“Political License and the Poetic Canon of the Imperial *Waka* Anthologies”

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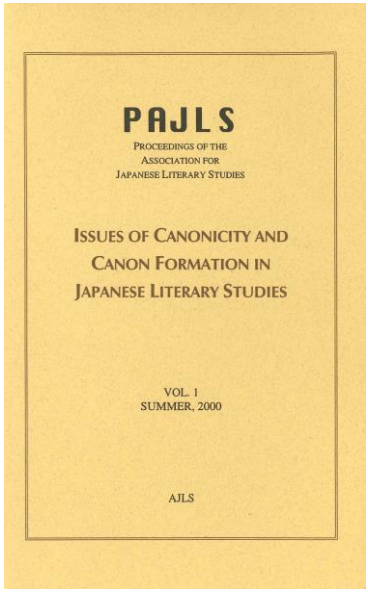

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Political License and the Poetic Canon of the Imperial *Waka* Anthologies

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Poetry and politics are not discrete enterprises. This is no longer a very surprising notion. The imperial *waka* anthologies explicitly manifest the interplay of poetry and politics; they are, after all, poetry anthologies compiled under imperial command, or the *CHOKUsenWAKAshū*. Yet, critical considerations of these anthologies have tended to privilege the poetic over the political, in other words, the literary aspects of the individual texts over the institutional forces that inform them. For this paper, I privilege the political over the poetic because I would like to challenge primarily aesthetic modes of interpretation that threaten, at times, to misrepresent the production of these anthologies and the nature of their canonical stature. I view the twenty-one imperial anthologies, or *nijūichidaishū*, as an integrated set of texts whose prestige has depended on extra-literary forces that shaped their compilation and propelled their continuation for over five hundred years.[1]

Frank Kermode has suggested that shifting our modes of interpretation gives texts new "spans of life."[2] When we modify our criteria for evaluating texts we discover alternative dimensions, challenge long-held assumptions, and extend the lives of the texts and our own critical enterprises. This is the spirit in which I move as I look briefly at the politics and poetry nexus in these anthologies. I will first discuss this generally, and then move to some specific examples from the fourteenth century.

In my research I am examining the establishment and perpetuation of the imperial anthology project, and how this form came to manifest a kind of de facto cultural authority that could be appropriated by each new compilation. Each anthology secured access to poetic and political significance simply by

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[1] The term *nijūichidaishū* literally means "the collections of twenty-one eras/reigns," once again overlapping the literary with the nonliterary.

[2] Frank Kermode, "Institutional Control of Interpretation," *Salmagundi* 43 (1979): 84.

"rubbing shoulders" with those that came before it. In other words, value created value. Imperial patrons ordered new anthologies and poets vied for the honor of being named compiler because they recognized the potential this form provided for reaffirming and legitimizing their positions within the political and social networks they inhabited.

Each subsequent anthology was not the start of something new, but rather an articulation of something already there. Even the second imperial *waka* anthology, *Gosen(waka)shū* (The *Later* Collection [of Japanese Poetry], ca. 951), clearly positioned itself vis-à-vis its influential predecessor.[3] Further evidence that the imperial anthologies were conceived of as sequential undertakings—rather than independent entities or simply revisions of past endeavors—can be found in one of the basic criteria for selection: compilers chose poems that had not been included in earlier imperial collections. While each subsequent anthology included contemporary poetry and new poets, no anthology could or would ignore the past. The parameters of selection did vary from anthology to anthology, but they all included poetry from at least the preceding 130 years. In other words, each compiler needed to be familiar with every previous anthology as he created a new one. As a result of this amazing, but not surprising, attention to that which came before, the twenty-one anthologies could be read as a single (un-overlapping) collection of the court's poetry.[4]

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[3] Unlike the other imperial anthologies, *Gosenshū* includes no poems by its bureaucrat compilers, the so-called Five Poets of the Pear-Jar Room. This anthology highlights the poetry of the *Kokinshū* era. Ki no Tsurayuki (ca. 872-945, 74 poems) and Ise (ca. Ca. 870-940, 70 poems) are by far the best represented poets in the anthology; only a few contemporary poets are well represented, and in most cases these are powerful aristocrats, such as Fujiwara Morosuke (908-960, 13 poems). This combination of factors suggests that the compilers envisioned this project as one that acknowledged the accomplishments of earlier generations while also recognizing the prestige possible through the linking of the literary past with the political present.

