. For Tamesuke's role in Kamakura renga, see Kidō, *RS* 1: 201-2.

14. Six extant manuscripts of the *Sakusha burui* are included in the *Shinsen Tsukubashū* text edited by Yokoyama and Kaneko. For the quoted entry on Nagatoshi, see p. 376. An invaluable source for the social and geographical composition of the renga poets included in the anthology, the *Sakusha burui* was originally compiled in accordance with a request made by the court sometime between the completion of the anthology's first and second drafts in 1495. See Kaneko, *Shinsen Tsukubashū no kenkyū*, pt. II, chap. 4, for its textual history.

15. Quoted in *DNCJ* 2: 227, entry on "Myōkokuji." All subsequent citations from primary sources on the subject of the Suzuki and the Myōkokuji are as quoted in Kaneko, *Seikatsu to sakuhin*, pp. 124-26.

16. For studies of the growth of *toi* establishments in Kyoto and the provinces, see Toyoda and Sugiyama; and Morris. The commercial development traced in the two articles can be read profitably as a background for understanding the business activities of the Suzuki at this time.

17. *SK*, p. 18, preface to verse 256.

18. See Haga, *Higashiyama bunka*, p. 180, where Zenchiku and Shinkei are said to represent "Higashiyama culture at its loftiest level."

19. In the critical essay *Yodo no watari*, p. 294.

20. Text in the Seikadō Archives, no. 22 of the *Rengashūsho* mss collection. Colophon quoted in Kaneko, *Seikatsu to sakuhin*, p. 136; see also the colophon to *Shinkei renga jichū* in *SSS*, p. 251. For a study of selections from this work, see Okamoto, *Shinkei no sekai*, pp. 238-75.

21. *SSS*, pp. 96-103.

22. *SSS*, pp. 231-51.

23. The colophon and poems from the 1468 waka sequence, quoted below, are translated from the text in ZGR 16a: 446.410–13. Poem nos. 201–300 in ST 6: 100–102 and in KT 8: 260–61.

24. Sources cited in Kaneko, *Seikatsu to sakuhin*, p. 135; the 2.17.1468 date appears in the third of the Hosokawa genealogical accounts in ZGR 5b: 114.

25. For this point about the chronological priority of Sōgi's hokku and the significance of his placing it after Shinkei's in the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*, see Saitō, *Chūsei renga no kenkyū*, pp. 208–12.

26. Sōgi's diary *Shirakawa kikō* is a brief record of this journey and includes the text of a hundred-verse sequence, the *Shirakawa hyakuin*, held on 10.22.1468. For an annotated edition of the prose section, see Kaneko, *Sōgi tabi no ki shichū*, pp. 9–26. The diary has been translated in Steven Carter, “Sōgi in the East Country: *Shirakawa kikō*.”

## Chapter 5

1. From Jōhā's treatise *Shihōshō* (Notes on attaining the treasure), written for the country's military leader, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, in 1585. Ijichi, *Rengaronshū* 2: 235.

2. From the Hokuni Bunkō *Sasamegato* text, as quoted in Kaneko, *Seikatsu to sakuhin*, p. 194.

3. Okami, “Shinkei oboegaki: aoi to keikyoku to minu omokage,” p. 270.

4. I am preparing a separate volume on Shinkei's philosophy and criticism; it will include a complete translation of *Sasamegato*.

5. MYS 318, the *hanka* to Akahito's famous Mount Fuji *chōka*, MYS 317. See commentary to verse 2 of Shinkei's 1467 solo sequence, “Cuckoo,” in Part Two for his allusion to this poem.

6. Kaneko, *Seikatsu to sakuhin*, pp. 143–44.

7. Suzuki, pp. 61–62.

8. George Sansom (p. 263) states that renga poets “at times, no doubt, also acted as spies and gave the warlords news from other territories.” Renga scholars themselves have remarked on the freedom with which the *rengashi* traveled across mutually hostile territories—thanks to the warlords' enthusiasm for poetry—and on the opportunity, as a social gathering, the renga session afforded for collecting and exchanging information. To my knowledge, no Japanese scholar has yet gone so far as to ascribe to them an occasional role as secret agents but that could be a case of reserve.

9. For a wider perspective on the war in the Kantō, see Sansom, pp. 195–200, 241–42.

10. Text in SSS, pp. 392–426. The information below regarding the participants is based on Kaneko, *Seikatsu to sakuhin*, pp. 146–47.

11. Kyōshun's identity was uncovered by Yunoue Sanae's research, as presented in “Kenzai to Kyōshun.”

12. See, e.g., the entries for Ōta Sukekiyo and Ōta Dōkan in the *Nihon rekishi daijiten* 2: 251–52. They also figure as such in Inoue's literary history of the medieval poetic milieu (see vol. 2 [*Muromachi zenki*]: 229–31, 302–4).

13. Ijichi, *Sōgi*, pp. 85–88, 100–102.

14. The following account of Sogi's activities in the Kanto is summarized from *ibid.*, pp. 60-102.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 98; Inoue, 2: 232.

16. Ijichi, *Sōgi*, p. 125; also *RS* 1: 417.

17. From poem 44, *aki no kaze*; see Chapter 4.

18. According to Inoue (2: 234, 239, 241-42, 298), Tsuneyori was far from being a central or influential figure in waka circles in the capital during his lifetime. His celebrated reputation was a product of subsequent periods, a reflected glory from his famous disciple Sōgi, and had the effect of elevating the latter's own poetic pedigree (p. 242). There is no doubt that the prestige of the *Kokin denju* itself owed much to Sōgi's success in disseminating the value of the old teachings. His record of Tsuneyori's lectures, including his own comments on them, is known as the *Kokin wakashū ryōdo kiki-gaki* (Notes on two transmissions of the *Kokinshū*).

19. The colophon in question appears at the end of Part I of the Tenri Library Text, in Kidō Saizō, ed., *Kōchū Sasamegoto kenkyū to kaisetsu*, p. 83. See also Kaneko, *Seikatsu to sakuhin*, p. 149, for an interesting exegesis illuminating Shinkei's playful use of a nonexistent date in the colophon.

20. Text in *SSRS*, pp. 3-64.

21. In *SSRS*, pp. 257-316; the preface and epilogue only also appear in Ijichi, *Rengaronshū* 2: 331-39.

22. Unpublished manuscript in the Osaka University archives; I have relied on a handwritten copy kindly provided by Professor Kaneko.

23. Kaneko, *Kenzai*, pp. 18, 22.

24. *Shinkei-sōzu teikin*, p. 1126.

25. In *Kenzai*, Kaneko takes New Year 1475 as the date of this event based on information in *Kenzai*'s personal renga collection in four volumes, the *Sono no chiri*. The *ZGR* text of *Sono no chiri* (p. 761), however, gives Bummei 8 (1476) as the date of the senku sponsored by Masanaga at the Kitano Shrine. Kidō (*RS* 1: 461) thinks 1476 is the more accurate, since *Kenzai* was still in Mino in the Eleventh Month of 1475, when he participated in a senku with Senjun and others; moreover, it would have been natural for him to leave the Kantō only after Shinkei's death in the summer of 1475.

26. *GSIS* 518. Travel

miyako o ba	When I left,
kasumi to tomo ni	the haze was just rising
tachishikado	over the capital—
akikaze zo fuku	across Shirakawa Barrier now
shirakawa no seki	the autumn wind is blowing.
Nōin-hōshi	Priest Nōin

The *Goshūishū* was ordered by Emperor Shirakawa in 1075 and completed in 1086.

27. For Bashō's impressions of the Shirakawa Barrier and the poetic anecdotes associated with it, see *Oku no hosomichi*, sections 12-13, pp. 350-51.

28. *Kono hokku nado o omoshiro to omowan toki, haya sono hito wa, renga no jōzutarubeshi* (Yokoyama, *Chikurinshō kochū*, p. 98, comment to verse 389).

29. From *Kenzai*'s waka anthology *Kanjinshū*; the poem is no. 338 in the *ST*

text. It is an allusion to Saigyō's famous *toshi takete* poem, SKKS 987, translated below.

SKKS 987. Travel. "Composed when he came to the vicinity of Azuma."  
Priest Saigyō.

toshi takete	Now full of years,
mata koyubeshi to	did I ever think then that I
omoiki ya	would cross it once more?
inochi narikeri	O Mountain-Amidst-the Night,
sayononakayama	a lifetime do I bear here!

