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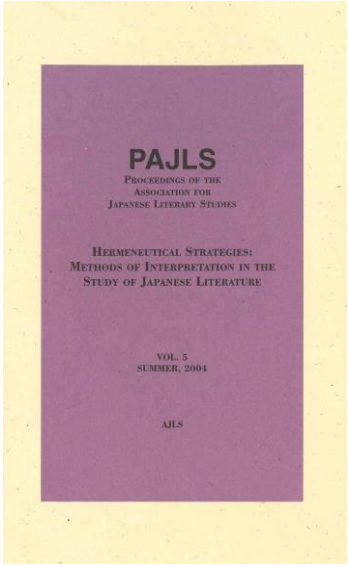
Proceedings of the Association for Japanese Literary Studies 5 (2004): 309–324.



PAJLS 5:
Hermeneutical Strategies: Methods of Interpretation in the Study of Japanese Literature.
Ed. Michael F. Marra.

COMPILATION AS COMMENTARY: THE TWO IMPERIAL ANTHOLOGIES OF NIJŌ TAMEYO

Stefania Burk

Intellectual and interpretive journeys are rarely clearly signposted; they strike me as not unlike backpacking trips, often disrupted and rerouted by unexpected pleasures and hardships. In both cases—travel and interpretation—the experience transforms the person as well as the places and texts s/he traverses. With this clumsy metaphor in mind, I will start my discussion with a brief detour about some of my early run-ins with the imperial *waka* anthologies of the late Kamakura period and why I began thinking about the rivalry between the Nijō and Kyōgoku schools (see Figure #1).[1]

From my first years of graduate school, I recall textual encounters that went something like this: while reading, say, *Tales of Ise*, I would come across a footnote. I would accept this detour. Often the annotation paid off with information that extended my knowledge in one way or another; other times, it didn't seem to. I was especially perplexed by footnotes that simply noted that the marked poem also appeared as #-something in another work, most often an imperial anthology. For example, the poems in episode 71 of *Tales of Ise*, a footnote informed me, appear as *Shoku Senzaishū* (ca. 1320) #1396 & #1397. I was unsure what to make of this fact. Did it extend my knowledge of the *Tales of Ise* episode or its poems? Did it demonstrate anything more than scholarly thoroughness? Is it a clue about the reception of these two poems? Perhaps,

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Abbreviations: KKS=*Kokinshū*; GSIS=*Goshūishū*; SZS=*Senzaishū*; ShokuGSS=*Shoku Gosenshū*; ShokuKKS=*Shoku Kokinshū*; ShokuSIS=*Shoku Shūishū*; ShinGSS=*Shin Gosenshū*; ShokuSZS=*Shoku Senzaishū*.

[1] As Figure #1 illustrates, descendants of Fujiwara Teika established these two schools. The splintering of the illustrious Mikohidari house after Tameie's death also involves the third branch of the house, the Reizei, which became locked in a legal dispute against Tameie's eldest son over the inheritance and distribution of the family's land rights and library. While the significance of the legal battle should not be underestimated, Reizei poets never managed to dominate the arena of poetic production in the imperial court during the Kamakura period. Of the three Mikohidari branches, only the Reizei never produced an imperial anthology compiler. Reizei poets did find patronage in Kamakura; and, after the demise of the Kyōgoku line, poets affiliated with this faction did wield considerable and lasting influence.

it is significant that these poems surrounding the hero's exploits at Ise do not appear in *Kokinshū* (ca. 905) but rather "sat on the shelf," so to speak, for a few hundred years before finding their way into an imperial anthology. Basically, I didn't know *where* to go with this footnote fact. Nevertheless, I felt a pull and put down *Tales of Ise*.

First, I realized I didn't know much about *Shoku Senzaishū*. I picked up Brower and Miner's still unsurpassed volume *Japanese Court Poetry* looking for answers. I learned a lot, by not finding much. They are rather dismissive of the Nijō school, whose poets produced *Shoku Senzaishū* and over half of the last thirteen imperial anthologies. In fact, in their chapter "The Late Classical Period (1241-1350)," they focus almost exclusively on Kyōgoku aesthetics and do not include a single poem by a Nijō poet.[2]

The chapter opens with a comment that caught my attention: "[T]he Nijō group, was the strongest *in every way except poetically*; it and its adherents clung to a safe conventionalism that at once precluded originality and ensured the continuance of versifying in a society increasingly alien to the interests of the court."[3] Nijō poets compiled seven imperial anthologies between 1276-1385 (see Figure #2). Would contemporaries (both their adherents and rivals) have considered this "poetically" impotent? Does not the fact that the Nijō school *had* rivals, in itself, suggest otherwise? The fact that the divided imperial court avidly patronized poets of both schools and produced anthologies at an unprecedented rate also suggests that interest in *waka* was hardly on the decline.[4]

The evaluation in *Japanese Court Poetry* does not stray far from that of prominent Japanese scholars, such as Fujioka Sakutarō and Hisamatsu Sen'ichi.[5] Overwhelmingly, appraisals of the "conservative" Nijō school tend to be short, dismissive, and full of adjectives ranging from

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[2] Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961), pp. 338-421.

[3] Brower and Miner, 338. Emphasis mine.