[4] Of course, the occasional repetition of the same poem in two anthologies does occur. However, considering the number of poems involved, especially by the medieval period, the number of repeats is remarkably small and becomes a clear indication of the care taken, knowledge required, and significance of this selection criteria.

The conscious recognition (or imposition) of integrity and continuity between these anthologies can also be seen in the development of terms like *sandaishū* (collections of the 3 eras) and *hachidaishū* (collections of the 8 eras), terms which began circulating after the completion of the marked anthologies.[5] In addition, poetic treatises, such as Fujiwara Kiyosuke's *Fukurozōshi* (ca. 1160), and the ubiquitous catalogs (*mokuroku*) of the tradition mention the imperial anthologies in order, neglecting none, even when the evaluations of the individual collections are far from equal in weight or praise.[6] My view of these texts as one ongoing project, finally consolidated under the heading *nijūichidaishū*, is not an anachronistic imposition. The process was based on mechanisms that drew these texts together from early on.[7]

No matter how much we may ignore some of these anthologies because we judge them poetically substandard, there will always be twenty-one. The *nijūichidaishū* became a closed canon, one that ceases to change, one that cannot accept new works or dismiss old ones.[8] And the value of each anthol

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[5] The earliest extant mention of the term *sandaishū* appears in Minamoto Shunrai's (ca. 1055-1129) *Shunrai zuinō* (ca. 1115). According to Fujiwara Kiyosuke's (1104-1177) *Fukurozōshi* (ca. 1160) there were those who believed that *sandaishū* had referred to *Man'yōshū*, *Kokinshū*, and *Gosenshū* until the completion of *Shūishū* (or *Shūishō*) around 1005. See *Fukurozōshi*, SNKBT, vol. 29, 76. It was largely the work of Fujiwara Teika (1162-1241) that canonized these three anthologies; however, the term *sandaishū* was in circulation long before his time. As for *hachidaishū*, it is first seen in the title of Teika's *Hachidaishū shūitsu* (or *Hachidaishū shūka*, Selections from the Eight Collections, 1234).

[6] See, for example, *Fukurozōshi* SNKBT, vol. 29, 70-76. Another example closer to home can be found in Robert Brower and Earl Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961). Here, several of the medieval anthologies compiled before 1350 are not mentioned or cited at all in the text; however, they do appear in the appendix, which gives brief outlines of all twenty-one anthologies, in order.

[7] The twenty-one were first published as one set in 1647.

[8] In other words, from the 10th to the 15th century, the imperial anthology project was ongoing and informed by notions of continuity and integrity. Exactly how and when it became marked and recognized as a closed canon and the implications of this designation is an interesting point that deserves additional attention. For the idea of

ogy will always owe a great debt to this affiliation. I wonder, even, how the *Kokinshū* would have fared had the imperial anthology project fizzled out after the first two or three installments. The virtual industry that sprang up around the preservation and explication of *Kokinshū* and its secrets cannot, I think, really be separated from the continuation of the imperial anthology project. Many medieval compilers would, in fact, transcribe an early anthology (or two) before commencing on their own collection or during periods of contention between rival poetic factions. This act could be viewed as a handy way for these poets to refresh their memories, as a demonstration of their "possession" of the poetic tradition and their authority to perpetuate the anthology project, and even as a quasi-ritualistic preparation for compiling.[9]

These anthologies were, more than other poetic enterprises, institutional undertakings. They involved formal decrees, were often housed in offices (*wakadokoro* or Poetry Bureau), and employed officers (compilers, assistants, secretaries, etc.) who often resigned from their other official duties when the work of compiling began. An imperial anthology did not really exist until after its official approval and formal ceremony of presentation. For example, Fujiwara Kiyosuke's *ShokuShikashū* did not make the cut because Emperor Nijō, his sponsor, died in 1165 while preparation was still underway, thus making official recognition of the anthology impossible. It was preserved, yet has none of the canonical value of the *hachidaishū*, not because it was poetically inferior but because it failed to capture the imperial mark and thus inclusion in the sequence.[10]

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a closed canon, see John Guillory, "Canon," *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, ed. Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 233.

