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PRIMITIVE & MEDIAEVAL JAPANESE TEXTS

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH WITH INTRODUCTIONS
NOTES AND GLOSSARIES

BY

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SOMETIME REGISTRAR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

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WITH A COMPANION VOLUME OF ROMANIZED TEXTS

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR ERNEST SATOW, G.C.M.G.

MINISTER TO CHINA
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HI NO DE NO HIKARI
HI NO IRI NO
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HIZHIRI SHIRUSERI

KASANE-GOHI [£ [] KA MO

PREFACE

In preparing the present volume and its companion volume of romanized texts I have desired to assist the English reader towards some fuller understanding of the primitive and mediaeval literature of Japan than can be gathered from merely literal or imitative translations. The examples chosen are the earliest of the categories to which they respectively belong, and have been followed, more or less closely, as models, in the production of most of the purely Japanese—as distinct from Japano-Chinese—literature of later times.

The first is a collection of all the long lays (nagauta or chôka) of the famous Anthology (Manyôshiu) of the eighth century of our era, together with most of their tanka or hanka-mizika or kaheshi uta-or The second is the Story of the Old Bamboo envoys. Wicker-worker (Taketori no Okina no Monogatari), a romance of the tenth century; the third is Tsurayuki's celebrated preface to his Kokinshiu (Garner of Japanese Verse, Old and New), an Anthology mainly of tanka or single stanzas, of the same century, more admired, perhaps, by the Japanese than its immediate and greater predecessor, the Manyôshiu itself; and the last is the utahi or drama of the Nô of Takasago, the oldest, it may be, of the miracle-plays or semi-religious plays accompanied by music, mime, and dance of mediaeval Japan.

The Anthology and the Story of the Wickerworker, though not uninfluenced, are among the least influenced by Chinese thought or example of the literary productions of archaic Japan, while the Preface and Miracle-Play are admiring attempts to maintain the ancient spirit. In all four examples of the literature of Old Japan, but more especially in the first two, the Chinese script in which they are written is merely and mainly a veil of obscurity, and their transliteration is, in effect, a restoration more or less accurate of the ancient texts. The two volumes taken together, with their introductions, notes, and glossaries, will not only enable the reader, with a very moderate amount of labour, not uninteresting in itself, to appreciate a curious phase of far-eastern literature, but—with the addition of a knowledge of easy syllabaries—will render accessible to him most of the mediaeval and later poetry, fiction, and narrative of Dai Nippon.

In the translations, the form and language of the text have been adhered to as closely as was possible. But, following King Alfred's example, I have sought to transfer meanings rather than mere expressions. With Old Japanese, however, much more than with the modern over-sinicized tongue, an approach to a literal version is, not seldom, quite feasible, if only the order of words be in proper measure reversed, and due allowance made for poetic inversions. I have tried to avoid what I believe to be the chief blemishes incident to translation from an oriental tongue-paraphrase and the replacement of eastern by western modes of thought and diction. This was the easier in that Japan, in conformity with her geographical position, is less, in fact, oriental, in the usual sense of the expression, than China, as China herself is than the middle and nearer East. The word-plays in the Anthology are treated as serious elements in the decoration of the verse—it is but seldom in the ancient uta or poems

that they are otherwise intended. Verbal adornment, however, can but rarely be transferred from one tongue to another, and I have been obliged in many cases to content myself with endeavouring to convey to the mind of a western reader the impressions likely to have been made upon the mind of a Japanese hearer of the first millennium of our era by the ingenious word-jugglery of the period. At the best, translations, especially of the Anthology, can reproduce but a portion of the significance of the uta, and convey but a shadow of whatever beauty they possess. My aim, generally, has been to render the whole thought of the original texts, preserving as much as possible of their decoration, colour, and distinctive impersonality, even of their conventionalisms, without loss of their essential simplicity. Only a partial success can be hoped for; the texts themselves are corrupt, there are many points, contextual, circumstantial, and interpretative, on which no certainty is attainable. There must, too, be discoverable not a few errors of translation. Only a quite inadequate Japanese library has been at my disposal, nor have I been able to profit by the assistance of native wagakusha (scholars), whose erudition, especially in Old Japanese, is beyond the opportunity but not the envy of the foreign scholar. With regard to the Manyôshiu, more particularly, the data for a satisfactory comparison and criticism of the various traditional explanations of the commentators are scattered and of very uncertain value; to enter upon their discussion would be out of the question otherwhere than in Japan itself, and even there it is pretty certain that the result would not be commensurate with the necessary expenditure of time and toil. The Introduction to the Anthology, especially

sections I, V, VIII, X, XI, and XII, should be read as a preliminary to the perusal of the *uta*, if justice is to be done to these primal efforts of the Japanese muse, and their true significance adequately understood.

I desire here to acknowledge my great indebtedness to the writings of Dr. Aston, C.M.G., Professor B. H. Chamberlain, Dr. Karl Florenz, and Sir Ernest Satow, G.C.M.G.; to my friend, Mr. Minakata Kumagusu; to the contributors to the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan; to the works of Captain Brinkley, R.A., especially to his great Japanese-English Lexicon; to the similar work of M. Lemaréchal; to that excellent native dictionary the Kotoba no Izumi (Fount of Language); to the Jimmei-jisho (Japanese Dictionary of National Biography), and—above all—to the Manyôshiu Kogi.

F. VICTOR DICKINS.

Seend, June, 1906.

The punctuation in the following pages is part of the translation, especially in relation to the Manyôshiu. Colon and semicolon are avoided, and the climatic construction of the Japanese text has been preserved as much as possible (even at the risk, occasionally, of some little trouble to the reader), being essential to a true version; in particular the simple dash has been much employed to this end. The spelling of Japanese words is syllabic in the case of quoted texts, otherwise modern and phonetic.

The following works, among others, in addition to those referred to in the Preface, have been consulted in the preparation of these volumes.

Kozhiki den, 古事記傳, Motowori's great annotated edition of the Kojiki.

Nihonshoki Tsûkai, 日本書記通釋, Ihida's great edition of the Nihongi, with Commentary.

Zoku Nihongi, 續日本記, Continuation of the Nihongi.

Yamato Monogatari, 大和物語, Yamato Tales (the title perhaps means Japanese, as distinct from Chinese Tales).

Nihon Gwaishi, 日本外史, Outer (unofficial) History of Japan.

Wamyô Ruijiushô, 俖 各類 聚 鍼, An Explanatory List of Various Japanese Names (Words)—the earliest native dictionary.

Gunsho Ichiran, 羣書一覧, A View of the World of Books (a bibliography, early nineteenth century).

Manyôshiu Riyakuge, 萬葉集略解, The Anthology, with Brief Commentary.

Manyôshiu Daishôki, 代原記. This is Keichiu's celebrated and fundamental edition of the Anthology, with Commentary.

Wakunshiori, 和 訓 栞, Clue to Japanese Meanings.

Wakansansaidzuwe, 和漢三才圖會, Illustrated Encyclopaedia of the Three Powers (Heaven, Earth, and Man), early eighteenth century.

Makura kotoba Shiuran, 枕辭集覽, Explanatory List of Pillow-words.

Shokubutsu Mei-i, 植物各藁, List of Names, Native and Scientific, of Japanese Plants.

Nippon Gôkogaku, 日本考古學, Treatise on Japanese Archaeology.

Dai Nippon Jimmei-jisho, 大日本人各辭書, Dictionary of National (Japanese) Biography.

Shihking, 詩經, Classic of (Chinese) Poetry.

The Editions of the Manyôshiu and Taketori published by the Hakubunkwan.

Various Meisho, 各所, Itineraries of the Provinces, with descriptions and illustrations, especially of Settsu and Yamato.

Essays on the Chinese Language. Watters.

Chinese Biographical Dictionary. Dr. H. A. Giles.

Handbook to Chinese Buddhism. E. J. Eitel.

Early Institutional Life of Japan. K. Asakawa.

The Poetry of the Chinese. Sir John Davis.

Shintô, or the Way of the Gods. Dr. W. G. Aston.

History of Japan. Murdoch and Yamagata.

Chinese Reader's Manual. Mayers.

Poésies de l'Époque des Thang. Marquis D'Hervey-St.-Denys.

Zoologie Mythologique. De Gubernatis.

Mythologie des Plantes. De Gubernatis.

Dictionnaire Français-Japonais. E. Raguet, M.A.

Dictionnaire historique et géographique du Japon, par E. Papinet.

Blüthen Chinesischen Litteratur. A. Forke.

Geschichte der Chinesischen Litteratur. Dr. W. Grube.

Geschichte der Japanischen Litteratur. Dr. K. Florenz.

Geschichte von Japan. O. Nachod.

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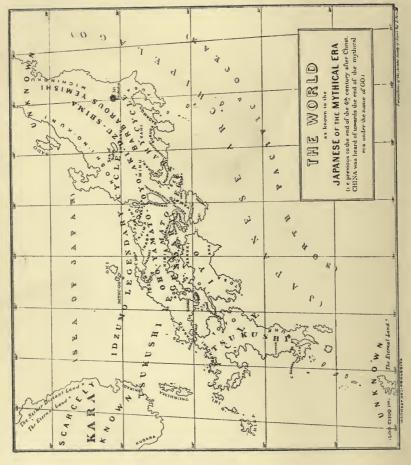
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The following abbreviations are employed in this volume:—

- (K.) Professor Chamberlain's translation of the Kojiki.
- (N.) Dr. Aston's translation of the Nihongi.
- (Fl.) Professor Florenz's part translation of the Nihongi.
- (Br.) Captain Brinkley's Japanese-English Dictionary.
- (I.) Kotoba no Izumi.
- (T. A. S. J.) Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.



MANYÔSHIU INTRODUCTION

§ I. GENERAL

OF the Japanese, as of the other great races of mankind, the earliest recorded utterances are poetical. But these are not theirs alone; they are the primal extant deliverances of the whole Ural-Altaic stock, which still prevails, as it prevailed thousands of years ago, from the Caspian Sea to the northern shores of the Eastern Pacific. For the Japanese are Tartars; their kinsfolk in the West are the Huns and Turks; in the East the islanders of Liukiu, the peninsulars of Korea, the nomads of Mongolia, and the farmers of Manchuria. In none of these lands and islands has the Chinaman or the Slav any birthright of presence; among men who dwell outside their borders the Japanese can show the justest title to predominance.

It may well be doubted whether the introduction of Chinese civilization—in the wake of Buddhism or otherwise—during the middle centuries of the first millennium of the Christian era was not a distinct, though inevitable, misfortune for Japan. I will not assert this, but it may be pointed out that it neither consolidated the State nor affirmed the throne, while it arrested the language, altered the nature of the religion, and kept in bondage to an alien past the intellect of the country for a millennium and a half, up to the period of its emancipation at the close of the Bakufu¹ period in the latter third of the nineteenth century.

In modern Japanese, the characters (ideographs) representing the Japano-Chinese words, forming now two-thirds and ever forming more of the vocabulary, must be seen to be understood; the sound alone does not give the sense. Thus, the development of the language in the direction of imagery or rhetorical expression was almost destroyed. One can neither be witty nor pathetic in the current language of

¹ The Shôgunate (1192-1868), lit. camp-rule.

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educated Japan, save so far as recourse is had to the remains of Old Japanese it contains, or to very completely naturalized Chinese compounds. The modern literature of Japan, as such, is nearly worthless. Not a line of power or beauty, it is scarcely too much to say, has been penned since the last monogatari was written.1 Quite other is the case with Old Japanese within its own limits. Those limits are set by its comparatively scanty vocabulary. But, in this respect, we must not forget how little Old Japanese is extant; not very much, indeed, as literature, if we except the monogatari and a few other works, beyond what is contained in the present volume. Of Old Japanese the vocabulary was as susceptible of clear and forcible compound expression as Greek. The makura kotoba, or fixed epithets, as will be better understood after a perusal of Section XII of this Introduction, could all, apart from their special allusiveness, be perfectly rendered in Greek; and most of the Homeric epithets, not involving personification, could with equal accuracy be rendered in Old Japanese. In many other ways—in its prefixes, such as mi, sa, ka, i, ta—analogies between the two languages may be discovered: in its compound verbs, in expressions equivalent to dus, ev, &c.; in form-words or particles such as ya, ka, mo, koso, so, baya, na, ne, namu, and in other analogous ways essential similarities may be found. In Old Japanese, differing from the modern tongue, there existed distinct pronouns, a, na, ka, so, ko, &c., which were, besides, not scantily used. The subject of the verb was more often expressed; the commencement even of personification may be detected. But the introduction of Chinese civilization was the beginning of the end of all this. The script hastened the process: it was easier to use the Chinese combinations than a great variety of ideographs as mere phonetic elements (the syllabaries did

¹ It is scarcely too much to say that the modern language of Japan, in its rapidly progressive sinicization, becomes more and more incapable of rendering, so as to be fully understood by a Japanese not already acquainted with some Western language, a single sentence, not simply descriptive or narrative, of the literature, properly so called, of the Occident.

not come into general use for a century and a half following the completion of the Manyôshiu), and as Chinese literature was more read it was found more convenient to use readymade compounds denoting new ideas than to translate them into a not very intelligible Japanese. The syntax of Old Japanese is, on the whole, accurate and full of meaning; there are the beginnings of inflexion, a system of post-particles answering to case and number, while position to some extent replaced concord. With an enlarged vocabulary, a somewhat extended use of pronouns, and a more frequent expression of the subject of the sentence, Japanese might have become a vehicle of literary expression not much less inferior to Greek than, in many respects, such a language as French is to the tongue of Homer and Sophocles, though it might never have attained the extreme of personification exemplified in the γέρων γέροντι ... πίνος and ἀδελφά ... τούτοισιν . . . θρεπτήρια of the great speech of Polyneices in the Oedipus Coloneus. Such, at least, are the conclusions to which a close study of the primitive literature of Japan has led the present writer. Their justification would require a chapter to itself.

Of the three fundamental documents of Japanese history and letters, the oldest, the Kojiki, or Ancient Annals, presents an almost prehistoric picture of primitive Japanconfused, in parts repulsive, but not wholly unfaithful in essence; in the Nihongi, or Chronicles of Japan, almost of contemporaneous composition, we have the same picture developed and extended, and more or less rationalized, so to say, in accordance with the principles, then of recent introduction, or at least adoption, of Chinese religion, history, and philosophy; while in the Manyoshiu we possess a precious, and indeed unparalleled, Anthology of verse, wholly Japanese in diction and phrasing, and predominantly so in the themes it deals with, and in the treatment of these -themes taken mainly from the life of the time and its natural environment, and together exhibiting almost the oldest, perhaps the truest, certainly the most pleasing, portraiture extant of the Japanese world in its archaic age.

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All three documents were compiled within the first sixty years of the eighth century,1 and while the Anthology, though it contains a few Chinese epistles, poems, and didactic pieces, answers fully to its title, both the Annals and the Chronicles are embellished by uta or poems which are mostly single stanzas of five lines only, and are intended to illustrate, in some degree to confirm, the text. Of these uta one hundred and eleven are found in the Annals, and one hundred and thirty-two (inclusive of about thirty of those contained in the Annals) in the Chronicles. None of the uta, in their present form at least, can be much older than the texts which they embellish, but some of them may be adaptations of more ancient examples. Many of those found in the Annals are of phallic or analogous origin, but in the Chronicles, owing doubtless to the influence of Chinese literary restraint in such matters, there is scarcely a trace of coarseness in word or thought; in the Anthology there is absolutely none, but in the Far East platonism was as little understood then as now, and the theme of love is treated in the Manyôshiu from a frankly possessory point of view. Of a chôka (naga-uta), or long lay, from the Annals, and of one from the Chronicles, translations are appended to those of the lays from the Anthology, followed by a few examples of later mediaeval poetry, inclusive of the epigram of seventeen syllables, which was the final reduction of the long lay to its least expression, as accepted in later mediaeval and Tokugawa days.