[4] The commission for the final four imperial anthologies came from the shogun via the ruling Northern Court emperor, illustrating that "society" did not find the institution of *waka* to be "alien" to its interests. For a brief discussion of these later anthologies, see Robert Huey, "Warrior Control over the Imperial Anthology," *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World*, ed. Jeffrey P. Mass (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), pp. 170-191.

[5] For example, in a 1955 essay on the poetic rivalry of this period, Hisamatsu Sen'ichi devotes the vast majority of his attention to Kyōgoku poets and anthologies. In regards to the Nijō anthologies he says, "When we consider these anthologies from a literary standpoint, it's difficult to say they contain anything that merits our attention." Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, *Nihon bungakushi: Chūsei* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1955), p. 55.

"undifferentiated" to "insipid;" evaluations of their "innovative" Kyōgoku rivals are incomparably more effusive and filled with words like "fresh," "striking," and "unorthodox." Scholars have, until recently, had no qualms about focusing their discussions on only the Kyōgoku side of the rivalry. At first, I found this unbalanced treatment simply *unfair*. Later, I realized *anachronistic* was perhaps a more persuasive and accurate way to describe matters.

The story of *waka* at the end of the Kamakura period is all about rivalry. The Nijō and Kyōgoku factions were fighting over one poetic legacy, that of the Mikohidari house of Shunzei and Teika (see Figure #1). The Kyōgoku and Nijō branches of this family found imperial patrons who were themselves in the midst of a competition. Following the death of Retired Emperor Go-Saga (1220-1272), the imperial house split into two lines: the Senior Line (later the Northern Court) and the Junior Line (later the Southern Court). The Kyōgoku school became housed in the Senior Line court, and the Nijō group found patronage in the Junior Line. The aesthetics and production of each side were, therefore, propelled by a dynamic that demanded opposition. Under such circumstances, can we overlook half of the equation?[6]

Let us consider some of the well-known facts. The Kyōgoku school, which compiled two anthologies (*Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*), faded from the picture around 1350, well before the Nijō school. The Kyōgoku house did not produce a hereditary line of poets, as did the other branches of the Mikohidari house. Kyōgoku poetics held less sway in later centuries and garnered a fair share of criticism.[7] The Nijō group, on the other hand, survived the political turnarounds of the mid-14th century.[8] It easily out-produced and outlived the Kyōgoku school (see Figure #2). Nijō poets continued to be influential in the world of court poetry as well as in the development of *renga*. And, it was Nijō Tameyo (1250-1338), the early head of the Nijō faction, who trained some of the famous poet-priests of the period, including Kenkō (ca. 1283-1352) and Ton'a (1289-1372). The 20th-century "Kyōgoku boom," started by scholars such as Origuchi

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[6] I sometimes wonder what these 14th-century poets and patrons would make of, or if they would even recognize, some of our literary histories of the period.

[7] The Muromachi literatus Nijō Yoshimoto (1320-1388, no relation to the Nijō house of poets) was one of these critics. Among other things, he labeled the Kyōgoku style unorthodox (異風), and this was certainly not a compliment in the 14th century. Sasaki Nobutsuna, ed., *Kinraifūteishō*, *Nihon kagaku taikei* [hereafter NKT], vol. 5 (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō), p. 143.

[8] In Figure #2 we see that Nijō poets compiled three anthologies under the auspices of the Northern Court (previously the Senior Line, which patronized the Kyōgoku school).

Shinobu and Sasaki Harutsuna, seems in good measure to be a creation of modern critics who found in this poetry an aesthetic that resonated with valued notions of "realism" and "originality."[9]

Be that as it may, the Nijō and Kyōgoku schools both looked back to the poetics of the past and relied on precedent for inspiration and authority. I am not simply trying to flip the hierarchy between these two schools or to suggest that there weren't any real differences in the practice and ideals of these two schools. There were. However, the personal and political schisms that made room for these two factions created the aesthetic divide. In other words, both aesthetics developed within and were dependent upon this contest. Neither school would have done what it did or come to stand for what it did had it flourished unchallenged. The assertions and platform of each side were gradually produced through the increasingly antagonistic dialogue that took place between these rival sites.

The treatises and the aesthetic agendas of each side also reflect the circumstances of the rivalry as well as the membership each school drew around itself. The Nijō school opened its doors to and trained a broader range of poets than did the more elitist Kyōgoku salon. Therefore, the respectful attitude toward the tradition and the cautious one toward composition that we find in Nijō Tameyo's primary treatise, *Waka teikin* (A Primer for Poets, 1326), has much to do with the fact that he was delivering the *waka* tradition to a new class of poets.[10]

Tameyo opens this instructional text by stating that at the present time, new poetic meaning or feeling (*atarashiki kokoro*) is nearly

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[9] For example, Origuchi Shinobu, "Chitori mashi to to ちとりましとと," *Araragi* 10:4 (1917). Sasaki Harutsuna, *Eifukumon-in* (Tokyo: Seikatsusha, 1943).

I am often asked, "Well, *is* Kyōgoku poetry more original than Nijō poetry, and which style do *you* like better?" First, I would say that I know a lot more about Kyōgoku poetry because annotations, explications, and interpretations about it abound. This, in and of itself, has made it much easier for many of us to study, to appreciate, and to see the "strengths" of Kyōgoku poetry. It is much more daunting to approach, let alone evaluate, a massive body of poetry that remains largely unannotated and that has garnered so much disdain. Regardless of our individual tastes, however, scholarship should acknowledge that our evaluations are colored by criteria that are subjective and bound to our own circumstances. We can like whatever we want, but we should be careful not to imply that something did not matter if, in fact, it seems it did.

