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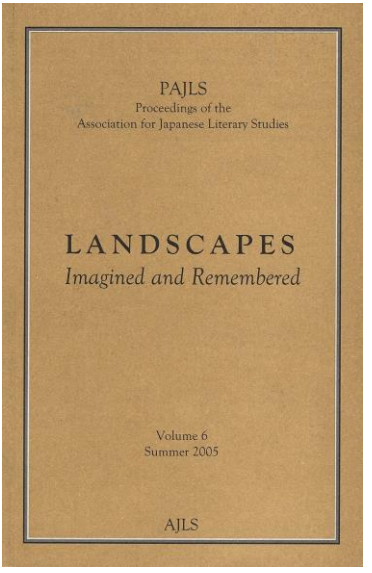

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The Traveling Poet as Witness:
Established Poets Face New Realities in the Kamakura Period

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On the nineteenth day of the eleventh month of 1280, Asukai Masaari 飛鳥井雅有 (1241-1301), on one of his many trips between the capital and Kamakura, passed through the area of Yatsuhashi 八橋, a *meisho* 名所 (poetic landmark) significant to poets from its presentation in *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語 (ca. late tenth century). The episode appears in his diary as follows:

> Poets before me have explained [the name] "Yatsuhashi" in many different ways. [In *Ise*] a web-like array of eight streams is described, [with a bridge over each]. I can't say how things were so long ago, but now there are only two bridges. The Priest Nōin 能因 said that [the "yatsu" in Yatsuhashi meant "valley" (谷) rather than "eight," and concluded that] it was a bridge over a valley; I don't quite know what to make of that, either. Also, there are no *kakitsubata* [irises] here now. When composing a poem [such as the one composed here in *Ise* in which each line began with a syllable from the word *kakitsubata*], what [word] should one use now to provide the first sounds?[1]

As one can surmise from this episode, Masaari was, among other things, a poet. By 1280, the time of the trip recorded in the *kana* diary *Haru no miyamaji* 春の深山路 (Paths Deep in Spring Mountains),[2] he was one of the busiest poets of the period, in demand for activities centered upon a variety of elite persons: the reigning emperor Go-Uda 後宇多 (1267-1324); Retired Emperors Go-Fukakusa 後深草院 (1243-1304) and Kameyama 亀山院 (1249-1305); various figures in Kamakura; and, above all, the Crown Prince, who would later reign as Emperor Fushimi 伏見 (1265-1317). Masaari was sought after not only for his own poetic skill, but as someone with a deep understanding of the poetic tradition who could be counted on for guidance on

[1] Nagasaki Ken 長崎健, Tonomura Natsuko 外村南都子, Iwasa Miyoko 岩佐美代子, Inada Toshinori 稲田利徳 and Itō Kei 伊藤敬, eds. *Chūsei nikki kikōshū*, *Shinpen Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 新編日本古典文学全集, vol. 48 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1994), 379-80.

[2] The title incorporates *haru no miya* 春の宮, a reference to the Crown Prince: the greater part of Masaari's diary describes his service with the Crown Prince's household.

points of protocol, and for advice regarding poetic precedent. He knew poetry and, at Yatsuhashi, he was perplexed. What he saw was not what he expected.

He did not, however, lament this fact. He was not a poetic tourist in this landscape, overawed by the mere fact of standing where – it was believed – Ariwara no Narihira 在原業平 (825-880) himself had stood. True, when Masaari arrived at Yatsuhashi, just as when he arrived at any place made familiar and significant by the poetic tradition, he viewed it in light of its place in that tradition. He viewed it in a way at all times governed by its place as a poetic landmark. He was not seeking fresh, new things to say about the landscape. All the same, he was determined to reconcile the past with the present, and to record the most current experience of the landscape: his own.

In this he was not alone. With the establishment in 1185 of the Kamakura bakufu as both a center of political authority and a center of cultural consumption, an unprecedented number of persons fluent in the idiom of formal poetic composition found themselves with business in the east, traveling far from the capital through distant landscapes made central to waka poetics by such works as the *Kojiki* 古事記 (712), the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (late eighth century), *Ise monogatari* (early Heian period), and *Tosa nikki* 土佐日記 (ca. 935). Unlike nearer *meisho* such as Mount Ibuki 伊吹山 in Ōmi province, the Ōi river 大堰川 in Yamashiro, Minase 水無瀬 in Settsu, or the Asuka river 飛鳥川 in Yamato, these were landscapes for the most part last observed, in terms of the poetic tradition, by Sugawara no Takasue no musume 菅原孝標女 (1008-?), author of *Sarashina nikki* 更級日記 (ca. 1060), and by Nōin (988-?), whose *Nōin utamakura* 能因歌枕 (date unknown) circulated relatively widely. These places had changed in many ways since the mid-eleventh century, and though it is true that formal poetic composition utilizing *meisho* had come to have little to do with actual, natural landscapes, this seemed not to have deterred poets who found themselves on the road in the Kamakura period (1185-1333) from reevaluating famous places, nor did it dampen the zeal with which they noted the differences that time had wrought. Recording these differences in prose and poetry, they updated the poetic record of the land.