## Chapter 6

1. Text in *ST* 6: 115, poem 324.

2. *Shiyōshō* text in Ijichi, *Rengaron shinshū*, 1: 53–98.

3. Examples of "named world" (*na no yo*) are "floating world" (*ukiyo*), "the world of love" (*koi no yo*), "the afterworld" (*nochi no yo*).

4. Banri came to Edo in 1485 and stayed at a hermitage built for him in the Edo Castle grounds by Dōkan. Because the hermitage was situated within a plum grove, he called it the *Baika Mujinzō* (Inexhaustible treasure-trove of plum flowers), and named his Chinese poetry and prose collection after it. Banri remained in Edo for two more years after Dōkan's death in 1486, enlivening Dōshin's poetry sessions and associating with Shinkei's nephew Kiyō and the Zen monks of the Kamakura Gozan temples. Katsumori, *Ōta Dōkan*, pp. 114–15; see also note 28 to Chapter 3 above.

5. *GR* 16: 382, 514–15. The *Kamakura ōzōshi* is a Muromachi military chronicle recounting the civil wars and political conditions in the Kantō during the years 1379–1479, in particular the power struggle between the Ashikaga Kubō and the Uesugi, and the exploits of their major generals, the Yūki, Chiba, and Ōta.

6. Text of the 1471 Shōtetsu memorial sequence in *ZGR* 14b: 397.913–16.

7. I have followed Kaneko's reading (*Seikatsu to sakuhin*, p. 162) of poem 10, *korosu* ("kill") in line 5 as distinct from *utsusu* ("reflect") in the *ZGR* text; the former is more powerful in connection with *tsurugi* ("sword") in line 2. The poem includes an allusion to *tōzan kenju* ("a mountain of blades, trees of swords"), a Buddhist image of the tortuous geography of Hell; Shinkei uses it again in *Oi no kurigoto*, written in autumn of the same year.

8. "Sometime after the compilation of the renga anthology *Tsukubashū*, it began to fall into obscurity; thinking this deplorable, I would occasionally remember to record the verses of our own time, collecting as much as I could, until I had copied down twenty volumes under the name *Shingyokushū*. But these too were lost, torn and scattered, no one knows where." From Ichijō Kanera's instruction book on renga linking, *Fude no susabi* (Solace of the brush), written in 1469 at the Kōfukuji in Nara, where he took refuge during the war. This passage continues the description of how early in the war, mobs of looters broke into the building housing his library and destroyed several hundred volumes of Chinese and Japanese books that had been transmitted in his family for ten generations. Text of *Fude no susabi* in Ijichi, *Rengaronshū* 1: 281–303; quoted passage on p. 284.



9. "Death-Mountain Trail" (*shide no yamaji*); according to popular Buddhist belief, the souls of the dead are condemned to cross a steep mountain presided over by the Ten Kings of Hell, who subject them to various forms of torture as punishment for their sins. The *Sutra of the Ten Kings* mentions that at the southern gate of Death Mountain, the skin and flesh of the victims are torn apart, and their bones crushed until the marrow oozes out. This probably suggested the graphic image of dismemberment in Shinkei's poem.

10. In 1480, five years after Shinkei's death, a certain Ryōshō-shōnin applied to the Tōji Temple for permission to build in its grounds a hall to house the destroyed Jūjūshin'in's main image (*honzon*) until such time as the temple itself could be rebuilt. The request was denied, however, and Shinkei's much-lamented abode passed permanently from history ("Jūjūshin'in kō," p. 5).

11. Tzu-yu and Le-t'ien are identified later in the text. Wang Chih of the Chin dynasty (265-419) is the protagonist of a famous Taoist tale. While cutting trees on Shih-shih Mountain, he became absorbed in watching two boys playing chess. When he came to, he found that the handle of his axe had rotted and several hundred years had passed in the space of half a day. Verse 545 in the *Wakan rōeishū* alludes to this tale (*Wakan rōeishū*, p. 189).

Fei Chang-fang, a native of Ju-nan District in the Later Han dynasty (25-220), is likewise a Taoist hero. Leaping into a wine jar with an old sage, he discovered a wondrous realm built of precious stones, where one could partake of the finest wine and delicacies. Later the old man gave him a stick with which to master the gods and demons of earth, and he became famous as a healer (*Mōgyū*, 2:669-70, 852-53; see also *Wakan rōeishū*, verse 540, p. 188). The Fei Chang-fang anecdote appears in Japanese narrative literature (*Konjaku monogatari*, *Soga monogatari*, and *Gikeiki* among others) in various versions. In *Konjaku monogatari* 10:14, he learns the methods of Taoist magic and is transported to the immortal realm of Hōrai (Ch. P'eng-lai) in a dream.

12. "A long river" refers to Ōyama River, which has its source in the mountain and empties into Sagami Bay.

13. "A great peak" refers to Mount Ōyama, which rises to an altitude of 1,253 meters. The rain image in the following sentence was inspired by the mountain's legendary reputation as the abode of the rain god.

14. "The dream of a myriad forms" (*shikisō no yume*): in Buddhism the visible phenomenal world as apprehended by the mundane mind has only a provisional or conditional existence, and the distinctions that make things seem as they are have neither substantial nor transcendental reality. They are in that sense an unreal "dream." This Buddhist principle of non-discrimination, or emptiness, is the subject of poem 97, *samazama ni*, in Shinkei's 1468 waka sequence (see Chapter 4), and is likewise a grounding concept in *Sasamegato*.

15. "The night rain of Hsiao-hsiang" (*Hsiao-hsiang yeh-yü*) and "the [autumn] moon over Tung-t'ing Lake" (*Tung-t'ing ch'iu yüeh*) are two of the so-called Eight Views of Hsiao-hsiang, the scenic area along the banks of the Hsiang River, which empties into Tung-t'ing Lake in Hunan. Lu-shan is in the adjacent province of Chiang-hsi to the east; Shinkei is alluding to Po Chü-i's famous poem, "Staying Alone in My Grass Hut, Listening to the Night Rain on Lu-shan," a melancholy

evocation of his lonely exiled existence in contrast to the splendor of his friends' life back in the court at Ch'ang-an. Two lines from this poem appear in the *Wakan rōeishū* (verse 555, p. 191) and have since echoed through the pages of Japanese literature from Sei Shōnagon to Bashō.

16. Araki Yoshio (*Shinkei*, p. 25 on) was the first to observe that *Oi no kurigoto* is a work equal to and belonging to the same literary tradition as Chōmei's *Hōjōki* and Bashō's *Genjūan no ki*. In an early standard source for Japanese literary history, Ishizu Naomichi, writing on the development of the *zuihitsu* genre in the late medieval period, confirms Araki's evaluation. He goes further to observe that among the "literary-critical essays" (*bungakuron-teki zuihitsu*) of this period, which would include the *Kōun kuden*, *Shōtetsu monogatari*, and Sōgi's *Oi no susami*, among others, "Shinkei's *Sasamegoto*, *Hitorigoto*, and *Oi no kurigoto* are preeminent not only in their deep-going search for beauty and lofty contemplation of human existence; they are also a demonstration of a rich aesthetic sensibility, and may be considered models of the literary-critical essay" (Ishizu, p. 428).

17. The *Meng Ch'iu* (J. *Mōgyū*) is a T'ang collection of anecdotes about historical and literary figures that had been enormously popular in Japan since the Heian period. Tzu-yu or Wang Hui-chih was the son of the celebrated Chin dynasty calligrapher Wang Hsi-chih (321-79). The elegant practice of referring to bamboos as "this dear friend" (*kono kimi*) arises from this anecdote. See *Mōgyū* 1: 432-33.

18. Trans. Waley, *Life and Times of Po Chū-i*, p. 120.

19. For a study of the influence of this theme in the cultural milieu of Muromachi Japan, see Rosenfield, "The Unity of the Three Creeds."

20. Karaki, "Shinkei-zuka." However, it was Adachi Hisao who first established the Jōgyōji as the site of Shinkei's "old temple" in his article "Shinkei kyoseki to Jōgyōji-seki ni tsuite," *Isehara shiwa* 4 (Feb. 1968); cited in Kaneko, *Seikatsu to sakuhin*, pp. 163, 166.