[10] *Waka teikin*, NKT 4:115-120. Tameyo's pronouncements are often selective modifications of those found in the writings of his Mikohidari predecessors, especially Tameie.

impossible to master, because the best has already been done.[11] He advocates deep or proper feeling and an overall beautiful effect (*sugata*).[12] As for diction (*kotoba*), Tameyo criticizes the use of archaic and vulgar words in the vain pursuit of something new and claims that skillful poetry lacks jarring or unfamiliar expressions.[13] These ideals, put into practice, coincide with the relatively frequent appearance in Nijō poetry of traditional imagery and techniques such as allusive variation, pillow-words, and pivot words. Tameyo's prescriptions to respect and to stay close to the tradition and to not offend established standards certainly do not represent a surprising stance for a poetry master addressing novices. Composition along the lines Tameyo advocates, however, would not necessarily have been a sure recipe for dull verse, and this was certainly not his intent. His platform is in many regards persuasive and seems well-suited to his audience.

The only extant Kyōgoku-faction treatise, *Tamekanekyō wakashō* (Lord Tamekane's Notes on Poetry, ca. 1285) was written by the head of the school, Kyōgoku Tamekane (1254-1332). In it, Tamekane essentially argues that the most important task of the poet is to penetrate and express freely his or her own heart (*kokoro*): "whatever your subject may be, try to make yourself one with it and express its true essence... [imbue] your words with the flavor of your true emotions."[14] In other words, the "right" words (*kotoba*) are whatever the poetic expression requires. To bolster his argument, he praises *Man'yōshū* poets who wrote what they felt, unconstrained by rules of diction and technique: "[They] did not differentiate between poetic and ordinary speech... [poets should] not hesitate to repeat things or even to employ words that their predecessors never used."[15] Kyōgoku poetry does often include relatively unusual conceptions, archaic diction, and other elements that made their Nijō rivals' skin crawl. Nonetheless, their departures from convention are as tied to it as are the more clingy leanings of the Nijō school. Tamekane wrote this treatise early in his career, and it does not function as an instruction manual. Unlike the relatively more egalitarian or open-minded Nijō school (in regards to membership if not vocabulary), the Kyōgoku

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[11] 新しき心いかにもでがたし... よみのこせる風情有るべからず。 NKT 4:115 凡俗の心をよめるこそ、よはき歌とは思ひ給はべれ。 NKT 4:116

[12] こころふかくすがたうつくしく NKT 4: 116.

[13] 万葉集などの耳とほき詞などゆめゆめ好みよむべからず... やさしく優ならん詞をとらむとしたふべし。 NKT 4: 116-117.

[14] Robert Huey and Susan Matisoff, "Lord Tamekane's Notes on Poetry," *Monumenta Nipponica* 40.2 (1985): 142; NKT 4: 112.

[15] Huey and Matisoff, p. 138; NKT 4: 110-111.

salon included primarily imperial house members and high-ranking aristocrats and ladies. Tamekane's rather more dramatic manifesto and call for poets to trust and be true to their own sentiments may have held great appeal for an audience of high-ranking poets and imperial patrons who were well-versed in the tradition and who did not have to justify their right to participate in the *waka* arena.

Numerous poetic rivalries predate that between Nijō Tameyo and Kyōgoku Tamekane; one unusual aspect here is that these two factions enjoyed separate imperial patronage: the Junior Line and Senior Line. Therefore, unlike many of their contentious predecessors, neither had to accommodate opposing views at poetry contests, formal ceremonies, or in the compilation of an anthology. On the contrary, the security of their patronage allowed, even demanded, their differences. In other words, contestation became institutionalized in a way that it had not been before.[16] This becomes especially evident in the compilation of imperial anthologies.

The rate of compilation jumped dramatically in the first half of the 14th century. An average of approximately forty years separates each of the first eight anthologies; on the other hand, between 1300 and 1325 four anthologies are commissioned (see Figure #2). This unprecedented rate of compilation suggests that these 14th-century anthologies ought to be read as a closely linked series of discrete but *not* autonomous texts, whose production was intimately tied to the tenuous system of alternating imperial succession—which was in place from the late 13th century until the collapse of the system with the Kenmu Revolution (1333-1336). Of course, the entire imperial anthology enterprise should be read as an ongoing series of interrelated texts. The fact that an imperial anthology should not include poems previously anthologized is only one of the selection principles that illustrates to what extent each compiler had to confront his precursors and interpret the past as he carried on with his own project. As such, highlighting the Kyōgoku school and its anthologies, while dismissing Nijō poets and lumping their collections into an undifferentiated heap, creates a skewed picture of the poetic production and stylistic developments of the period.

I would argue that the imperial collections compiled during the Nijō versus Kyōgoku rivalry form a dialogic "running commentary" between these two factions that not only pitted the opposing aesthetics against one another but that also significantly shaped each collection and the broader

[16] Robert Huey discusses this dynamic from a slightly different angle in "The Medievalization of Poetic Practice," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 50.2 (1990): 651-658.

competitions. Because these opponents operated out of separate camps, the formal anthologies became the primary and most "public" venues for their debates, in the way that *utaawase* judgments, say, and other activities served in previous times.

