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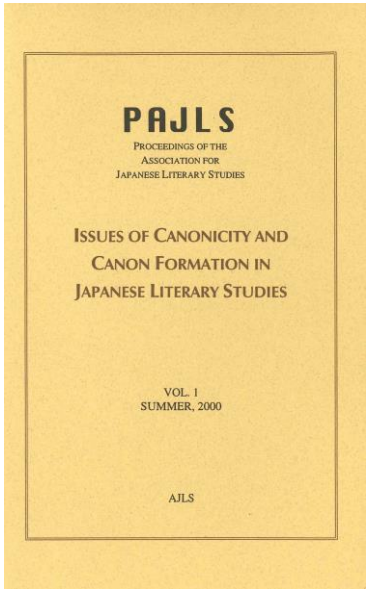

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FABRICATING TEIKA: THE *USAGI* FORGERIES AND THEIR AUTHENTIC INFLUENCE

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One of the most intriguing developments in the literary history of Japan's *chūsei* period is the emergence of a complex of poetic treatises that were falsely attributed to Fujiwara Teika (1162-1241), the great poet, critic, and compiler of *waka*. It is not strange that forgeries should be attempted, because the forging of documents was relatively common in late Kamakura society. Nor is it strange that Teika should be given the honor of having his name appended to four dubious texts written a century or so after his death. By that time, Teika's reputation had already surpassed even that of his father Shunzei (1114-1204), and the process of quasi-deification had begun.

What is really interesting about these treatises is that they were read a century later by literary artists who believed that they had been written by Teika himself. These writers went on to incorporate some of the views expressed in the forgeries into their own aesthetic philosophies. Among the credulous were such masters as the *waka* poet Shōtetsu (1381-1459), the *renga* poet Shinkei (1406-1475), and the *noh* playwright Zenchiku (1405-?).

In this paper I will provide some basic information about what the treatises say, who wrote them, and why. Then I will discuss their reception: the reactions ranged from outright dismissal to naive belief. Finally, I'll conclude with some thoughts on the significance of the texts' creation, their admission to the canon of Teika's works, and their expulsion from it as events in literary history and offer some suggestions on what these events might mean to us in the present age.

The four *usagi* texts were: 1. *Gukenshō* 愚見抄 (A Selection of Foolish Opinions); 2. *Guhishō* 愚秘抄 (A Selection of Foolish Secrets); 3. *Sangoki* 三五記 (Record of the Full Moon); 4. *Kiribioke* 桐火桶 (The Paulownia Brazier). Note that the *Guhishō* was also known as the "*U no motosue*" 鵜の本末 (Cormorant Essentials and Trivia) and the *Sangoki* was also known as "*Sagi no motosue*" 鷺の本末 (Heron Essentials and Trivia). The "*u*" (cormorant) of the *Guhishō* and the "*sagi*" (heron) of the *Sangoki*, then, give us the compound *usagi*, the name given to the texts as a whole.

The content of these texts ranges the spectrum from *kagaku* to *karon*. That is to say, the texts address minute points such as the proper wording to use in composing poetry—for example, *sozoro* sounds better than *suzuru*[1]—or, moving along the spectrum, they recollect the admonitions of the author's late father (who we are to assume is Shunzei) or they provide mystical analyses of famous poems such as Hitomaro's *"honobono to."*[2] But if these texts have a common core, however, it is their explication of *"Teika jittei,"* or "Teika's ten styles," which were first elaborated by Teika in his *Maigetsushō*. Of the four texts, the *Sangoki* gives the fullest treatment of Teika's Ten Styles, so let us use it as a basis for discussion.

As proposed by Teika in the *Maigetsushō*, the Ten Styles are:

1.	幽玄體	*yūgen tei*	style of the ineffably profound
2.	長高體	*taketakaki tei*	lofty style
3.	有心體	*ushin tei*	style of intense feeling
4.	麗體	*uruwashiki tei*	style of elegant beauty
5.	事可然體	*koto shikarubeki tei*	style of appropriate statement
6.	面白體	*omoshiroki tei*	style of clever treatment
7.	濃體	*komayaka naru tei*	style of exquisite detail
8.	見様體	*ken'yō tei*	style of visual description
9.	有一節體	*hitofushi aru tei*	style of novel treatment
10.	拉鬼體	*rakki tei*	demon-quelling style

Among the better known are the *yūgen* style and the *ushin* style. We might also note the *rakkitei*, or demon-quelling style, which is forbidden to beginners. In some versions of the *Maigetsushō* the author cautions the reader that just because beginners are prohibited from trying to compose in this style does not mean it is the supreme style.[3] The *Sangoki* author, however, extols it as the *chūdō*, or "middle way," of poetry.

