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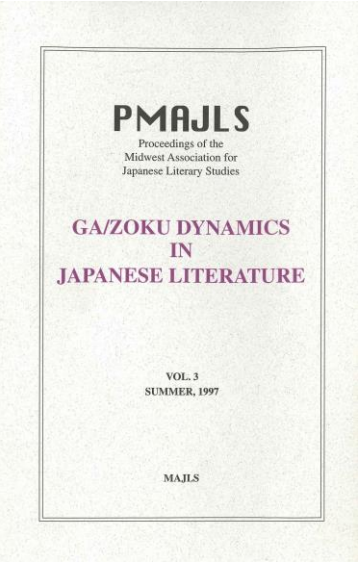
Proceedings of the Midwest Association for Japanese Literary Studies 3 (1997): 221–240.



PMAJLS 3:
Ga/Zoku Dynamics in Japanese Literature.
Ed. Eiji Sekine.

Ga / Zoku as Riddle: The *Ogura Nazorae Hyakunin Isshu*

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I have recently published a book on the *Hyakunin Isshu* of Fujiwara no Teika, part of which examines the pictorializations of the poems that began to appear in the Edo period.[1] For a number of reasons, in this book I focussed especially on the earliest pictorializations, from the seventeenth century, by such artists as Hishikawa Moronobu. Here I would like to look at the last polychrome single sheet, large format pictorializations of Teika's anthology, the *Ogura Nazorae Hyakunin Isshu*, produced by Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1798-1861), Andō Hiroshige (1797-1858), and Utagawa Kunisada (1786-1864) sometime between 1846 and 1848.[2] This last series represents the culmination of several traditions that can be put into relief using the conceptual pairing of *ga* and *zoku*.

Unlike the *Sanjūrokkasen*, pictorializations of the *Hyakunin Isshu*, whether as imaginary portraits of the poets (*kasen-e*) or pictorializations of the poems themselves (which we might call *uta-e*), do not appear until the Edo period. As I have discussed in my book, *Pictures of the Heart*, the earliest *kasen-e* series seems to be the Soan-bon, published before 1632. Kanō Tan'yū also produced a series between 1662 and 1669. In the ukiyo-e

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[1] Joshua S. Mostow, *Pictures of the Heart: The* Hyakunin Isshu *in Word and Image* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996).

[2]Funding for the project was provided by the Canadian Social Science and Humanities Research Council, and the Fuzoku Kenkyūjo of the the School of International Studies, Meiji Gakuin University. I am also indebted to Mr. Rupert Faulkner of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

genre, however, the earliest extant examples are by Hishikawa Moronobu: his *Hyakunin Isshu Zōsan Shō* of 1678, and *Fūryū Sugata-e Hyakunin Isshu* of 1694. Already in the latter we see the *zoku* or parodic spirit in the presentation of "elegant" texts, as all of the original poems are re-set in more humble contexts, typically in the pleasure quarters (Mostow, 95-115).

Parodies of the *Hyakunin Isshu* explode in the eighteenth century with the phenomenal popularity of *kyōka*. As Donald Keene has written: "The *kyōka* poets most often parodied poems from the *A Hundred Poems by a Hundred Poets*, the best known of all collections."[3] The first poem of the *Hyakunin Isshu*, attributed to Emperor Tenji, reads:

aki no ta no In the autumn fields
kari-ho no iho no the hut, the temporary hut,
toma wo arami its thatch is rough
wa ga koromo-de ha and so the sleeves of my robe
tsuyu ni nuretsutsu are dampened night by night with dew.[4]

Already by 1729 there was the enormously popular *Dōke Hyakunin Isshu* of Kindō Kiyoharu, of which the first poem reads:

aki no ta no Although the reaping
kariho sumade ni of the autumn fields is not yet done,
hiyori yoku the weather's fine
waga kodomora wo and my children and all
raku ni sugosan[5] are spending the day in fun.