Of the Manyôshiu and its contents a full account will be

We have no means of determining the significance of the composition of two histories so different in tone and content as the Annals and the Chronicles within a few years of each other. They seem to represent an ultra-conservative and an ultra-progressive mode of thought respectively, and this dualism has remained characteristic of Japan throughout her history. In the eighth century the principles represented by the Nihongi were victorious, but the more primitive ideas of the Kojiki maintained a more or less dormant existence, and in the nineteenth century regained part of their original supremacy. In the twentieth century Japan exhibits the singular spectacle of a political entity on a level with Western civilization in many respects, while behind the civilization of China in not a few.

found in the following sections of this Introduction. The author of the edition I have used, the *Manyôshiu Kogi*, or Ancient Meaning of the Manyôshiu, describes the Anthology with perfect justice as the ancestor and model of all subsequent Japanese verse, to be admired and revered as the moon in high heaven. Tsurayuki, in his celebrated preface to the *Kokinshiu* (Garner of Verse, old and new), a translation of which is contained in the present volume, eulogizes the Anthology in more extravagant language; and the revivalist writers of the close of the eighteenth century exalt it, together with the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, above all other Japanese literature.

In sober truth, the lays cannot be said to form an addition to the world's poetry. But they are a contribution, and a most interesting one, to its verse. Their imagery is deficient, owing largely to the impersonal character of the Japanese language, reflected in the want of personification in Japanese imagery 1, partly to the insensibility of the Japanese mind (either original or through arrest of development by Chinese influences) to most of the beauty of nature, to all the beauty of the human form, and to nearly all of the charm of human emotion. The Far East is essentially

¹ In Shakespeare's picture of the Egyptian queen—

The barge she sat in, like a burnished throne, burned on the water; the poop was beaten gold, purple the sails, and so perfumed that the winds were love-sick with them

For her own person, it beggared all description: she did lie in her pavilion—cloth-of-gold of tissue— o'er-picturing that Venus where we see the fancy outwork nature; on each side her stood pretty-dimpled boys, like smiling Cupids, with divers-coloured fans, whose wind did seem to glow the delicate cheeks which they did cool, and what they undid did—

there is no personification, save in the epithet 'love-sick', which is rather a blemish than a beauty. With that one exception, the whole passage could be perfectly rendered in pure Japanese. There can be little doubt that personification is often pushed to an extreme in Western literature of all ages and climes.

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lacking in humanism. Of cloud and sea, of light and shade, of leaf and flower, beyond the conventional praise of vernal blossom and autumnal leaf-fall borrowed from China, little note is taken in the Anthology; in the uta of the Annals and Chronicles even the beauties of spring and autumn are almost wholly neglected. Nevertheless the Lays have a charm of their own, distinct from that of Chinese poetry, and nearer to that of Western verse than any of the compositions found in the Shihking, in the works of the Thang poets, or in the productions of mediaeval or Tokugawa Japan. They are full of conventionalisms, but these are usually simple and natural, artless even in their artifice; their imagery, if somewhat monotonous, is not trivial, though it appears so occasionally to a Western critic, based, as it largely must be, upon unfamiliar myth, story, custom, social phase, or habit of thought. Their decoration is extremely ingenious; when fully understood it affords a peculiar pleasure, much of which unfortunately cannot be conveyed in any translation. But the decoration of ancient Japanese verse, some sufficient explanation of which is attempted in one of the following sections, proved the destruction of Japanese poetry, which finally degenerated into metrical exercises of purely verbal ingenuity, often dexterous enough in their way, as may be gathered from the examples following the lays, and from the epigrams contained in this volume, but affording no space or scope for the expression of poetic emotion.

The veneration the Japanese still feel for the Manyôshiu may be sufficiently understood from the expressions contained in the two prefatial letters of which translations are given in the next section of this Introduction. In the first, a member of the noble Sanjô family writes—'By the Manyôshiu men may climb to a knowledge of the learning of the ancient world, and to an understanding of its valiant and noble figures'; in the second, a senator of the former Genro-In declares that the Anthology 'is the chief ornament of our literature; to read it is to understand the feelings, procure acquaintance with the manners, and know the men and things of that ancient time'.

Kamo Mabuchi (died 1770) had long before written 'all histories, from the Nihongi downwards, are full of embellishments to falsehoods, for in fact the truth about matters is hard to get at. But the Manyôshiu is a real record of the feelings of the men who composed its lays, and throws valuable light upon the period.'

But with the Anthology the production of true poetry ended in Old Japan. The next Anthology, the Kokinwakashiu, is a collection, almost entirely, of tanka; the few naga-uta in it are mere echoes of the older poems. In the saibara, mimes, we find the metre and the diction of the naga-uta but none of their spirit; in the Nô no utahi, a mosaic of Buddhist and manyô phraseology. Neither Keichiu in his compositions, one of which is given in Dr. Aston's History of Japanese Literature, nor Motowori in his long uta on Mount Yoshino displayed more than the dexterity of a verse-monger well acquainted with the Anthology. In later times poetical composition was largely replaced by 'literary follies' of the kind described in Disraeli's Curiosities of Literature. An example or two may be given. Here is a palindrome:—

na-ga-ki yo no to-wo no ne-bu-ri no mi-na me-sa-me na-mi no-ri fu-ne no o-to no yo-ki ka-na! After a long night's sleep, how pleasant 'tis to awake, listening to the sound of the boat rocked on the waves of the sea!

(reading bu as the syllabic character fu voiced, o as wo, and ga as ka voiced).

An acrostic may be added, composed by the Princess Hirohata, who persuaded the Mikado Murakami (947-51) to order a revision of the *Manyôshiu*. She gave it to him with some incense, and he requested his concubines to find out the meaning, not apparent on the surface.

Afusaka mo
hate ha yukiki no
seki mo izu
tadzunete tohi ko
kinala kahesazhi.

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The meaning is: 'Not going forth beyond the barrier passed by those who come and go—'tis Afusaka's hill,—place of starting and meeting—if thou inquire for me thou shalt not be refused.' But taking the thick-typed syllables and allowing for nigori (voicing), we have ahase taki mono sukoshi = 'Just a trifle of mingled perfumes.'

Lastly, I may quote the opening lines of a song officially composed for the use of the soldiers in the recent war, known as a Sei-Ro-ka (Chastise-Russian-Song), a naga-uta:—

Ten ni kawarite
ohogimi no
tatakahi norasu
mikotonori
sekai no hate made
hibikitari
shin-jiu tomo ni
ikidoharu
Roshia utsubeshi
korasubeshi.

Representative of Heaven,
our Emperor
orders the war,
such his high command,
to the very ends of the earth
doth it resound;
the gods too, and mankind
too,

are full of indignation; struck down must Russia be, Russia must be chastised!

To resume. The Kojiki, the Nihongi, and the Manyôshiu, all composed in the eighth century of our era, are the three classics of primitive Japan, and with the story of Taketori have served as models for all her later literature not Buddhist or Confucianist. They are the earliest extant documents in the language, the only literary sources from which any knowledge of the founders and formation of the Japanese state, and of the modes of life and thought of archaic Japan can be drawn, and the main, if not the sole, founts of the myth and tradition of unsinicized Hinomoto that have come down to the present day. Of the above works the first two have been translated in their entirety by English scholars, and now a version of the major and more important portion of the third is offered by a compatriot.

The long lays (chôka) of the Manyôshiu, with their envoys (hanka), represent something less than two-thirds of the total contents of the Anthology. The remaining third consists

of tanka, each of five lines and thirty-one syllables only. These are of minor literary value. Judging from their structure, I am inclined to consider many of them, especially among those that are without dai (arguments), as additions made after Yakamochi's day. Be this as it may, their interest lies in the light, though 'tis scanty, they throw upon the Manyô age. To have included them in the present work would have greatly increased its bulk, and tried the reader's patience.

§ II. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANYOSHIU KOGI

The original edition of the Manyôshiu Kogi 1-4 The Ancient Meaning of the Manyôshiu'-as published by the Government in 12 Meiji (1879), was an édition de luxe in 124 volumes, each averaging 70 Japanese, i. e. 140 of our pages. In paper, wide margins, spacing, and typography no finer production of the Imperial Press is known to me. Of these, ninety-five volumes contain the Lays, with the commentary attached to each, the category (where named), author's name (where given), and the dai or argument (where added). The remaining volumes, twenty-nine in number, answer to the eight volumes of the ordinary edition about to be mentioned. The edition I have principally used is a reprint of the édition de luxe in thirty-one 2 closely, but very clearly, printed volumes, containing from 70 to 140 Japanese double pages each (140 to 280 of our pages). The canonical twenty books of the Lays are distributed over twenty-three. The remaining eight volumes contain the Sôron, volumes. or Prolegomena (1 vol.); the Chiushaku mokuroku, or Contents and Lexicon (1 vol.); the Jimbutsuden, or Biographies (1 vol.); the Himbutsu or Buppin or Shinamono-kai, Fauna and Flora of the Anthology (1 vol.); the Meishokô, Geography of the Anthology (2 vols.); and the Makura

¹ The full title is Manyôshiu Kogi Chiushaku, 譯注義古集葉萬, 'The Ancient Meaning of the Manyôshiu set forth with commentary.'

² A number corresponding to that of the syllables in a regular hanka.

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kotoba Shikai, Glossary of makura kotoba or pillow-words (2 vols.).

Much of the matter contained in these last-mentioned eight volumes is also found repeated as commentary in the

twenty-three volumes of text.

The work displays immense learning; every extant source of information bearing upon the text and its interpretation has been consulted, and the critical acumen shown in their use is very great. No existing edition can be compared with the Kogi in fullness and accuracy. All the important various readings are given, and in nearly every case the selection of the Kogi is to be preferred to that of the Riyakuge, as well as to the readings adopted by Motowori or Mabuchi. Of the latter two, indeed, the emendations are often of little value; to my mind by far the best of the older commentators is Keichiu. In historical matters the Kogi, of course, had no choice but to accept the Kojiki and the Nihongi with its continuations. The etymologies are sometimes good, often absurd; scientific philology and archaeology hardly existed in Kamochi's time, and the account given of the fauna and flora is meagre and almost useless. The great aim of the scholars of Old Japan was to decipher and correct texts-a very difficult matter in the case of the Manyôshiu, as illustrated by the story related at the end of Section V. The complicated and variously employed script could only be gradually explained by the successive labours of generations of scholars, and the close examination by each scholar, in his turn, of all that his predecessors had done, and of all existing manuscript and printed copies. Keichiu's edition was, no doubt, the first to be printed. Up to the beginning of the seventeenth century hardly any but Buddhist (and some Confucianist) works were published in other than manuscript editions (cf. Sir E. Satow's papers on Early Printing in Japan and Korea, in the volumes of the T. A. S. J.). Next to the text in importance come the identification of places and persons, and the biographies of the latter-chiefly concerned with the exact dates at which the various ranks and offices bestowed upon them were conferred-together with such unravelment of the significance and occasion of a lay, as could be gathered or imagined from extant sources of information, usually of small historical value. I use designedly the phrase 'small historical value', but in most cases it seems clear, from intrinsic evidence, that the significance of any lay must have resembled, or been analogous with, the explanation proposed in the commentary, just as the *Nihongi*, though very far from being trustworthy history, does present a series of events resembling more or less closely the actual course of early Japanese history.

The fault of the Kogi is its prolixity and the long-winded style of the commentary. The author appears to have aimed at a more or less archaic style, and often, though his meaning is fairly clear, one has to travel over lengthy sentences to arrive at it.

The subjoined Imperial approval of the Kogi, and the two quasi-prefaces that succeed, are prefixed, written in cursive character, to the text in the first volume, following the motto reproduced in the present work on the leaf facing page 1.

'Meiji jiuni nen hachi gwatsu. Ippon Shinnô Taruhito.' [In the eighth month (August) of the twelfth year of Meiji (1879). Of the First Order of Rank, a Prince of the Blood, TARUHITO.]

PREFACE BY SANJÔ NISHI SUETOMO

By the Manyôshiu men may climb to a knowledge of the learning of the ancient world, and to an understanding of its valiant and noble figures. Commentaries on the Manyôshiu are numerous enough, and their differences often perplex the reader. But here we have a Tosa man, Kamochi Masazumi, who for 'years and months' has given his whole mind to the study of the Anthology, and after exhaustive consideration of all sources of information, 'no corner of his subject left unrounded', has produced a book full of erudition, which no one can read without admiration of the spirit, language, and manners of that Exalted

¹ Common phrases in the Manyôshiu.

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Age. Great has been the advance on many paths during the present reign, and unparalleled the development of our modern civilization, but no work of this kind of anything like equal merit has appeared.

The Commentary was brought to His Majesty's notice, who ordered it to be printed; thus, although the true soul of Masazumi has mounted above the clouds, his labour has

seen its fulfilment below the skies.

It is by His Majesty's own desire that I write these words on the occasion of the publication of this work. Mean as my capacities are and awkward my style, I have ventured to pen the foregoing sentences.

Summer of 12 Meiji (1879).

Sanjô Nishi Suetomo¹, a Member of the Senior Division of the Second Order of Rank.

PREFACE BY FUKUBA YOSHISHIDZU

The Manyôshiu is the chief ornament of our literature. To read it is to understand the feelings, procure acquaintance with the manners, and know the men and things of that ancient time. In the course of ages language and script have changed, and the text has become more and more difficult to understand. Hence commentaries have been written by the score, none of which have been wholly profitless, and now, in this age of ours, has Kamochi Masazumi, a native of Tosa, produced the Manyôshiu Kogi, the fullest and best commentary yet published. Up to the day of his death he was occupied with his great task, and so excellently has he accomplished it that the Government has determined to publish the work. Only one complete manuscript copy was known-in the possession of the author's friend², Fukuoka Kôren, a samurai of Kôchi³ Ken. even in the house of his heir, Asukahi Masaharu, was a perfect copy of the many volumes of the original found. The task of revision was undertaken by the above-mentioned gentlemen, and the complete work finally handed to the Kunaishô

3 In Tosa.

¹ A relative, probably, of the late Premier Sanjo. ² mompa, lit. 'co-sectary.'

³ In

—a hundred volumes having been prepared by Fukuoka, and some twenty others by Asukahi. The supervision of the printing of the work was entrusted to myself, and in the summer of this twelfth year of Meiji the first of these volumes saw the light. In reading the proofs, collation and otherwise, Fukuoka and his pupils have lent their aid, I write this preface in obedience to command and as an introduction to the Commentary.

Eighth month, 12 Meiji (1879). Fukuba Yoshishidzu¹, Senator (former *Genro-In gikwan*), official in the Literary Department of the Ministry of the Imperial Household (Kunaishô).

§ III. THE DAIGÔ, OR TITLE, OF THE MANYÔSHIU²

Manyôshiu—written archaically Man-yefu-shifu, and doubtless so pronounced (f being labial) before and in the eighth century—is written with characters 真葉集 meaning literally 'myriad-leaves-collection'. When or by whom the title was given is unknown. It does not appear to be mentioned in any Japanese work earlier than the Kokinshiu, compiled, and in part composed, by the celebrated Ki no Tsurayaki, who died in 946 A.D. He refers to the Anthology in his well-known preface, of which a translation is given in the present volume. To this reference will be made immediately.

In Chinese, the 'daigô' would be read wan^4 - yeh^{4*} - chi^{2*} (Giles)—in Cantonese, man-yp-tsap. The p in Japanese would become a labial f, in which any one of the three sounds fhw might become predominant—as in Gaelic 'fhwat' for 'what'. Thus we get yefu, shifu, sinking into yewu, ye'u, yô, and shiwu, shi'u, or shu. Man means a myriad, or myriads, the highest number denoted by a single character in (older) Chinese, hence an undefined great number. Yô is 'leaf', but also 'age' or 'period'

² This now appears to be the accepted spelling.

¹ Afterwards a viscount. He was almost a dwarf, being scarcely over three feet in height.

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(Giles); part of the character, indeed, but not its primitive,

is shih, 'age, reign,' &c.