21. Text in *SSS*, pp. 104-21, under the title *Shibakusa-nai renga awase*.

22. For Kibe Yoshinori, see Inoue, 2: 183-85.

23. *Ungyoku wakashō*, pp. 192-93. This work is a collection of poetic anecdotes and poems by its author Junsō and by other poets both ancient and contemporary. The text's editors, Shimazu and Inoue, conclude from internal evidence that Junsō (obviously a pen name) was a former warrior general who lived for many years in Edo and subsequently retired to Shimōsa (Chiba). He was a friend of Kibe Yoshinori and was quite knowledgeable about Tō no Tsuneyori, Shinkei, Sōgi, and other well-known figures of the contemporary Kantō *bundan* (literary milieu).

24. Text in *GR* 9: 209.668-71.

25. Inoue, 2: 230.

26. Katsumori Sumi's detailed single-volume biography, *Ōta Dōkan*, is also a useful account of the political conditions in the Kantō in the fifteenth century.

27. See Sōgi *shūenki* (A record of Sōgi's final days). For an annotated version, see Kaneko's *Sōgi tabi no ki shichū*, pp. 103-25.

28. Araki, *Shinkei*, Preface, p. 1.

29. The four hokku are cited in Kaneko, *Seikatsu to sakuhin*, pp. 168-69.

30. Yokoyama, *Chikurinshō kochū*, p. 149; the verse in question is *Chikurinshō*

31. From Kenzai's renga collection, *Sono no chiri*, p. 762. The hokku hinges on the contrast (*hana wa*) between the flowers that return each spring and the departed Shinkei.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 762–63.

## Section I

1. All references to the *Chikurinshō* follow the numbering of the verses in the Shimazu et al. edition, *SNKBT* 49 (1991). Note, however, that Hoshika Sōichi, ed., *Kōhon Chikurinshō* (1937) was the only available printed edition heretofore, and all pre-1991 Japanese studies referring to the anthology cite the numbering there.

2. References to *Oi no susami* are to the text edited by Kidō Saizō in *Rengaronshū* 2, pp. 137–86; I have numbered the verses consecutively for convenience in citation. For textual commentary, see Nose Asaji, “*Oi no susami* (Sōgi rengaronsho) hyōshaku.”

3. For the dating and internal textual relationships among these three Sōgi-line *Chikurinshō* commentaries, see Kaneko, *Renga kochūshaku no kenkyū*, pp. 36–38.

4. For the texts of *Chikubun*, *Chikurinshō no chū*, *Yuki no keburī*, and *Chikurinshū kikigaki*, see *Chikurinshō kochū*. Citations of them in this book follow Yokoyama's numbering there.

5. Text of *Keikandō* in Ijichi, *Rengaronshū* 2: 127–46.

6. According to Yamane Kiyotaka (“Shinkei no hyōgen: ‘mono mo nashi’ o megutte”), this expression occurs 17 times in the *Kokinshū*, 27 in the *Shinkokinshū*, 89 in the *Tsukubashū*, and 91 in the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*. Furthermore, in the seven sages' verses in the *Chikurinshō*, Shinkei and Chiun use it twice as often as the other five, and Shinkei's manner of using it is distinct from all the others.

7. Araki Yoshio, *Shinkei*, pp. 243–44, 247.

8. *RH*, p. 220. Sōgi wrote the *Azuma mondō* (Azuma dialogues) for renga enthusiasts in the Sumidagawa area of Musashi in 1470. It is his most important treatise, marking the beginnings of his project of defining the orthodox renga style based on the work of Sōzei, Shinkei, and the other seven sages.

9. The foundation poem (*honka*) Kenzai refers to is:

*KKS* 36. Spring. “Composed when he broke off a spray of plum blossoms.”  
The Higashisanjō Minister of the Left [Minamoto Tokiwa].

uguisu no	The warbler, 'tis said,
kasa ni nuu chō	sews them into a hat—
ume no hana	blossoms of the plum,
orite kazasamu	I'll pluck and adorn my head,
oi kakuru ya to	surely they will hide my age?

10. “Among Chinese poets Tu Fu may be said to have sung a lifetime of sorrow” (*SSG*, p. 139).

11. The poem is *SKKS* 95. Spring. In the spirit of “flowers in the old village.” Former Abbot Jien.

12. “Days of peach blossoms opening in the spring breeze, / Season of paulownia leaves falling in the autumn dew”—these two are among the lines from Po Chū-

i's *Ch'ang hen ko* (J. *Chōgonka*; Song of everlasting sorrow) that appear in the *Wakan rōeishū*, verse 781, p. 252. Kenzai's text may have had "rain" instead of "dew," or he could be remembering wrong; Shinkei also has "rain" in *Sasamegoto* (SSG, p. 178).

13. Kaneko, *Seikatsu to sakuhin*, p. 249.

14. *Shūi gusō* 109, where the first line is *asanagi ni* ("in the dawn calm"). References to the *Shūi gusō*, Teika's poetic anthology, refer to the text edited by Kubota Jun, *Fujiwara Teika zenkashū*.

15. Shinkei might have had in mind this poem in *Ise monogatari* 68 (NKBZ 8:90):

kari nakite	When wild geese call and
kiku no hana saku	chrysanthemums bloom, autumn is
aki wa aredo	just fine, but how good
haru no umibe ni	'tis to dwell in Sumiyoshi Beach,
sumiyoshi no hama	beside the sea in springtime!

16. Okami, "Shinkei oboegaki," pp. 275–79, 284.

17. Kubota Jun, *Saigyō, Chōmei, Kenkō*, pp. 173–74. See also Shōtetsu's remarks on Kenkō and *Makura sōshi* in *Shōtetsu monogatari*, pp. 187–88; and Brower, trans., *Conversations with Shōtetsu*, pp. 95–96.

18. *Renju gappekishū*, entry for *hisaki* (registered as *hisagi*), no. 324.

19. As cited by Kubota Jun in his commentary to Akahito's poem in *SKKS* 641.

20. *Yamanoue Sōji ki*, pp. 56, 97. Takeno Jōō (1502–55) transmitted the ideals of the tea cult's founder, Murata Jukō (1422–1502), and was the teacher of the famous tea master Sen Rikyū (1522–91). Yamanoue Sōji (1544–90) in turn studied with Rikyū for twenty years and the *Yamanoue Sōji ki* is his record of the ideals, practice, and famous implements of tea, as secretly transmitted from Jukō down to Rikyū. Sōji also notes that it was Nōami (Nōa, one of the seven sages) who first recommended Jukō and the practice of tea to the Shōgun Yoshimasa (pp. 51–52).

21. See Jukō, *Furuichi Harima-hōshi ate no isshi*. The letter, which deals with the proper mental attitude in attaining to the highest in tea, is also known as *Kokoro no shi no fumi* (A letter on the mind-heart's teacher).

22. For Shinkei's role in the development of *wabicha*, see, e.g., Murai Yasuhiko, "The Development of *Chanoyu*," esp. pp. 21–23; and Haga Kōshirō, "The *Wabi* Aesthetic," esp. pp. 212–15.

23. The fourth line in modern printed texts of the *Kokinshū* is not *urasabishiku mo* but *uramezurashiki*, evoking a feeling not of loneliness but pleasure at the clear coolness of the first autumn winds after the humid heat of summer. Kenzai is probably quoting a variant *Kokinshū* text.

24. This qualification is made by Kidō Saizō in *RS* 1: 469. In general Kidō believes that Kenzai, in transmitting Shinkei's teachings, was not necessarily faithful to them but interpreted and altered them in his own way. See also Kidō, *Kōchū Sasamegoto*, p. 298. On the other hand, Kaneko ("Keikandō no shochūgo-kan," in *Shinsen Tsukubashū no kenkyū*, pp. 190–207) demonstrates that the *Keikandō* does represent Shinkei's classifications and commentary. My own reading is that although Kenzai might have altered, and inevitably so, Shinkei's wording and

emphases in his various treatises, he is faithful to the main thrust of his mentor's poetic philosophy, that his attitude of mind was clearly early inspired by the other, and his works like *Shinkei-sōzu teikin* are in fact fascinating in revealing other facets and applications of Shinkei's main principles as he discussed and illustrated them orally during Kenzai's tutelage in the Kantō.