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[3] Donald Keene, *World Within Walls* (New York: Rinehart and Winston, 1976), 522.
[4] All translation of the *Hyakunin Isshu* are from *Pictures of the Heart.*
[5] Atomi Gakuen Tanki Daigaku Toshokan, ed. *(Atomi Gakuen Tanki Daigaku Toshokan-zō) Hyakunin Isshu Kankei Shiryō Mokuroku* (Tokyo: Hirinsha, 1995), 379.

The *Hyakunin Isshu* was used as parodic inspiration for haiku too. One set done by prostitutes of Gion, the *Gion Yoi to ifu Hakujin Isshu*, appeared in 1803 (Atomi, 390). In fact, in the same year Katsushika Hokusai illustrated a work called *(Ehon) Ogura Hyakku* by Ichikawa Danjūrō V. Its first poem reads:

dekiaki ya	Harvest-time
taga koromo-de mo	and everyone'ssleeves
noge-darake	full ofchaff!

The first *ōban* polychrome single sheet series seems to have been by Utagawa Kunisada (using the name Toyokuni II) in 1830, entitled the *Zensei Hyakunin Isshu*, although the existence of only the first ten of the series has been testified to. This seems to have been a rather cheap and commercial affair, with the *kasen-e* simply providing glamor to the advertisement. In fact, one example advertises the services of a specific prostitute, Matsushima, while another copy bears yet a different inscription. However, this *bijin-ga* format is not significantly different from Kunisada's *Hyakunin Isshu Kaishō* of 1844 [figure 1], a series that Sebastian Izzard says "represents the largest set of beauty prints that Kunisada had designed to date."[6] Although extensive, this series has little literary interest, as there seems to be no connection between the contents of the poems and Kunisada's imagery.

Hokusai, however, returned to the kind of parodic illustration of the *Hyakunin Isshu* first seen in Moronobu in his well-known *Hyakunin Isshu Uba ga Etoki*, or *Hyakunin Isshu as Explained by the Wetnurse*, which he started in 1835, a year after commencing his *One Hundred Views of Mount Fuji* (*Fugaku Hyakkei*). Henry Smith has suggested that Hokusai

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[6] Sebastian Izzard, *Kunisada's World* (New York: Japan Society, Inc., 1993), 158.

executed his one hundred views of the deathless mountain as a kind of magical spell for both longevity and artistic immortality and I believe much the same motivation led Hokusai to illustrate the *One Hundred Poets.*[7] In any event, as Peter Morse notes, the *Uba ga Etoki* was the "last of his great print series."[8]

Figure 1. Kunisada, Hyakunin Isshu Kaishō (Poem 34), ōban polychrome woodblock print. Kitakudō (Yoshimura Gentarō). 1844. Private collection.

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[7] Henry Smith II, *Hokusai: One Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1988).

[8] Peter Morse, *Hokusai: One Hundred Poets* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1989), 7.

By the nineteenth century *nishiki-e* were popular and inexpensive enough that the appearance of the *Hyakunin Isshu* was not limited to either *bijin-ga* or illustrations of *kyōka.* In 1838 Kuniyoshi produced the *Hyakunin Isshu no Uchi.* This was a complete *nishiki-e* series that presented pictorializations of the one hundred poems straight--not as *mitate-e*--and with an explanatory gloss. This was a format that had appeared in the black and white book format as early as Moronobu, and was further popularized in educational texts for women starting in the 1720s, but Kuniyoshi's series was the first time it had appeared in an *ōban nishiki-e* format. It appears during the Tempō era (1830-1843), a recognized "period of innovations for Kuniyoshi's art." Suzuki Jūzō calls the series "a stylish blend of the historical picture and the genre picture,"[9] which might be thought of as a kind of *ga* and *zoku.*

Let us look at the picture for Tenji [figure 2]. The accompanying commentary reads:

> Included in the autumn section of the *Gosenshū.* His Majesty's meaning is: there is a temporary hut that was built when the fields were being harvested. It has become the end of autumn, and in the chill the thatch of the temporary hut is completely rotted and the one inside is surely dampened by the dew. When the emperor thinks of the hardships of the people he feels it is so pathetic that there are dew-like tears on his sleeves as well. It is a most gracious poem.