[9] For example, in 1317 Nijō Tameyo made a copy of *Shūishū*; the following year Retired Emperor GoUda commissioned him to compile the 15th imperial anthology. See Inoue Muneo, *Chūsei kadanshi no kenkyū: nanbokuchōki* (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1965), 216. The role of manuscript transcription and *Kokindenjū* (Teachings of the *Kokinshūi*) transmission in the imperial anthology project of the medieval period is fascinating and deserves more attention than I can give it here.

[10] Over two hundred poems from Kiyosuke's *ShokuShikashū* appear in *Senzaishū* and *ShinKokinshū*. This high degree of repetition is also a reflection of the fact that Kiyosuke's anthology was not recognized as an imperial anthology but rather as a private collection and potential source of poetry for later imperial anthologies.

It should be pointed out that the relationship between the imperial institution and the imperial anthology was symbiotic. While the imperial mark on the *chokusenshū* conferred prestige on the compiler's house and every poet included, each anthology also reaffirmed imperial power by (re)creating the institution's custodianship of high cultural authority. The imperial anthology project's longevity, and as Robert Huey has recently discussed, the eventual participation (or intervention) of the shogunate in the enterprise, go far in illustrating how the political and poetic value of the project mutually reinforced one another.[11] These anthologies were the products of a relatively small and elite world in which questions of inheritance, succession, and authority, and, more importantly, access to these things were always fraught with contention.

Not surprisingly, the imperial anthology was often convened in times of political urgency: for example, the imperial order often coincided with the accession of a new emperor or following periods of political upheaval.[12] This becomes especially clear in the anthologies of the fourteenth century.

Another interesting example is *Shin'yōshū* commissioned by Emperor Chōkei (r. 1368-1383) of the Southern Court in 1381 and compiled by Prince Munenaga (1312-1385). This anthology is generally labeled as a "quasi" imperial anthology (*junchokusenshū*). While it is often discussed in conjunction with the imperial anthologies and is included, for example, in the imperial anthology volume of *Shinpen kokka taikan*, we ought to consider why it is not recognized as an official imperial anthology. What is the significance of the fact that its sponsor was not an emperor of the Northern Court, which the Ashikaga shogunate supported? Political circumstances seem, again, to have a strong hand in the determination of the canonical destiny of these poetry anthologies.

[11] Robert Huey, "Warrior Control over the Imperial Anthology," *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World*, ed. Jeffrey P. Mass (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 170-91.

[12] For example, the content and circumstances surrounding Teika's compilation of the 9th imperial anthology, *Shinchokusenshū* (ca. 1234) clearly reflect the tensions and repercussions of the Jōkyū Rebellion of 1221. Also, in the third month of 1301, Retired Emperor GoUda commissioned an anthology; two months earlier, his son, Emperor GoNijō, ascended the throne, following the abdication of an emperor of the rival imperial line.

Let me begin by briefly looking at two fourteenth century anthologies that are largely neglected for being poetically uninteresting—the 15th, *ShokuSenzaishū* and the 16th, *ShokuGoShūishū*. [Please refer to Tables 1 and 2.]