The author of the *Sangoki* significantly expanded Teika's ten styles, as follows:

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[1] Fukuda Hideichi 福田秀一, annot., *"Gukenshō* 愚見抄," Fukuda, et al., eds., *Chūsei hyōronshū: karon, rengaron, nōgakuron* 中世評論集：歌論・連歌論・能楽論 (Kadokawa shoten, 1976), 63-64.

[2] *Kokinshū* 449: ほのぼのと明石の浦の朝霧に島がくれゆく船をしぞ思ふ.

[3] For an English version of the Maigetsushō, see Robert H. Brower, "Fujiwara Teika's *Maigetsushō*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 40.4 (Winter, 1985): 399-425.

1.	幽玄體	*yūgen tei*	style of the ineffably profound
	行雲體	*kōun tei*	style of drifting clouds
	廻雪體	*ensetsu tei*	style of whirling snow
2.	長高體	*taketakaki tei*	lofty style
	高山體	*kōzan tei*	style of tall mountains
	遠白體	*empaku tei*	style of distant whiteness
	澄海體	*chōkai tei*	style of clear seas
3.	有心體	*ushin tei*	style of intense feeling
	物哀體	*mono no aware tei*	pathetic style
	不明體	*fumei tei*	unclear style
	至極體	*shigoku tei*	extreme style
	理世體	*risei tei*	style of ruling the realm
	撫民體	*bumin tei*	style of pacifying the people
4.	麗體	*uruwashiki tei*	style of elegant beauty
	存直體	*sonjiki tei*	direct style
	花麗體	*karei tei*	gorgeous style
	松體	*matsu tei*	pine style
	竹體	*take tei*	bamboo style
5.	事可然體	*koto shikarubeki tei*	style of appropriate statement
	秀逸體	*shūitsu tei*	superb style
	抜群體	*batsugun tei*	outstanding style
	寫古體	*shako tei*	style of imitating the past
6.	面白體	*omoshiroki tei*	style of clever treatment
	一興體	*ikkyō tei*	intriguing style
	景曲體	*keikyoku tei*	style of interesting scenes
7.	濃體	*komayaka naru tei*	style of exquisite detail
8.	見様體	*ken'yō tei*	style of visual description
9.	有一節體	*hitofushi aru tei*	style of novel treatment
10.	拉鬼體	*rakki tei*	demon-quelling style
	強力體	*gōriki tei*	powerful style

To Teika's original ten styles, the *Sangoki* author has added twenty substyles for a total of thirty. Each of these thirty styles or substyles is illustrated by three *waka* and three poems in Chinese, followed by general remarks for each of the ten original styles and the substyles appended to them.

What is the stance articulated by these texts? That is a question that is closely linked to the identity of the author and the motivations for composing these texts.

There is no conclusive evidence indicating the identity of the author—or more likely, authors—of these texts, but some strong clues exist (see Fig. 1). Teika passed the franchise, as it were, on to his son Tameie without incident. Tameie designated his son Tameuji as principal heir. But late in life Tameie fathered another son by the nun Abutsu, and she urged Tameie to designate their young son Tamesuke as principal heir. This Tameie did, and upon his death the inevitable battle broke out over his inheritance, which included valuable land rights and literary documents. The legal dispute was first taken up by Tameuji and Abutsu; later Tameuji's heir Tameyo battled Tamesuke. After more than a century and numerous judgments, appeals, and counter-appeals, the matter was decided in favor of Tamesuke's line, the Reizei, although the Nijō line generally retained dominance in compiling imperial anthologies. Another line, the Kyōgoku, also entered the fray. The Nijō tended toward a conservative view of poetry, while the Reizei was more innovative, and the Kyōgoku even more so.

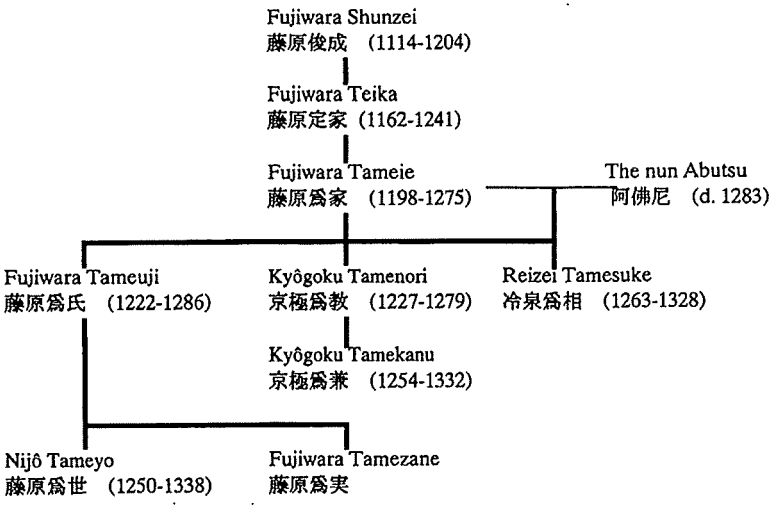

Fig. 1

Fukuda Hideichi has suggested that someone in the Reizei school wrote the *Gukenshō,* because it demonstrates a familiarity with the *Maigetsushō,*