25. The *Renga entokushō* was written by Kenzai for the great western daimyō Ōuchi Masahiro when he was visiting Yamaguchi between late 1490 and into the New Year; one of its colophons states that it represents "a transmission from Shinkei to Kenzai." Ōuchi Masahiro was one of the most affluent daimyō of his time, having amassed great wealth from the China trade. A great patron of the arts, he also invited Sōgi to Yamaguchi in 1480, Sesshū painted his famous Long Scroll there in 1486, and it was through his strong recommendation and support that the *Shinsen Tsukubashū* came about; it includes seventy-five of his verses. Kenzai's 1490 trip to Yamaguchi was in connection with the anthology's compilation; he would return there in the Ninth Month of 1495 to show the completed manuscripts to the dying Masahiro and subsequently write the diary *Ashita no kumo*, an account of Masahiro's death and funeral, including memorial hyakuin held daily after his death from the eighteenth to the end of the Ninth Month.

26. The *Tōfū renga hiji* (Secrets of the renga style of our time) is a comprehensive renga instruction manual written by the master Sōboku (d. 1545) for his son and poetic heir Sōyō (d. 1563). Sōboku studied renga with Sōgi's disciples, Sōchō and Sōseki (1474-1533), and in turn became the leading renga master after their deaths. As he puts it in his colophon to the *Tōfū renga hiji*, "This volume does not wholly issue forth from my own lips and mind; it is a record of the words of Sōzei, Shinkei, Sōgi, Kenzai, Sōchō, and Sōseki" (p. 228). In that sense, the work may be viewed as a record of the accumulated practical wisdom of the generations of renga masters who had molded the orthodox renga style.

27. Nose, "*Oi no susami hyōshaku*," p. 494.

28. Kaneko, *Seikatsu to sakuhin*, p. 202. He also cites the verse as an example of that aspect of Shinkei's lyricism that may be called sincerity, a profundity of feeling (*shinjō*) that draws us into the deepest layer of the poetic realm. This realm is commonly known as *yūgen*, but in Shinkei's terminology the appropriate term is *yōon*, a quality of "ineffable remoteness" we have seen among the waka translated in the literary biography and in a few of the preceding hokku. In *Shinkei*, Araki refers to this quality as *yūin*, an "ineffable echo"; Okami Masao implies the same realm in his term for it, "unseen presence" (*minu omokage*).

29. The verse appears in the *Azuma atari iisute* (no. 76), a collection of Shinkei's *tsukeku* from the Kantō years; see SSS, p. 179.

30. *Asaji*, written in 1500, is Sōgi's last critical work. It deals with the subject of *honka*, poem-allusions, and *honzetsu* (anecdotal allusions to prose literature) as methods of linking and illustrates these with 72 examples from the seven sages, Kenzai, Shōhaku, and others. The second part also illustrates the conventional associations attached to famous place-names (*meisho*) from some 39 provinces by citing poem-examples, without commentary. Page citations refer to the text edited by Kidō Saizō in *Rengaronshū* 2; I have numbered the verse-examples for convenience.

31. From the opening passage of *Asaji* (p. 317), where Sōgi underlines the overwhelming importance of learning to use allusions in the training of a novice.
32. Konishi, “Renga-teki sekai no keisei to tenkai,” esp. pp. 66–67.
33. Sakamoto Yukio and Iwamoto Yutaka, trans., *Hokkekyō*, 1: 282.
34. The *Akishino gesseishū*, composed of some 1,600 poems, is the personal poetry collection of the *Shinkokinshū* poet Fujiwara Yoshitsune (1169–1206); *Akishino gessei* (clear moon on autumn bamboo grass) is part of his pen name. The *KT* text of the poem has a different last line: *matsumushi no koe*.
35. The Onoe no miya in Minase, Mishima County, Osaka, was the detached palace of the Retired Emperor Go-Toba; it would become famous as the setting for the *Minase sangin hyakuin* (Hundred-verse sequence by three poets at Minase), composed by Sōgi, Shōhaku, and Sōchō in 1488 as a prayer-offering dedicated to Go-Toba at the Minase Shrine, which stood at the old site of his palace.
36. The poem, by no means a simple one, is explained in Kenzai’s *Jisankachū* and also in the *Shinkokin nukigakishō*, which is believed to transmit Shinkei’s commentary on some 116 *Shinkokinshū* poems. In the latter, Kenzai writes: “This has been transmitted in several poetry houses as a distinctive poem. In Musashi Plain, the bush clover, the maiden flower, and various other flowers bloom, dew falls, the insects cry, and so on; no matter how far one walks, there are the same affecting sights and sounds. Finally, when one is ready to lodge at the very end of the plain, what might be the affecting things yet to be found there— so one wonders in imagination. The spirit of the poem is one of enjoyment of nature [*fūryū no kokoro*]. This commentary is transmitted in a work bearing [Fujiwara] Tameie’s annotations” (quoted in Kubota, *Zenhyōshaku*, 2: 399).
37. Ebara, “Shinkei to Bashō.” Shinkei’s name does not occur in Bashō’s writings, but isolated passages from *Sasamegoto* are cited in other contemporary haikai criticism, evidence that his work was not unknown among haikai poets at the time. As we now know, “the old site of Bishop Shinkei’s hermitage” was one of the famous places listed in a couple of Edo gazetteers; it is inconceivable that Bashō was unaware of the work of one of Sōgi’s mentors.
38. Ijichi in the headnote to this verse (*Rengashū*, p. 245) says it refers to Niou’s seduction of Nakanokimi in the guise of Kaoru. Since that incident happens much earlier, in the “Hashihime” (Lady of the bridge) chapter, and with Kaoru’s cooperation, it would contradict the sense of the link. Perhaps “Nakanokimi” in the note is a misprint for “Ukifune.”
39. The *Minishū* is the individual anthology of the *Shinkokinshū* poet Fujiwara Ietaka (1158–1237); it includes some 2,850 poems and was compiled in 1245 by Kujō Motoie.
40. The *Kenzai zōdan* (A miscellany of Kenzai’s lectures) is a collection of Kenzai’s teachings about waka and renga; it includes anecdotes reminiscing on Shinkei, Sōzei, Sōgi, and the compilation of the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*, as well as commentary on the poetic lexicon. Dating from after Kenzai’s return to the Kantō in his late years, it was recorded there by his disciple Kenjun.
41. Professor Kaneko made this observation during a Shinkei seminar, in response to my remark that the feeling of the link approximates the effect of the stark brushstrokes of certain *sumi-e* paintings.

42. In the lunar calendar, the moon is at the full on the fifteenth of each month; thus the “second-day moon” is very thin and insubstantial indeed.

43. For Shinkei’s discussion of the structure of the link and the character of the *benjodai* verse, see *SSG*, pp. 156–59, 173–75; for an analysis of this *Sasamegoto* passage, see Ramirez-Christensen, “Renga janru ni okeru ‘imi’ no isō,” esp. pp. 137–43.

44. It should be noted that Ijichi (*Rengashū*, p. 254) reads the *maeku* differently, in particular *ware-hito no michi* as *ware hito no michi*, thus: “For as long as I live, I at least shall hold fast to and practice the way of man to the fullest extent” (*ikiteiru kagiri wa, semete jibun dake de mo hito no fumiokonau michi o tsukushi, mamorō*). His construction of the link then becomes, “though the bridge may be rotting, as long as it remains, it will serve [the way of] man.” A different syntactic reading of the *maeku*’s second line leads then to a Confucian, rather than Buddhist, construction. My reading is based on *ware-hito no michi* (“the way of self and other”), as in *oyako no michi* (“the way of parent and child”), although *hito no michi* is of course also a possibility. I also give more weight to *yamazato ni kayou . . . hashi* (“the bridge . . . leading to and from the mountain village”) as a pointed response to “the way of self and other” in the *maeku*. The existence of two possible constructions here is evidence above all of the fascinating character of *renga* as a genre that more than any other foregrounds the activity of reading itself.

45. Kenzai is referring to the scene in the “Yūgao” (Evening face flower) chapter, when alone with his dead lover in the deserted mansion, the grief-stricken and terrified Genji hears the weird cooing of a dove outside. No doubt it is the portentous quality of the link that evoked the “Yūgao” scene in Kenzai’s mind.