Three interpretations of the title are more or less current. The first, hitherto adopted by all Western scholars, is the literal one—A Collection (shiu) of a Myriad Leaves. I can find no warrant for this interpretation in any Japanese work at my disposal. The other two interpretations are, in pure Japanese, (a) Yorodzu no koto no ha no atsume; (b) Yorodzu no yo no atsume. In English the first is, 'Collection of a Myriad (countless) Leaves of Speech (i. e. words)', the second, 'Collection of a Myriad (countless) Ages'.'

In the Kokin preface above mentioned the opening sentence is, Yamato uta ha hito no kokoro wo tane to shite yorodzu no koto no ha to zo narikeru,' which may be rendered: 'As to the poetry of our country, 'tis the soul of man that it takes as the seed (subject) and develops countless myriads of the leaves of language.'2 This is believed to be the earliest instance of the use of the conceit koto no ha (in which ha, leaf, is connected with tane, seed) for kotoba (speech or language). In the Anthology the expression is not met with. The Kogi states that from ancient times the title has been read as denoting either 'the heart (spirit or meaning) of myriads of ages' or 'the heart of myriads of words', and that either rendering may be supported. In the preface to a Chinese poetical treatise cited in the Karabumi Bunsen (Selections from Chinese Literature) the expression manyô is used to denote a myriad (or myriads) of ages. The passage is: 'To dwell in faithfulness to the laws of Heaven, to establish the people to the uttermost, there is nothing nobler than such conduct (on the part of the Prince), God causes such a throne to shine, maintains the reign, affirms the

¹ See also the account given of the Anthology in the Gunsho ichiran, an excellent Japanese bibliography in six vols., published in 1801 by Wozaki Masayoshi, who died in 1808. There we read that Sengaku (flourished latter half of thirteenth century) was of the opinion that yô should be read koto no ha, and that Kitamura Kikin, a later commentator (died 1706), thought it meant yo, 'age, generation, reign.'

We may compare—though the analogy is distant—the 'Talking Oak' of Tennyson, and the rustling of the oak-leaves of Dodona which were interpreted by the Peleiades.

succession, assures its endurance through myriads of ages $(many\delta)$, and assures justice ¹.' The date of the quotation appears to be some time between A.D. 384 and 456. Other examples of this use of $many\delta$ by Chinese authors, among whom it appears to have been common, are given in the Kogi.

In the Shakumyô (Explanations of Names [of things]), in relation to verse, the voice of man is likened to the trunk of a tree, whence ramify the branches bearing the foliage. The expression wan-yeh (manyô), again, is used by Huainan2, who recommends scholars to aim at the perfection of a tree with its trunk and leafery. Liu-Yü-si, too, a poet of the eighth century (Mayers' Chinese Manual, No. 423), in his Verses on the Winds of Autumn, sings, 'Lo! the hundreds of insects meet in the dusk, and the myriads of leaves murmur under autumn skies.' These and other passages that might be cited from Chinese literature go to support Tsurayuki's use of the expression koto no ha, and the rendering of yô by kotoba. In later anthologies, too, made by sovran command, the words kinyô, gyokuyô, shinyô (golden, precious, fresh yô), may be taken to imply the meaning of 'language'. Still, these may all be merely modern uses of the expression. In a rescript of Nimmyô (A.D. 834-50) manyô means yorodzu-yo, myriads of ages. The Kogi adduces other examples of this employment of $y\hat{o}$ as equivalent to yô (age, period), one of which is the title of a collection, go yô shiu, 'Anthology of Five Reigns (Ages).' The conclusion of the Kogi is that, notwithstanding current usage, the true meaning of the title Manyôshiu is not 'A Collection of a Myriad Leaves (of language)', but 'A Collection of All the Ages (i.e. an Anthology)', the ancestor and model of all succeeding verse, 'to be reverenced as the moon shining in high heaven.' The rendering 'Lays of Ancient Japan' sufficiently answers to a possiblein my belief probable-meaning of the title, and is descriptive of the Anthology itself. Though true odes

¹ From the preface to the *Chhü shui shih* (winding-water poems), by Yenyenchih (flourished A.D. 384-456). See Giles, *Biogr. Dict.*, No. 2481.

² Liu An, or Liu Ngan, died B. C. 122, a grandson of the founder of the Han dynasty. See Giles, *Biogr. Dict.*, No. 1269, Mayers, No. 412.

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are found in the Anthology, 'Lays' more fully describe the contents. Lai or laid was originally, indeed, an ode or song chanted to a sort of rote. It was at a much later date that the term was extended to narrative poems. A few of the 'lays' that follow are really ballads, others are didactic; most refer to some actual and present event, or some story of the past, and as such, illustrating more or less the life of primitive Japan, possess a slightly epic character. Indeed the Anthology may be not unjustly regarded as a discontinuous social epos of Ancient Japan, up to the period, that is, of the permanent establishment of the capital (City-Royal) at Heian, the City of Peace, later Kyôto, in A.D. 794.

& IV. DATE AND COMPILATION

Tradition alone affords any information as to the date and compilation of the Anthology. A long and learned note on the subject is contained in the Kogi, upon which (together with the notice in the Gunsho ichiran) the following brief account is based. According to the Kokinshiusatsu, the Mikado Seiwa, some time during the period Jôgwan (859-77), caused inquiry to be made in relation to the date of the Manyôshiu. From one Arisuwe, a scribe, the enigmatical answer was obtained that it was an ancient book of the time when the Palace bore the name of the oaktree (nara 1, oak) that sheds its leaves in the Kaminadzuki, or godless (tenth) month-when the gods are away at Kidzuki, in Idzumo, settling the affairs of the world?. The Nara period, however, extended from A.D. 708 to 782, and the answer of Arisuwe throws little light upon the subject. It would seem that he may have referred to the reign of the Mikado Heizei (806-9), who was known as Nara Tennô, from his resumption, for a short time, of residence at Nara.

³ Hirata says name-dzuki = tasting month or harvest festival.

Aston, Shinto, p. 145.

¹ The true derivation of Nara is said to be not nara, an oak (Quercus glandulifera, Bl.), but nara (narashi) to make level: i.e. prepare the ground for building a royal miya. The discredited explanation, however, seems the more probable one.

In the Chinese preface to the Shinzoku Kokinshiu (New Continuation of the Kokinshiu, written between 1429 and 1440) it is also stated that the Anthology was prepared in twenty volumes during the reign of Heizei, and by his command. In Tsurayuki's preface to the Kokinshiu again, the Nara period is mentioned as that of the compilation, but the figures given point—as the Chinese preface suggests—to the reign of Heizei. A reference to Hitómaro, who died (707) just before the beginning of the Nara age, together with the computation of that age as extending over ten reigns and a hundred years, destroys the value of Tsurayuki's statement.

In the nineteenth book of the Zoku Nihon goki (A Continuation of the Nihongi) it is related that the Mikado Nimmyô in A.D. 849 visited the monastery of Kyofuku, and was there presented with a congratulatory long lay on attaining his fortieth year, in which the monks complained of the prevailing neglect of Japanese poetry, even among the clergy, as a danger to civilization. The explanation given of this neglect was that from Hôji (A.D. 757-64) the state was in an unsettled condition; from 770 to 781 Japanese poetry was unheeded at the Court owing to the ill example shown by the Mikado himself; from 782 to 806 the neglect continued; and lastly, that during the reign of the Mikado Saga (810-42) Chinese poetry was alone in fashion, even among the ladies of the Court. Under the Mikado Seiwa the study of Japanese, as distinct from Chinese, literature was revived, and the revival continued throughout the period Yengi (901-23), which brings the subject to the days of Tsurayuki and the composition of the Kokinshiu (Garner of Japanese Verse, Old and New), the Japanese preface to which was written during the first third of the tenth century.

The earlier of the commentators, as distinct from the mere glossists, Sengaku, in his *Manyôshiu Shô¹*, composed about the middle of the thirteenth century, was of opinion that the compilation of the Anthology was begun by the Sadaijin Tachibana no Móroye, and completed by the Chiunagon, Ohotomo no Sukune Yaka-

¹ Notes upon the Manyôshiu.

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mochi. The celebrated Okabe (Kamo Mabuchi) quotes from the Yotsugi Monogatari to the effect that under the Takano Mikado (the Queen-Regnant Kôken, 749-58) Móroye was commanded to prepare an Anthology with the assistance of the $ky\delta$ (ministers) and shin (higher officials). But Móroye died in 1 Hôji (757), and could not therefore have compiled the Anthology in its present state,

since it contains lays of a later date.

The priest Keichiu (died 1701), whose work, the Manyô daishôki, together with that of his contemporary, Kitamura Kikin, the Manyô Shiusui Shô, forms the foundation of all modern learning on the subject, thought that the Anthology was the work of Yakamochi alone, and that it was not compiled by command of the Sovran. The proofs adduced in support of this latter contention also go to prove the authorship of Yakamochi, particularly the description of Yakamochi's own lays as 'mean' (tsutanai) and the language of his references to his father. His own name, too, he always gives in full. In the commentary on the short lay in Book xix, beginning Shirayuki no, an alteration in the text is stated to have been made by the Sadaijin-no doubt Móroye. This reference brings up the question of Móroye's part-authorship. Okabe speaks of an old arrangement, of which the first six books are identical with Books i, ii, xiii, xi, xii, xiv respectively of the modern editions, and it is not impossible that all of these books were compiled by Móroye (or, more probably, the first two only), and that the others were the work of Yakamochi. The last lay in Book xx is dated 3 Tempyo Hôji (Feb. 2, 759), and Yakamochi died in 785. There was, therefore, time for him to have effected a complete arrangement of the Anthology according to subjects and dates, but this was not done except in the case of Books i-ii, which may have been arranged by Móroye. The work was left in an incomplete state, and the explanation of this fact may be the neglect of Japanese learning, which, as just shown, began shortly after the middle of the eighth century. A revival of Japanese learning took place in the reign of Seiwa (859-76), and attained fuller development about the

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time of the composition of the Japanese preface to the Kokinshiu in or about 922, but did not persist long after the latter date.

§ V. ORDER OF BOOKS, GLOSSES, EDITIONS

The Manyôshiu has always been arranged in twenty books. Okabe, as already mentioned, thought he could discover in the Lays themselves traces of a different arrangement from the present one, but the Kogi, admitting some plausibility in the theory, declares it to be unsupported by any extrinsic evidence. The correspondence of the first six books of the supposed arrangement with the existing order has been set forth above, that of the remaining fourteen may be thus presented, the numbers in brackets representing the modern order-vii (x), viii (vii), ix (v), x (ix), xi (xv), xii (viii), xiii (iv), xiv (iii), xv (vi); xvi, xvii, xviii, xix, and xx are identical in both arrangements. These fourteen books contain lays taken from various collections, including many of Yakamochi's own composition, and were regarded by Okabe as additions to the original Manyôshiu. There is no doubt something to be said for this theory, at all events the present sequence (except of the first two volumes) is very irregular, chronologically and categorically. Books i, ii, iii, x, xi, xii, xv, xix, and xx are each divided into three parts—upper, middle, and lower; the remainder into upper and lower parts only.

All the lays are written in the Chinese character, used after a very peculiar fashion explained in the volume of Texts. Here it must suffice to say they are sometimes read phonetically, japonicé or japano-sinicé, sometimes they must be translated into Japanese, sometimes they must be puzzled out as rebus-like combinations—thus the character read japonicé as kamo, a wild-duck, is constantly used to signify the two exclamatory particles ka mo, 'must it be so?'—an exclamation of mingled doubt and entreaty or

hope.

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In most, but not all, of the books, a dai or argument, written in pure Chinese, is prefixed to each lay, stating very briefly its authorship, occasion or subject, and date, or one or two only of these particulars. There are often also postscripts added, and now and then notes within the text, the latter usually by Yakamochi, the former by Yakamochi or Sengaku, or other early commentator. Originally the Chinese script alone was given. As time went on the true reading became more and more difficult, and after Kûkai (A.D. 774-834) had invented the syllabaries (if he did so), additions were made to indicate inflexional terminations and grammatical particles; finally, to the right of the column of characters was appended a full kana (syllabic) transliteration into pure Japanese. These glosses are known as kunten, and are distinguished as ancient, intermediary, and new. The ancient kunten was the work of Minamoto Shitagafu and four others, known as the nashitsubo (Pear-tub Chamber) committee,1 who undertook the task by command of the Mikado Murakami, at the instance of the Princess Hirohata, some time in the period Tenryaku (A.D. 947-57).

The intermediary kunten was prepared by Ohoye Suke-kuni (eleventh century) and five assistants.

The new kunten was a result of Sengaku's scholarship (thirteenth century), and was more in the nature of a commentary than a mere gloss, as were most subsequent works on the Manyôshiu. His work, the Manyôshiu Shô, is alone extant of the three ten, and is described in the Gunshô Ichiran, vol. iv, p. 5, v. It does not appear (so far as I know) that Sengaku added the kana transliteration, nor is there any certainty as to when or by whom this transliteration was first effected.

Since the time of Sengaku the principal editions have been the Daishôki of the Naniha priest Keichiu (died 1701), the Manyô jiuishô of Kitamura Kikin (died 1706), the Riyakuge (Brief Commentary) of Tachibana (or Kato) Chikage (died 1808), and the Kogi, on which this partial

¹ See note, p. xlv.

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presentation of the Anthology is founded. Of the last named and its author a full account is given in the last section of this Introduction.

The Pear-tub Hall, known also as shôyôsha (Bright Hall) was one of the Six (or Five?) sha or pavilions of the Inner Palace of mediaeval times. [The name probably imports a pear-tree of some kind (kaidô, perhaps Pyrus spectabilis) growing in a tub by the sha. On either side of the row of sha were rows of den or larger pavilions. Every sha had its name—kiri (Paulownia), ume (plum), fuji (Wistaria), and one was known as the kaminari sha, because here was posted the Thunder-guard (kaminari = Divine-roar), whose duty it was to be in readiness to look to the defence of the Palace when more than three peals of thunder reverberated in succession.] Shitagafu and his committee were busy with their task every day during A.D. 952. The following pleasant story is told of him. In executing their task the committee came upon the following tanka:—

Shiranami no
hamamatsu ga ye no
tamuke-gusa
iku yo made ni ka
toshi mo henuramu!

what years uncounted those pious offerings countless on yonder pine hung the surfy shore o'ershadowing, have men on yonder pine hung!

The verse will be found in the middle part of Book i. It is attributed to Prince Kahashima-by some to Omi Okura. The occasion was a Royal Progress to Kii of the Queen-Regnant Jitô, mentioned in the Nihongi under the 13th day of the 9th month of the 4th year of her reign (N. ii. 399). Shiranamino is an epithet (m. k.) of hama [matsu], which here means shore-pine; gusa here means 'kinds'. The version (as to the last line) is conjectural. The committee were sorely puzzled by the characters 'stone-two' in the script of the fourth verse. Shitagafu accordingly journeyed to Ishiyama and prayed to Kwannon for help, but though he prayed for seven days and nights no help came. Exhausted and disappointed he began his journey back to his house in City-Royal, and on the way stopped at an inn at Ohotsu. Early the next morning he heard a traveller, getting ready for departure from a neighbouring house, say to a servant, as the baggage was being secured on the packhorse, 'Stop a bit' (mate, wait), when the word desired, mate or made (until), flashed upon his mind.

§ VI. METRE, FORM, AND NUMBER OF LAYS. THE DAI, OR ARGUMENTS

In Japanese, as in Chinese verse, there is, strictly speaking, no metre, for there are no distinct feet. The line

consists of so many syllables, in Japanese all open, and all simple, for there are no diphthongs. A sort of rhythm, however, does exist, but is difficult of definition. Modern verse is usually read or recited in a monotonous highpitched falsetto, very unpleasing to a Western ear. There is little emphasis, and that not concerned, apparently, with the sense. The lays of the Manyôshiu were doubtless recited, or sung or chanted, after a similar fashion, and there was a more or less regular sequence of slight arsis and thesis. There was a total absence of rhyme or assonance in any form, but word-jingles of a peculiar kind were not uncommon. These will be noticed in a later section.