which was closely held by the Reizei.[4] Indeed, the possibility that Abutsu was herself the author has been raised.[5] One old account dating to the 14th century states that the Reizei, having lost a round in the legal battle with the Nijō, were ordered to surrender Tameie's papers to the other side. Instead of giving up the real papers, however, Abutsu substituted these fake treatises.[6]

Another important figure in this chart is Fujiwara Tamezane. He was the fourth son of Tameuji and was not in line to inherit anything. Nonetheless, his name appears in the colophon of the *Sangoki* and the *Guhishō* as part of the line of transmission. It is difficult to believe that Tameuji would have transmitted such treatises to Tamezane instead of Tameyo, his chosen heir, and thus Tamezane has been proposed as the true author of his texts. He was an ambitious man who was active in the Kamakura area and maintained connections with the Reizei.

The dubious colophon is, however, not the only hint that Teika was not the actual author of these texts. Hosoya Naoki has shown how a poem included as Teika's own in the *Gukenshō,* which is dated 1216, was not composed until 1217, according to Teika's collection of his own poetry, *Shūi gusō.*[7] Hirohata Yuzuru has argued convincingly that the author of the *Kiribioke* lacked access to a decent copy of the *Man'yōshū.* We would expect Teika to have such access, as his father Shunzei quoted from the anthology with good accuracy in his *Korai fūteishō.*[8]

The authors of these texts generally demonstrate a deep knowledge of *waka* poetry and its lore. The *Gukenshō* is perhaps the most solid of the texts, and Fukuda singles out one passage, a criticism of such newfangled

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[4] Fukuda, "*Gukenshō*," 56, 99.

[5] Hosoya Naoki 細谷直樹, "*Gukenshō* wa Abutsu-ni no saku ka" 愚見抄は阿仏尼の作か, *Gengo to bungei,* March, 1963. Cited in Fukuda, "*Gukenshō*," 99.

[6] Kitabatake Chikafusa 北畠親房, *Kokinshū jo chū* 古今集序註. Transl. and cited in Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry* (Stanford UP, 1961), 351.

[7] Hosoya Naoki, "*Gukenshō* o megutte" 愚見抄をめぐって, *Kokugo kokubun,* April 1958. Cited in Fukuda, "*Gukenshō*," 81-82.

[8] Hirohata Yuzuru 広畑 譲, "Teika kataku no gisho *Kiribioke* no seikaku" 定家仮託の偽書「桐火桶」の性格, *Nihon bungei kenkyū* 39.4 (Jan. 1988): 24.

phrases as "*akebono no haru*" (instead of "*haru no akebono*") for its incisiveness.[9] Indeed, even as late as 1957, Ishida Yoshisada judges the *Gukenshō* authentic in his classic study *Fujiwara Teika no kenkyū.* Sometimes, however, the forgers seem to get carried away. The author of the *Sangoki,* for example, makes the improbable claim that, "In my humble opinion, in all pursuits, shouldn't we cherish the strong?"[10]

It's rather ludicrous to imagine Teika saying this, but the statement gives us an important clue about who the intended readers may have been: elite warriors in the Kamakura area. Hosoya Naoki has already made this point with regard to the *Gukenshō*, which lavishes praise on the poetry of the *shōgun* Sanetomo (1192-1219). Hosoya makes the link between praise for Sanetomo's poetry and the activities of the Reizei in the Kamakura area and suggests that the *Gukenshō* was written to appeal to elite warriors who were taking up the study of poetry.[11] According to Fukuda Hideichi, this is the earliest example of a high estimation of Sanetomo's poetry. We can extend this logic to the *Sangoki,* which is believed to have been written by Tamezane of the Nijō line. Perhaps with his high praise of strength in poetry, typified by the *gōrikitei,* or powerful style, as well as the *rakkitei,* or demon-quelling style, he too was telling the warriors what they wanted to hear.