46. The Tendai concept of the three truths (*santai* or *sandai*) refers to three ways of viewing phenomena. They are “empty” (*kū*) in lacking an unchanging core, and “provisional” (*ke*) in having nevertheless a temporal existence; the truth of the “middle way” (*chūdō*) names the ineffably indeterminate nature of phenomena as both real and unreal, or neither, at the same time. The link here is an allegorical illustration of the concept.

47. Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, p. 15.

## Section II

1. Barfield, *Poetic Diction: A Study in Meaning*, p. 52.

2. See Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*.

3. In Yoshimoto’s treatise *Tsukuba mondō* (pp. 82–83), in answer to the question of whether *renga* practice can be a means of attaining religious enlightenment.

4. The *yoriai* or conventional word association between “cold” and “plovers crying” culls from a poem by Tsurayuki (*SIS* 224. Winter). ✓

omoikane  
imogari yukeba  
fuyu no yo no  
kawakaze *samumi*  
*chidori naku nari*

As beset by yearning  
I seek my beloved’s abode,  
in the wintry night  
the river wind gusts so *cold*  
the *plovers are crying*.

5. This *yoriai* pair is noted in *Renga tsukeai no koto* (entry 112, p. 218), a renga word association “thesaurus” of anonymous authorship. Although of much smaller scale than Kanera’s *Renju*, it includes items excluded there and is believed to typify the more common sort of renga dictionary in the medieval period.
6. The Shirakawa River has its source in the valley below the Shiga Pass; it joins the Kamo River in the vicinity of Gion. The area along its banks in the eastern section of the capital was also known as Shirakawa. Yoshifusa’s villa there later became the detached palace of the retired Emperor Shirakawa (r. 1072–86).
7. The other tree-bases of the *kemari* court were the willow in the southeast corner, the pine in the northwest, and the maple in the southwest.
8. *Wen hsüan* X, *Kokuyaku kambun taisei* ed., 2: 1–2.
9. *Shōtetsu monogatari*, p. 232, where the poet cites the *Guhishō* recounting of the tale, which ends with the statement: “It is this mode of gazing at the morning clouds and the evening rain that is called the *yūgen* style.” For a translation of the Wu-shan passage, see Brower, *Conversations with Shōtetsu*, pp. 161–62. See also *Sasamegoto*, p. 179.
10. In *Oku no hosomichi* (p. 364), Bashō alludes to the same anecdote in the opening line of the section on Hiraizumi, where the hunted hero of the Gempei Wars, Minamoto Yoshitsune, made his last stand and the northern Fujiwara were destroyed for harboring him: *Sandai no eiyō issui no uchi ni shite* (“the glory of three generations in the space of a moment’s dream”).
11. Keene, trans., *Essays in Idleness*, chap. 30, p. 31 (my italics); the Japanese text is *hate wa arashi ni musebishi matsu mo chitose o matade takigi ni kudakare, furuki tsuka wa sukarete ta to narimu. Sono kata dani nakunarinaruru zo kanashiki* (*Tsurezuregusa*, pp. 118–19).
12. *Wen hsüan* XV, *Kokuyaku kambun taisei* ed., 2: 464; 88 (Chinese text).
13. Keene, *Essays in Idleness*, p. 120; *Tsurezuregusa*, pp. 203–4.
14. In the NKBZ text of the *Genji*, the passages cited here are in 13: 219, 224, and 237.
15. However, it is also possible that *mukae no kuruma* refers to the carriage of Emma, King of Hell, who comes to fetch the dead and metes out punishment or reward according to their deeds. Emma is a well-known figure in popular belief and the visual arts.
16. See Part One, Chapter 4 above for similar poems composed by him earlier in the year.
17. This information on “the five marks of a heavenly maiden’s decay” (*tennin no gosui*) is cited from the *Ojōyōshū* in the headnote to *Hagoromo* in NKBZ 33: 354.
18. Waley, trans., *Nō Plays of Japan*, pp. 220–21.
19. See *Nagu no yashiro*, one of the Tango province *fudoki*, in NKBT 2: 466–69.
20. *Wakan rōishū*, p. 239.
21. From the translation of *Utsukushi Nihon no watakushi* by Seidensticker, *Japan, the Beautiful, and Myself*, pp. 68–69.
22. Kidō and Shigematsu, *Renga yoriaishū to kenkyū*, 1: 124, entry 193.
23. According to Kubota, the cited lines of the poem’s topic are from the second



volume of the *Shutsuyō-gyō* (*Zenhyōshaku*, 8: 519). This is a 30-volume sutra composed of verses, hymns, and allegorical tales in prose illustrating Buddhist teachings. The poetry section is believed to stem from the *Hokkukyō* (Pali *Dhammapada*), the oldest Buddhist text, compiled around the third or fourth century B.C. (Mizuno, *Butten kaidai jiten*, p. 66).

24. This citation is from the *Hiyubon* (Parables) chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*, the passage where the Buddha explicates the parable of the burning house, and the Thus-Come-One's role as the father who rescues the children from their mindless play in the conflagration that is mundane suffering. "It is in the midst of such various woes as these that the beings are plunged, yet they cavort in joy, *unaware, unknowing, unalarmed, unafraid*, neither experiencing disgust nor seeking release. In this burning house of the three worlds they run about hither and yon, and, though they encounter great woes, they are not concerned" (Hurvitz trans., p. 61; italics mine). The poem's author, Priest Kyōshō (or Keisei, 1189–1268), was a son of the Regent and *Shinkokinshū* poet Gokyōgoku (Fujiwara) Yoshitsune. A Tendai priest, he traveled to Sung China in 1213, and has ten poems in the *Fūgashū*.

25. *Genji*, 16: 118–19. For the narrative and symbolic context of the poem, see Ramirez-Christensen, "Operation of the Lyrical Mode," pp. 22–27.

26. SSG, p. 160, section on "the six modes of poetry." Gusai's verse is *samidare wa / mine no matsukaze / tani no mizu* ("The long June rains: / pine winds across the peaks, / the valley streams!"). Kidō (in headnote 4) speculates that it might have been influenced by a hymn by Dengyō Daishi that reads the sound of the valley streams and mountain wind as manifestations of the Buddhist truth of the non-dualism of phenomena and ultimate reality. By using the verse to illustrate the symbolic mode, Shinkei implies a similar significance.

27. See *Yamato monogatari* 148, SIS IX, *Gempei jōsuiki* 36, *Konjaku monogatari* 30, the Nō play *Ashikari*, and Tanizaki Jun'ichiro's tale of the same title. The story clearly had a wide distribution.

28. The remark is made in his treatise *Shiyōshō*, quoted in Part One, Chapter 5 above.

29. See, e.g., Shōtetsu's poem-prayer to the Tamatsushima deity, *koto no ha o*, in Part One, Chapter 2 above.

### Section III

1. The source used for the translations is *Shinkei-sōzu jittei waka*. I have also consulted the text in ST 6: 106–15.

2. The source text is the final untitled collection in the *Gondaisōzu Shinkeishū*, pp. 413–19. It corresponds to poems 301–432 in ST 6: 102–5 and KT 8: 261–63.

### Epilogue

1. The text of the mounted scroll fragment is also quoted in Kaneko, *Seikatsu to sakuhin*, pp. 174–75.

2. Entry 237 in the *Sakusha burui* section of the *Shinsen Tsukubashū*, p. 409.

3. The source is the *Hoan kyōka zenshū* in Tamamura, *Gozan bungaku shinshū*

1: 223. Dating from 1472 on, this work is a Chinese poetry and prose collection by Osen Keisan (1429–93), one of the last luminaries of Gozan literature. A poet-priest of the Shōkokuji, he was like Shinkei a beneficiary of Hosokawa Katsumoto's patronage and was in fact asked by Motonari to copy out one of the *Lotus* chapters for the memorial handscroll.