TABLE 1
Some Information Regarding the Twenty-one Imperial Anthologies

Title (approx. order)	Prefaces[a]	Compiler(s)	Commissioner	
1. *Kokinshū* (905)	2	4 Ki no Tsurayuki, et al.	Emp. Daigo	
2. *Gosenshū* (951)	0	5 Five Poets of the Pear-Jar Room	Emp. Murakami	*sandaishū*
3. *Shūishū* (1005)	0	1 Fujiwara Kintō (?)	Ex. Kazan* (?)	
4. *GoShūishū* (1075)	1	1 Fujiwara Michitoshi	Emp. Shirakawa	
5. *Kin'yōshū* (1126)	0	1 Minamoto Shunrai	Ex. Shirakawa	
6. *Shikashū* (1144)	0	1 Fujiwara (Rokujō) Akisuke	Ex. Sutoku	
7. *Senzaishū* (1183)	1	1 Fujiwara Shunzei	Ex. GoShirakawa	*hachidaishū*
8. *ShinKokinshū* (1201)	2	5 (6) Fujiwara Teika, et al.	Ex. GoToba*	
9. *Shinchokusenshū* (1232)	1	1 Fujiwara Teika	Emp. Horikawa	
10. *ShokuGosenshū* (1248)	0	1 Fujiwara Tamefe	Ex. GoSaga	
11. *ShokuKokinshū* (1259)	2	5 Fujiwara Tamefe, et al.	Ex. GoSaga*	
12. *ShokuShūishū* (1276)	0	1 Fujiwara (Nijō) Tameuji	Ex. Kameyama	
13. *ShinGosenshū* (1301)	0	1 Nijō Tameyo	Ex. GoUda (Junior Line)	
14. *Gyokuyōshū* (1311)	0	1 Kyōgoku Tamekane	Ex. Fushimi (Senior Line)	
15. *ShokuSenzaishū* (1318)	0	1 Nijō Tameyo	Ex. GoUda (Junior Line)	
16. *ShokuGoShūishū* (1323)	0	1 Nijō Tamefuji→Tamesada	Emp. GoDaigo (Junior Line)	
17. *Fūgashū* (1343)	2	1 Kōgon (Hanazono)	Ex. Kōgon (Northern Court)*	
18. *ShinSenzaishū* (1356)	0	1 Nijō Tamesada	Emp. GoKōgon (Northern)	
19. *ShinShūishū* (1363)	0	1 Nijō Tameaki→Ton'a	Emp. GoKōgon (Northern)	
20. *ShinGoShūishū* (1375)	1	1 Nijō Tametō→Nijō Tameshige	Emp. GoEn'yū (Northern)	
21. *ShinShokuKokinshū* (1433)	2	1 Asukai Masayo	Emp. GoHanazono	
			Ex. = Retired emperor	

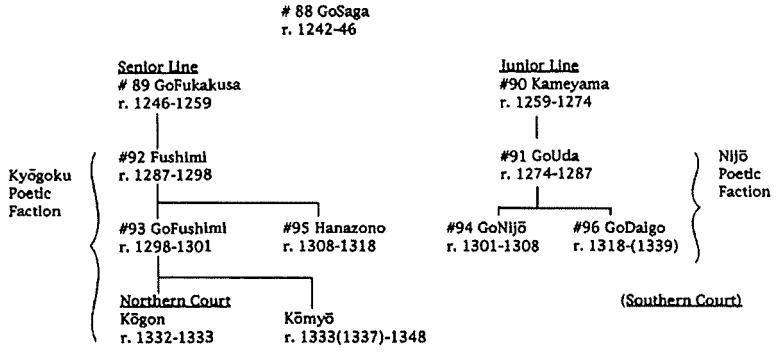
[a] Anthologies with 1 preface include only a Japanese preface; those with two include a Chinese preface as well.

* *Shinsen* (親撰) anthology. Designates imperially selected collections or collections designated as such even when the actual involvement of the imperial patron was only nominal.

◊ The original compiler died before the project was completed, and another poet completed the work.

Table 2

Poetic Affiliations and Imperial Succession in the Late Kamakura and Early Muromachi Periods



In 1318 the ruling retired emperor, GoUda, of the Junior (or Daikakuji) imperial line commissioned Nijō Tameyo (1251-1338), head of the poetically conservative Nijō faction, to compile an anthology. This order, in 1318, came only five years after the completion of the 14th anthology, *Gyokuyōshū*, which had been compiled under the auspices of the Senior (or Jimyōin) imperial line by Kyōgoku Tamekane (1254-1332), head of the more innovative Kyōgoku poetic faction. These affiliations—the Junior line with the Nijō school and the Senior line with the Kyōgoku school—had become firmly entrenched by the early fourteenth century. These two poetic schools did produce strikingly different poetry, but was the order in 1318 motivated solely by a desire to challenge the previous anthology that heralded the rival poetic aesthetic? Why order an anthology in 1318?