This is a rather standard interpretation as seen in Hosokawa Yūsai's commentary (the same one included in the *Zōsanshō*)

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[9] Suzuki, Jūzō and Isaburō Oka, *Masterworks of Ukiyo-e: The Decadents*; trans. John Bester (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1969), 50-51.

(Mostow, 29-30). In general, we can divide Kuniyoshi's images into three groups: those that follow the general iconography of *Hyakunin Isshu* pictorializations; those that follow the basic sense, but emphasize the *zoku*, or quotidien, rather than the courtly or *ga*; and those that depart almost entirely from the sense of the poem, or introduce a conspicuous subtext.

Figure 2. Kuniyoshi, *Hyakunin Isshu no Uchi* (Poem 1), *ōban* polychrome woodblock print. Pub. Yebi-Ne. 1838. Atomi Tanki Daigaku Toshokan. (courtesy of the Atomi Tandai Library)

The Tenji image is an adequate example of the first type--it is in fact very close to Moronobu's *Zōsanshō* [figure 3]--and these form the majority of the series. The second type can be exemplified by the images for Kisen Hōshi, Fun'ya no Yasuhide, or especially Ōe no Chisato. Chisato's poem reads:

tsuki mireba	When I look at the moon
chi-jhi ni mono koso	I am overcome by the sadness
kanashikere	of a thousand, thousand things--
wa ga mi hitotsu no	even though it is not Fall
aki ni ha aranedo	for me alone.

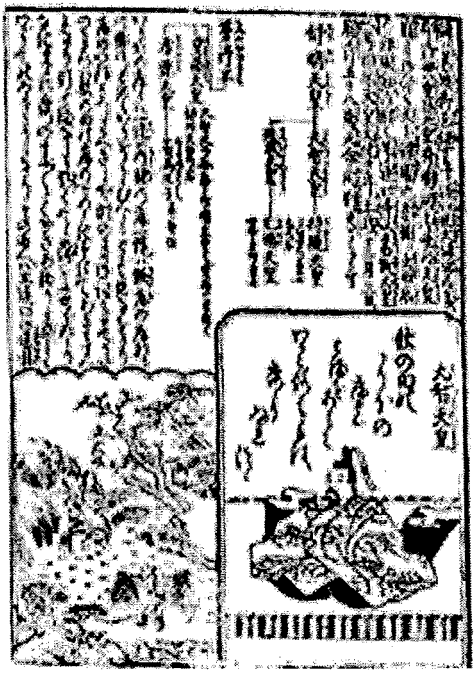

Figure 3. Hishikawa Moronobu, *Hyakunin Isshu Zōsan Shō*. Edo: Urogataya, 1678. Black and white woodblock book. 27 x 18.5 cm. Illustration from Mostow, *Pictures of the Heart*, 99.

In Kuniyoshi's picture, the courtly speaker has disappeared, and all we see are bearers carrying an empty palanquin through autumn fields, but the artist is not really departing from the commentary, which explicitly says: "The feelings of autumn are the same for all the people under heaven" (*sate aki no kokoro ha tenka banmin mina onaji*). It is not until around Poem 70 that Kuniyoshi seems no longer able to confine himself to the elegant world of *waka*, and breaks out with startling imagery. In Poem 77, by Retired Emperor Sutoku, we see an amazing image for what is meant to be a love poem [figure 4]. The poem reads:

Figure 4. Kuniyoshi, *Hyakunin Isshu no Uchi* (Poem 77), *ōban* polychrome woodblock print. Pub. Yebi-ne. 1838. Victoria and Albert Museum. (Courtesy of the Board of Trustees of the V & A)

se wo hayami	Because the current is swift,
iha ni sekaruru	even though the rapids,
taki-gaha no	blocked by a boulder,
warete mo suwe ni	are divided, like them, in the end,
ahamu to zo omofu	we will surely meet, I know.