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## Character List

Afuriyama 雨降山・阿夫利山  
aite awazaru koi 逢不逢恋  
Aizu 会津  
Akamatsu Mitsusuke 赤松満祐  
akamegashiwa 赤芽柏  
Akishino gesseishū 秋篠月清集  
Amaterasu 天照  
amayo no shinasadame 雨夜の品さ  
だめ  
Anegakōji Imashimmei  
hyakuin 姉小路今神明百韻  
aoba 青葉  
Asaji 浅茅  
Asanani hyakuin 朝何百韻  
Ashikaga Masauji 足利政氏  
Masatomo 政知  
Mochiuji 持氏  
Motouji 基氏  
Shigeuji 成氏  
Takauji 尊氏  
Yoshiakira 義詮  
Yoshihisa 義尚  
Yoshimasa 義政  
Yoshimi 義視  
Yoshimitsu 義満  
Yoshimochi 義持  
Yoshinori 義教

Ashina Morinori 蘆名盛詮  
Moritaka 盛高  
ashi no maroya 蘆の丸屋  
Ashita no kumo あしたの雲  
ashura 阿修羅  
Asukai Masachika 飛鳥井雅親  
Masatsune 雅経  
Masayo 雅世  
Azuma atari iisute 吾妻辺云捨  
Azuma gekō hokkugusa  
吾妻下向発句草  
Azuma mondō 吾妻問答  
Baika mujinzō 梅花無尽蔵  
Banri Shūkyū 万里集九  
Bashō 芭蕉  
batsugun 拔群  
Bishamon-kō 毘沙門講  
Bontō 梵灯  
bugyō 奉行  
Buke utaawase 武家歌合  
bumintei 撫民体  
Bun'an yonen Chikamasa-tō Nani-  
hito hyakuin 文安四年親当等  
何人百韻  
Bushū Edo utaawase 武州江戸歌合  
buun chōkyū 武運長久  
byōdōshin 平等心

- Chen chung chi* (J. *Chinchūki*)  
 枕中記  
*Chih-i* (J. *Chigi*) 智顛  
*Chikamoto nikki* 親元日記  
*Chikubun* 竹聞  
*Chikurinshō* 竹林抄  
*Chikurinshō no chū* 竹林抄之注  
*Chikurinshū kikigaki* 竹林集聞書  
*chikushō* 畜生  
*chinchō* 珍重  
*chinshi* 沈思  
*Chiun* (Ninagawa Chikamasa)  
 智蘊(蜷川親當)  
*chōka* 長歌  
*chōkōtei · take takaki tai* 長高体  
*Chōrokubumi* 長六文  
*Chōroku Kanshō ki* 長禄寛正記  
*chūdō jissō* 中道実相  
*Chūei* 忠英  
*Chūga* 中雅  
*chūin* 中陰  
*daiei* 題詠  
*Daigo Jakuseidani* 醍醐寂靜谷  
*Daijōin jisha zōjiki* 大乘院寺社雜  
 事記  
*daisan* 第三  
*daisōzu* 大僧都  
*darani* 陀羅尼  
*Dempō* 伝芳  
*Dengyō Daishi* (Saichō)  
 伝教大師(最澄)  
*denka* 田家  
*dōbōshū* 同朋衆  
*doikki* 土一揆  
*dokugin* 独吟  
*dōshin* 道心  
*dosō* 土倉  
*Eikyō kunen Shōtetsu eisō* 永亨九年  
 正徹詠草  
*ekō massei no sansai* 壞劫末世の三災  
*emono* 獲物・得物  
*en* 艶  
*Enryakuji* 延暦寺  
*Enshū* 円秀  
*Fei Chang-fang* (J. *Hichōbō*) 費長房  
*fubin* 不便  
*Fude no susabi* 筆のすさび  
*fūga no makoto* 風雅の誠  
*Fūgashū* 風雅集  
*Fujigayatsu shikimoku* 藤谷式目  
*Fujiwara Teika* 藤原定家  
 Yoshitsune 良経  
*Funaoka* 船岡  
*Furuichi Chōin* 古市澄胤  
*Fuzan no yume* 巫山の夢  
*gago* 雅語  
*gakidō* 餓鬼道  
*ganzen no keshiki* 眼前の景色  
*gemmyō kidoku no gonja*  
 玄妙奇特の権者  
*gengai no renga* 言外の連歌  
*Genjūan no ki* 幻住庵記  
*Gensetsu* 元説  
*Gikō no eisō Shinkei no tensaku*  
 祇公の詠草心敬の点削  
*Gondaisōzu Shinkei shū*  
 権大僧都心敬集  
*gongo dōdan* 言語道断  
*gōrikitei* 強力体  
*Guhishō* 愚秘抄  
*Guku Shibakusa* 愚句芝草  
*Gusai* (or *Kyūsei*) 求濟  
*Gyōjo* 行助  
*Gyōkō* 堯孝  
*Gyōkō hōin nikki* 堯孝法印日記  
*Gyokuyōshū* 玉葉集  
*Hachiōjisha* 八王子社  
*hama hisaki* 浜楸  
*hana no himo* 花の紐  
*Han-t'an* 邯鄲



- harae 祓  
 Hatakeyama Kenryō 畠山賢良  
     Masanaga 政長  
     Mochikuni 持国  
     Yoshinari 義就  
*Hatsunani hyakuin* 初何百韻  
 hatsushio 初潮  
*Hekizan nichiroku* 碧山日録  
 henjodai 篇序題  
 Hidechika 毗親  
 Hiei 比叡  
 hiekōritaru 冷え氷たる  
 hieyase 冷え瘦せ  
 Higashiyama 東山  
 hikan 被官  
 hi no mikage 日の御影  
 Hino Yoshisuke 日野義資  
 Hirayama 比良山  
 hitofushi ni iinagashitaru 一筋に云流  
     したる  
 hito no waza 人の業  
*Hitorigoto* 独言  
*Hoan kyōka zenshū* 補庵京華前集  
 hōben 法便  
 hōgen 法眼  
 hōin 法印  
*Hōjōki* 方丈記  
*Hokkekyō* 法華經  
*Hokke nijuhappōn waka* 法華二十八  
     品和歌  
 hokku 発句  
 hon'i 本意  
 honkadori 本歌取  
 Honnōji 本能寺  
 honrai kū 本来空  
 honzetsu 本説  
 Hōrai (Ch. P'eng-lai) 蓬莱  
 hōraku 法樂  
 Horikoshi Kubō 堀越公方  
 Hosokawa Dōken 細川道賢  
     Katsumoto 勝基  
     Mitsumoto 満基  
     Yorihisa 頼久  
 Hosshōji 法勝寺  
 Hōzen 法泉・宝泉  
 Hsiao-hsiang yeh-yü 瀟湘夜雨  
 Hu-hsi 虎溪  
 Hui-yüan 慧袁  
*Hyakuban renga awase* 百番連歌合  
 hyakuin 百韻  
*Hyakushu waka* 百首和歌  
*Ichigon* 一言  
 Ichijō Kanera (or Kaneyoshi) 一条  
     兼良  
 ichimi no ame 一味の雨  
 Ikago 十五子  
 Ikenobō 池の坊  
 Ikkyū 一休  
 Imagawa Ryōshun 今川了俊  
 Inawashiro 猪苗代  
 Inkō 印孝  
*Inryōken nichiroku* 蔭涼軒日録  
 Ise Sadachika 伊勢貞親  
*Ishijarishū* 石舎利集  
 Ishikura 石蔵・石倉  
 ishin denshin 以心伝心  
 issetsutei・hitofushi naru  
     tai 一節休  
*Iwahashi no ge* 岩橋下  
*Iwahashi no jo* 岩橋上  
 Jakuzen 寂然  
 jichū 自注  
 jige 地下  
 jigoku 地獄  
 Jimbo 神保  
 Jimbo Shiroyūemon 神保四郎右衛門  
 jinji 人事  
 Jinson 尋尊  
*Jirenga awase* 自連歌合  
*Jisankachū* 自讃歌注  
 Jishū 時宗  
 Jitchū 実中