In the second month of that year Emperor Hanazono, of the Senior line, abdicated and imperial rule shifted once again to the Junior line with the accession of Emperor GoDaigo. 1318 was also the year of the Bunpo Compromise (Bunpo wadan), a complex negotiation between the rival imperial lines and the Kamakura shogunate to determine GoDaigo's successor. In the end, it was decided that GoNijō's son would be named crown prince and succeed GoDaigo. This is exactly what GoUda had hoped for. The Junior Line was in a relatively strong position, and GoUda, as ruling retired emperor and head of the Junior line, chose this year—one that marked a shift from Senior to Junior line rule and one that also brought promise for the

future—to commission another imperial anthology. Coming so close on the heels of *Gyokuyōshū*, a Senior line and Kyōgoku anthology, *ShokuSenzaishū* emphasized the recent relocations of political as well as poetic authority.[13]

As Andrew Goble points out, Emperor GoDaigo gained absolutely nothing from the Bunpo Compromise of 1318.[14] According to the terms of this compromise, GoDaigo's line was to come to an end with his abdication. We know that GoDaigo did not fade silently into the night. In 1321, GoUda relinquished his authority as ruling retired emperor, starting a period of direct rule (*shinsei*) for Emperor GoDaigo. Two years later, in 1323 Emperor GoDaigo commissioned yet another anthology. The custom for more than two hundred years had been that retired emperors commission these projects. For GoDaigo, a reigning emperor, to sponsor an anthology could be seen as an act of resistance and as an assertion of his own imperial prerogative—an early hint, perhaps, of his later actions to reassert imperial power and the future of his line. This anthology came only five years after *ShokuSenzaishū*, which was also the work of a Nijō compiler and Junior line sponsor. Therefore, there was no real need to reassert the Nijō poetic style

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[13] This is clearly an oversimplification of the interrelationship between the poetic and the political manifest in this imperial anthology. However, this example does illuminate the fact that the production of these literary works (and their reception and canonization) pivot on political considerations, and thus our analyses, too, must take this complex interrelationship into account. For example, a close comparison, which space does not allow me to attempt here, of the opening sequences—the style and content of the poems as well as the identities of the poets included—found in this anthology and *Gyokuyōshū* shows how the compilers were acutely aware of and manipulated this interrelationship in the creation of their anthologies. *ShokuSenzaishū* can certainly be read as a critique of *Gyokuyōshū* and the poetics it advocates (and thus implicitly, I think, *ShokuSenzaishū* challenges the imperial patrons of *Gyokuyōshū* as well), and questions of style and legitimacy were paramount in the compilation of both of these anthologies. Nonliterary factors enabled and bolstered these rival poetic positions; the compilers depended upon their sponsors' political authority and success, and so it was in their best interests to create an anthology that inscribed this authority and challenged that of their rivals.

[14] Andrew Goble, *Kenmu: GoDaigo's Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 19.

or Junior line authority at this time; this anthology must be seen in the context of GoDaigo's personal strivings and his reasons for choosing to embark on this project. To judge, or ignore, this literary work in terms of its poetic style and content alone does not seem prudent.

Even the most cursory glance at *ShokuGoShūishū*, the anthology commissioned by GoDaigo, reveals how it anchored itself in the imperial anthology project and thus to the de facto prestige of the then 400-year-old enterprise. All of the fourteenth-century anthologies gestured back, in one way or another, to the *hachidaishū*. But what they chose to carry into their own projects was not always the same. GoDaigo's anthology linked itself, not coincidentally, to the earliest anthologies and thus implicitly to a time when reigning emperors wielded more direct authority, to a time before the establishment of the retired emperor's office or the shogunate. For example, the title, *ShokuGoShūishū*, echoes the fourth anthology, *GoShūishū*, which in turn had linked itself to the third, *Shūishū*.[15] Also, it was the first anthology in over 300 years to include a book of *mono no na* (names of things) poems. The book, number 7, includes only 27 poems. This follows the example of *Shūishū*, which also devoted book 7 to these acrostic poems. However, in *Shūishū* we find over 75 poems, significantly more than in the books of Partings, Felicitations, or Winter poems. Whereas it was clearly a significant category in *Shūishū*, it seems little more than an ornament in *ShokuGoShūishū* that draws attention to its association with these earlier anthologies.[16] And yet, while most of the twenty-seven poems are by famous poets of old, there are also contributions by prominent poets affiliated with GoDaigo's court and its allies, reflecting, perhaps, a kind of prestige that is afforded by interweaving the literary tradition with contemporary sociopolitical affiliations.

In patronizing this imperial project and one that evoked these early anthologies, Emperor GoDaigo symbolically distanced himself from the recent circumstances that threatened his position and actively asserted his claims to imperial authority. In the fourteenth century historical tale, *Masu-*

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[15] The title *Shūishū*, in turn, linked this third anthology to the first two imperial waka anthologies in that it literally means "a collection of poems left behind [since *Kokinshū*]."