Masaari's grandfather Asukai Masatsune 飛鳥井雅経 (1170-1221) was one of the very first representatives of court culture to journey to Kamakura, which he did first in 1190. Sometime after seeing Yatsuhashi on one of his later trips, he composed the following, given in his personal anthology among poems that a headnote tells us were "composed while on the eastern road": "Coming to the Eight Bridges, which today are rotted away, I longed for the

capital; right away my heart too became as tangled up as this web of streams."[3]

Like his grandson, Masatsune seems to have been providing an update on the current situation at Yatsuhashi: the eight streams from *Ise* were still there, apparently, but the bridges were gone. This didn't reduce the poetic significance of Yatsuhashi as a meaningful landscape: except for the part about the bridges having rotted away, Masatsune's poem is as conventional a utilization of Yatsuhashi as anyone might wish. Still, Yatsuhashi, as a *meisho*, conventionally had never been a place of rotted bridges. For that image, one usually employed the Nagara bridge 長柄橋 in Settsu province.[4] All the same, Masatsune seems to have arrived at the conclusion that the reason he did not see eight bridges at Yatsuhashi was that they had been swallowed up by the many years since Narihira was thought to have seen them. Despite the weight of tradition, he did not hesitate to record this conclusion in his verse, a verse that manages to be both conventional and unconventional at once.

In 1223, some years after Masatsune's visit, the unknown author of the *Kaidōki* 海道記 (Record of the Sea Road) came to Yatsuhashi and commented:

> . . . after passing through several miles of grassland, I came to a place with one or two bridges that they call Eight Bridges. . . . It being the season, the *kakitsubata* growing in the water were in bloom. These flowers must be the flowers of old, blooming with their color unchanged; if these bridges are the same bridges, I wonder how many times they have been rebuilt. . . . Yatsuhashi, oh Yatsuhashi, did that man with the tangled web of worries on his mind really cross you long ago? Bridge-post, oh bridge-post, have you too rotted away? Someone else who has rotted away with nothing to show for it has just crossed you again.[5]

Although the author of the *Kaidōki* is unknown, there is no question after reading the text that he was a poet of significant ability, comfortable with the traditional imagery of both waka and Chinese verse. It is his mastery of these traditions, along with other circumstantial similarities, that led readers for centuries to ascribe the work to Kamo no Chōmei 鴨長明 (1155?-1216).

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[3] *Asukai wakashū* 明日香井和歌集 (1294), no. 1558: くちにけるけふやつはしをみやこ思ふ心ややがてくもでなるらん. The poem number given refers to the edition found in *Shinpen kokka taikan* 新編国歌大観, ed. Shinpen Kokka Taikan Henshū Iinkai 新編国歌大観編集委員会, 10 vols. (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1983-1992). All further poems will be referred to by the numbers assigned them in this work.

[4] For a discussion of the Nagara bridge as a *meisho*, see Edward Kamens, Utamakura*, Allusion, and Intertextuality in Traditional Japanese Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 118-125.

[5] *Chūsei nikki kikōshū*, 29-30.

Whoever he may have been, his representation of Yatsuhashi, like that of Masatsune and Masaari, is not travelogue, exactly. For him, too, Yatsuhashi was valuable primarily as a vehicle for the expression of certain sentiments associated with the place because of the episode in *Ise monogatari*. The *Kaidōki* author, having come to Yatsuhashi, was not interested in the landscape itself so much as he was compelled by the relationship between what he *saw* at Yatsuhashi and what he *knew* of Yatsuhashi. Like Masaari, he found that where there should be eight bridges there were only two, or perhaps even only one. Like Masatsune, he seems to have reasoned that the other bridges must have rotted away and, also like Masatsune, he exploited the opportunity to utilize poetic associations with rotted bridges borrowed from other elements in the tradition, such as the Nagara bridge. His episode, too, is both conventional and unconventional. But even in its unconventionality, the *Kaidōki* author's engagement with Yatsuhashi is hardly radical: although he does not hesitate to note the ways in which the landscape he sees is not the landscape of *Ise*, the discrepancies he records are presented as having their own poetic utility; the features that had changed at Yatsuhashi had changed in a way that was comprehensible, and containable, within the established semantic universe of traditional poetry. Through such records of the changes in the natural landscape at Yatsuhashi, the poetic landscape of Yatsuhashi had the opportunity to evolve, as the range of associations that could be invoked by naming this place shifted and extended.