Almost all the lays consist of alternate pentasyllabic and heptasyllabic lines, beginning with a pentasyllabic, and ending with two heptasyllabic lines, thus resembling the contemporary Thang poetry, except that in the latter the verses were not alternating, but all pentasyllabic or all heptasyllabic save in irregular pieces. There were no long or short syllables in Old Japanese, every syllable was pronounced much in the same time, between the time of a long and short syllable in Greek or Latin. There was scarcely any vocabular or phrasal ictus or even tone. The recital of Japanese verse was and is rather an enunciation (yomi) of syllables than of words or sentences.

The general character of the language is iambic rather than trochaic (to my ear), or, more accurately, between those qualities, but there does often seem to exist a slight ictus on the first syllable of a line, chiefly where that begins a phrase. French verse read with some deliberation more resembles the Japanese line than any classical or Germanic form. In English, ictus is unavoidable, but the iambic measure I have chosen for the translations, which correspond exactly (with some exceptions) to the text in the number of syllables, appears to me closer to the original than the more staccato form of such poems as Hiawatha or Der Trompeter von Säkkingen.

In classical parlance the metric scheme of the Japanese uta would be, essentially, an approach to an alternation

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of catalectic iambic monometers and dimeters, with the first iambus of the dipody more often spondaic. There was, or may have been, an indistinct caesura at the end of the third syllable in the pentasyllabic, and of the fourth on the heptasyllabic line.

Elision is found, but is not common, neither is hiatus; enjambement is, on the other hand, usual. The line is sometimes incomplete, sometimes redundant; in what seem to be the earlier lays irregularities are most common.

The uta closes with a couplet of heptasyllabics, sometimes with a triplet. In the Anthology there are three forms of uta. The chôka (naga-uta) or long lay consists of alternating monometers and dimeters ending with two dimeters. The number of lines varies from seven or nine to a hundred or more. Lay 24 has a hundred and fifty lines, the longest Old Japanese poem known to me. The tanka (mizhika-uta) or short lay is a waka (Japanese verse) of only five lines containing thirty-one syllables, and opens with two monometers separated by a dimeter, to end with a couplet of dimeters, all of course catalectic. It is a tercet followed by a couplet.

Many of the tanka are 'envoys' to the chôka; in that case they are sometimes designated hanka (kaheshi-uta), answer-lays. Not seldom, several hanka follow a chôka, of which they are mostly echoes, occasionally postscripts. A third form of uta is the sentô or sedôka, which has thirty-six syllables arranged in six lines. It is a tanka with a second dimeter following the first, so that it consists of two symmetrical moieties, each a tercet, of which the latter generally echoes some portion of the former. There is in most tanka a pause in structure and sense at the end of the third line, and in all uta the final couplet (or triplet) states the moral or resumes the theme or kuse (intention) of the whole.

The number of lays varies in the different editions. In the Kogi, which contains more than any other edition, there are 4,496, of which 4,173 are tanka (inclusive of those appended to chôka), 262 are chôka, and 61 are sedôka. In the present volumes will be found all the chôka, with those

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of the tanka appended to them that appeared worth translating.

As to the Dai or Arguments prefixed to the lays, these were probably written by Yakamochi or some slightly later compiler. They are in pure Chinese (of a kind), but whether they ought to be read in pure Japanese or as mana or kana mazhiri is not very certain. Kamochi, who was a strong Shintoist (the early years of the nineteenth century continued the rather unreal Shinto revivalism of the eighteenth, in opposition to the Buddho-Confucianism of the Tokugawa period), declares that it is quite an 'enormous error' not to read them as pure Japanese; but there is a great deal of pure Chinese in the Manyoshiu that must have been read as such, and it is most probable that the dai were read, as texts of that kind at a later period are known to have been read, as mixed Japano-Chinese and Japanese. Many Chinese expressions, however, were probably read out of respect in Japanese—such as gyo-u (reigned), which in archaic Japanese would be translated amenoshita shiroshimeshishi. In the present work (vol. of Texts) for several reasons the dai are transliterated into archaic Japanese in accordance with the kana gloss.

The address-title $ky\delta$, fig., or mahetsukimi (Minister—it might be rendered 'Excellency'), common in the dai, is added to the office and family name of men of the third rank who are not yet Dainagon, and even sometimes to designations of men not of the third rank for special reasons, or as a mark of respect.

 $Ky\delta$ may also be used with office and family name, or with family name only, or with family and personal name, or with office only.

Na, or personal names, are not mentioned in the dai in two cases: one, where the personage is a dainagon, or of higher office; the other where it was thought desirable for any reason, or respectful, not to mention them, even when names of personages of lower office than that of dainagon. Sometimes the na are abbreviated or imperfectly written, as in cases of doubt or where office and family name sufficed.

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& VII. CONTENTS OF THE BOOKS OF THE MANYÔSHIU

The lays are arranged, but not completely, or in all the books, under six categories, in imitation, perhaps, of a similar but not identical arrangement of the contents of the Book of Odes (Shih King). The Chinese arrangement is given in Mayers' Manual (p. 325) as the Three Divisions and the Three Styles—(1) Ballads, (2) Eulogies, (3) Homage Odes, (4) Allusive, (5) Metaphorical, and (6) Descriptive. The Japanese arrangement is—(1) Kuságusa or unclassed lays; (2) Sômon or Shitáshimi, lays of the affections, love. friendship, &c.; (3) Banka or Kanáshimi, lays of sorrow, death, parting, absence, &c.; (4) Tatohe, illustrative or exemplary lays; (5) Shiki, lays of the four seasons; (6) Shiki sômon, affection-lays of the four seasons.1

Examples of Shitáshimi are lays 16, 17, 54-6, 116-20, 145-74; of Kanáshimi, lays 18-30, 46, 47, 55, 70, 89, 90, 116, 121-5, 183-97; of shiki, lays 97, 99; of Shiki sômon, 100-3, 126-8. There are only two tatohe long lays, lays 176 and 182. Some lays are of a special character, 67, 79, 203; a few are märchen or ballads, 105, 122, 125; some are dialogal, 67, 174; two are of a fabular character. 210, 211; while a certain number are local, Noto, 207-9; and ádzuma (Eastland) lays like those of the Fourteenth Book; others, lastly, are didactic, 62, 63, 64 and 69.

Of the twenty books of the Manyôshiu the contents may now be briefly set forth.

The First Book (or maki-roll) is divided into three parts, upper (kami), middle (naka), and lower (shimo).

The upper part consists entirely of kuságusa (unclassed) lays, and contains the long lays numbered 1-7 in the present volume. The middle part also contains none but kuságusa

¹ This categorical arrangement, being irregular and incomplete, is Ins categorical arrangement, being irregular and incomplete, is not reproduced in the present volume. It may suffice to give here the numbers of the long lays under each category:—Kuságusa, 1-15, 18-44, 60 A-97, 104, 115, 129, 144, 203, 211; Shitáshimi, 16, 17, 54-60; 116-20, 145-74; Kanáshimi, 18-31, 45-53, 121-5, 183-97, 198, 200-2; Tatohe, 182, 176. Tohi-kotahe (sort of love-lays), 175-81; Shiki (Spring) 98-100, (Summer) 126, 181, (Autumn) 102, 127, 128, 103. Lays 203-64 are uncategorized. lays, among them the long lays 8-12. Lay 9 is the earliest of the Hitómaro lays. The lower part is also kuságusa, and in it are found lays 13-15. There are sixty-seven tanka in the book, mostly of an occasional character, inclusive of the hanka or envoys to the long lays. The best of the long lays are 1, 2, 3, 6, and those by Hitómaro, 9-12, while lay 13 affords an interesting glimpse of the period. In this book the lays attributed to the Sovran are distinguished by the highly honorific phrase mi yomimaseru ohomi uta, the exalted lay that His Majesty hath deigned to [cause to be] compose[d]. Analogous phrases in descending order of dignity are mi yomimaseru mi uta, yomimaseru mi uta, yomimaseru uta, down to yomeru uta, which is simply 'composed by'.

The dates of the lays range from the Hatsuse Asakura age (A.D. 475) to the beginning of the Nara age (708–82). The last lay in the book is attributed to Naga no miko, who died in 1 Reiki (715). The principal authors are the

Princess (ohokimi) Nukata and Hitómaro.

The Second Book is likewise divided into three parts. The upper part consists wholly of shitáshimi lays, and contains the long lays 16, 17. The middle part consists of kanáshimi lays, containing the long-lays 18-24. In the lower part, again, all the lays are kanáshimi, including the long lays 25-31. The more remarkable of the lays in this book are 16, 20, 22, 24, 27, and 28. Lays 16, 22, 24, 27, and 28 are by Hitómaro. Lay 24 is the most sustained effort in Old Japanese poetry known to me, and the only one of a distinctly martial character. After lay 30 follow several tanka on the death of Hitomaro himself. The dates of the shitáshimi lays range from the Nániha Takatsu age to that of Fujihara; of the kanáshimi lays from the later Wokamoto period to that of Nara—generally from the reign of Níntoku (313-99) to the Wadô period (708-21) within the Nara age. In both the above two books-and in these alone among the twenty—the arrangement of the lays is complete as to authorship, chronology, and category. The oldest lays in the Anthology are said to be the last three of the first four lays in the present book.

The first is by Suwe no kami Oho Irátsume:-

Kimi ga yuki ke nagaki narinu yama tadzune mukahe kayukamu machi ni ka matamu.

The going forth of my lord!
long is the time that hath
gone by—
amid the wild hills search-

shall I go forth to meet him, waiting, shall I wait for him!

That is, she would not wait idly for the return of her lover (Prince Karu); she must go after him, even across the hills (to Iyo where he has been banished). The tanka is also found in the Kojiki, where the story is given (K. lxxxvii, but compare N. I. 324). In the Kojiki yamatadzune is read yamatadzune, a makura kotoba of which it is impossible to make sense. The date would be about 435. The story is that of the incest of the Princess with her uterine brother Prince Karu. The other three lays are attributed to the Queen-Consort Ihanohime, who may have composed them on her desertion by the Mikado Níntoku for the girl Yata. She was his sister by the father's side (N. I. 278). In 347 she died, and the next year Yata occupied her place.

The first of the three uta is subjoined:-

Kaku bakari
kohitsutsu arazu ha
takayama no
ihane shi makite
or (iha neshi makite)
shinamashi mono wo!

And now thus is it—should his love for me fail, on the high hills (or on Takayama) fain would I seek stone

pillow
and lay me down and die
there!

The Third Book is divided into three parts. The upper part contains none but *kuságusa* lays, including the long lays 32-9. The range of dates is from Jitô (690-702) to Shômu (724-56), but the chronology is irregular.

The middle part comprises likewise none but kuságusa

lays, including the long lays 40-4.

The lower part consists of tatohe lays, among which are no long lays, but certain lays addressed by Kasa no Irá-

tsume to Yakamochi ¹, while yet a *toneri* (palace servant or page) and *kanáshimi* lays, including an elegy by Shótoku Daishi ² and the long lays 45–53. The dates range from 4 Wadô (712) to 16 Tempyô (745).

The chronology is irregular, but the authorship is stated. The Kogi believes that the third and fourth books should stand in reversed order. The more remarkable lays are 23 (Kimitari), 36 (the first by Akáhito), 37 (the first by Kanámura), 44, 47, 49 (by Sakanohe no Irátsume), 50 (by Yakamochi on the death of his wife), and 53 (by Takahashi, an elegy on his wife).

The Fourth Book is divided into two parts, upper and lower. It contains none but *shitáshimi* lays, including the long lays 54-70, the last being found in the lower part. The dates range from Níntoku (313-99) to Shômu (724-48). The more remarkable lays are 56, 59 (Sakanohe), and 60 (Sakanohe's mother).

The Fifth Book, in two parts, contains kuságusa lays, including the long lays 61-70. The arrangement is confused, the dates range from 1 Jinki (724) to 6 Tempyô (734). Various notes, prefaces, and postscripts in Chinese are intermixed with the lays. There is also a Chinese lay (numbered 60 A). The book opens with the answer of Ohotomo no kyô—commander of the Tsukushi frontier garrison—to the envoys sent to condole with him on the death of his wife, preceded by 60 A and a series of Buddhist reflections in Chinese. The remaining lays are mainly taken from the Okura Collection; some of them relate to a mission to China. The more remarkable lays are 62, 63, 64, and 69, all of a moral or didactic character and purely

¹ This is the first mention of Yakamochi in the *Manyôshiu*. A little further on is the first *tanka* by Yakamochi, addressed to Sakanohe no Ihe no Oho-Irátsume, wife of Ohotomo no Sukune Sukunamaro, and daughter of Sakanohe no Irátsume.

Or Uhenomiya no Miko. The purport of the tanka is—To die in one's own home with my hand in thine, dearest [were no hardship]; but to die on a journey amid the bushy hills, 'tis piteous indeed! Shôtoku Taishi (heir-apparent), the 'Constantine of Japanese Buddhism', was Regent, but never Mikado (Prof. Chamberlain). He flourished 572-621 (N. II, 95).

Chinese in thought and treatment. Lay 67 is a bitter complaint against oppression and poverty, the only one known to me in Japanese poetical literature; and 70 is an elegy on the death of the poet's son, Furuhi.

The Sixth Book (in two parts) contains none but kuságusa lays, comprising the long lays 71-97. The dates, which are fairly sequent, range from 7 Yôrô (723) to 16 Tempyô (744). The more remarkable lays are 79, 81, 84, 89, 90, and 92. The principal names are Kanámura, Akáhito, Sakanohe, Okura, and Yakamochi.

The Seventh Book (two parts) contains no long lays. All the tanka, with the exception of thirteen at the end, which are kanáshimi, are kuságusa. Of many the dates and authors are not given. In the older editions there was a journey-lay at the end, but in the Koji this is placed among the kuságusa. The book opens with a tanka on the heavens, in which Hitomaro likens the sky to the ocean. the clouds to the waves, the constellations to forests, and the crescent-moon to a boat sailing through the scene. A number of lays follow-on the moon, on clouds, on rains, on 'mountains, hills, and rivers' (landscapes), on foliage, moss, birds, homeland, wells, and the Japanese koto (flat harp). Then come tanka made in Yoshinu, Yamashiro, and many in Settsu. Most, if not all, of the above seem to have been taken by Yakamochi from Anthologies (MS. collections) not now extant. In the second part are found dialogal lays and tanka on birds and fishermen (from old collections). Other subjects are travelling-dress, bows, gems, trees, plants, rice, flowers, quadrupeds, the seashore, seaweed, boats, thunder, gods, buried logs 1, &c. Many are taken from

¹ Buried log—here in river-bed, &c.—at a later period, fossil wood. The tanka is a singularly good instance of the poetic dexterity of the ancient Japanese, and of the wealth of meaning that can be crowded into a single stanza—as Dr. Florenz has well remarked in his valuable Geschichte der Japanischen Litteratur—

- 1 Makanamochi
- 2 Yuge no kahara no
- 3 umoregi no
- 4 araharumazhiki
- 5 koto to aranaku ni-
- 5 That there be not
- 4 the likelihood of non-appearance
- 3 as of a log buried
- 2 under the sands of the river of the smooth'd bow,
- 1 the well-planed bow.

the Hitomaro Collection, not now extant. Most of the lays may probably be ascribed to the first half of the eighth

century.

The Eighth Book (in two parts) consists mostly of kuságusa and shitáshimi tanka, arranged in proper succession as shiki (lays of the four seasons) and shiki sômon (shitáshimi lays of the four seasons). The long lays 98, 103, are also found in this book. The more remarkable of them are lays 101 and 103 (by Yakamochi), and 102, on Tanabata night (by Okura). Many of the tanka are interchanged between Yakamochi and his wife Sakanohe. No dates are given, but the range was from some time within the latter half of the seventh century to a period within the first half of the eighth century.