[16] *Kokinshū* was the only other imperial anthology to include a book of *mono no na* poems (book 10, 47 poems).

kagami (The Clear Mirror, ca. 1370), GoDaigo is said to have composed the following poem and sent it to the compiler of *ShokuGoShūishū*, Nijō Tamesada (1293-1360):

かずかずに築むる玉の曇らねばこれもわが世の光とぞなる
(*ShinSenzaishū* #1977)[17]

The many jewels
that you have gathered
will never lose their luster,
and so they, too, shall be
shining glories of my reign![18]

Like other imperial sponsors, GoDaigo recognized how the almost ritual/sacred efficacy of *waka* endowed this project with significance that stretched beyond the aesthetic.

ShokuSenzaishū and *ShokuGoShūishū* are both anthologies associated with the conservative Nijō school, and they have enjoyed far less attention this century than *Gyokuyōshū* and *Fūgashū*, the two fourteenth-century collections associated with the innovative Kyōgoku school.[19] But this state of

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[17] *Masukagami*, NKBT, vol. 87, 435. According to this work and the headnote in *ShinSenzaishū*, this poem was composed after the completion of *ShokuGoShūishū* in response to a poem by its compiler, Nijō Tamesada: 今ぞしるあつめし玉の数数に身をてらすべき光ありとは (*ShinSenzaishū* #1976) "Now I realize: in the manifold jewels gathered for this work, there resides a radiance that will cast its light on me." George Perkins, trans., *The Clear Mirror* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 180.

[18] For another translation see Perkins 180.

[19] Of the 13 anthologies following *ShinKokinshū*, *Fūgashū* has received great accolades for its poetry since Origuchi Shinobu and Toki Zenmaro rediscoverd and reintroduced it earlier this century. See, for example, Origuchi Shinobu, "Chitorimashitoto (ちとりましとと)," *Araragi* 10:4 (1917). An annotated version of *Fūgashū* appeared in 1974 and essays evaluating its poetry abound. See Tsugita Kasumi and Iwasa Miyoko, eds., *Fūgawakashū* (Tokyo: Miai shoten, 1974). On the other hand, *ShokuSenzaishū* and *ShokuGoShūishū* have been largely overlooked in the twentieth century. Annotated versions of both are now finally appearing, so things may

affairs, and even the notions of conservative and innovative and the relative value we attribute to each term, may say more about our own poetic tastes and interests than about the reception of these anthologies in the fourteenth and subsequent centuries. In fact, these two Kyōgoku anthologies, and *not* those compiled by their Nijō rivals, suffered most in the generations that followed their compilation when the Nijō school once again retained imperial sponsorship and compiled three more anthologies.[20] Again, evaluations that rely primarily on literary criteria have the potential to distort our representations of these individual anthologies as well as the imperial anthology project to which they belong.

Now let me turn my attention to *Fūgashū*, compiled in the mid-1340s. About two decades had elapsed since the 16th imperial anthology, *ShokuGo-Shūishū*. Twenty years may not seem like a long interval, but the fact that four anthologies had been compiled in the first twenty-five years of the fourteenth century, suggests that patrons and compilers had been turning to the imperial anthology for a variety of reasons, not all of which had to do with purely poetic motivations. In this context, twenty years is instead a long time, one of war and chaos. By the early 1340s there was a new shogunate and two courts: the Northern Court supported by the Ashikaga, and the Southern Court established by GoDaigo. This was a new and explosive configuration. *Fūgashū* can be viewed in the context of the Northern Court strivings for security and legitimacy.

Fūgashū is a *shinsen* anthology, one in which the imperial sponsor not only commissioned the work but also participated in its selection. The most famous example is *ShinKokinshū*, but in that case official compilers, including Teika, joined Retired Emperor GoToba in the selection process.[21] In the case of *Fūgashū*, Retired Emperor Kōgon of the Northern Court was the

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change. See Fukatsu Mutsuo, ed., *ShokuGoShūiwakashū* (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1997). Meiji shoin's new series, *Waka bungaku taikei*, will eventually include annotations of all of the post-*ShinKokinshū* anthologies.