The example of Yatsuhashi is just one among many more *meisho* that were updated in the diaries and personal anthologies of this "new wave" of traveling poets. It is common to find, as at Yatsuhashi, the present being compared to a past moment of viewing that has been embalmed, as it were, by the waka tradition. The new apprehensions of these places were then recorded, almost always in ways that indicate new poetic possibilities that could be exploited because of the changes. Like the borrowing from the trope of the Nagara bridge that occurred at Yatsuhashi, signifying elements associated with other *meisho* were often employed to revamp the *meisho* being observed, extending and transforming its utility, sometimes altering the fundamental tenor of its signification. This is the most common kind of engagement with distant, changed *meisho* that we find in diaries of the Kamakura period and, as such, it is useful to consider another example.

When Masaari came to the Fuji river 富士川 in 1280, he did nothing less than tame it. That is, he found it tamed, and reported this accordingly. The Fuji river had been known as one of the swiftest rivers in the country, treacherous to cross, yet Masaari found it very shallow, and far from terrifying. Where he forded it, the flow had split into two channels, each of which was further made up of many smaller streams. In the space between the divided halves of the river – on what must have been the original riverbed – the local inhabitants had even built houses. He wrote, "the river was so shallow that

only [the ends of] my sleeves touched [the water],"[6] a phrase that works to remove the Fuji from the category of swift rivers and their poetic associations, and place it instead in the group of shallow, slow-moving rivers such as the Hirose 広瀬川, with very different associations. This line about wetted sleeves is to be found in the definitive Hirose river poem, a verse that establishes the river as a useful figure to invoke when composing on the shallowness of a lover's feelings.[7] Another river with which the phrase is associated is the Sawada 沢田川, this time in the lyrics of a well-known *saibara* 催馬楽 (folk song set to court music); Sei Shōnagon 清少納言 (n.d.) acknowledges in her *Makura no sōshi* 枕草子 (early eleventh century) that one should reference this *saibara* – and thus the line about wetted sleeves – when considering the essential nature of the Sawada river.[8]

Masaari expected, because of the Fuji river's literary associations, a dangerous crossing, the sort that might put an educated poet in mind of fording the Upper Zhangjiang river 長江上流 at Wuxia 巫峡 (the Wu gorge), an image known from a Bo Juyi 白居易 (772-846) poem and often invoked when describing rivers treacherous to cross.[9] For example, the unidentified author of the *Tōkai kikō* 東海紀行 (Travel Account of the Eastern Sea Road, ca. 1242) uses just this figure when making a terrified crossing of the Tenryū river 天竜川.[10] Masaari, for his part, seems to have been looking forward to using the Wuxia trope, one that describes the boat-flipping current of the river as being nothing in comparison to the violent, swift-changing emotions of young lovers. But the moribund state of the Fuji river prevented him from making a direct association, and he had to be satisfied with the witty observation that "there are no waves here fit for breaking any hearts."[11] With just two phrases, both rich in poetic associations, Masaari removed the Fuji river from the list of swift, dangerous rivers useful for poems having to do with turbulent young passion, and relocated it among the set of shallow rivers

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[6] 袖つくばかり浅くて.

[7] ひろせがはそでつくばかりあさきをやこころふかめてわがおもへるらむ. No. 1385 in the *Man'yōshū* and no. 1581 in *Kokin waka rokujō* 古今和歌六帖 (ca. 976-982).

[8] The *saibara* lyrics, cited in *Utakotoba utamakura daijiten* 歌ことば歌枕大辞典, ed. Kubota Jun 久保田淳 and Baba Akiko 馬場あき子 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1999), 383, are as follows: 沢田川 袖つくばかりや 浅けれど はれ 浅けれど 恭仁(くに)の宮人や 高橋わたす あはれそこよしや 高橋わたす. In the section of *Makura no sōshi* that begins "As for rivers" (*Kawa wa* 河は), we find: 沢田川などは、催馬楽などの思はするなるべし.

[9] The poem is *Taixing lu* (J. *Taikōro*) 太行路, found among Bo's collection of "New Music Bureau Ballads," or *Xin yue-fu* (J. *Shin gafu*) 新楽府. The line in question reads: 巫狭之水能覆舟 若比君心是安流. See Uchida Sennosuke 内田泉之助, *Hakushi monjū* 白氏文集 (Tokyo: Meitoku Shuppansha, 1968), 97.

[10] See *Chūsei nikki kikōshū*, 123.

[11] 心を砕く波もなし. See *Chūsei nikki kikōshū*, 380.

useful when composing on the theme of lovers who lack depth of feeling. His observation of the landscape spurred him to effect this change, but just as was the case at Yatsuhashi, Masaari reassigned the place of the famous river within the poetic tradition, reconfiguring its utility for composition rather than disposing of it as a *meisho*.