Factual inaccuracies also reveal the texts as forgeries. One scholar has criticized some early lines of the *Sangoki,* in which the pseudo-Teika recalls visiting the palace at the age of seven with his late father, Shunzei. His first poem was composed at the command of the emperor. In 1168, when Teika was seven years old, there were two emperors. The emperor who commanded Teika to compose would have been either Emperor Takakura, age eight, or Emperor Rokujō, age five. The story is highly unlikely.

The scholar who raised this objection was none other than Tō no Tsuneyori (1401-1482), a poet of the 15th century,[12] and he was not even the first

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[9] Fukuda, "*Gukenshō*," 93.

[10] 愚意にも、一切のわざは、強からむを以てよろしきとすべきにや. Sasaki Nobutsuna 佐佐木信綱, ed., *Nihon kagaku taikei* 日本歌学大系, vol. 4 (Kazama shoten, 1956), 328-29.

[11] Hosoya, "*Gukenshō* o megutte." Cited in Fukuda, "*Gukenshō*," 99.

[12] Tō no Tsuneyori 東常縁, *Tōyashū kikigaki* 東野州聞書. Cited in Sasaki, ed., *Nihon kagaku taikei*, vol. 4, 51-52.

to question the authenticity of the *usagi* texts—Ton'a (1289-1372) had criticized the *Kiribioke* in an appendix to his *Seiashō,* written in the 1360s. Thus the authenticity of these texts has been questioned for almost six hundred years. Yet not all of Tō's contemporaries shared his knowledge. According to Ishida Yoshisada, the division between those who accepted the *usagi* texts as having been written by Teika and those who did not occured along factional lines. In general, those poets who belonged to the Nijō school or were affiliated with it rejected the *usagi* texts, while the Reizei poets and their affiliates accepted them, as did those who were not affiliated with either school.[13]

Among the credulous were the *waka* poet Shōtetsu, the *renga* poet Shinkei, and the *noh* actor and playwright Zenchiku, all major writers. In his *Shōtetsu monogatari*, Shōtetsu cites the *Guhishō* as having been written by Teika and appears to be quoting from some of the other *usagi* texts.[14] In his *Sasamegoto,* Shinkei never refers to the texts by name, but also often appears to be quoting from them. The tip-off is his use of some of the twenty substyles that were invented by the *usagi* authors and which never appeared in Teika's *Maigetsushō.* Zenchiku likewise never referred to the texts by name, but in his *Go'on sangyoku shū,* he paraphrases a section from the *Sangoki,* which he refers to as "a certain secret treatise on *waka.*"[15] Zenchiku applies Teika's ten styles and the substyles added by the *Sangoki* author to *noh* drama in his *Kabu zuinōki,* using them to rank and classify various plays.

We have gained a glimpse of who created these texts and how they entered the canon. The Nijō poets began the process of ejecting them from the canon not long after they appeared. According to Kawahira Hitoshi, the effort was not successful until the mid- to late Edo period[16] and, in the case of

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[13] Ishida Yoshisada 石田吉貞, *Fujiwara Teika no kenkyū* 藤原定家の研究 (Bungadō, 1958), 468.

[14] Hisamatsu Sen'ichi 久松潜一, ed., "*Shōtetsu monogatari* 正徹物語," Hisamatsu and Nishio Minoru 西尾　実, eds., *Karonshū, Nōgakuronshū* 歌論集・能楽論集 (Iwanami shoten, 1961) 232.

[15] Omote Akira 表　章 and Katō Shūichi 加藤周一, eds., *Zeami, Zenchiku* 世阿弥・禅竹 (Iwanami shoten, 1974), 364.

[16] Kawahira Hitoshi 川平ひとし, "Fujiwara Teika no gisho-gun no seiritsu to sono igi" 藤原定家の偽書群の成立とその意義, Ariyoshi Tamotsu 有吉保, et al., eds.

the *Gukenshō*, has only recently been completed. This represents a new order of knowledge, in which claims of authority based on tradition and succession could be subjected to critical scrutiny.

The influence of the texts is not easy to assess. As I mentioned earlier, Fukuda observes that the lavish praise bestowed upon the poetry of the *shōgun* Sanetomo, who was actually one of Teika's pupils, is without precedent.[17] These texts may have fired the first shot in the perennial battle over the worth of Sanetomo's work.