[20] The Muromachi literatus, Nijō Yoshimoto (1320-1388) labeled the Kyōgoku style unorthodox (*ifū*); this was no compliment in the 14th century. *Kinraifūteishō*, NKT, vol. 5, 143.

[21] *Shūishū* seems also to have been considered a *shinsen* (Retired Emperor Kazan) anthology. The relationship between this anthology and Fujiwara Kintō's *Shūishō* is not clear.

only official compiler. His uncle and poetry tutor, Retired Emperor Hanazono was also deeply involved though not officially named as a compiler. Kōgon named no other compilers, only assistants (*yoriudo*). In addition, *Fūgashū* is the only anthology to have a preface written by an emperor: Hanazono authored both the Japanese and Chinese prefaces.[22] Certainly, these unusual circumstances had something to do with the fact that the Kyōgoku poetic house lacked a viable candidate for compiler.[23] However, can this unprecedented degree of imperial control really only be due to poetic interests? Might it not also be a response to the new, yet precarious, situation of the Northern Court? With *Fūgashū* we see an occasion when extreme circumstances led to unprecedented choices (one emperor as sole anthologizer and another as author of its prefaces); however, these choices gained legitimacy and proved to be powerful through indirect precedents (compilations that included imperial compilers and prefaces written in the voice of the imperial sponsor) and the prestige of the imperial center.

When we look, for example, at the poets with the most poems in *Fūgashū*, we find that Emperor Fushimi, Hanazono's father and patriarch of the Senior imperial line (which became the Northern Court) tops the list with 85 poems. Eifukumon'in, Fushimi's Empress, ranks second, and Hanazono, Kōgon, and Kōgon's father GoFushimi also appear in the top eight, with more than thirty poems each. The other three poets in the top eight are Kyōgoku Tamekane, his sister Tameko, and their great-grandfather, Teika. With this catalog, *Fūgashū* followed the medieval trend of headlining the poetic and imperial lineages associated with the project. However, the overall degree of erasure of the project's rivals, here, the Southern Court and the Nijō poetic house, was unprecedented: GoDaigo has only three poems buried deep in the anthology, and prominent Nijō poets suffer similar treatment. Complete erasure would have been too contentious. Nonetheless, *Fūgashū* powerfully interweaves the political configuration that the Northern Court strove to maintain with the poetic style its patriarchs favored.

Hanazono was a serious poet who certainly wanted *Fūgashū* to be a testament to his aesthetic convictions and those of his recent ancestors; but this does not mean he and Kōgon were not also motivated by political con-

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[22] Other anthologies, such as *ShokuKokinshū*, had prefaces written in the voice of the imperial sponsor, but never before had an emperor actually written one.

[23] Kyōgoku Tamekane died in exile and left no suitable heirs.

siderations and needs. The interplay of these two dynamics runs deep in this collection, ranging from the placement of poets, to the content of headnotes, and even to the inclusion of willow poems (a traditionally spring image) among the autumn poems.[24] Unfortunately, there is no room to discuss these examples here. Let me conclude with a brief comment on Hanazono's Japanese preface to the anthology.

Before *Fūgashū*, only three anthologies included two prefaces: *Kokinshū*, *ShinKokinshū*, and *ShokuKokinshū*. By doing the same, Hanazono associates his project with the two greatest anthologies. Hanazono, in fact, explicitly invokes *ShinKokinshū* as his model in the preface.[25] The preface, itself, not only echoes many of the well-known points outlined in the *Kokinshū* preface, but it also borrows much of its language from this and the other prefaces. However, Hanazono emphasizes one point more than the other prefaces had: that of the relationship between poetry and government. Where Tsurayuki opens by focusing on the expressive nature of poetry (こころをたねとして), Hanazono immediately invokes poetry for its ability to "praise our age or admonish its ways (世をほめ時をそしる)."[26] Shortly thereafter he continues, "Japanese poetry can right the human heart. It enlightens those below and advises those on high. In other words, it is at the heart of all governing (即ち政の本となる)."[27] While the notion is not

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[24] See *Fūgashū* 508-513 by, in order, Eifukumon'in, Tamekane, Fushimi, Kōgon, Shigeyasu (prominent Kyōgoku faction poet), and the *ShinKokinshū* poet, Ietaka. Certainly, the unprecedented inclusion of willow poems among the autumn poems would have drawn attention to itself. And these poems are excellent examples of the seasonal poetry associated with the Kyōgoku style in their reliance on imagery and the careful attention to and exploration of the natural scene and the fine distinctions found therein. Traditional poetic techniques such as pivot words and allusive variation are very scarce, and as is often true of Kyōgoku seasonal poetry, we do not hear a strong subjective poetic speaker. The appearance of this sequence is, of course, not coincidental but rather finely crafted by the compiler. Ietaka joins five prominent Senior line and Kyōgoku poets, thus imbuing this overtly political and factional exhibition with poetic prestige and precedent.