Abutsu's 阿仏 (?-1283) 1279 observation of the Fuji river in *Izayoi nikki* 十六夜日記 accords with that which Masaari made in 1280, inasmuch as she noted no difficulty in the crossing beyond that the water was extremely cold. She also found that the flow had broken into small, shallow streams, of which she counted fifteen.[12] Yet it is interesting to note that the unknown author of the *Kaidōki* described the river very differently, finding in 1223 a deep, swift current powerful enough to carry rocks along in its flow. He was able, as Masaari later would not be, to directly compare the Fuji with the Zhangjiang at Wuxia, and his record of the crossing includes not only a tremulous plea to his horse to mind its footing, but also a poem that hinges on the conceit that the river is as deep as its famous neighbor, Mount Fuji, is tall.[13] The *Kaidōki* crossing took place in the middle of the Fourth Month, on what corresponds to May 22 in today's calendar. Abutsu forded on the twenty-seventh day of the Tenth Month (December 10), Masaari on the twenty-fourth day of the Eleventh Month (December 24), and it is tempting to suggest that the difference can be ascribed to spring runoff. But Masaari's description of the "island" in the river upon which houses have been built points to a more permanent change. The character of the Fuji river seems to have altered quite radically from the way it had been when first incorporated into the poetic tradition, and this change may have occurred as late as during the fifty-seven years that separate *Kaidōki* and *Haru no miyamaji*. Despite the difference, there was a place in the waka toolbox for shallow rivers as well as deep ones, and Masaari succinctly relocated the Fuji without displacing its fundamental utility as a poetic landscape.

In addition to such reconfigurations of established *meisho*, there are cases, most prominent in the journals of Asukai Masaari, where new places are presented in a manner that underscores their poetic interest and utility, as a way, I feel, of suggesting possible *meisho* for the future. This is a very different act from the updating of a well-known landscape, for while there are a very few examples of previously unknown *meisho* coming into use during the period after *Sarashina nikki* and *Nōin utamakura* – a prominent example

[12] Abutsu says: "Counting them up, I find we crossed no fewer than fifteen shallows." Iwasa Miyoko, annotator of the *Chūsei nikki kikōshū* edition, notes that the interpretation of this line that I follow is the most common one. Iwasa herself disagrees, suggesting instead that Abutsu is giving the number of rivers she has crossed since leaving the capital. See *Chūsei nikki kikōshū*, 284, note 3. Comparing Abutsu's account of the Fuji river with Masaari's, however, I think it is clear that both travelers witnessed the same phenomenon of a much-dispersed current.

[13] See *Chūsei nikki kikōshū*, 49.

being several relatively fresh place names used as topics for the 1215 *Dairi meisho hyakushu* 内裏名所百首[14] – the catalogue of famous places had, as noted earlier, become largely fixed by the Kamakura period. To suggest new *meisho* is to take up a position vis-à-vis the poetic tradition that we would not usually associate with Kamakura-period poets, one that would be highly unusual even after the turn of the fourteenth century and the development of Kyōgoku 京極-Reizei 冷泉 poetic aesthetics: Masaari and some few other traveling poets indicate that they consider the tradition open, not closed; developing, and not perfected. We infer from their activities that they did not believe that the vocabulary acceptable for waka composition was entirely contained within the *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 (905), or within the early imperially sponsored poetry anthologies. If an interesting landscape is discovered that lends itself to poetic expression, a knowledgeable poet can still make a case for its utility, and by doing so bring forth a new *meisho*. This conception of the poetic tradition requires Masaari to view himself in what seems, for the time, an aggressive relationship with it, for his ability to view the land would thus be equal to that of Narihira and Nōin, and his generation of poets would have, at least in some small part, the same authority to develop poetic composition as the revered generations of the past.

In practice, however, the apparently portentous act of exploring new *meisho* was a simple thing. Masaari related the following when he came across an unusual landscape on the sixteenth day of the Eleventh Month in 1280:

> After sundown we arrived at a place called Sunomata 墨俣. I'm told it is five *ri* 里 from Nogami 野上, but it feels a lot farther than that. From Banba 番場, it is ten *ri*. As for the place itself, the village is well below the level of the [neighboring Nagara] river. They have built the bank up