Let us take a quick look at the two imperial anthologies compiled by Nijō Tameyo. He was the only poet to serve as sole compiler twice. Are his two collections indistinguishable and disconnected from the production of his rivals?[17] Tameyo's patron, Retired Emperor Go-Uda of the Junior Line, commissioned him to compile the 13th imperial anthology in 1301. He presented *Shin Gosenshū* two years later. Twenty-five years had passed since *Shoku Shūishū*, the 12th anthology compiled by his father, Tameuji. It was during this interim (1278-1301) that the battle lines between the Nijō and Kyōgoku schools had been drawn.

There are innumerable ways to comb through or traverse an anthology. Prefaces often make a good starting point. However, only *Fūgashū*, the last of the six anthologies produced between 1278 and 1350, contains a preface. One might think that rival compilers would have relished the opportunity to make a prefatory statement; on the other hand, an imperial anthology was hardly the place to get explicitly polemical. Here, I will try to locate a few of the other ways in which I do see these anthologies commenting on the past tradition and present contest. I do this in an attempt to show how and why we ought to expand the criteria and scope of our evaluations of these texts and of this rivalry that did have a profound effect on later literary developments.

Since most of our discussions center on the aesthetics and traits of a particular style or moment, when we look at the anthologies, we tend to focus on poems by the compilers and their contemporaries. However, in the late 13th century, the question of selection parameters—i.e., how far back an anthology reaches—became one of several that clearly reveals the shifting nature of this undertaking. Nijō Tameyo and Kyōgoku Tamekane openly debated the question of selection parameters in 1293.[18] At the time,

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[17] I would say not. But I may be alone. Even the fictional narrator of the late 14th-century historical tale *Masukagami* (The Clear Mirror) has this to say: "[This year (1320)] Tameyo presented the new anthology. I think it was called *Shokusenzaishū*. Since Tameyo had also compiled *Shingosenshū*, this collection was probably little different from that one." George Perkins, trans. *The Clear Mirror* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 166.

[18] The issue of selection parameters came up when Emperor Fushimi attempted in 1293 to convene a committee of compilers from four poetry houses: Kyōgoku Tamekane, Nijō Tameyo, Asukai Masaari, and Kujō Takahiro. The project failed for a variety of reasons, not least among them the growing animosity between Tameyo and Tamekane and their increasingly divergent attitudes. During the

Tameyo claimed that only poetry dating back to the late Heian period should be included, because the best had already been anthologized. Kyōgoku Tamekane disagreed and asserted that poetry from across the entire tradition should be selected. The anthologies of the past provided examples that supported both views (see Figure #2).

Shunzei (*Senzaishū*) and Tameyo's father, Tameuji (*Shoku Shūishū*), included poems dating back to 990. In *Shin Gosenshū*, Tameyo, keeping to his 1293 opinion, made an even deeper cut. *Shin Gosenshū* includes poetry dating back to 1100. It is an anthology that highlights his Mikohidari forefathers (Teika, Tameie, and Tameuji are the top three poets). The other well-represented poets are mostly contemporary imperial patrons and high-ranking aristocrats, primarily affiliated with the Junior Line. This is clearly *not* an anthology that constructs its prestige by embracing the history of *yamato no uta*. Tameyo highlights the accomplishments of his lineage, his patrons, and his milieu.[19] Tameyo, of course, includes poetry by Kyōgoku-affiliated poets and patrons (though to a significantly lesser degree); in those cases, he tends to select appropriate and mellifluous verses that fall in line with his aesthetic leanings.[20]

How should we interpret the narrow parameters and rather consistent tone found in *Shin Gosenshū*? Is it simply derivative? What does this term even mean in a tradition that was already over four hundred years old? Did Tameyo really believe that the best poems of the past had been anthologized? It certainly seems like a reasonable opinion four centuries after *Kokinshū*. Maybe, he felt that *Shin Gosenshū* did, in fact, embrace the entire tradition, in that he expected his readers to *hear* the poetry of the

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initial deliberations, the committee was asked whether or not a new anthology should include poems from across the tradition or limit its parameters of selection. Not surprisingly, Kyōgoku Tamekane and Nijō Tameyo sported these opposing views. For more, see Robert Huey, *Kyōgoku Tamekane* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), pp. 31-33; Iwasa Miyoko, *Gyokuyōwakashū zenchūshaku*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 1996), pp. 46-48; Inoue Muneo, *Chūsei kadanshi no kenkyū: Nanbokuchōki* (Tokyo:Meiji shoin, 1965), pp. 28-33.

[19] Several low-ranking poet-priests served as his assistants (*rensho*). Tameyo included a few poems by them; however, several of these were included as "anonymous." He became bolder in ShokuSZS and included more of their poems. Also, we may assume these poets improved (at least by Tameyo's standards) over the intervening years.