The Ninth Book in the upper part contains kuságusa lays, in the lower part shitáshimi lays, among which are found the long lays 104–25. Many are taken from the Hitómaro Collection, others from the Mushimaro Collection, some from the Ohoura, Tanobè, Sakimaro, and Kanámura Collections. The more remarkable lays are 105 (the Ballad of Uráshima), 110, 111, 113 (change-singing on Mount Tsukuba), 119 (a mother's farewell), 120 (a love-lay), 122 and 125 (on the story of the Damsel of Unahi). The principal names are Okura, Kanámura, and the Princess (ohokimi) Nukata.

The Tenth Book (in three parts) contains lays arranged as kuságusa and shitáshimi of the four seasons. They seem to be all taken from the Hitómaro Collection, and among them are the long lays 126-8, of which the latter two (on Tanabata) are the best. There are no dates, but they must belong to the latter half of the seventh century; nor are the names of authors given.

The Eleventh Book (in three parts) contains no long lays.

The lines (text) 1, 2, 3 form a m. k. of 4. Line 1 is a m. k. of Yu [mi] ge [dzuru], the name of a river—by a word-play equivalent to everores (with the ma of 1). Line 5 suggests, with the aid of two negatives 4 and 5 (aranaku), that the damsel's meeting with her lover will not be so uncertain as the refloating of a log brought down the river when low, and buried under the sand and soil rolled down in flood, i. e. 'that it will come about.'

The tanka are older and later shitáshimi, dialogal, occasional (tada omohi), and tatohe lays, without authors' names. Most are taken from the Hitomaro Collection. A few sento (sedô) lays are found in this book. The older lays date from the Middle (Kahara) Asuka age to the (Kiyomihara) Asuka age (670-686 circiter); the later from the Fujihara age to that of Nara, 700-708 and later). Their arrangement in the Kogi edition differs somewhat from that found in the older books.

The Twelfth Book (in three parts) has no long lays. There are dialogal, road, and kuságusa tanka, some of which are taken from the Hitómaro Collection. There are neither dates nor authors' names.

The Thirteenth Book (in two parts) contains many long lays, 129-97, among the oldest and best in the Anthology. Lay 183 is the only one of any length. All the lays are anonymous and undated. There are kuságusa, shitáshimi mondo (dialogal), tatohe, and kanáshimi lays, with a few sedôka. Among the more remarkable are 131, 136, 140, 146, 151, 168, 178, 182 (a tatohe lay), 183, 190, and 197.

The Fourteenth Book (in two parts) contains no long lays. The lays are all ádzuma (Eastland), arranged, according to provinces, as kuságusa and shitáshimi. The book closes with a few dialogal and garrison or march-men (sakimori) lays.

The Fifteenth Book (in three parts) rather resembles the Fifth Book in the nature of its contents. It comprises, with many tanka, the long lays 198-202. Many of the lays, older and later, deal with a mission to Korea in 8 Tempyô (736); of the remainder most are lays interchanged between an exiled courtier and his mistress.

The Sixteenth Book (in two parts) contains the long lays 203-11, with many tanka. The subjects of the lays are, among others, the stories of the Princess Sákura and the Princess Kádzura, and the story of the Sage and the Nine Foolish Virgins (203), with a long Chinese preface and nine versified apologies from the virgins. No dates are given, but often the authors' names are added in postscripts.

The remaining four books (17, 18, 19, 20) contain lays

collected or composed by Yakamochi, interspersed with poems, notes, and letters in Chinese. The dates are given but the lays are not arranged in categories.

The Seventeenth Book (in two parts) contains the long lays 212-25. The dates range from 2 Tempyô (730) to 20 Tempyô (748). From the 11th month 2 Tempyô (Dec., 730—Jan., 731) to the 5th day of the 4th month 16 Tempyô (June 19, 744), the lays, irregularly arranged, are such as were omitted by Yakamochi from the preceding sixteen books. The lays of 13 Tempyô (741) are followed by lays of 744. The next date is 7th month 18 Tempyô (July-Aug., 746), when Yakamochi went to Etchiu as Governor (Kami). From the last date to 20 Tempyô (748) the arrangement is as 'regular as that of a diary'.

The Eighteenth Book (in two parts) contains the long lays 226-35. The dates range from 2 Tempyô (730) to the second month of 2 Shôhô (March-Apr., 750); collected by Yakamochi while Governor of Etchiu. Older lays, not before known to Yakamochi, are here found, together with new ones composed by visitors (officials) from City-Royal, with names attached.

The Nineteenth Book (in three parts) contains the long lays 236-57. The dates range from 2 Shôkô (750) to the 8th month of 3 Shôkô (Aug.-Sept., 751), then—after the return of Yakamochi to City-Royal—to the 2nd month of 5 Shôhô (March-Apr., 753).

The Twentieth Book (in three parts) contains the long lays 258-63. The dates range from 5 Shôhô (753) to the 7th month of 2 Hôji (August-Sept., 758), while Yakamochi was Governor of Inaba. On New Year's Day of 3 Hôji (Feb. 2, 759) he recited his last tanka at a congratulatory banquet, in which he expressed the hope that the prosperity of the land would increase as the falling snow on that day was increasing.

Many Eastland lays are found in this book, but they are not arranged in any order.

An interesting feature of the last four books is the poetical and Chinese correspondence of Yakamochi and his friend Ikenushi, a secretary of the adjoining province of Echizen.

YAMATO AND ÁDZUMA LAYS & VIII.

A further division was established of these ancient lays into Yamato and Adzuma Lays-in other words, into Court and Eastland verse, Eastland verse, however, shows but few dialectal differences from the language of City-Royal; it was rather the comparatively unpolished strains, offensive to Court taste, of officials employed in, and probably natives of, the remote Eastern and Northern Pro-The Michinoku lays, even, merely differ from those of the Court in a certain lack they exhibit of decorative dexterity. Yet up to quite a late period in early Japan a great part of Michinoku-most of the tract, indeed, north of Sendai-was chiefly populated by Nigi-Ainu 1. The signification of ádzuma is unknown. The fanciful derivation a [ga] dzuma, 'Oh my wife!' the cry of Yamatotake as he looked back from the barrier hills on his way to the Eastland, regretting his parting from the Princess Ototachibana (Famous-orange-tree), is fanciful and nothing more. The story will be found in N. I. 207.

As to Yamato lays, the import of the name Yamato, there can be little doubt, is concerned with tracks or passages through a wild hilly country, the province of Yamato being surrounded by hills. These were Court lays. The story of the ideographic representation of Yamato is interesting. The original character was (wo or wa), which is merely a contraction of 矮 (short) and 人 or 1 (man), and means a dwarf or pigmy. In the later Han history we read that in the first century A.D. a country called Ito sent an envoy to the Chinese emperor, who gave him a gold seal. This seal was discovered in the eighteenth century, and is said to be still preserved. On it are characters meaning 'dwarf-slave', as epithetical of the envoy's own land, Japan. He may have come from Ito in Chikuzen, where, at that time, the authority of the Yamato Sovran was scarcely established. The name Ito

¹ Partly civilized. See N. II. 261.

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was later written with characters meaning the 'harmonious place'. So when Japanese writers began to entertain a higher sense of their country's worth they changed (wai or wa) to Al (wa), which means 'peace' or 'harmony'. Wai easily becomes wa, even in Chinese; thus Wai-Kwoh, or Kwok, the old Chinese disrespectful name for Japan, was heard as Wak-Wak (i.e. Wa-Kwak) by the Arab mediaeval navigators to the Far East.

§ IX. ANTIQUITY OF THE LAYS

The lays comprised in the Manyôshiu, in date of composition range over a period of some 400 years. The earliest would appear to be the three lays attributed to Iwanohime, which open the Second Book, and these may have been composed about A.D. 347 (but see the note in the Kogi); and the latest is Yakamochi's concluding tanka in the Twentieth Book, written in 759. But lay 178 is, or may be, either a much older lay or a rifacimento of a much older one, for it is identical with a lay in the Kojiki ascribed to the age of the gods-that is, to a period earlier than B.C. 660. It may very well be doubted, however, as already mentioned, whether any of the Manyôshiu lays, as we have them, date more than a century or two beyond the period of its compilation. The preservation in an unwritten form of a number of short and disconnected lays, many of them of a personal nature, others didactic or lyrical, through any considerable tract of time is unlikely. The regularity of metre and form displayed by nearly all the lays, too (as well as their identity of diction and phrase), is against their antiquity. Of the 111 lays of the Kojiki, eighty-four lie within the period (up to A.D. 400) of which the history, according to Professor Chamberlain, is undeserving of credence (K. p. 368). Of these lays, too, and of the 132 lays of the Nihongi, the earlier examples differ scarcely at all from the later, although represented as separated in time by more than a thousand years, in metre and form, and not much in diction and phrasing. The Nihongi and Manyô lays are, however, free from the gross-

nesses of the Kojiki lays, as might be expected in works composed more or less within the view, at least, of Chinese models. Lastly, about half the Kojiki lays are tanka, and it is scarcely credible that these highly artificial productions should have an antiquity much greater than that of the Anthology itself. On the whole, then, I believe that though the lays in the present volume may be in some measure echoes, or remodellings in certain cases, of more ancient pieces, none of them are in their present state much older than the seventh century. I am disposed to say the same of the Kojiki and Nihongi lays, the differentiae of which may be largely due to their having been selected with less discrimination and under more purely Japanese influences than those of the Anthology, compiled nearly half a century later. It seems even probable that the memory feats of Hiyeda no Are (K. Introduction) were confined to the lays of the Kojiki, and that in some cases the text of the Annals was written up to the lays, and in others old lays were more or less remodelled to suit and illustrate the text.

§ X. RANKS AND NAMES

The Kogi displays a good deal of erudition in relation to the designation of the Sovran. The earliest name (K. App. xxviii, age of Keiko, 71-130) seems to have been simply ohokimi—Great Lord. Another, almost exclusively used in the dai (arguments, probably the work of Yakamochi), is Sumera mikoto—His Supreme Majesty. Sumerogi, or Sumeragi (suberagi in the Kokinshiu), are other names. Sumerami is Queen-regnant—compare Izana-gi (Inviting Male or Prince) and Izana-mi (Inviting-Female or Princess). Sumeramikusa is Sumerami-ikusa—The Great Royal Host. Sumera is rendered by the characters 天 皇, Heaven-sovereign; that is, Sovereign appointed by Heaven. But that is not a Japanese idea. The Japanese Sovran is not appointed by Heaven with duties assigned to him, but he is the descendant of the Sky-shine Lady, and has no duties

¹ Probably these explanations are inaccurate. See Aston, Shintô, p. 172.

to fulfil at all, any more than a god. Sumera and Sumero are, of course, identical expressions. What ro signifies cannot be determined—we find it again in kamurogi—perhaps it is ra, a worn-down form-word, extending the connotation of its principal. Sume is said to be connected with sube(ru) and to involve the idea of a general control (government) according to Dr. Aston and Sir Ernest Satow. I am not satisfied with that explanation, but I can offer no other, unless it be sume, used of the abiding-place of a god. The term Mikado—Grand Dwelling—is not used to denote the Sovran in the Manyôshiu, but rather his court, or even his realm, wosu kuni no toho no mikado, 'the far-bounded land our Lord ruleth,' lay 87.

In the Kokinshiu, however, the expression is found with a personal application, and at the present day, though Mikado is not used, Miya (Grand House) is universally employed to designate a Prince. I use 'Sovran' partly as somewhat more poetic than 'emperor'; partly as differentiating the Japanese monarch from the Chinese emperor; partly because the Mikado, in any proper Western sense of

the word, never was an emperor.

The principal wife of the Sovran is designated oho-kisaki, Great Kisaki. The derivation of kisaki is not known. is easy, but too easy, to equate it with ki-saki, come first, or kimi saki, i.e. lady-in-front. The earliest use of the expression will be found in the Nihongi under the seventh year of Teuchi (668), when the Princess Yamato, daughter of the Crown Prince Furubito no Ohoye, was made Queen-Consort, a result doubtless of the Chinese reforms of 645 A.D. The Crown Prince, or Heir Apparent, was known as Oho Miko (Great Prince), or Miko no Mikoto (His Princely Highness). For the Crown Prince as well as for the miko generally the Japanese term is usually employed. Of the principal ranks and offices some account is given in the brief review, presented in a subsequent section, of the political and social conditions of the Manyô age. It remains shortly to explain the system of naming followed in the dai (arguments).

In ancient Japan no man who was 'hidalgo', that is

'somebody', was a private person. He had rank, office, clan or tribe, family, and last-perhaps least-his own individuality. His full designation comprised all these elements. Of the Sovran the name was not mentioned. Of the higher dignitaries the family or personal names were, in like manner, under a quasi tabu; thus in the dai, as a rule, the personal names, at least of officials of dainagon or higher rank, were not given. In some cases the office, designation, and family-name are alone given. The Kogi expatiates on this subject at considerable length, but the details are without interest for Western readers. The complete designation of the author of lay 258 will suffice to illustrate the foregoing remarks. It was:-

Sagamu no Kuni no Sakimori Kotoritsukahi

jiu go wi ge

Fujihara Asomi

Of the Land of Sagami, the Inspector of Frontier-recruiting (or levying), the lower division of juniorfifth rank. tribal name, kabane or family name (Asomi was, perhaps, a Korean title, according to Dr. Aston),

Sukunamaro.

personal name. Women seem to have had no personal names as a rule. Sometimes they bore the family and official names of their husbands, fathers, or eldest sons. To women of low rank, ukareme (hetairae), for instance, nicknames were given; occasionally, in other cases, thus we have Sakura Ko, the Lady Sakura (Cherryblossom). Often the uji or family name is given, followed by a descriptive appellationirátsume, noble damsel; oho irátsume, elder noble damsel; tozhi, house-lady, who (according to Sir Ernest Satow T. A. J. S., vii. 403) could sacrifice to the hearth-god on behalf of the family-the miyazhi (mi ya nushi) was (originally at least) the house-master, who performed the same duty in connexion with the palace hearth. Other designations of women are—ohokimi (great lady, a princess of the blood); hime or hime miko (a princess of the royal house); uneme or unebe (lady-in-waiting, waiting-woman,

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i.e. on the Sovran); wotome (maid or girl); musume (daughter, girl); mi omo (lady-mother); kimi (lady); and me (woman), occasionally used in an intimate manner to denote the wife or concubine of the speaker or writer.

§ XI. JAPAN IN THE MANYÔ AGE

Even as early as the fifth century the Mikado reigned rather than governed. Whether at any previous period he had exercised much real power may be doubted. In the sixth century, at all events, the Court was governed by the Soga clan; in the next by the Fujihara house, whose supremacy paved the way for the Shôgunate and the dual régime which lasted down to 1868. The reverence for the Sovran, or the Sovranty, however, endured, as did that for the kingship during the baronial wars that preceded the establishment of the Tudor dynasty in England.