- jītōshiki 地頭職  
 jitsugen 実言  
 jittoku 十徳  
 Jōgyōji 浄業寺  
 Jōha 紹巴  
 Jōhō renga 紹芳連歌  
 jōkō 成劫  
 (Takeno) Jōō (武野)紹鷗  
 jōsha hissui 盛者必衰  
 Jūjūshin'in 十住心院  
 jukkai 述懐  
 jūkō 住劫  
 (Murata) Jukō (村田)珠光  
 Jukō, *Furuichi Harima-hōshi ate no isshi* 珠光, 古市播磨法師宛一紙  
 Jun'a 旬阿  
 Junsō 馴窓  
 Juntoku-in 順徳院  
 kaikyū 懐旧  
 Kaisō-gun 海草郡  
 Kaku'a 覺阿  
 Kamakura ōzōshi 鎌倉大草子  
 Kamata Mitsusuke 鎌田満助  
 Kamo no Chōmei 鴨長明  
 kanjin 閑人  
 Kanjinshū 閑塵集  
 Kanrei 管領  
 Kantan no yume 邯鄲の夢  
 Kantō hasshū 関東八州  
     Kubō 公方  
     Kanrei 関領  
 Kao-t'ang fu 高唐賦  
 Karanani hyakuin 唐何百韻  
 karekashike samukare 枯れかしけ寒  
     かれ  
 karine 仮寝  
 kari no yado 仮の宿  
 Kawagoe-jō 河越城  
 Kawagoe senku 河越千句  
 Kazuya-kan 糟屋館  
 Keichō kembunshū 慶長見聞集  
 Keikandō 景感道  
 keiki 景気  
 keikyoku no tai 景曲の体  
 Keizuian 景瑞庵  
 Ken'a 兼阿  
 Kenkō 兼好  
 Kenninji 建仁寺  
 Kenten 顕天  
 Kenzai 兼載  
 Kenzai zōdan 兼載雑談  
 Kibe Yoshinori 木戸孝範  
 kichū no byōshin 鞆中の病心  
 kigandera 祈願寺  
 Kii 紀伊  
 kinjū 近習  
 Kinkaishū 金槐集  
 Kinokawa 紀川  
 kisasage 木豎豆・楸  
 Kitano-sha ichimanku gohokku waki  
     daisan narabi ni jo 北野社一  
     万句御発句脇第三并序  
 Kiyomizudera 清水寺  
 Kiyō-shuza 季揚首座  
 Kiyō-shuza wain no jo 季揚首座和韻序  
 kochūshaku 古注釈  
 Koga Kubō 古河公方  
 Kogamo senku 小鴨千句  
 Kogamo Yukimoto 小鴨之基  
 kōin 光陰  
 Kokemushiro 苔庭  
 Kokin denju 古今伝授  
 Kokin rokujō 古今六帖  
 Kokinshū 古今集  
 Kokinshū ryōdo kikigaki 古今集両度  
     聞書  
 kokoro no en 心の艶  
 kokoro no hana 心の花  
 Kokoro no shi no fumi 心の師の文  
 kokoro no tsuki 心の月  
 kokorozuke 心付  
 Korai fūteishō 古来風体抄

- kōryō issui no yume 黄梁一炊の夢  
 koto shikarubeki tai 事可燃體  
 Kōyū 高雄  
 Kōzanji 高山寺  
 kūgen 空言  
 kuhon no rendai 九品の連台  
 kūkanteki na Zen no seishin  
   空間的な禪の精神  
 kūke 空仮  
 kūkō 空劫  
 Kumano hōraku senku 熊野法楽千句  
 kunibome uta 国讚歌  
 kurayaku 蔵役  
 Kurihara Ikuhiro 栗原幾弘  
 Kurodani 黒谷  
 Kyōshō (or Keisei) 慶政  
 Kyōshun 興俊  
 Lu Hsiu-ching 陸修静  
 Lu-shan 蘆山  
 maeku 前句  
 mae-maeku 前々句  
 Maigetsushō 毎月抄  
 Makashikan 摩訶止観  
 manako no tsukedokoro 眼の付所  
 Mandokoro 政所  
 Mansai jugō nikki 満濟准后日記  
 mappō 末法  
 Masayori 正頼  
 Meisū goi 名数語彙  
 mempakutei omoshiroki tai 面白体  
 Miidera 三井寺  
 Minamoto Sanetomo 源実朝  
   Toshiyori (or Shunrai) 俊頼  
   Tsunenobu 経信  
   Yoritomo 頼朝  
   Yoshitsune 義経  
 Minishū 壬二集  
 Mino senku 美濃千句  
 minu omokage 見ぬ面影  
 miraiki 未来記  
 misogi 禊  
 misotose no teikin 三十年の庭訓  
 mitsu no kashiwa 三角柏  
 miyama 深山  
 Mōgyū (Ch. Meng Ch'iu) 蒙求  
 mono issniki ni 物一色に  
 mono no aware もののあはれ  
 mononofu no michi 武士の道  
 muinaru ku 無為なる句  
 mujō 無常  
 mummyō chōya 無明長夜  
 musabetsu 無差別  
 Musashi 武蔵  
 Musashi Shinagawa minato no  
   senchō 武蔵品川湊船帳  
 mushikikai 無色界  
 mushin renga 無心連歌  
 Myōe 明恵  
 Myōkokuji 妙国寺  
 Myōkokuji engi 妙国寺縁起  
 Myōmanji 妙満寺  
 Nagusamegusa なぐさめ草  
 Nakusa 名草  
 Nanifune hyakuin 何船百韻  
 Nanihito hyakuin 何人百韻  
 Naniki hyakuin 何木百韻  
 Nanimichi hyakuin 何路百韻  
 Nasu no shinohara 那須の篠原  
 nayutake 弱竹  
 Nichimei 日明  
 Nijō Tameuji 二条爲氏  
   Yoshimoto 良基  
 Ninagawa Chikamasa (Chiun)  
   蜷川親当  
   Chikamoto 親元  
 Ninzei 忍誓  
 nioi-zuke 匂付  
 Nōa (Nōami) 能阿(能阿弥)  
 Nōin 能因  
 nori no mizu 法の水  
 nori no tsuki 法の月  
 nōtei komayaka naru tai 濃体

- nushi mo nashi 主もなし  
 Ōan shinshiki 応安新式  
 Ochiba hyakuin 落葉百韻  
 Ōgigayatsu 扇谷  
 Ōgo Norishige 大胡修茂  
 Ōgo Norishige yoriai 大胡修茂寄合  
 oi no kazashi 老の挿頭  
 Oi no kurigoto 老のくりごと  
 Oi no susami 老のすさみ  
 oku fukaki michi 奥深き道  
 Oku no hosomichi 奥の細道  
 omokage 面影  
 On'ami 音阿弥  
 Ōninki 応仁記  
 Ōnin no ran 応仁の乱  
 Ōsen Keisan 横川景三  
 Ōta Dōkan (Sukenaga)  
     大田道灌(資長)  
 Ōta Dōkan-tō utaawase  
     大田道灌等歌合  
 Ōta Dōshin (Sukekiyo)  
     大田道真(資清)  
 Otonashikawa 音無川  
 Otowayama 音羽山  
 Ōuchi Masahiro 大内政弘  
 Ōyama 大山  
 Po Chū-i 白居易  
 reitei·uruwashiki tai 麗体  
 Reizei 冷泉  
 Reizei Tamesuke 冷泉爲相  
     Tameyuki 爲之  
 Renga entokushō 連歌延徳抄  
 Renga hajakenshō 連歌破邪顯正  
 Renga hyakkutsuke 連歌百句付  
 rengashi 連歌師  
 renga shichiken 連歌七賢  
 Renga shinshiki 連歌新式  
 Renga shogakushō 連歌初學抄  
 Renga tsukeai no koto 連歌付合の事  
 Renga yoriai 連歌寄合  
 Renju gappekishū 連珠合璧集  
 Renkai 連海・蓮海  
 rikon naru fūkotsu 利根なる風骨  
 rikuchin 陸沈  
 rikugi 六義  
 (Sen) Rikyū (千) 利休  
 rokudō 六道  
 Rokuharamitsuji 六波羅密寺  
 Ryōjin hishō 染塵祕抄  
 ryokyaku inshi 旅客隠士  
 sabi さび・寂  
 Saigyō 西行  
 Saijun 西順  
 Saimon no ji 柴門辞  
 Saishōji 最勝寺  
 Saitō Myōshun 齊藤妙春  
 Samboku kikashū 散木奇歌集  
 samidare 五月雨  
 sangai no kataku 三界の火宅  
 Sange gakushōshiki 山家学生式  
 Sanjōnishi Kin'eda 三条西公条  
     Sanetaka 実隆  
 santai·sandai 三諦  
 sari kirai 去嫌  
 Sasamegoto ささめごと  
 sekisho 関所  
 Sen'ichi Kengyō 千一檢校  
 Senjun 專順  
 Shibakusa kunai hokku  
     芝草句内発句  
 Shibakusa kunai Iwahashi  
     芝草句内岩橋  
 Shibakusa-nai renga awase  
     芝草内連歌合  
 shide no yamaji 死出の山路  
 shigure 時雨  
 Shihōshō 至宝抄  
 shikan 止観  
 shikikai 色界  
 shikimoku 式目  
 Shikishi-naishinnō 式子内親王  
 shikisō no yume 色相の夢