[20] Most scholars agree that the Kyōgoku "style" does not really take identifiable shape until right around the time of ShinGSS. In other words, the differences in composition may not yet have been as great as we now project back across the entire period of confrontation. In ShinGSS, Tamekane has nine poems and Tameyo has a modest eleven. Overall, in this collection, Tameyo's treatment of his Mikohidari and Senior Line rivals is quite fair.

past in the many allusions and associations utilized in the verses he selected. Needless to say, I don't have any answers, but it seems worth thinking about if we see value in understanding what happens to the most prestigious literary endeavor during the medieval period. Some scholars are already recognizing the need to pull the Nijō out of the cupboard and back onto the table.[21] Murao Seiichi, for example, has suggested that Tameyo advocated and practiced a new kind of allusive variation that reconsidered or reconstructed the tradition (*dentō no saikōsei ni aru*).[22] These recent investigations of Nijō poetry suggest that respect for convention did not necessarily preclude innovation.

In 1311, eight years after Tameyo finished *Shin Gosenshū*, his Kyōgoku and Senior Line rivals finally got their first chance to compile an anthology. Retired Emperor Fushimi commissioned Kyōgoku Tamekane to compile the 14th imperial anthology. Tameyo did not take this lightly; in fact, he took it directly to the shogunal courts in Kamakura. A series of suits and countersuits between the two poets ensued.[23] It is a fascinating and well-documented story. Suffice it to say, Tameyo lost. The fact that the matter made it to the courts in Kamakura reveals the high stakes and the continuing relevance of the imperial anthology enterprise to contemporary poets and elites.

Tamekane's *Gyokuyōshū* was everything that *Shin Gosenshū* was not. Yet, it was what it was because of what *Shin Gosenshū* had been. *Gyokuyōshū* is not simply an isolated artifact of Kyōgoku preferences; it is a dynamic critique of its predecessor. From its unusual title and its unprecedented size (2801 poems by 760 poets), to the fact that it included poets dating back to the Nara period, Tamekane uses *Gyokuyōshū* to challenge—point by point, it seems—Tameyo's choices in *Shin Gosenshū*. For example, unlike Tameyo, Tamekane highlighted contemporary and classical women poets in the top ranks, recognizing both the reality of his salon's membership as well as its admiration for the women poets of the Heian period, who along with other prominent early poets had not made the cut, so to speak, in Tameyo's post-1100 review of the past. An unusual poem by Ki no Tsurayuki also opens the collection;[24] and from this point

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[21] Annotations of both ShinGSS and ShokuSZS are underway for Meiji Shoin's new *Waka bungaku taikei*.

[22] Murao Seiichi, "Nijō Tameyo shiron," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 74.11 (1999): 85-93.

[23] *Enkyō ryōkyō no sochinjō* (The Suits between the Two Lords of the Enkyō Era, 1310), NKT 4: 127-137. In English see Huey, *Kyōgoku Tamekane*, pp. 53-56.

[24] Since SZS every opening poem had included spring mists (*kasumi*) imagery. Tameyo followed suit with a mist-laden first poem by his father, Tameuji. By giving this opening poem to his father, Tameyo continued a trend that resulted in

on, the disruptions of recent anthologization practices are rampant in *Gyokuyōshū*. Regardless, it seems pointless to appreciate Tamekane's choices and "innovativeness" in isolation from *Shin Gosenshū*, which might even be profitably viewed as one of Tamekane's most significant sources of inspiration.

Not surprisingly, both *Shin Gosenshū* and *Gyokuyōshū* had their critics. Neither school was pushed or inclined to create an anthology that presented an unified picture of the fractured poetic and political spheres. They were, however, highly motivated to construct texts that asserted their convictions and the authority of their legitimacy. In its shape and content, therefore, *Gyokuyōshū*, like a good polemic, attacked *Shin Gosenshū* from every conceivable angle. Tameyo's second anthology would be very different from his first, because Tamekane's *Gyokuyōshū* demanded a rebuttal.

In 1318, only five years after the completion of *Gyokuyōshū*, Tameyo got his chance. Soon after the imperial seat reverted back to the

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the inscription of a four-generation Mikohidari lineage on the opening poem position (ShokuGSS #1-Shunzei, ShokuKKS #1-Teika, ShokuSIS #1-Tameie, ShinGSS #1-Tameuji). See Figure #2. In other words, a lineage that leads directly to Tameyo. These mist-laden poems did become highly conventionalized expressions of the arrival of spring; however, under the mist (i.e., beyond the content of the poem), we find that the identity of the poet becomes a striking new component in the selection and "meaning" of the opening poem. Tamekane opens GYS with:

けふにあけて昨日ににぬはみな人の心に 春のたちにけらしも (Tsurayuki)
Today dawns and resembles not yesterday; in the hearts of everyone spring has arisen!

This poem was criticized in terms of its content and the identity of the poet in the anonymous Nijō-affiliated *Kaen rensho kotogaki* (NKT 4:97-98). It is both a brilliant and an unusual choice on Tamekane's part. By choosing a poem by Tsurayuki, he counters Tameyo's Mikohidari lineage by claiming Tsurayuki as his "forefather." The second and third poems in GYS are by Shunrai and Teika, respectively. So, we find an opening sequence of Tsurayuki, Shunrai, Teika: three previous compilers who had a "big voice," let's say. Tamekane did not have as strong claims to the Mikohidari lineage as did Tameyo; therefore, he constructed for himself another kind of lineage– one of outspoken anthologists. As far as content, we find no mist. In fact, we find no natural imagery at all. There are precedents for this kind of opening poem (KKS, GSIS). What makes it unusual here is that Kyōgoku seasonal poetry tends to be full of natural imagery; in fact, often a poem is little more than a string of images and a verb that captures a moment of change or contrast. Therefore, Tamekane (like Tameyo) could be said to have chosen his opening poem as much for the identity of its poet as for its content or style.