[14] Examples are the Tamashima river 玉島河, the Ukishima plain 浮島原, Kasumi bay 霞浦, the Awade forest 阿波手森, and Isoma bay 磯間浦. In some cases, such names may have appeared earlier in the tradition, but not in ways that allow us to think of them as established *meisho*. For example, Ukishima plain is well known from three poems composed for the *Saishōshitennōin shōji waka* (1207), but in this case the *meisho* concerned is in fact Mount Fuji, with Ukishima plain serving an ancillary role. In other cases, whereas the place name is not completely absent in the tradition, it is not to be found in any *meika* 名歌 (renowned verses), and no examples exist in imperially sponsored poetry anthologies. It also is worth noting that poets would never utilize these "new" *meisho* as often as more established ones: even the most commonly occurring of those named above, Kasumi bay, only occurs seven times in imperially sponsored poetry anthologies compiled after 1215. For a discussion of *Dairi meisho hyakushu,* see Miki Asako 三木麻子, "Chūsei waka no tenkai to utamakura: Kenpō sannen 'Dairi meisho hyakushu' dai no chimei o chūshin ni shite" 中世和歌の展開と歌枕：建保三年内裏名所百首題の地名を中心にして in *Utamakura o manabu hito no tame ni* 歌枕を学ぶ人のために, ed. Katagiri Yōichi 片桐洋一 (Kyoto: Sekai Shisōsha, 1994). For a study of *Saishōshitennōin shōji waka*, see Kamens, Utamakura*, Allusion, and Intertextuality*, 168-221.

> very high, and it looks like a mountain. The houses are down in a hollow [on the other side of this built-up bank]. One of the villagers said: "When the water is running high, the boats pass along right on top of this bank, and it looks just like boats sailing along in the sky." When I heard this, it struck me that [where the *Nihon shoki* (720) describes] the 'pigeon-boats of the heavens' flying high up in the sky, it must [really] have been just this kind of thing.[15]

The detailed attention that Masaari paid to this curious place is perhaps due to the fact that his grandfather, Masatsune, seems to have been the first poet to notice the busy river port of Sunomata for its own sake, and to seize upon one of its features as useful for travel poems. On one of his trips between the capital and Kamakura, Masatsune wrote a poem at the place. Prefaced with the headnote "At the Sunomata ferry," it reads: "I set my melancholy self to float upon the waves, guarding the bridge of floating boats at the ferrying place; hurry though I might, in the end I arrive always at the same dock."[16]

Here Masatsune used a feature of the landscape – a floating bridge made from boats – to make a common play on two homophonous words pronounced *uki*, one a form of the verb "to float" 浮き, the other a declension of the adjective "bitter," or "hard-pressed" 憂き. This play is often found in travel poetry, as it evokes the image of drifting rootlessness.[17] Sunomata, with its bridge and the possibilities offered by a provincial guard who crosses the river time after time without ever getting anywhere, is just the kind of place a knowledgeable poet like Masatsune could make good use of.

Sunomata as a place name had appeared twice in the poetic corpus by Masatsune's time, but only incidentally. According to a headnote in the *Goshūi wakashū* 後拾遺和歌集 (1086), Nōin composed a verse while at this location, but the verse in question focuses on a nearby height, likely Misaka pass 御坂峠. Sunomata is noted only as the vantage point from which Nōin viewed his subject.[18] Similarly, the poet Zōki 増基 (n.d.) composed a much more obscure verse at Sunomata, where he had been forced to stay after heavy

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[15] *Chūsei nikki kikōshū*, 376.

[16] なみのうへに身をうきふねのわたしもりいそぐもつひのおなじとまりを. No. 1506 in *Asukai wakashū* 明日香井和歌集, the collection of Masatsune's verses that Masaari edited in 1294. Masatsune's poem takes as its *honka* 本歌 *Shinkokin wakashū*, no. 1706, by the early Heian priest Zōga (917-1003): いかにせむ身をうき舟のにをおもみつひのとまりやいづくなるらむ.

[17] A figure developed early in the tradition, especially in *Kokin wakashū*, no. 938 by Ono no Komachi 小野小町 (n.d.): わびぬれば身をうき草のねをたえてさそふ水あらばいなむとぞ思ふ.

[18] See *Goshūi wakashū*, no. 514: しらくものうへよりみゆるあしびきの山のたかねやみさかなるらん.

rain made crossing the river impossible.[19] Seeing several horses at the ford, he used them in his poem in order to effect a play on words that expresses his unhappiness at being on the road, one that hinges on the enjambment of two lines, and produces the meaning first of "horses that live in the marsh," and then "a road I have no desire to travel."[20] Zōki's poem also incorporates no features of the Sunomata landscape itself.

During the course of the journey recorded in *Izayoi nikki*, Abutsu was the next person after Masatsune to note the poetic possibilities of Sunomata's interesting features. She had taken note of the place on an earlier trip, and in the diary *Utatane no ki* うたたねの記 (ca. 1250) she recalled a busy, noisy place where great numbers of people crowd to make their crossing of the wide, impressive Nagara river. While this may have been the first detailed engagement by a poet with Sunomata, Abutsu's record was mostly the simple description of a traveler, rather than that of someone looking for poetic possibilities. In *Izayoi nikki*, however, Abutsu identified features of the landscape that could be of particular use in poetry, and then proceeded to use them herself in verse. She wrote:

> At the river they call the Sunomata,[21] there is a floating bridge that has been made by lining up boats and lashing them together with thick ropes that look like [they've been woven from] vines. Though it was very dangerous, I crossed. This river is very deep on the side where the bank has been built up, while the other side is shallow, and so [I composed a poem using this image].