[25] Iwasa Miyoko and Tsugita Kasumi, eds., *Fūgawakashū* (Tokyo: Miai shoten, 1974), 52.

[26] Ibid., 50.

[27] Ibid., 50.

new, and in fact comes from Chinese Confucian and didactic precedents that Tsurayuki, himself, borrowed, its centrality in Hanazono's preface stands out. When he laments the decline of the way of poetry he concludes, "we have forgotten [that poetry is] the way to rule the land (国をおさむるわざをしらず)."[28] Hanazono does, of course, turn to more aesthetic matters, for example, "the charming can be overdone and the strong not moving. . . . it is difficult to explain the nature [of Japanese poetry] with countless words; one must discover its meaning and come to understand by oneself."[29]

Hanazono closes with the hope that *Fūgashū* will "alleviate the chaos of these latter days" and demonstrate the correct (*tadashiki*) ways of old. This comes after he has reminded us that, "recently the dust from the chaos that plagued this realm has settled; horses run free at pasture, the seas that were rough are now calm in every direction and the tributes to the capital have resumed."[30]

The five anthologies that precede *Fūgashū* contain no prefaces.[31] This absence makes Hanazono's installment stand out all the more, and his position as retired emperor lends authority to his pronouncements. Although the position of the Northern Court was still insecure, the preface provided him with an ideal platform from which to portray the world as one that had recently settled. Under the guidance of this new political configuration and new anthology, the Northern Court could try again to find the right (*tadashiki*) way, a way that depended on the smooth interrelationship of poetry and politics. Hanazono likely recognized that his power was more rhetorical than actual; but the power of such imperial rhetoric should not be underestimated.

I have hastily covered a good deal of material here to suggest the interrelationship of poetry and politics manifest in these anthologies. The *nijūichidaishū* is a massive enterprise, but one that I think benefits from treatments that attempt to engage its enormity, continuity, and integrity in both aesthetic and extraliterary terms.

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[28] Ibid., 50.

[29] Ibid., 51.

[30] Ibid., 52.

[31] It seems plausible that the presence of a preface marked difference or reflected an urgency or desire to inscribe a specific legacy, whereas the absence of a preface became, in many ways, established as the status quo.

When we read a poetic sequence, and especially imperial anthologies, we pay close attention to the patterns of association and progression, the juxtaposition of design and background poems (*mon* and *ji uta*), and other techniques that integrate the individual poems into a whole greater than its parts. We have little difficulty asserting the presence of these organizational principles, and would indeed find it more surprising if no such organizational patterns existed. We are meant to read the final sequence with an appreciation for a level of significance that extends beyond the meaning of any of its individual poems, poems that can, of course, also be appreciated in isolation. I have been surprised by the scarcity of material that questions or seeks out organizational mechanisms within and between the imperial anthologies that are based on nonliterary, social, or political, rather than aesthetic impulses.[32] Also, considering the fluency and enthusiasm with which the poets of the tradition played with precedents, variations, and patterns, it is very likely that there may also have been mechanisms resembling poetic association and progression that integrated the twenty-one imperial anthologies into a sequence with a level of meaning that extends beyond each individual anthology. If there are, we need to consider the whole sequence, not just fragments of it, and look for its patterns, poetic and political.

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[32] In Japan this kind of inquiry is on the rise, and many fascinating patterns are being found. See, for example, Iwasa Miyoko, *Kyōgokuha waka no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1987), 427-37. Iwasa looks at the identity of the poet of the first and final poem of every book in all twenty-one anthologies and considers what the identity of the poets selected suggests about the imperial anthology project and its development over the centuries. It becomes clear that there are both patterns that link the anthologies to one another and patterns that function to integrate each individual anthology.