Junior Line, Retired Emperor Go-Uda again commissioned Tameyo to compile an anthology. On the surface, this collection, *Shoku Senzaishū*, looks much more like *Gyokuyōshū* than *Shin Gosenshū*. It contains over 2100 poems by 716 poets dating from the Nara period forward; because of *Gyokuyōshū*, Tameyo was forced to go back on his earlier position regarding selection parameters. Rather than reading this as Tamekane's "victory" over a weak opponent, I see Tameyo's second anthology as the product of a shrewd and clever veteran. Tameyo changed his strategies in order to create a monumental anthology that "measured up to" and then challenged the assertions implicit in *Gyokuyōshū*.

Gyokuyōshū was a large thorn in Tameyo's side. The completion and presentation of *Gyokuyōshū* became an indelible addition to the imperial anthology sequence, and Tameyo was ready to respond and take back the enterprise. Fifteen years after *Shin Gosenshū*, he had unprecedented credentials and more experience.[25] In *Shoku Senzaishū* we also get the sense that he was now confident (or angry) enough to try some radical (relatively speaking) things himself. The title of his second anthology retains the Mikohidari custom of renewing (*shin*) or continuing (*shoku*) past anthologies.[26] This time, however, by "continuing *Senzaishū*" rather than one of the first three anthologies as had been the custom of his forefathers, Tameyo dubs his anthology the continuation of the collection that began the glories of the Mikohidari house, Shunzei's *Senzaishū*. The title is not all he borrows from *Senzaishū*. The organization of Tameyo's anthology (*budate*) also takes many cues from Shunzei's.[27] Most strikingly, Tameyo includes a book of poetry of miscellaneous forms (*zattei*). Only *Kokinshū* and *Senzaishū* had previously done so. These poems make up Book Seven, filling a prominent position, immediately following the six books of seasonal poetry. (In *Kokinshū* and *Senzaishū* the book of

[25] Tameie and Teika are the only other two-time compilers. Both of them, however, shared one of their compilations with a committee. With this second commission, Tameyo was reconfirmed as the fifth in an unbroken lineage of Mikohidari compilers: Shunzei, Teika, Tameie, Tameuji, Tameyo.

[26] Donald Keene has this to say about Nijō titling practices: "These collections all have titles beginning with either *shin* (new) or *shoku* (sequel), suggesting in a depressingly accurate manner that the compilers looked back to past glories rather than ahead to new developments in poetry." Donald Keene, *Seeds in the Heart* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1993), p. 707. Keene seems to dismiss the possibility that this naming practice was the result of new strategies and was *not* a byproduct of laziness or an absence of originality.

[27] While all imperial anthologies include books of seasonal, love, and miscellaneous poetry, no two (except the 10-volume KYS and SKS) share exactly the same organization.

miscellaneous forms appears near the end: Books 19 and 18, respectively). Like Shunzei, Tameyo includes *chōka*, *sedōka*, *oriku*, *mono no na uta*, and *haikai*. Tameyo seems to be saying that his anthology not only accommodates the entire tradition but also embraces its variant forms—thus, one-upping his rival.

Book Seven opens with an awesomely auspicious *chōka* and *hanka* by his patron Go-Uda in praise of the Buddha's teachings and their enduring protection of the realm. These are the first poems we encounter after the seasonal poetry, and they certainly make an impact.[28] In many ways, including tone, this opening resembles a preface and carries the prestige of the imperial signature. The majority of this book, however, is taken up with the more unusual forms and includes poems by Shunzei, Teika, Tameie, Tameuji, Tameyo, as well as some of his lower-ranking disciples who had been overlooked in *Shin Gosenshū*. He also includes compositions by a varied array of poets from the entire tradition (for example, Akahito, Shunrai, Izumi Shikibu, Daini no Sanmi, and Shun'e). There are no poems by Kyōgoku poets in this book; he has shut out (exiled?) his rivals from this special space. I see a much more playful and vicious compiler in Tameyo this second time around. Overall, he is *much* less generous with his rivals and more generous with his lower-ranking disciples than he had been in *Shin Gosenshū*. He goes so far as to include no poems by Tamekane, who was in exile in 1318; Tameko, his sister and prominent Kyōgoku poet; and several other Kyōgoku-affiliated poets. In addition, in a number of instances he edited (or excised "Kyōgoku-ness") from poems by his rivals, including one by the Senior Line patron, Empress Eifukumon-in. [29] "Exile" (i.e., omission) and "conversion" (revision) become two of his strategies for imposing and addressing a more ambitious and contentious interpretation of the tradition, the anthologization enterprise, and his rivals.

Nijō poets had criticized *Gyokuyōshū* for being nothing more than a massive and haphazard mess that indiscriminately included the poetry of past and present.[30] In the book of miscellaneous forms as well as in some of his other choices, Tameyo's sharp critique of Tamekane's anthology (and by extension his poetics and even his imperial patrons) is also evident.