Abutsu's first poem at Sunomata[22] borrows, as she says, the characteristics of the river itself, comparing the depth of one side to a deep, unrequited love. Fearful of public embarrassment, the person who feels this love must "hold it in" and "dam it up," just as the deep side of the river's channel has been held in and dammed up by the works at Sunomata. Her second poem[23] utilizes the figure of the floating bridge at Sunomata, just as did Masatsune's above. Abutsu, however, used this feature of the landscape to illuminate the Buddhist view of a transitory, impermanent existence in this world, explaining that the bridge provides a very good sense of just how precarious that existence is: the burdened people make their way through their

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[19] *Zōki hōshi shū* 増基法師集, no. 86: 沢にすむこまほしがらぬ道にいでて日ぐらし袖をぬらしつるかな.

[20] 沢にすむこまほしがらぬ道. In the first case we have *sawa ni sumu koma* 沢に住む駒, and in the second, *komahoshikaranu michi* 来まほしからぬ道.

[21] The Nagara river was also called the Sunomata in the vicinity of the village of that name.

[22] 片淵の深き心はありながら人目つつみのさぞせかるらむ. See *Chūsei nikki kikōshū*, 276.

[23] 仮の世の行き来と見るもはかなしや身のうき舟を浮橋にして. Ibid.

lives, traveling a floating bridge no more solid or secure than the drifting boats upon which it rests.

By the time Masaari arrived at Sunomata in 1280, then, he was likely already aware of Sunomata's poetic potential, which had been explored not only by his grandfather in a verse he most certainly was aware of, but also by Abutsu, with whom he had remained close since their first association in late 1269, and with whom he may have had contact just before embarking on his 1280 journey.[24] In fact, there are many elements in Masaari's *Haru no miyamaji* that suggest Masaari may have seen at least part of *Izayoi nikki* before this trip, and thus may have seen Abutsu's Sunomata poems before arriving there himself. Yet even if Masaari was not the first to suggest this particular landscape's poetic usefulness, he did two things that were important for increasing the chances that Sunomata might survive in the poetic tradition as a true *meisho*. First, he followed the lead of both Masatsune and Abutsu, and built even further the growing catalogue of interesting features to be found there: to the floating bridge and the uneven depth of the river, he described the village, and the vantage it offers to witness the peculiar sight of boats that seem to sail in the sky. Second, and more importantly, he linked the landscape of Sunomata to a passage from the *Nihon shoki*, providing a textual precedent – and an extended range of association – that could be invoked by poets choosing to utilize this nascent *meisho* in their verses.

After the passage of these three Kamakura-period poets through the vicinity of Sunomata, the landscape there was prepared as well as could be hoped for use in composition. All three presented unusual imagery that could be of use in a wide variety of poems, including those on themes of travel, love, and the Buddhist teachings. Additionally, the identification of an analogue for the Sunomata imagery in a text as revered (if obscure) as the *Nihon shoki* could be expected to allow precedent-conscious poets to utilize this landscape without undue constraint. While Masaari, especially, seems on his 1280 journey to have been interested in suggesting interesting landscapes of poetic utility, in no other case do we see the process so near completion.[25]

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[24] Masaari's close association with Abutsu is one of the more interesting features described in his 1269 diary *Saga no kayoiji* 嵯峨の通ひ路 (The Oft-traveled Path at Saga). As for the possibility of a meeting between Masaari and Abutsu in 1280, this speculation derives from the entry for the thirteenth day of the Eleventh Month in *Haru no miyamaji*, in which Masaari, just prior to setting out for Kamakura, met with someone he referred to as "the elderly resident of Saga" 嵯峨の老い人: scholars have suggested this might be Abutsu. See Mizukawa Yoshio 水川喜夫, *Asukai Masaari nikki zenshaku* 飛鳥井雅有日記全釈 (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1985), 469; and Hamaguchi Hiroaki 濱口博章, *Asukai Masaari 'Haru no miyamaji' chūshaku* 飛鳥井雅有『春のみやまぢ』注釈 (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1993), 152.

[25] Among other examples of landscapes Masaari seems to be proposing are Sekizawa 堰沢, with its picturesque salt-burning huts in the shade of a grove of trees, and the Amefuri (or Amafuri) river 雨降り河, which dries up just before a rain. In the latter case Masaari provides a textual

Yet if the poets who took part in this new wave of travel beyond the well-known precincts around the capital were so eager to observe and record changes in those landscapes meaningful to poetry, if they felt no hesitation to alter, transform, and reapportion the associations linked to venerable *meisho*, and if they were even willing to discover and present new landscapes with poetic possibilities, then why doesn't literary history reflect their efforts? Why do very much the same set of *meisho* continue to be utilized throughout the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, and why are these places composed upon in very much the same way that they were in the Heian period? Yatsuhashi and the Fuji river continue on within the poetic tradition almost unaltered by the diligence of our Kamakura-period observers, and Sunomata, so well prepared as a poetic landscape, is all but ignored.