Historically, the main intepretive debate over this poem is whether or not the phrase *warete mo* is a pivot-word meaning both "even though it is divided" and "by all means" (*wari naku*). Until Kuniyoshi, however, this debate had no influence on pictorializations of the poem, all of which typically showed the poet contemplating a river with a large boulder in it (see Mostow, 369-371). *Wari naku* means "by all means," but also suggests "by force" (*muri ni, gōin ni*). And as early as the *Keikō Shō* of 1530 there were interpretations that took *warete* also to mean *waru*, or "to crush, smash."[10] Nonetheless, no gloss (including the one on the picture itself) seems to follow these possibilities to a political reading that would relate this poem to Sutoku's rebellion, known as the Hōgen Disturbance of 1156. Yet it is just such a political reading that Kuniyoshi provides. The impetus here is clearly the "Shiramine" episode of Ueda Akinari's *Ugetsu Monogatari* [figure 5] of 1768. Kuniyoshi has taken the distinctive ball of flame from the illustration and made it suggest the dividing stream of the poem. Moreover, he has put the emperor on what looks like a storm-swept coastline, suggesting his place of exile, the island of Shikoku. In other words, inspired by *Ugetsu*, Kuniyoshi has created what is to my

[10] Ariyoshi Tamotsu, *Hyakunin Isshu Zen Yakuchū* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1983), 322-323.

Illustration from Leon Zolbrod, trans., *Ugetsu Monogatari: Tales of Moonlight and Rain.* Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, Co., 1977, 103 knowledge a new and unique political reading of the *Hyakunin Isshu* poem.

Figure 5. Anon., illustration to "Shiramine," in Ueda Akinari, *Kinko Kidan Ugetsu Monogatari.* Kyoto and Osaka: Umemura Hanbei and Nomura Chōbei, 1776. Tenri Central Library.

But with Poem 71 [figure 6] Kuniyoshi moves beyond the *Hyakunin Isshu* text entirely. The original *Hyakunin Isshu* poem by Tsunenobu reads:

yufu sareba	As evening falls,
kado-ta no inaba	through the rice-plants before the gate,
otodzurete	it comes visiting, and rustling
ashi no maro-ya ni	on the reeds of the simple hut--
aki-kaze zo fuku	the autumn wind does blow!

Yet the writing added to this picture tells us that it is a picture of a ghost chanting a Chinese poem after Tsunenobu had recited the following waka, while listening to the sound of the fulling mallet on a moon-lit night of the Ninth Month, when he was living in the Sixth [sic] Ward:

Figure 6. Kuniyoshi, *Hyakunin Isshu no Uchi* (Poem 71), *ōban* polychrome woodblock print. Pub. Yebi-ne. 1838. Atomi Tanki Daigaku Toshokan. (Courtesy of the Atomi Tandai Library)

kara-koromo	When I hear the sound
utsu kowe [sic] kikeba	of the Chinese robes being fulled,
tsuki kiyomi	since the moon is bright
mada nenu hito wo	in the sky, I can guess
sora ni shiru kana	that he, far away, is not yet asleep.

This episode comes from the *Hyakunin Isshu Hitoyo-gatari* by Ozaki Masayoshi and illustrations by Ōishi Matora, published in 1833. The episode reads:

> When Tsunenobu was living in the area of the Eighth Ward, one night in the Ninth Month, when the moon was bright, he was sitting, gazing at the sky and listening to the faint sound of the fulling mallets:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | *kara-koromo* | When I hear the sound |
> | *utsu oto kikeba* | of the Chinese robes being fulled, |
> | *tsuki kiyomi* | since the moon is bright |
> | *mada nenu hito wo* | in the sky, I can guess |
> | *sora ni shiru kana* | that he, far away, is not yet asleep. |
>
> When he recited this poem, from the front garden there was someone who replied by chanting in a truly amazing voice the following lines from a poem by Po Chü-i:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | *hokutosei zen* | *ryogan yokotahari* |
> | *nanrō getsuka* | *kan'i wo utsu* |
>
> The traveling geese stretch out before the Big Dipper;
> In the southern tower, under the moon, she fulls the cold robe.
>
> Wondering who had such a marvelous voice, he was surprised when he looked out to see someone who seemed to be over ten-feet in height, with his hair growing straight up. "Heavens,

Hachiman DaiBosatsu preserve me!" Tsunenobu prayed, and this ghost, wondering why he had been cursed, vanished.