- Shikō Shūa hyakuban renga awase*  
 侍公周阿百番連歌合  
*shimpen* 神變  
*Shimpen Musashi fūdokikō*  
 新編武蔵風土記稿  
*Shinagawa* 品川  
*Shingyokushū* 心玉集  
*Shingyokushū (by Shinkei)* 新玉集  
*Shingyokushū shūi* 心玉集拾遺  
*shinji shugyō* 心地修行  
*Shinkei* 心敬  
*Shinkei dokugin yamanani*  
*hyakuin* 心敬独吟山何百韻  
*Shinkei kushū kokemushiro*  
 心敬句集苔蘚  
*Shinkei renga jichū* 心敬連歌自注  
*Shinkei shigo* 心敬私語  
*Shinkei-sōzu hyakku* 心敬僧都百句  
*Shinkei-sōzu hyakushu* 心敬僧都  
 百首  
*Shinkei-sōzu jittei waka* 心敬僧都十  
 体和歌  
*Shinkei-sōzu kushū* 心敬僧都句集  
*Shinkei-sōzu teikin* 心敬僧都庭訓  
*Shinkei Yūhaku e no hensho*  
 心敬有伯への返書  
*Shinkō* 心孝  
*Shinkokin nukigakishō*  
 新古今拔書抄  
*Shinkokinshū* 新古今集  
*shinku* 親句  
*Shinsen Tsukubashu* 新撰菟玖波集  
*Shinshiki kin'an* 新式今案  
*Shinzoku Kokinshū* 新統古今集  
 (Kikei) Shinzui (季瓊) 真蘂  
*Shirai* 白井  
*Shirakawa kikō* 白河紀行  
*Shirakawa no seki* 白河の関  
*Shiyōshō* 私用抄  
*shizuya* 賤屋  
*shōdō, shōfū* 正道, 正風
- Shōgetsuan* 松月庵  
*shogyō mujō* 諸行無常  
*Shōhaku* 消柏  
*Shōjōkōji* 清淨光寺  
*shoki* 書記  
*Shōkō* 正広  
*Shōkokuji* 相国寺  
*Shōtetsu* 正徹  
*Shōtetsu monogatari* 正徹物語  
*Shūa* 周阿  
*Shūbun* 周文  
*shugo daimyō* 守護大名  
*shuhitsu* 執筆  
*Shūi gusō* 拾遺愚草  
*Shun'a* 俊阿  
*Shutsuyō-gyō* 出曜經  
*Sōanshū* 草庵集  
*Sōboku* 宗牧  
*Sōchō* 宗長  
*Sōetsu* 宗悦  
*Sōgen* 宗沅  
*Sōgi* 宗祇  
*Sōgi shūenki* 宗祇終焉記  
*Sōgi-Zenshi e no hensatsu*  
 宗祇禪師江返札  
*Sōi (Sugihara Katamori)*  
 宗伊(杉原賢盛)  
*Sōkonshū* 草根集  
*soku* 疎句  
*sonkotei* 尊古体  
*Sono no chiri* 園塵  
*Sōseki* 宗碩  
*sōshō* 宗匠  
*Sōyō* 宗養  
*Sōyū (Inadoko Motonari)*  
 宗雄(稻常元成)  
*Sōzei (Takayama Tokishige)*  
 宗砌(高山時重)  
*suki* 数寄  
*Sung Yü* 宋玉  
*Su Tung-p'o* 蘇東坡

- Suzuki Dōin 鈴木道印  
     Kōjun 幸順  
     Nagatoshi 長敏  
 Ta'i 田井  
 T'ai-kung-wang (J. Taikōbō) 太公望  
 Taikyoku 大極  
 Tamatsushima-myōjin 玉津島明神  
 T'ao Yüan-ming 陶淵明  
 te ni o ha てにをは  
 tenja 点者  
 tenka seihitsu 天下静謐  
 tennin no gosui 天人の五衰  
 Tōfukuji 東福寺  
 Tōfū renga hiji 当風連歌秘事  
 Toganoo 樽尾  
 toi 問  
 Tokihide-kyō kikigaki 時秀卿聞書  
 Tokoro-dokoro hentō 所々返答  
 tokusei 徳政  
 Ton'a 頓阿  
 Tō no Tsuneyori 東常縁  
 toriawase 取合  
 Tōshōin 洞昌院  
 Tōyashū kikigaki 東野州聞書  
 tōzan kenju 刀山劍樹  
 tsukeai 付合  
 tsukeku 付句  
 Tsukuba mondō 筑波問答  
 Tsukubashū 菟玖波集  
 Tsuruwaka 鶴若  
 Tu Fu 杜甫  
 Tung-t'ing ch'iu yüeh 洞庭秋月  
 Tzu-yu (Wang Hui-chih)  
     子猷(王徽之)  
 Uesugi Akisada 上杉顯定  
     Masazane 政真  
     Norizane 憲実  
     Sadamasa 定正  
 Ungyokushō 雲玉抄  
 Uraba 宇良葉  
 ushin renga 有心連歌  
 ushintei 有心体  
 utamakura 歌枕  
 wabicha わび茶・侘茶  
 waka 和歌  
 Wakanoura 和歌浦  
 Wakan rōeishū 和漢朗詠集  
 waki 脇  
 Wakuraba 老葉  
 Wang Chih 王質  
 warehito no michi 我人の道  
 Wasuregusa 宣草  
 Wen hsüan (J. Monzen) 文選  
 wen jen 文人  
 Yamanani hyakuin 山何百韻  
 Yamana Noriyuki 山名教之  
     Sōzen 宗全  
 Yamanouchi 山内  
 Yamanoue Sōji 山上宗二  
 Yamanoue Sōji ki 山上宗二記  
 yariku 遣り句  
 yasesamuku やせさむく・瘦せ寒く  
 Yasutomi Morinaga 安富盛長  
 Yodo no watari 淀渡  
 yojō 余情  
 Yokawa 横川  
 yokkai 欲界  
 yomogi ga shima 蓬が島  
 yo no ure'e 世の憂・愁  
 yōon 幽遠  
 yoriai 寄合  
 yotsude 四つ手  
 yūen 優艶  
 yūgen 幽玄  
 yūin 幽韻  
 Yūki Naotomo 結城直朝  
     Ujitomo 氏朝  
 Yuki no keburī 雪の煙  
 yume no yo 夢の世  
 Zeami 世阿弥  
 (Komparu) Zenchiku (今春) 禪竹  
 zenteki hitei 全的否定  
 zokugo 俗語

## Index of First Lines

With the exception of the verses in the two sequences, “Cuckoo” and “Broken beneath Snow,” all waka, hokku, and tsukeku appearing in the book are included in this index. Unless otherwise indicated, the author of the poetry is Shinkei. “Source unknown” indicates that the piece is not to be found in *KT*. The numbers refer to page location in the book, modified by *n* when the entry appears in a note.

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Ramirez-Christensen, Esperanza U.

Heart's flower : the life and poetry of Shinkei / Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-8047-2253-6 (alk. paper) :

1. Shinkei, 1406-1475. 2. Poets, Japanese—1185-1600—Biography.  
3. Priest, Buddhist—Japan—Biography. 4. Shinkei,—1406-1475—  
Translations into English. I. Shinkei, 1406-1475. Selections.

1994. II. Title.

PL792.S45Z89 1994

895.6'124—dc20

[B]

93-17305

CIP

∞ This book is printed on acid-free paper



MYS 312 - p. 267

KCS 830, p. 327



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*Esperanza Ramirez-Christensen is Associate Professor of Japanese Literature at the University of Michigan.*

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