There is nothing to show that the Manyô Mikado had any force of his own to depend on, or ever exercised any real authority. He was the creature of the dominant faction among the miko (princes of the blood) and the kimi (nobles of royal descent), with the heads of the tomo and be. The position was maintained by the sanctity attaching to it. How that sanctity was originally acquired it is difficult to say. Jimmu seems to have been the only Mikado viewed by tradition as a hero. He, no doubt, represents some tribal chief. In the Manyô age the Mikado acted personally or by deputy as high priest for the land. In this capacity, no doubt, he once officiated personally at the Ohoharahi (great-sweeping) enacted at the end of the sixth and the twelfth lunar months, as well as on other occasions. This was a symbolical cleansing of the land from

The norito or religious formula pronounced on these occasions are always dignified and solemn compositions. The norito of the Ohoharahi may be briefly summarized (from Dr. Ashton's Shintô):—'... Hearken all of you [the assembled princes and functionaries], the Sovran dear ancestors who divinely dwell in the Plain of High Heaven... gave command, saying: "Let our August Grandchild [Ninigi] hold serene rule over the fertile reed-plain, the region of fair rice-ears, as a land of peace"... there were savage deities [who were]

heavenly sins (agricultural misdemeanours) and earthly offences (ordinary crimes, inclusive of leprosy, &c.). The immigration of the Japanese took place piecemeal, and extended, no doubt, over a long period. There are no distinct traces in the myths or legends of continental life. The account of the Creation given in the Annals and in the Chronicles refers to Japan alone. The picture of the Japanese pantheon drawn in those works is full of Chinese touches; it is very hard to say with any certainty what step of the 'Way of the Gods' was not trodden or guided by Chinese teachers about the period of the Christian era. Hence the peculiar sanctity, attaching less to the Mikado than to the office or descent incarnated in him, seems not to have been brought to Japan by the continental ancestors of the Japanese, but to have been almost wholly of Japano-Chinese creation, long posterior to the establishment of the Japanese in Kyushu and Idzumo, which may go back to a period some centuries before the Christian era. But how it came into existence, and attained the dominant influence the Annals and Chronicles view it as possessing from the earliest days of the Mikadoate, we do not know, for there

called to a divine account, and expelled with a divine expulsion. Moreover, the rocks, trees, and smallest leaves of grass which had power of speech were put to silence. Then they dispatched him downward . . . cleaving as he went with an awful way-cleaving the manypiled clouds of Heaven, and delivered to him the Land [Japan]. At the middle point . . . Yamato, the High-Sun-Land, was established, . . . and there was built here a fair palace . . . to shelter him from sun and rain, with massy pillars based deep on the nethermost rocks, and up-raising to . . . High Heaven . . . its roof. . . . [There are] Heavenly offences [enumerated] . . . and Earthly offences [enumerated] . . . let him recite the . . . celestial ritual . . . [then] the Gods of Heaven, thrusting open the adamantine door of Heaven . . . will lend ear. The Gods of Earth, climbing to the tops of the high mountains . . . will lend ear . . . as [and] all offences will be annulled . . . as the many-piled clouds of Heaven are scattered by the breath of the Wind-God; as the morning breezes and the evening breezes dissipate the dense morning vapours and the dense evening vapours . . . so shall all offences be utterly annulled. Therefore he [the Mikado] is graciously pleased to purify and cleanse them away'

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are no data, texts, traditions, or myths to assist the inquiry to a truly historical conclusion.

The expressions of loyalty in the Lays, fervid as they appear, are mostly of the conventional type common with Court poets—as conventional as those which invoke perpetuity for the palaces, which were changed with almost every reign up to the foundation of Kyôto, long after the last tanka of the Manyôshiu had been composed.

The record of the Manyô age set forth in the Nihongi and its zoku, or continuation, is not exhibitanting reading. It is the story of an endless welter of faction-fights, rebellions, plots, and murders. If the much-vaunted virtue of chiuqi (loyalty) existed in those days, the Mikado was the last person to profit by it. The Yamato territory, occupying the central and western lands of the Ise peninsula, lying between the Inland Sea and the Pacific Ocean, had been extended northwards and eastwards at the expense of the Yemishi or Ainu, to the south at the expense of the Kumaso aboriginals. How this was effected the Nihongi does not tell us. Probably it was a gradual extension of settlement, as partly to escape taxation and service, partly through pressure of population, folk migrated from the central territories over the frontiers. It does not appear to have been due, save perhaps in the case of the Eastland to some extent, to deliberate conquest. The Nihongi is equally silent upon the nature of the overlordship which Japan seems to have exercised over the Korean kingdoms

¹ Chiugi is a Chinese word, and the sentiment is really Chinese not Japanese. It is inculcated by Confucianism, not by Buddhism, nor is it a tenet of Shintô. Shintô teaches, as far as it teaches anything, blind obedience to the Mikado as a god; but that is not chiugi. It was a creation of the so-called feudal system, and when this culminated in the Tokugawa Shôgunate, which, in effect, was the beginning of its end by rendering it unnecessary, the study of Confucianism degraded fu-chiugi, or disloyalty—i.e. disobedience to one's immediate superior and all above—to the position awarded to it by Dante, the giudecca, or last ring of the Inferno. Nothing in Old Japanese history or literature leads me to suppose that chiugi as a worldly virtue—it has no Japanese equivalent—was a whit more characteristic of Old Japan than of other lands. The practice of harakiri was not its outcome.

of Mimana and Kudara. Immigration on a considerable scale from Korea is mentioned, and missions to and from that country and China-where Japan was regarded as a tributary state—are frequently noticed. Otherwise Japan had no intercourse with the outside world. Within her own limits there was, as there always has been in Japan. great activity in decree and statute-making, and after the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century-to some extent before—considerable progress was achieved in internal organization. The characteristic trait of the time is still the characteristic trait of the Japanese state—the persistence of the sovranty in one family, easily enough maintained where adoption was common, and where polygamy, in effect, was the rule; which, however, has often been modified by the election out of that family of the scionson, brother (or even widow) of the deceased Mikadomost acceptable to the dominant party of princes, nobles, and high officials.

It was the introduction of Buddhism that led to the supremacy of the Soga clan; and it was probably the desire of the Fujihara clan to concentrate and centralize the power they had usurped that led to the reform of A.D. 645, which sought to combine the order and regularity of the Chinese system with the traditional prestige and vague patriarchism of a Sumerogi who was a descendant of the Sky-shine goddess. Thus the power of the state was in the hands of the clan, assured by its association with a sacrosanct authority which could sustain but not weaken its exercise.

By the sixth century the territory of the Mikado is said to have been divided into kuni or provinces, kôri or counties, and agata or sato, cantons or 'gau', originally, perhaps, tracts of land containing about fifty family-houses. The Mikado's revenue, wholly gathered in kind, consisted of the produce of his mita or Crown-lands, cultivated by Crown-serfs (tabe), and stored in Crown-granaries (miyake). In addition he levied taxes, mitsugi, of which there were two kinds, bow-end mitsugi, the produce of men's labour as hunters and fishers, and hand-end mitsugi, the produce of women's labour, grain, cloth, &c. Cloth, indeed, served

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as a sort of currency. Forced labour, etachi, was at his disposal for the building of palaces, ships, and tombs (misasagi); and a special tax of rice, tachikara (lit. fieldforce or arm-power, the product of labour), supplied, doubtless, the principal means of payment to his officers, guards, and servants. What means the Government possessed of enforcing its will is not clear. There were apparently palace guards, assisted by the Ôtomo and Mononobe clans, to preserve order in the capital, but for punitive expeditions to frontier districts or to Korea the goodwill of the princes and the outer clans had to be enlisted. The Mikado had no clan of his own, but he was primus among a crowd of kinsmen, and must have depended entirely upon the support, even within his own palace, of the party in power. With the extension of the territory the central power waned, and the spirit of faction grew until it culminated in the creation by Yoritomo of the dual government in 1192, which lasted down to 1868.

Around the Mikado were grouped the princes of the blood (miko) and the kinsmen of the blood (kimi), next to whom came the ministers (omi). There was no nobility without office, nor, in later times, without special rank; but there might be office without nobility, at least high. nobility. Yakamochi, for instance, began his career as a mere toneri (page or servant, associated with yatsuko, house-servant), to end as a provincial governor and privy councillor. He, however, boasted of belonging to the Ohotomo clan, the primal ancestor of which was of divine descent, higher even than that of the Sun-goddess herself. It is noteworthy that men of rank always traced back their descent to a scion of the Royal House. The high officials were miyatsuko, servants of the Grand House; tomo no miyatsuko, officials of the Court and the home territories; and kuni no miyatsuko, officials of the provinces and frontiers. The Ohotomo and Mononobe clans (uji or families, rather than clans or tribes) had hereditary charge of the Palace gates, the significance of which is, probably, that they were, or were part of, the dominant party up to the time of the rise of the Soga combination.

There existed also a corps of hayato (swift-men) or soldiery, but the position of these men cannot be definitely stated. Lastly, there was, from the fourth or fifth century onwards, a considerable garrison in Tsukushi to keep open communications with Korea, but how this was recruited and maintained is not evident. In the latter part of the Manyô age it was known as the Dazaifu (great-control government).

With the miko, kimi, and both miyatsuko the murazhi are constantly enumerated. Murazhi, mura-nushi, means 'chief', tribal or family; they may have been locally what the omi were at the Court. The various official names, miyatsuko of this, murazhi of that, became in course of time kabane or titles merely, which by prescription or grant hardened into family names. All the above designations are met with in the lays, or their dai, and in addition some of the following:—

Kimi, wake, and inaki, local officers of inferior position; atahe, landowners; suguri, tsukasa, and kishi, who may have been charged with the headship of Korean immigrant colonies, and agata-nushi, who with the kuni-miyatsuko were the highest local officials. The kami, heads of departments, chiefs, or governors, seem, among other duties, to have administered frontier or remote provinces—the name was a later one than any of those just mentioned. These titles, more or less, became family kabane, like the higher designations. It is often impossible to determine whether a particular expression is a mere family name, or an official designation. The uji and kabane were distributed, in early times, in tomo, groups or corporations or associations. these there were said to be eighty, hence the expression so common in the lays, ya so tomo (it became a makura kotoba)—ya so (eighty) probably signified merely 'all'.

In these the tomo (speaking generally) were the be, or guilds (the nearest English term). There were said to be 180 of these momoyatobe, but here again the expression may mean simply 'all the be'. They are arranged by Professor Asakawa' (in his valuable Early Institutional Life of Japan) in three classes:—Personal followers of the head of the be (or tomo)—these probably were the oldest be, such as Saheki,

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Kume, Ôtomo, Monono (all mentioned in the Anthology); groups created (?) in memory of persons or events of importance, such as Takerube (after Yamatotake), Fujiharabe (after the Princess Fujihara), Chihisakobe¹, Sukushibe (after a chief of Su 調, descended from a Chinese who supplied the court with cows' milk, then a rare luxury); occupationgroups, guilds or corporations of yugebe (bowyers), yatsukuribe (fletchers), totoribe (fowlers), torikahibe (cormorantkeepers), shishitobe (fleshers), amabe (fishers), hashibe (potters), yamabe (foresters), wikahibe (swineherds), a guild of Korean scholars, &c., &c. Many be were of foreign origin, Korean or Chinese, such as tsuki no ofuto (who looked after hand-tributes, such as foreign cloth, a sort of custom-house officials?), tsukuribe (Chinese potters), yekakibe (foreign artists), nishikibe (brocade makers, or importers?), kurabe (saddlers), &c. (see N. reigns of Yuryaku, Suinin, Keikô, Ôjin, Kôgyo, &c.). Many of these became or were granted as family names—kabane, lit. a corpse, perhaps through confusion between the ideograph denoting kabane H and the similar one A denoting a habitation.1 The first class of tomo or be no doubt represented the early tribes who occupied Yamato; the second and third classes were of administrative or social origin. Their existence points to the attainment of a considerable degree of organization by the State before the Chinese reforms of 645. Of The tami constituted a the multitude we hear little. populus rather than a plebs, in part at least: the upper sections being more or less free,2 the middle, villains, possessed of some freedom, the lower consisting of slaves, often of Korean or Ainu origin. The great men exercised almost complete power over their inferiors. Oin gave the slanderer of his elder brother Takeno-uchi into slavery with

The origin of the name is quaint enough. The Mikado Yuryaku (fifth century), wishing to promote the cultivation of silk, ordered one of his courtiers to collect silkworms—kahiko. Kahiko also means 'nurslings', and he accordingly collected babies instead of silkworms. Then the Mikado told him he might bring them up himself, and made him head of the Little-one (Chihisako) be (N. I. 347).

all his posterity; Yuryaku tattooed the faces of a number of the men of Uda in Yamato, and made them slaves of the fowler be, and the descendants of another slanderer, Ne no Omi, to be bag-bearers of Chinu, a royal farm steward. Presents of men and women, too, frequently passed between the Korean States and Japan and China. Slaves could be bought and sold, but there was no slave-trade or market. Debtors, children, &c., could be sold into slavery. They are frequently mentioned in the Nihongi, and in the laws and edicts of the period, and are always regarded as vile creatures. Slaves were not seldom offered as sacrifices to the gods, or buried alive with their dead masters.

In 645 the old *kabane* did not altogether cease to exist. In 684, under Temmu, eight new ones (*hassei*) were created, most of which are mentioned in the *dai* of the *uta*. They were *mahito* (patricians, of royal kinship), *asomi* (courtiers), *sukune* (nobles), *imiki* (ritual officials), *michinoshi* (learned men, artists, &c.), *omi* (Court officials), *murazhi* (district officials), and *inagi* (perhaps gentry). See also cap-ranks, N. II. 281, and Fl. 310, notes.

Under the Mikado Saga (810–23) the Shinsenshôshiroku was compiled (List of new-made kabane), giving the names of 1,182 clans or families, of which about twenty still exist; among these the four well-known ones, Minamoto, Taira, Tachibana (descended from former Mikados), and Fujihara, said to be descended from a pre-Jimmu god, but virtually from the Mikado Tenchi (668–71).

In 645 it was decreed that the progeny of nobles should belong to the father, of non-nobles to the mother, and the mixed progeny of slaves should be slaves. Mean people (iyashito) are keepers of graves, servants, and slaves; but there must have been a free class, not soldiers, intermediate between slaves and nobles.

Marriage in Early Japan was simply cohabitation. There was no word for 'wife' or for 'marriage'; in modern Japanese all words relating to the subject of marriage are Chinese. There was, however, a word for 'spouse (tsuma), the etymology of which is unknown. The Sovran took his tsuma usually from among his own kinsfolk: often he

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espoused a half-sister (by the father's side usually), and this practice probably obtained among the nobility.1 A man might have many 'tsuma' in different places,2 remote from each other; their children would rarely know each other, and often not their father; hence marriage with half-sisters not by the mother's side did not appear objectionable. A peculiarity of the system was that—as often appears in the lays-a man visited his 'tsuma', who remained in her parents' home, usually by stealth, perhaps until a child was born. The wife who lived with her husband had a separate apartment, often a separate dwelling or pavilion of her own. What her rights were, if any, is unknown. With the spread of Chinese civilization her position improved. Lay 62, with its preface, is a curious illustration of this advance. At some time during the Manyô period it was the custom for the bride's parents to send a koto (flat harp) to the groom (adzuma koto = my wife-harp); on separation this was returned, koto to [koro] wo watasu = change koto-place. Noble and mean could not intermarry; caste customs rigidly restricted the connubium. In some cases women could be heads of families, even bastards might, or strangers in blood, by adoption, a practice that became more common in later times. There were rules governing adoption, but these seem to have been of Chinese origin. So also the rule that the husband must be fifteen and the wife thirteen.

During the greater part of the Manyô age the dead were buried. The old word for 'bury' was hafuru. The bodies of persons of rank or importance were not at once interred. They were deposited in a coffin or sarcophagus, apparently, within a stone enclosure (araki), to be preserved from the attacks of wild beasts. Later, a hut was built, as a sort of mortuary chapel; around the place of deposit were built

¹ In the reign of Henry VIII, the Pope, to solve a political difficulty, was willing that the king's illegitimate son, the Duke of Richmond, should marry his half-sister, Mary. I believe there are instances in European history of the marriage of uterine brothers and sisters being contemplated for political purposes.

² See the Kojiki lay following after lay 264.

other huts for watchers, also for mourners; sometimes a 'palace' was erected for a prolonged mourning, which might extend over years. During eight days and nights a mourning ritual was observed, part of which consisted in chanting or reciting the deceased's nenia. The watching of the corpse is thus alluded to in one of two tanka on the death of Prince Yamato-dake (A. D. 113).

Nadzuki no ta no ina-gara ni i-nagara hahi-motorofu tokorodzura. Among the rice-fields,
where bare are the ricehaulms standing,
among the rice-haulms
creepeth coiling ever
the five-leaved plant of yam!

That is, the mourners wander endlessly about the fields near the chapel (or tomb), like the coils of the creeping yam among the rice-stubbles. There is a word-play on the two inagara (K. xxxiv. 221); nadzuki = ina tsuki. To preserve the body it was rubbed (in some cases?) with cinnabar. The coffin was of wood at first, later of stone. There was a be of stone coffin-makers—ishitsukuribe (cf. Taketori, the First Quest, infra). At the proper time the true funeral took place after a very elaborate fashion. A description of the rites practised at various epochs will be found in Mr. Lay's excellent paper on the subject (T. A. S. J. xix, p. 509). The rear of the procession was brought up by followers bearing flags of blue, red, and white, such as are mentioned in lay 24. The araki above described may have been converted into or replaced by the stone cell and passage, as described in Mr. Gowland's valuable memoir on 'Dolmens and Burial Mounds in Japan' (Archaeologia, lv).