Lord Tsunenobu related that he did not really recognizewhat kind of creature it was, but it was probably something like the ghost of Suzaku Gate. That kind of ghost is a creature of refinement, and occasionally there are situations like this, they say. Since this Japanese poem and Chinese couplet had both been included in Kintō's *Rōei Shū*, the ghost must have chanted this Chinese poem when he heard the *waka* being recited.[11] Yet this episode is not one of the two chosen for illustration in the *Hitoyo-gatari*. In other words, Kuniyoshi has taken the text and created his own illustration. The important thing to note, however, is that this story has no historical relationship to the *Hyakunin Isshu* poem outside of the fact that it is about the same poet. On the other hand, there is a certain similarity between the two poems: both are set in autumn; both refer to typical autumn sounds (the wind in the rice-plants and the fulling mallet); and both are about visitors. While it is only the wind that visits Tsunenobu in the original poem, it has reminded Kuniyoshi of a far more dramatic visit Tsunenobu once received, and by a creature closer to wind than to flesh. It would be just one small step from this kind of association to relating incidents and episodes that had no historical connection to either the *Hyakunin Isshu* poem or poet, except for of a *renga*- or *kyōka*-like linking by association based on mood or trope or phrasing.

In 1842-43 Kuniyoshi did a series entitled *Honchō Bun'yū Hyakunin Isshu* which was a separate collection of one hundred

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[11] Furukawa Hisashi, ed., *Hyakunin Isshu Hitoyo-gatari* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1972), II: 33-36. The *waka* is by Tsurayuki, no. 351, with the line as *utsu kowe kikeba.* Cf. Ōsone Shōsuke, Horiuchi Hideaki, eds., *Wakan Rōei Shū.* Shinchō Nihon Koten Shūsei, vol. 61 (Tokyo: Shinchō, 1983).

poems, largely by warriors.[12] In fact, Moronobu's first illustrated *hyakushu* had been the *Buke Hyakunin Isshu* in 1672 (Mostow, 107). The word *nazorahe* appears in Kuniyoshi's work for the first time around the same period, in a series entitled *Buyū Nazorae Genji,* or "Heroic Comparisons for the Chapters of the Genji" (Robinson, 119). Meanwhile, as I noted earlier, Kunisada started his own series of *Hyakunin Isshu bijin-ga* in 1844. Finally, sometime around 1846, the three greatest ukiyo-e artists of the day--Kuniyoshi, Kunisada, and Hiroshige--joined together to produce the *Ogura Nazorae Hyakunin Isshu.* Rather than an explanation of the poem, the prints include a short biography of the main personage, written by Ryūkatei Tanekazu. Let us look at four examples from this series.

First there is the pairing of Ōe no Chisato's poem, which we saw previously, with the *shirabyōshi* Giō from the *Heike Monogatari* [figure 7]. Tanekazu's inscription reads:

> Mustn't one say that it was truly a commendable feeling that led her to throw away in Sagano, with the suddenness of the autumn wind, even the dancing fan that had won her fame at [Kiyomori's mansion at] West Eighth Avenue, and to change her brocade sleeves from those of black ink, and to change her songs, that she once performed so splendidly, to chanting the Buddha's holy name?

As we saw earlier, the sentiments of Chisato's poem can apply to anyone and there is nothing very specific about the poem or Giō's story that links the two. But the case is somewhat different in the picture of Hotoke by Hiroshige [figure 8], which is paired with Poem 12, by Archibishop Henjō:

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[12] B.W. Robinson, *Kuniyoshi: The Warrior-Prints* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1982), 116.