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[28]ShokuSZS #706 (the *hanka*):
代々たえず法のしるしをつたへきてあまぬくてらす日の本の国
Reign after reign unending, the clarity of the Law comes down to us; shining over all in the land of the rising sun.

[29] Michele Marra discusses the alteration of Eifukumon-in's poem in *Representations of Power: The Literary Politics of Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), pp. 34-35.

[30] *Kaen rensho kotogaki*, NKT 4:105.

With *Shoku Senzaishū*, Tameyo offers an alternate vision for the place of and proper handling of all kinds of *yamato no uta*. The inclusion of *haikai* and other more unconventional forms in Book Seven might also reflect the fact that the Nijō school indulged in *haikai* and *renga* more frequently than did the Kyōgoku salon. Kyōgoku Tamekane, in particular, seems to have disliked these pastimes.[31] Book Seven provided Tameyo with a superbly prestigious and authoritative way to assert the value of less orthodox compositions and the practices of his adherents by bringing together examples by the ancients, his predecessors, and his coterie, which included a relatively new class of poets. It is a hint of things to come, and the Kyōgoku school is nowhere to be seen.

There is much more that could be said about these anthologies, the practices of this period, and the impact that *Shoku Senzaishū* (and *Shoku Goshūishū*) had on *Fūgashū*, the last Kyōgoku anthology; however, I will close with a poem by Tameyo that he wrote around the time of *Shin Gosenshū* but that he saved for *Shoku Senzaishū*.[32] I think it is fair to say he prized this poem because he uses it to close the first book of spring poems. The first and last poems of each book, but especially Book One, had long been viewed as especially important ones that called for careful consideration.[33] Book One of *Shoku Senzaishū* opens with an unusual poem by Teika[34] and closes with this poem by Tameyo (#85), composed on that most conventional of topics, "blossoms" (*hana*):

行さきの雲は桜にあらはれてこえつる嶺の花ぞかすめる。

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[31] In fact, he opened his treatise by attacking his rivals as "those seekers after the unusual who gather these days under the cherry blossoms." Huey, *Kyōgoku Tamekane*, pp 76 and 193.

[32] According to the headnote, this poem was composed for *Kagen hyakushu*, hundred-poem sequences commissioned by Go-Uda as source material for ShinGSS.

[33] Juntoku's *Yakumo mishō* (NKT 3:69) as well as several other treatises discuss the special handling required in the selection of opening and closing poems.

[34] いづる日のおなじ光にわたつ海の波にもけふや春はたつらん

The rising sun shines as before, might it be that spring has arrived today on the waves across the broad sea?

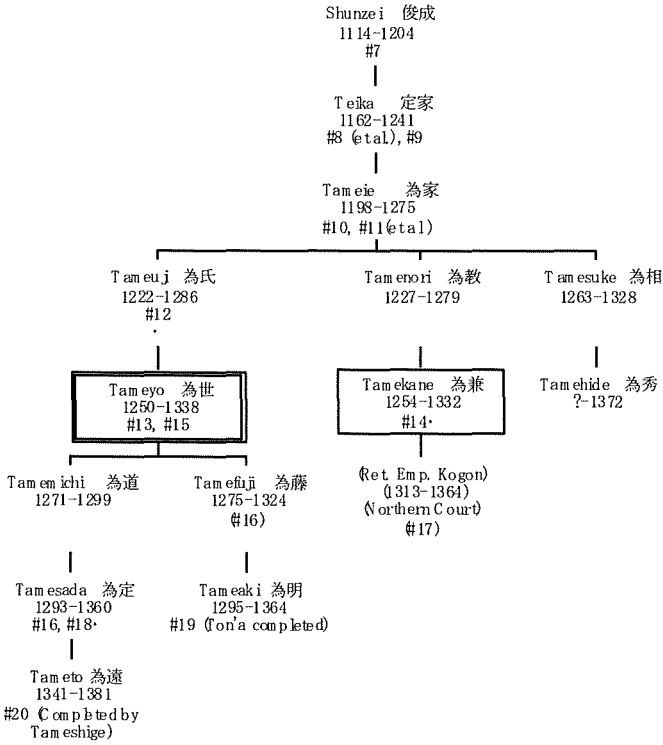
This poem appears in Teika's earliest extant hundred-poem sequence, *Shogaku hyakushu* (one hundred poems of a novice), compiled around 1181. It is an unusual and surprising choice for a "Nijō" collection because it does not include any spring mists or other natural imagery traditionally associated with the arrival of spring. No imperial anthology opens with a poem like it. There are a few poems about the arrival of autumn that use similar imagery (see, for example KKS #170). It is such a striking poem that I am tempted to read it allegorically (especially since there is no preface to ShokuSZS)—as a joyous exclamation of imperial glory (*hikari*) that embraces the entire realm (*watatsu umi*).

> The clouds up ahead turn into cherry blossoms; while the flowers on the peak I've crossed are lost in haze.

It's a lovely poem. Here, the traveling speaker crosses a landscape (real or imagined), and what he thought were clouds in the distance reveal themselves to be cherry blossoms as he draws closer. When he looks back down the path he's traveled, the blossoms on the peak have already faded into a cloudy haze. The expression is elegant and uses parallelism to contrast his forward movement and backward gaze. And, finally, it seems to embrace an appreciation for and understanding of the relativism of perception (and interpretation?) across time and place (and perhaps between anthologies). It's a comment that I think applies to our own interpretive journeys and with which I will end this short detour of my own.