In the *Manyôshiu* ancestor-worship is scarcely, if at all, referred to. In the *Kojiki* it is not, I think, mentioned. In the *Nihongi* there is a definite instance under the year A. D. 681 of worship of the spirit of the Mikado's grandfather. There can be no doubt that true ancestor-worship in Japan is of Chinese importation, as are most other beliefs and practices, in greater or less measure, even of archaic

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Japan, as they have come down to us. On this point Dr. Aston's Shintô should be consulted.

In the Introduction to his translation of the Kojiki Professor Chamberlain has drawn an elaborate picture of the life of the early Japanese. But the picture seems too harsh in outline and colour to represent truly the social state of Japan during, at least, the latter part of the Manyô age. The material of their clothes, we are told, was cloth made of hemp and of the inner bark of the paper-mulberry (Broussonetia), which was dved by being rubbed with madder, woad, and other tinctorial plants. But in the Nihongi, under the year 681, we read that in that year a sumptuary law, in ninety-two articles, was established which enacted the regulation according to a scale given in the statute of 'the costumes of all, from the princes of the blood down to the common people, and the wearing of gold and silver, pearls and jewels, purple, brocade, embroidery, fine silks, together with woollen carpets, head-dresses, and girdles, as well as all kinds of coloured stuffs' (N. II. 350).1

The dress of both sexes seems to have consisted essentially of an upper open-sleeved mantle, and a lower, more or less ample, sometimes (in women's dress) trailing skirt, with skirts or petticoats underneath, confined by girdles, the knotting of which as a token of fidelity is often alluded to. Socks of stuff or silk were worn under lacquered or leather boots, and on state occasions hats or caps of various sizes and shapes were worn by the men. The hair was bound up in a topknot by boys, in a knot on either side the head in men; the girls let their tresses fall over their shoulders; the tsuma were a kind of topknot and flowing locks combined. Most of these details are referred to in the lays; for a more complete account Professor Chamberlain's description must be consulted (K. xxx). One custom frequently mentioned in the lays is the wearing by either sex of wigs or false hair (katsura or kazura 2), and chaplets

¹ See also the curious lay (203) of the Old Man and the Nine Virgins.

² The Nippon Kôkogaku says that the nature and purpose of these are unknown. They may have been rather coverings for the hair, than true wigs or false hair (kanoji). Perhaps chaplets are always meant.

or garlands of flowers (chiefly cherry-sprays) or of leaves (autumn maple); depending armlets, too, were worn of small threaded oranges, as well as bead-laces and such-like ornaments. The beads, tama, were awabi pearls, agates, cornelians, steatites, &c., shaped into cylinders, carved and pierced, or into claw-like curved forms (Baron H. von Siebold's Notes on Japanese Archaeology, also Aston's Shintô). A head-dress, hire, is often mentioned, either a scarf or a loose wimple, κρήδεμνον. Horses (for riding), the barndoor fowl, cormorants for fishing, dogs, deer, and whales are often referred to in the lays. Boats are frequently mentioned, but neither in the Manyôshiu nor in the Nihongi (I think) is there any reference to sailing craft. They are always propelled by poles or sculls fore and aft. Only a few birds are mentioned—dotterels, pheasants, coppercocks, wild geese, teal, grebes, wild-duck, hawfinches, the owl, the uguisu, and the hawk. Hawking was a favourite amusement, and is described in the Nihongi as early as A.D. 352. Hunting with the bow and arrow was another diversion of the better sort of folk; so was net-fowling, and netting fish, and angling. now, the view of a fishery was a delight to the (more or less conventionally) nature-loving Japanese. Trout were esteemed, so were crabs and various shell-fish (Melania, clams, Turbinidae sp., &c.); whales were caught-pretty often, it would appear, as a makura kotoba turns upon the feat—and no doubt eaten. Rice is scarcely mentioned in the Anthology, millet rarely, some sort of Brassica more often, lettuce once or twice, various seaweeds 1 (apparently much prized), a species of Pueraria, and a sort of yam (Dioscorea); but no fruit except the orange, tachibana, which does not seem to have been eaten, though in one lay (231) there is a reference to it implying its use as an article of food. The flowers, too, are very few-the pink, the bush-clover (Lespedeza), the cherry blooms and plum blossoms, the lily, and one or two more are all that are noticed in the lays.

¹ The ancient Chinese ate pondweeds and duckweeds, boiling them as vegetables. Water-plants, it is said, are never poisonous.

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The use of sails is not mentioned, as already stated, in the Manyôshiu or in the Nihongi; communication by sea must have been long and perilous. Journey by land was almost equally dangerous. In the Anthology the hardships and discomforts of travel are a subject of bitter complaint—to follow what were mere tracks at the best through the dense woods and rugged mountainous country of central Japan, obliged to sleep under a tree, or amidst the bush, or under a hastily run-up shelter, exchanging for these toils the social pleasures of the capital—the only place in the realm where such were possible—must have been felt by the courtiers appointed to some provincial post as a most repulsive part of their duty. Their complaints are often very undignified whines.¹

The dwellings, including the 'palaces' of early Japan, were simple wooden structures, usually built on a platform or area of beaten earth 2, and surrounded by a fence, often of wattled bush-work, sometimes of strong palisades with

gateways.

A new 'palace' was deemed necessary by most of the Mikados on their succession, up to the Heian period (end of ninth century). The previous death probably put the palace under tabu. The 'palace' consisted of a number of wooden structures more or less connected, and surrounded by defences pierced with twelve gates, apparently, towards the close of the Manyô period. There were no sliding, but opening doors, mats were used, but neither tables nor chairs, and either separate sleeping chambers or toko (alcoves) existed. The niwa, or forecourt of the compound, seems, in part at least, to have been used as a garden. In the sato, or villages near the capital, there may have been terraces of dwellings occupied by officials of the court and members of the great families. Bridges

Travellers not unfrequently died of hunger and hardship. Several of the Manyô lays turn upon the finding of the corpses of such ill-starred wayfarers. As late as the sixteenth century Sasa Norimasa, with all his family, died of starvation in his flight from his foes, near Mt. Yarigatake (as to which peak, see the Rev. W. Weston's Japanese Alps).

² Compare the m. k. awoniyoshi as applied to Nara.

of timber were sometimes coloured red, but nothing is said in the Anthology about any decoration, exterior or interior, of the habitations of the period. Tiles, however, are mentioned once (lay 203).

Beyond City-Royal no town is named as such in the Manyôshiu, nor is the designation given of any village, or specifically, of any shrine or temple.

It may be doubted whether the reforms of A.D. 645 increased the prestige or power of the Mikado, or indeed was of any particular political advantage to the state. It favoured the spread of Buddhism, and organized an aristocratic bureaucracy, of the new ranks of which some brief account is necessary. The principal innovation was the introduction of the system of i or Court ranks, and kwan. grades of office. In 634 the eighty kabane had already been reduced to eight-Mahito, Asomi, Sukune, Imiki, Omi, Michinoshi, Murazhi, and Inaki; thus degrading the Omi and Murazhi and exalting the Inaki. With the reform the tomo disappeared, not probably all the be, nor the kabane or uji, but power was taken from them. Six ranks, each two-graded, were established about 604. In 685 six ranks were instituted for princes, each divided into dai (great) and kwô (broad), and twenty-four for high officials, similarly divided—in all sixty grades of rank. Eventually the number of ranks was reduced in number, but their subdivision was carried further. As is seen in the dai to the later lays the full designation of a person included his rank and office, and was given with his uji alone in the case of a person of high rank. The administrative changes (kwan) were radical. There were three supreme councillors (daijin), sa (left) and u (right), and naijin (a sort of high chancellor). Later there was a daijo daijin, or prime councillor. Below the daijin came the daibu (great ones), who superintended and occupied the higher posts in the eight Boards created in 649, to which, in effect, correspond the existing Departments of the Imperial Government. A full statement and discussion of the early institutions of Japan, with a description of the reforms initiated in the seventh century, and a com-

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parison of the new system with that of China, on which it was modelled, will be found in Prof. Asakawa's valuable work cited above.

In the Fifth Book, and in the last four books, the prevailing tone of the lays is Buddhist; in the remaining books Shintô. But not many references are made to religious practices, and these are of a very cursory nature; nor (beyond those of a few of the primal ancestral deities) are the names of any gods given, nor is there any mention of images or pictures of any of the gods. Neither, as already stated, is there any clear reference to ancestral worship, nor to invocation of the spirits of the dead, to be found in the Manyôshiu, I believe, nor in the Kojiki or Nihongi; indeed, save in a few later instances, ancestors are scarcely alluded to unless in connexion with the Mikado, the worship of whose ancestors as gods is alone enjoined. Even the Greater Purification (ohoharahi) is unnoticed—in the chôka, at all events; the Lesser Purification (misogi 1) is alluded to occasionally, as in lay 84. The Mikado, at death, went back to heaven; as for other folk, Shintô seems to have had no definite place for them, good or bad, but merely a rubbish-world (yomi), a dark under-place into which all pollutions and polluted things -perhaps all things inferior to the Mikado-were indiscriminately swept.

In Japanese cosmology the idea of a firmament is not distinctly formed. Sora means the space occupied by the atmosphere, above which was ama, heaven, conceived of as having a material nature; indeed it is treated very much as an earthly land. But this is not a firmament. The relation of the stars, sun, moon, and planets to this ama are nowhere (so far as I know) set forth in the ancient cosmology of Japan. About these, as about most other

A good account of both these lustrations is given in Dr. Aston's Shintô. They consisted essentially of a ritual, which in time became complicated and is still practised; prayers of hope rather than gratitude—one is cited at the opening of this section—and offerings of cloth and other symbols, which were finally committed to a running stream.

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natural appearances, the Old Japanese seem never to have had any curiosity, or, indeed, to have paid any attention whatever to them.

The mass of the people—tami, field-hands—appear to have been serfs or slaves, though freemen existed, subject, however, to the uncontrolled will of the great folk, especially in the remoter and frontier provinces. tenance-fiefs of houses, up to many thousands, are frequently mentioned in the Nihongi; and the tenants of these houses must have given labour and tax in kind to the feoffee, in fact they were practically his serfs or villains. There was, however, no real feudalism; the organization remained tribal, in essence, up to Bakufu times—more or less so, indeed, up to the abolition of the han in 1871. There was no law, no moral code (apart from Buddhism and Chinese innovations); the purifications, originally of a purely physical character, came by extension to serve as a moral system, especially in reference to ritual offences, and offences of a kind that have been universally considered as shocking to human sense, or grossly incompatible with an existing form of human society. Crimes or sinstsumi (the etymology of the word is unknown 1)—fell into two categories, heavenly sins and earthly sins; the latter such as have been committed since the advent of Jimmu. Sir E. Satow has propounded an attractive theory of these, turning upon the probability that the earliest Asiatic immigrants to Izumo were tillers of the soil, while the aboriginals were hunters and fishers. For long the two races did not intermingle, and as they came from beyond the sea, where sea and sky touch, they acquired a celestial character, and their particular offences (which would be infringements of the ritual they brought with them and offences of an agricultural character) thus came to be regarded as 'heavenly', while acts of violence, grossness, and the like (a terrible list is given of them in the Kojiki) were appropriated to the aboriginal quasi-savage hunters and

¹ It may be *tsumi*, to pluck—i.e. to rob harvest-fields, a gross agricultural crime. Such a derivation would lend support to Sir E. Satow's theory mentioned below.

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fishers and termed 'earthly' offences. A full account of Shintô¹ will be found in Sir E. Satow's papers in the T. A. S. J., supplemented by an excellent one by Professor Florenz in the same series, and the whole subject is treated at length in Dr. Aston's work, already often cited.

A brief examination is here opportune of the great reform of the seventh century, which effectually sinicized the state, of which, nevertheless, the unforeseen consequence was the establishment of the military tyranny of the Shôgunate in the twelfth century. The government was remodelled upon the plan of that of China, with differences of no great importance—the central administration consisting of eight ministries or shô, as under:—

Nakatsukasa, dealing with matters appertaining to the Mikado, and with the archives of the state.

Shikibu, superintending Court rites and the civil hierarchy. Jibu, regulating matters connected with the nobility and etiquette.

Mimbu, a sort of Ministry of the Interior.

Hyôbu, Ministry of War.

Győbu, Ministry of Criminal Justice.

Okura, Ministry of Finance.

Kunai, Ministry of Court Finance.

These were subordinate to a High Council, consisting of three Daijin or great ministers, of the left (Sa), of the right (U), and a third, Naijin (not to be mistaken for the later Naidaijin), the first Naijin being Kamako himself². The Daijin were assisted by two kuni-hakase, or state doctors or learned men. At a later period the High Council included three nagon or privy councillors (dai, chiu, and shô), a sangi (chancellor), and a naidaijin, who seems to have replaced the naijin.

¹ It is worth mentioning that in both Chinese and Japanese mythology the creation or shaping of the world (or part of it) is accounted for, and also the origins of the gods; the creation or development of man is not, apparently, noticed. Further information on many of the points mentioned in this section will be found in the notes to the lays.

His position seems to have been much that of a high chancellor.

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In the $sh\hat{o}$ we find $ky\bar{o}$ (principal minister), taiu (vice-minister), $sh\hat{o}yu$ (second vice-minister), with various kami (heads of departments), sakwan (deputies), suke (assistants), and other officers.

The reform was a consequence of the fall of the Soga clan, the story of which is well told in N. II. 189-94, and was effected by a Prince, Naka no Ohoye, and a member of the Nakatomi family, Kamako, better known as Kamatari (614-97), the founder of the great Fujihara house, with the help of a learned Chinese named Min, versed in the policy of the Thang dynasty, and Takamuko, a Japanese who had studied administration in China. The Chinese system, however, was designed to preserve the dynasty; the Japanese reform was not needed for that purpose, and became merely a more efficient means of taxing the people. It may well be doubted whether, on the whole, it was not injurious rather than beneficial to the state.

Such was the central government. The local administration (outside of, partially within, the kinai or Home Provinces) depended upon a division of the territory into kuni (provinces), kohori (counties), sato (districts of fifty houses), and kumi (associations of five families). The counties consisted of—(a) three sato; (b) four to thirty sato; (c) thirty-one to forty sato. Of the lower divisions there were elders who do not appear to have been elected but nominated; the kohori were placed under governors known as ganrei, and the kuni under lords (kami), assisted by deputies (suke), secretaries (hangwan or matsurigoto-bito), and clerks (fumibito). All these designations are met with in the dai (arguments) prefixed to the lays.

It may be said, generally, that the business of the local officials was to collect taxes (in kind), and increase the amount by facilitating increase of population to enable more and more land to be cultivated. In the result the courtiers came to live more and more upon the taxes drawn from the provinces; outlaws of all kinds increased and migrated to the *kinai*, where taxation was less onerous, or became dependents of the nobles, who themselves not seldom robbed the convoys of provincial taxes. These

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nobles were miko and ohokimi (princes-very numerous owing to the polygamy of the Mikados), and omi, the higher nobles and officials. Many of the kimi were poor-in A.D. 733 salt and rice were distributed to two hundred and thirteen of them, who were at the same time scolded for their laziness. Thus began the dependence of court on country, which finally reduced the former to a mere shadow so far as political power was concerned. The outer lords, by themselves or their representatives, obtained the control of the provinces bordering upon the advancing frontier. In A.D. 889 Prince Takamochi obtained the family name Taira, and in 941 Prince Tsunemoto was granted that of Minamoto. The centre of political power moved to a position on the battlefield between these two famous clans, out of which emerged the Shôgunate of 1192 and the system of military government which culminated in the absolute tyranny of the Bakufu, 1603-1868, and, save for a glimpse of the West in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, maintained the Japanese spirit in bondage until recent years.