Figure 7. Kuniyoshi, *Ogura Nazorae Hyakunin Isshu* (Poem 23), *ōban* polychrome woodblock print. Pub. Iba-ya Sensaburō. 1846-1848. Private collection.

amatsukaze	O heavenly breeze,
kumo no kayohi-jhi	blow so at to block
fuki-tojhiyo	their path back through the clouds!
wotome no sugata	For I would, if but for a moment,
shibashi todomenu	detain these maidens' forms.

Figure 8. Hiroshige, *Ogura Nazorae Hyakunin Isshu* (Poem 12), *ōban* polychrome woodblock print. Pub. Iba-ya Sensaburō. 1846-1848. Private collection

Here the point of the comparison is that in the *Heike* Kiyomori at first preemptorily dismisses Hotoke, but it is Giō that insists on detaining her, if only briefly. By knowing the *Heike* episode, the poem's *shibashi todomenu* takes on a deeply ironic significance.

The connection between poem and picture can, of course, be achieved through punning. We see this in the case of Poem 76, by Fujiwara no Tadamichi [figure 9]:

Figure 9. Kuniyoshi, *Ogura Nazorae Hyakunin Isshu* (Poem 76), *ōban* polychrome woodblock print. Pub. Iba-ya Sensaburō. 1846-1848. Private collection.

wata no hara	As I row out into
kogi-idete mireba	the wide sea-plain and look
hisakata no	all around me--
kumowi ni magafu	the white waves of the offing

okitsu shira-nami could be mistaken for clouds!

Unlike our previous examples, the main figure here, Hakamadare Yasusuke, does not come from the pages of the *Heike*, but rather from the kabuki drama. In fact, B.W. Robinson writes that the "figure has the unmistakable features of Nakamura Utayemon IV" (Robinson, 134). The picture shows Yasusuke after he has robbed the imperial palace, with a courtier's sword and belt around his waist and a large trunk of booty on his back. The connection with the poem is achieved by the poem's last word--*shiranami*--which was used as an expression for "thieves." We are, in other words, back to the kind of parodic juxtaposition of *ga* and *zoku* that characterizes much *kyōka*.

However, the kabuki influence runs throughout this series and it is this fact that makes it most appropriate to see the *Nazorae* in terms of *ga* and *zoku*. In other words, what is distinctive about these comparisons is not simply the pairing of *bun* and *bu*, *kuge* and *buke*, but that even the warrior has been passed through the filter of the townspeople's theatre. This is perhaps most clear in my last example, Poem 38, by Ukon [figure 10]:

wasurarurumi woba omohazu Forgotten by him,
I do not think of myself.
chikahiteshi hito no inochi no woshiku mo aru kana But I can't help worrying about the life of the man who swore so fervently before the gods!

Figure 10. Kuniyoshi, *Ogura Nazorae Hyakunin Isshu* (Poem 38), ōban polychrome woodblock print. Pub. Iba-ya Sensaburō. 1846-1848. Yoshida Kōichi collection. Illustration from *Taiyō* (bessatsu): *Hyakunin Isshu* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1972), 154

This poem is paired with Shunkan, left in exile on the island of Kikai-ga-shima after a boat has come from the capital with pardons for Naritsune and Yasuyori. This episode is found in Book Three of the *Heike*, and it is also a noh play. But Kuniyoshi's composition is drawn entirely from the kabuki staging of this story, including the stage prop of the boat which

moves along the back curtain (the play also includes a highly improbable and melodramatic romance and murder). Yet none of the kabuki elements are alluded to in Tanekazu's text. Thus, the juxtapositions of "the elegant" and "the mundane" are multiplied: the court lady's poem of lost love paired with a. political player from the *Heike*; and the pathos of exile, immortalized in the noh, presented as seen on the kabuki stage. Thus we can see that by the late Edo period, it was through the decidedly *zoku* lenses of kabuki that such "elegant" texts as the *Hyakunin Isshu* were increasingly seen.