It is because of a concurrent rise in the predominance of *daiei* 題詠 (topical composition), and because of the increasing application to formal poetic composition of a tendency long found in the sphere of ceremonial court service: the almost inescapable need for sanctioned precedent. As precedent in ceremony and protocol is referred to as *kojitsu* 故実, I think of this phenomenon as the "*kojitsu*-ization" of the poetic tradition. By this I mean the inability to feel comfortable with virtually any element in one's poetic compositions unless there is some distinct, citable prior example of the accepted use of such an element. In court ceremonial, such prior examples are usually referred to as *zenrei* 前例; while this term sometimes appears in poetic texts, the true poetic equivalent is *shōka* 証歌 (proof poem). To be located preferably though not exclusively in the first three imperially sponsored anthologies, *shōka* are needed most when one is composing on set topics, topics themselves selected with an eye to several sources of poetic precedent, such as the *Horikawa hyakushu* 堀河百首 of 1105.

If one is composing without set topics, the need for a poetic precedent is much less, the best example being when one is on the road traveling and recording poems for a journal. In poetic treatises of the time – *karon* 歌論 such as *Eiga no ittei* 詠歌一躰 (ca. 1270) or *Mumyōshō* 無名抄 (ca. 1211-1216), which seem almost to eliminate any possibility of doing something as radical as altering the associative range of a *meisho* – there are invariably exceptions made for *in situ* compositions, allowing the poet faced with a natural reality to include elements from his direct observation into his verse.[26]

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precedent for the phenomenon, just as he does for Sunomata: he cites Sei Shōnagon's description of a lake with similar properties in *Makura no sōshi*. See *Chūsei nikki kikōshū*, 382.

[26] For a discussion that includes the place of extemporaneous *in situ* composition within the larger poetic tradition, and the ways in which some *karon* consider such composition, see Nishida Masahiro 西田正宏, "Dentō to jikkan to: waka no fūkei, haikai no fūkei" 伝統と実感と一和歌の風景・俳諧の風景 in *Utawareta fūkei* 歌われた風景, eds. Watanabe Yasuaki 渡辺泰明 and Kawamura Teruo 川村晃生 (Tokyo: Kasama Shoin, 2000).

All the same, we know now, from our particular vantage on literary history, that the period during which such non-topical poetry, with no strong precedent, could be taken "seriously" had all but passed by the time poets once again began to travel among the more distant landscapes of the tradition. Poems for formal or even semi-formal poetic events were almost always topical. Poems accepted for imperially sponsored anthologies were topical poems. For the most part, non-topical poems appeared in corners of personal anthologies, or else in journals and diaries. Doors and screens of far-off inns were also fair game.[27] With the pervasiveness of *daiei*, and the need for precedent, there was really no formal venue for travelers' updates on the landscape. With no chance to enter the mainstream of the tradition, there was no way for these poems and episodes to influence later composition, no way for them to become the *shōka* of the future.

Due to this fact of literary history – because the overwhelming dominance of *daiei* and the establishment of an inflexible *kojitsu* sensibility in poetry preceded the new wave of traveling poets – the *meisho* in poetic history seems to remain static, and the landscapes themselves seem to remain unchanging, unchanged, cut off from reality forever. Yet, reading a number of the travel diaries of the Kamakura period, and looking through many travel poems contained in various personal anthologies, it appears that the travelers actually going out into the landscape at this time had no sense that literary history would develop quite as it did. Rather, they had their own precedents clearly in mind: *Ise monogatari*, *Tosa nikki*, *Sarashina nikki*, and all the other texts that had provided poetry with its *meisho* in the first place. Despite their own participation in the rise of *daiei* in the sphere of formal composition, when finding themselves – incredibly – in a position to witness these famous landscapes, they seem to have felt that they must do more than simply recapitulate time-worn iterations. And there may be something about the economy of cultural production, as it had developed in the Kamakura period, which determined their activities as observers of the poetic past.