Figure #1

The Mikohidari House and its Imperial Anthology Compilers



*This is not a complete listing of the Mikohidari house.
#17: For *Fūgashū*, Kōgon named no official compilers.
#20: Tameshige (1325-1385) was the son of Tameyo's 5th son, Tamefuyu (?-1335)

Figure #2

Imperial Anthologies 勅撰和歌集	Dates	Commissioner	Compiler(s)	Size	Span	Poets	First Poem	Most Poems
1. *Kokin(waka)shū* 古今(和歌)集 2 prefaces: Chinese & Japanese	ca. 905	Emperor Daigo	Ki no Tsurayuki + 3	1111 20bks	ALL	127	Ariwara no Motokata	Tsurayuki
2. *Gosenshū* 後撰集	951-955	Emp. Murakami	Ki no Tokibumi + 4	1426	ALL	225	Fujiwara no Toshiyuki	Tsurayuki
3. *Shūishū* 拾遺集	1005-1007	Retired Emperor Kazan	Fujiwara Kintō (?) (&/or Kazan)	1351	ALL	196	Mibu no Tadamine	Tsurayuki
4. *Goshūishū* 後拾遺集 1 preface: Japanese	1075-1086	Emp. Shirakawa	Fujiwara Michitoshi	1218	950 →	321	Koōigimi	Izumi Shikibu
5. *Kin'yōshū* 金葉集 (2nd draft)	1124-1127	Ret. Shirakawa	Minamoto Shunrai	665 10bks	3 drafts differ	235	Fujiwara Akisue	Shunrai
6. *Shikashū* 詞花集	1144-1151	Ret. Sutoku	Fujiwara Akisuke	415 10bks	950 →	193	Oe no Masafusa	Sone no Yoshitada
7. *Senzaishū* 千載集 1 preface	1181-1188	Ret. Go-Shirakawa	Fujiwara Shunzei (Mikohidari)	1288	990 →	386	Shunrai	Shunrai
8. *Shin Kokinshū* 新古今集 2 prefaces	1201-1205	Ret. Go-Toba	Fujiwara Teika + 5	1978	ALL	394	Fujiwara Yoshitsune	Saigyō
9. *Shinchokusenshū* 新勅撰集 1 preface	1232-1234	Emp. Go-Horikawa	Fujiwara Teika (Mikohidari)	1374	ALL	391	Go-Horikawa	Fujiwara Ietaka
10. *Shoku Gosenshū* 続後撰集	1248-1252	Ret. Go-Saga	Fujiwara Tameie (Mikohidari)	1371	ALL	424	Shunzei	Teika
11. *Shoku Kokinshū* 続古今集 2 prefaces	1259-1266	Ret. Go-Saga	Tameie + 4 (anti- Mikohidari poets)	1915	ALL	471	Teika	Shogun/Prince Munetaka
12. *Shoku Shūishū* 続拾遺集	1276-1278	Ret. Kameyama (Junior)	Tameuji (Nijō)	1459	990 →	433	Tameie	Tameie
13. *Shin Goseshū* 新後撰集	1301-1303	Ret. Go-Uda (Junior)	Tameyo (Nijō)	1609	1100 →	505	Tameuji	Teika
14. *Gyokuyōshū* 玉葉集	1311-1312	Ret. Fushimi (Senior)	Tamekane (Kyōgoku)	2801	ALL	762	Tsurayuki	Fushimi
15. *Shoku Senzaishū* 続千載集	1318-1320	Ret. Go-Uda (Junior)	Tameyo (Nijō)	2143	ALL	716	Teika	Go-Uda
16. *Shoku Goshūishū* 続後拾遺集	1323-1326	Emp. Go-Daigo (Junior)	Tamefuji-- >Tamesada	1355	ALL	558	Tameyo	Tameuji
17. *Fūgashū* 風雅集 2 prefaces	1342-1346	Ret. Kōgon (Senior/ North)	Ret. Kōgon (Kyōgoku)	2211	ALL	560	Tamekane	Fushimi
18. *Shin Senzaishū* 新千載集	1356-1359	Emp. Go-Kōgon (North/Ashikaga)	Tamesada (Nijō)	2364	ALL	882	Shunzei	Tameyo
19. *Shin Shūishū* 新拾遺集	1363-1364	Emp. Go-Kōkon (North/Ashikaga)	Tameaki-->Ton` a (Nijō)	1920	ALL	752	Tamefuji	Tamefuji
20. *Shin Goshūishū* 新後拾遺集 1 preface	1375-1384	Emp. Go-En'yū (North/Ashikaga)	Tametō-->Tameshige (Nijō)	1554	ALL	664	Tamesada	Nijō Yoshimoto
21. *Shin Shoku Kokinshū* 新続古今集 2 prefaces	1433-1439	Emp. Go- Hanazono (Ashikaga)	Asukai Masayo	2144	ALL	766	Asukai Masayori	Masayori

Note: # of poems according to *Shinpen kokka taikan* : # of poets gathered from a variety of sources.