To my mind, however, their most interesting manifestation may be discerned in the work of the *noh* playwrights, particularly Zenchiku. For Zenchiku, the positive depiction of the demon-quelling style in the *Sangoki* provided a way to reconcile Zeami's injunctions against portraying demons in the style of powerful movement with his own lineage's tradition of performing demon roles. Moreover, Teika himself was one of Zenchiku's major precursors—he even wrote a play about Teika—and Zenchiku's conception of Teika's poetics was deeply influenced by the *Sangoki.*

We should make a distinction between the significance of the texts as statements on the art and the significance of these texts as events in literary history. Let us remember that for the most part they were composed by people with significant knowledge of *waka* poetry. From the standpoint of competence, they were qualified to generate critical texts on *waka*. What these people apparently lacked was the standing to do so. Here we can see the limitations of a system in which the right to create and transmit knowledge is conferred hereditarily, instead of being granted in a merit-based system. Moreover, we can observe new weaknesses in the practice of shrouding texts in secrecy. The effort to keep texts to oneself and one's associates is a sword that cuts both ways.

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Let us turn now to what meaning these events might hold for us today.

It is tempting to think of literary forgeries as products of an earlier age, one which lacked the expertise, the attitudes toward authority and knowledge, and the sophisticated means of communication that we have today. But, for better or worse, literary forgeries are still with us, although they are

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Waka bungaku kōza dai-7 kan: chūsei no waka 和歌文学講座　第七巻　中世の和歌 (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1994) 293.

[17] Fukuda, "*Gukenshō*," 99.

more commonly labeled as hoaxes. The forger hopes to go undiscovered forever, or for as long as it takes to get away; but the creator of a hoax often *wishes* to be discovered, in order to gain attention or to make a point.

In recent years two hoaxes that struck particularly close to home for literary critics and scholars were uncovered. One was the Alan Sokal affair, in which a professor of physics submitted an article on postmodern theory and quantum physics to the journal *Social Text.*[18] Only after the article was published did the author reveal that he was joking and that the article was a parody targeting the excesses he perceived in contemporary discourse in the field of science studies.

Even closer to home, however, was the Araki Yasusada affair. The *American Poetry Review* published English translations of notebook entries and poems that were supposed to have been written by a Japanese survivor of Hiroshima.[19] The work was praised lavishly for its power, and readers were swept away by its resonances with European and American modernist poetry. Subsequently, however, it was revealed that the actual "author" was probably an American professor of English from Illinois.

Of these, the Araki affair appears to have been the more instructive. It challenged readers to think once again about the importance or irrelevance of the author, about American preconceptions of Japan, and about the projection of our own desires and images. The Sokal matter, as far as I know, led only to repeated cycles of recriminations.

Considered in conjunction with, for example, the phenomenon of the *usagi* texts, these controversies teach us that little has changed in the past six hundred years. We remain as gullible and as vulnerable as, perhaps, the Kamakura generals who wanted to hear Teika say that *waka* really was macho.

In turn, the *usagi* texts tell us that the problem is not exclusively a postmodern one. All of these hoaxes or forgeries show the possibilities for deception in a society limited by factional divisions and gaps in communications. It makes little difference whether the factions are the Nijō and the Reizei or theoretical physicists and cultural critics. Ultimately, the problem is

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[18] Alan D. Sokal, "Transgressing the Boundaries: Towards a Transformative Hermeneutics of Quantum Gravity," *Social Text* 14.1-2 (1996): 217-52.

[19] "'Doubled Flowering: From the Notebooks of Araki Yasusada,' translated by Tosa Motokiyu, Okura Kyojin, and Ojiu Norinaga: A Special Supplement," *American Poetry Review* (July/August 1996): 23-26.

not technological but psychological. The editorial board of *Social Text* did not consult a physicist; the editors of the *American Poetry Review* did not consult a specialist in Japanese literature. Most of the people reading this, if not all of them, could have helped *APR* uncover the ruse prior to publication, if only they had been consulted.

To summarize, a scenario describing the trajectory of the *usagi* texts might go something like this: Kyoto-bred poets, from both the Nijō and Reizei lines, who were active in the Kantō area composed these treatises relying on their extensive knowledge of *waka*; they played upon the desires of their readers, elite warriors, by praising Sanetomo and extolling the virtues of the demon-quelling and powerful styles and signing the treatises with Teika's name. Somewhere along the line the treatises were read by writers who possessed considerable literary abilities but lacked the inside knowledge that would have told them these forgeries were fakes. Hence, elements of these fake treatises find their way into authentic treatises, leaving us to wonder whether the passages quoted by Zenchiku, Shōtetsu, and Shinkei are fake or, by virtue of being quoted, have become real.

Three factors leave us as vulnerable to manipulation and deception as were the readers of the *usagi* texts six hundred years ago. The first is factional disputes, and perhaps even the process of specialization itself, which prevent the free exchange of information; the second is the priority of authority over knowledge, of prestige over verified accuracy; and the third, of course, is the desire to be deceived or, more precisely, the desire to be told what we wish to hear.