In many cases, these figures were on the road precisely because they were poets – certainly this is true of Asukai Masaari and Abutsu. These two, among others, were people of many cultural accomplishments who were required, by the ways in which the relationship between cultural pursuits and social economy had evolved, to be aware, constantly, of their own status as "poet." They were required, too, to display that status in much of what they

[27] Such poetic inscriptions, left here and there by various people in various circumstances, were among the sights a traveling poet might like to see. In *Haru no miyamaji*, Masaari wishes to stop at a certain temple in Narumi 鳴海 because he knew that Abutsu had left some verses there. He is willing to detour from his journey to view them, but his entourage resists because of rough weather. See *Chūsei nikki kikōshū*, 379. Both the author of *Kaidōki* and that of *Tōkai kikō* are on the lookout for poems left in the landscape by Fujiwara no Muneyuki 藤原宗行 (1174-1221), who died fighting for Retired Emperor Go-Toba's 後鳥羽院 (1180-1239) cause in the Jōkyū War: see *Chūsei nikki kikōshū* 39, 55 (*Kaidōki*) and 125 (*Tōkai kikō*).

did. Abutsu and Masaari are representative of what was a growing group – one larger than that comprised by members of established poetic lineages that literary history still focuses upon so closely – that needed to be recognized as having achieved mastery of the poetic tradition, and that struggled to maintain any recognition either they or their forebears might already have achieved. In 1279, the year of her *Izayoi nikki*, Abutsu was on the road to Kamakura for one reason only – to gain from the bakufu the means to attain recognition for her sons as a valid poetic lineage.

Masaari's case is more complex, because of his family's multi-generational position at once in and between the two centers of political authority and cultural production, the capital and Kamakura. It is more complex also because Masaari was managing his place not only as a poet, but as a master of another highly appreciated cultural art, *kemari* 蹴鞠. In addition to his activities in that field, however, he was clearly seeking to establish himself among the few persons eligible to receive and execute responsibilities at the very highest levels of poetic practice, and to see to it that his family was guaranteed irrevocably to his descendants.

Again, our vantage upon literary history can make it seem, because of its eventual predominance, as though the competitive struggle for control of elite poetic production had already been won by the Nijō house 二条家 by the time of Masaari's maturity; or, our historical perspective can make it seem as though this was a struggle fought only between those houses that emerged from the Mikohidari 御子左.[28] However, this was far from the case. In the 1280s, while the Nijō focused their attentions on the court of the reigning Emperor, Go-Uda, Masaari concentrated his service while in the capital upon the less glorious – but much more accessible, even neglected – figure of the Crown Prince, gaining a position in the present second only to the Nijō poets Tameuji 為氏 (1222-1286) and Tameyo 為世 (1250-1338), while looking ahead to a future that could be bright indeed after the next succession. Reading *Haru no miyamaji*, there can be no question that Masaari was seeking, through the vehicle of the Crown Prince, eventual parity with the Nijō in poetry, just as, in fact, the Nijō were themselves struggling to gain a position as rivals to the Asukai in the sphere of *kemari*.

Masaari's status as the third generation of a family that had provided consistent, loyal service to the bakufu also was of great value, not least because Kamakura had begun to take an interest in such things as imperial succession and imperially sponsored anthologies. But for Masaari to have any hope of success in his ambitions, he had to continuously present himself – even promote himself – as a consummate poet, a true master of the tradition, conceding nothing in terms of knowledge or position to the Nijō or to anyone else. When he confirmed in his diary that some features of the landscape still

[28] The Nijō, the Kyōgoku 京極, and the Reizei 冷泉.

looked as poets had come to feel they should, or when he analyzed the changes he saw in the landscape that required some rearrangement of the meanings and associations conventionally assigned to them, he was seizing opportunities – perhaps unconsciously, perhaps out of long habit – to display his deep understanding of the poetic tradition.

When, however, he used his intimate knowledge of the *Nihon shoki* – a text in which he was recognized as being expert – to situate and give weight to poetic possibilities suggested by the names and features of landscapes previously obscure or unknown, he was perhaps doing something even more bold. Unlike the *Kojiki* and the *Man'yōshū*, texts that had already provided *meisho* to the tradition, and which the Rokujō 六条 poetic lineage had in many ways claimed as their own personal area of expertise, the *Nihon shoki* – though certainly not unknown – had never been much utilized as a source for poetic image, language, or inspiration. By including, alongside his reassessments of established *meisho,* landscapes rendered meaningful by passages in the *Nihon shoki*, Masaari may not only have been displaying his abilities as a poet-scholar, but also exploring a possible claim to the *Nihon shoki* – here for utilization within poetic practice – as his own particular specialty, as part of his approach to achieving parity with the Nijō in the field of elite poetic composition.

Many centuries later, it is difficult to avoid feeling a sense of irony when observing Masaari and these other traveling poets engage so energetically with the landscape of the poetic tradition: we know, as they did not, that their efforts – though not to be entirely without import in other various permutations of the literary tradition – would finally have very little to do with the conception of the *meisho* in waka as it came to develop. We can see in their urge to serve as witnesses to the changed land a moment that has been obscured by literary history, a time of great energy, when poets faced new realities in the natural, the poetic, and the socio-economic landscapes.