Note.—In an interesting essay on the kabane, printed in the Shigaku Zasshi of Dec. 14, 38 Meiji (1905), K. Nagata Hôgakushi explains the use of this curious term (corpse) for family or clan as due to a Japanese reading of the character H, lit. bone or skeleton, used in connexion with ancient Korean designations of [rank or] relationship. He finds that the term was not used before the age of Ôjin and Nintoku (A. D. 270-399), after the historical commencement of Korean intercourse with Japan. Of the three very ancient kabane—Omi, Murazhi, and Atahe (rank-names originally), he also finds a Korean derivation (atahe may be of Ainu origin), although, with the aid of the facile etymologies of Japan, these are usually explained as ohomi (grandee), muranushi (village headman), and ata (or ate) hiye (he or e), noble elder brother.

§ XII. DECORATION OF JAPANESE VERSE

In relation to the decoration of Japanese verse it must be remembered that archaic Japanese poetry had but scanty means of embellishment at its command. The language was the court-colloquial of the time, slightly poetized by such devices as the use of 'empty' or enclitical words, shi,

mo, ka, ya, yo, na, and the like, or compounds of these, employed much as similar words are employed in Homeric verse-not, however, as mere chevilles, for they round off the sense as well as the metre; by repetitions of refrain-like phrases, parallelisms resembling those of Hebrew poetry; and inversions, such as are more common in our own than in any other modern verse. But the main decoration of archaic Japanese poetry, wholly intrinsic in character, was of a quite unique quality. The elements were word-plays, sound-plays, and makura kotoba, or pillow-words. The latter form of embellishment is discussed in the next section. In estimating the value of the decoration of Japanese verse we must remember that the poet of Old Nippon could not resort for ornamental purposes either to classical metre, or to romantic rhyme, or to Teutonic alliteration, and that, on the other hand, the abundance of homophons in his language tempted him irresistibly to the use of word and sound jugglery. The expectation of rhyme and metre was replaced by the expectation of a double or even a triple meaning conveyed by a single sound, or rhyme-wise within the verse by difference of meanings combined with identity of sounds. The latter combination, of course, is a mere jingle, but so, after all, is Western rhyme to a Japanese, so would it, probably, have been to a Greek ear; but the former kind is often very ingenious and always quaint, generally seriously intended as a grace, not as a mere joke (kyôgen) or a piece of humour (share). It is not difficult to understand how pleasantly such devices would impress a Japanese of the eighth century accustomed to and expectant of the devices of the literary craftmanship of his time. They can, of course, hardly ever be rendered or even imitated in a translation, though some dim suggestion of their value is occasionally possible.

To illustrate the foregoing remarks a few instances may be cited and explained.

In Lay 210 the first eleven verses are merely a preface to the syllable $h\acute{e}$ of Héguri Hill. $H\acute{e}$ here is probably a contraction of $uh\acute{e}$, upper, but $h\acute{e}$ also means folds or DICKINS. II

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layers, and the prefatial lines involve a reference to empiled tiger-skins described poetically as the trophy of a supposed husband or lover, absent on service in Korea.

In another lay a similar preface introduces 'Futakami' Hill where futa means twain—the Twain-peaked Hill. But to futa as 'twain' no poetical expression can easily be applied, hence the poet treats it as its homophon futa, 'a lid,' which is adorned by a description suitable to the lid of a lady's toilet-box (kushige), or of a kushige of some goddess, such as are mentioned in many myths, or in märchen like that of Urashima, lay 105.

A third instance is furnished by a tanka beginning with:—

Wotomeraga umi wo kaku tofu Kase no yama.—

Here Kase is the name of a hill, it also means a spool or hank of hempen yarn, and by resorting to the homophon the decoration can be introduced 'the hill men Hank-(that spinsters wind) hill call'. The order of words in Japanese allows of this embellishment being introduced without confusion of the phrase.

The main defence of these devices is that they extend the range of suggestiveness; a cardinal principle of Japanese poetry, not carried to an unpleasing excess in the Anthology, being the utmost compression of language combined with the utmost development of meaning, not stated but (inevitably) implied; as when a verse ends with a dash—, but yet is so expressed that the dash is more eloquent than words.

Even in the tenth century these devices had become conceits that absorbed almost all the poetic power of Japan; later still the tanka or five-line sonnet itself was shortened, and replaced by a sort of epigram or tercet of seventeen syllables, that was rather a suggestive title to a poem, than itself a poem. The following comparison, in which the same motive, love of home, is treated by two Western poets and their brother of the farthest East, will show the

'skeletonesque' trill which the latter came to regard—not without some justice, nevertheless—as poetry.

Lamartine has somewhere the charming if rather sentimental lines:—

Ce sont là les séjours, les sites, les rivages, Dont mon âme attendrie évoque les images, Et dont, pendant des nuits, mes songes les plus beaux, Pour enchanter mes yeux, composent leurs tableaux.

Locker-Lampson, in 'My Confidences', puts the matter in a more homely, perhaps a more telling way—citing William Allingham:—

Four ducks and a pond, a grass bank beyond, a blue sky of spring, white clouds on the wing how little a thing, to remember for years, to remember with tears!

But the Japanese poet is briefer than either:-

Furu ike ya kahazu tobi komu midzu no oto! The old pond, ha! and the leap in of the frog, and the din!

I take the epigram from Prof. Chamberlain's Shirube. Many other examples will be found in his fine essay on 'Bashô and the Japanese Epigram', T. A. S. J., vol. XXX, pt. ii, some of which I have extracted and appended to the lays.¹

§ XIII. MAKURA KOTOBA OR PILLOW-WORDS

The name makura kotoba has been much discussed, but its origin and precise value cannot be certainly ascertained. Makura (maki-kura = roll-rest) means a pillow, originally a rolled up cylinder of cloth or paper, or a bundle of reeds or grass used as a head-rest. Makura no Zôshi is the title of a sort of journal (nikki) kept by the Princess Sei Shônagon, a descendant of the compiler of the Nihongi, who flourished in the eleventh century. The story runs that

¹ See *infra*, p. 309,

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the Queen-consort showed her a quantity of paper, saying that the Mikado on a similar roll had caused a history to be written. 'It will do for a pillow,' replied the Princess. 'Then take it,' cried the Queen. So the Princess took it and used it up by writing upon it all sorts of things.1 Makura-koto-' pillow-talk'-means ordinary conversation such as might be held by a bed-side. Makura kotoba has been taken to signify an introductory ornamental word at the beginning of an uta, like a pillow for the substance of the uta to rest upon, or a similar word, more or less meaningless, introduced epithet-wise in the body of an uta, mainly for metrical purposes or as a rest for the following word. Whatever the origin of the name, makura kotoba, as the Kogi justly remarks, were not employed merely as headings nor as chevilles. They were a principal characteristic of archaic Japanese verse, and, in the longer lays at least, they often lend both force and beauty to the line. Of many, however, the meaning is obscure, though there are but few of which some sort of more or less plausible or traditional explanation cannot be given. Some, possibly, are survivals from a forgotten dialect, or mispronounced imitations of Ainu or Korean expressions, that have, homophonously, acquired a Japanese meaning, not seldom assisted by the Chinese characters of the script, used as phonetics only, yet invested with a signification.

Makura kotoba, in fine, may be described as fixed epithets, belonging mainly to the word following them, as a verbal decoration, but sometimes more or less necessary to the poem as well. Not unfrequently they are comparable with the Homeric epithet, but they lack all personification, and of the wealth of imagery characteristic of classical poetry the humbler verse of Japan cannot boast.

To render possible some approach to an appreciation of the part played by m. k. in archaic Japanese verse a number of typical instances of their use are subjoined. It will be seen that they may be employed quite otherwise than as mere epithets, and that they constitute a decoration

peculiar to uta, often, as already stated, not transferable to a translation though their value may be indirectly rendered in many cases.

Among makura kotoba used as epithets one of the commonest is yasumishishi, which may be rendered 'with peace and power who rulest', debellator, κοσμήτωρ, would be good Latin and Greek equivalents. It is always found with Ohokimi, Great-Lord, an appellation, chiefly, of the Sovran. Harunohino, 'of' (or 'like') spring,' ἐαρινός, is used with kasumitaru, 'misty' in lay 105-'a misty day of spring.' Many m. k. end with this genitive particle no, a useful element to make up the five syllables of which the m. k. should properly consist-though some have only four, and a few have six. Other purely epithetical pillow-words are: awayukino, 'like foam and snow'; awayukino kihe, 'pass away like foam and snow'; chirihijino, 'like dust and dirt'-epithetical of the sentence, kadzu ni mo aranu, 'of no account,' i. e. mean, inferior, as this fleeting world is; chihayaburu, 'thousand-swift-brandish,' or, 'hilt-swift-brandish,' ἐκατόγχειρος, epithet of Kami, a god; tamakiharu (tamashii kiharu), epithet of inochi, life,—life of which the $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$ has its appointed limit (but see list of makura kotoba); kagaminasu, 'mirror-like,' epithet of miru, see, and-a mirror being a precious object in ancient Japan-of imo, my love-my love, my treasure!; kumowinasu, 'like where the clouds stay,'-tohoku, 'far off as the clouds that stay' (on the horizon); mayobikino, 'like (my love's) painted eyebrows'—applied to the arched form of a hill (Yokoyama); mikemukafu, 'what is offered to the Sovran,' epithet of mi-wa, a kind of sacred sake; sabahenasu, 'like flies in the fifth (sa) month,' used with sawaku, 'make a din,'-be in a state of commotion, buzz, busy, as courtiers in the palace, &c.; sanidzurafu, 'red-stained,' ruddy, comely-looking, epithet of lover, mistress, girl, &c.; awokumo, κελαινεφής; kamunagara, ἰσόθεος; harukazeno, ἡνεμόεις, &c., &c. Other m. k. conceal an allusion or word-play. Shiranuhino, 'of unknown flames,' as an epithet of Tsukushi may recall the story mentioned in the notes to lay 62, akikusano, 'like autumn herbs,' is used with musubishi, 'knotted,' but as

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homophonous with musubi, 'produce,' i. e. flower and fruit; amatsumidzu, 'heaven-water,' epithet of afugite, 'looking upwards,' i. e. towards the sky, hoping for rain in a time of drought; Isonokami, a tract in Yamato, where a place existed called Furu (furu = old), hence the m. k. is used with it allusively; kamukazeno, 'of divine wind (influence),' epithet of Ise, where the chief gods had their seat; kariganeno, 'like the wild-geese,' applied to kitsugi, 'come in due season' (as the wild-geese do); fuyukomori, 'winter-prisoned,' an epithet of spring regarded as confined or intercepted by winter; kusamakura, 'grass-pillow,' alluding to the hardships of travel—tabi, to which the m. k. is applied; makanefuku, 'iron-smelt,' referring to the industry of Nifu, of which place it is an epithet; amoritsuku, 'from-heavendescended-upon,' an epithet of Kaguyama, where the gods alighted from heaven; kotosaheku, 'mumble, stammer,' m. k. of Kara (China or Korea), the immigrants from which countries could only 'mumble' Japanese (compare Russian nyemetsu, dumb, as applied to Germans); momotarazu, 'less than a hundred,' a m. k. of yaso, eighty; namayomino, 'fresh savoury flesh'—as of a shell-fish (kahi), hence applied to Kahi, name of a province; nanoriso (nami-nori or 'wave-ride-seaweed'), involving the meaning na nori so, 'do not tell (my name)'-by a double quibble, na being the negative imperative particle, and also, 'name' (nomen); oshiteruya (for oshi-tateru, surge, topple), an epithet of Naniha (nami-haya), where the waves are swift; tokoyomono, 'a thing of the Eternal Land,' epithet of tachibana, orange, brought by Tazhima Mori from China (N. I. 86; see also lay 231); udzuranasu, 'quail-like,' used with ihahi-motohori, 'wander about invoking the gods,' said of followers calling on their dead lord, with crouch and cry, like quails, amid the jungle; wotomeraka, 'Is it a maid?' m. k. of Sodefuru yama (hill name), because sodefuru means to 'wave the sleeves', as one's love does when parting from her to go on an official journey.

Often the quibble is one of sound only; Ahashima (an island so named) with ahazhi, 'not-to-meet' (zh is sh voiced); arikinuno, fresh or fine garment, with ari-ari, arite (be,

be really); ashitadzuno, 'like reed-birds,' with tadzutadzushi, 'uncertain'; atekawoshi for ajikayoshi (meaning obscure), with Chika no saki—Cape Chika—here j is ch voiced; chichinomino, 'like fruit of maiden-hair tree,' with chichi, 'father'; so hahasobano, 'like Quercus dentata,' with haha, 'mother'; hototogisu, 'cuckoo,' with hotohoto, 'noise of knocking, tapping,' as at one's door by a lover or mistress.

Sometimes a whole phrase is used as a m.k.; as imogaiheni (imo ga ihe ni), 'to my lover's abode,' as a m.k. of yuku, 'to go'. Not infrequently the m.k. is applied to a part only of a word or place-name. Thus soramitsu (if taken to mean 'shining sky'), used with Yamato, applies only to yama (mountain); suganoneno, the ne, by sound-quibble applies to ne of nemogoro (nengoro), 'earnestly'; akikazeno ('like autumn-wind') used with Yamabuki no se, Yamabuki or Kerria stream, applies to the buki only (fuki voiced) 'to blow'; amadzutafu ('sky-traverse' or climb), used with Higasa no yama applies only to Hi=hi, sun.

The application is at times far-fetched, as when *ihaba-shino* ('like stepping-stones') is applied to *chikaki*, 'near,' because the stones are *near* each other; awohatano ('like a green banner,' probably corruption of ayahatano, 'like a banner of patterned stuff'), used with Osaka (little pass), osaka being confounded with osoki (osohi-ki), 'outer vest-

ment' (uhagi).

Of not a few makura kotoba the explanations are quite speculative. Such are chihayaburu, awoniyoshi, yamatadzuno, tamakiharu, kagirohi, umasahafu, momoshikino, nihimurono, sasudakeno, soramitsu, tamadzusano, natsusobiku, &c. I have contented myself with the meanings proposed in the Kogi and the Kotoba no Idzumi. Of the above and other m. k. all sorts of versions are possible owing to the distressing amount of homophony in archaic Japanese, and its still more perplexing frequency in modern Japanese. In the Kotoba no Idzumi there are, for instance, between thirty and forty words all pronounced kaku—some Japanese, some Japano-Chinese. In the domain of language Chinese is more and more victorious; of true Japanese none but the form-words, some particles and

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inflexional terminations, with a few common nouns and more or less auxiliary verbs, appear likely to survive.

Of Old Japanese the vocabulary was scanty. There were, in especial, few adjectives, and it was largely to supply this want, as well as to add variety and ornament, that makura kotoba were employed by the ancient poets, to some of whom Hitómaro, Akáhito, Omi Okura, and Yakamochi it is impossible to refuse the name. The earlier m. k. were, probably, all serious, they resumed the figurative diction of the time; even of the later ones in the Anthology few are intended as mere kyôgen—humorous quibbles. In later times, even as early as the age of Tsurayuki, the mere punning and sound quibbles became so numerous that poetry was replaced by dexterity in the manipulation of language.

Thus—to illustrate the foregoing remarks—naga was the only word for 'long'; suganoneno, matsunoneno, and similar expressions gave variety and embellishment-'long as rush-stem' (which is continually renewed), 'long as pinetrunk shall endure'; in this particular case the ne is often a sound quibble only, as with nemogoro (nengoro), but nemogoro = ne mokoro, like ne, 'enduring,' hence 'persevering,' hence 'earnest'; kihe, ke, was almost the only word expressing the idea of passing away, impermanency, and with it were combined similes involving allusions to running water, the foam on a swirling stream, the morning mists that soon disappear, falling snow that rapidly melts away, dew and rime that show only to vanish—similes due to Buddhist ideas; shiku-shiku okitsunami—'ripple-ripple-infor-ever the waves from the deep sea'-was the equivalent not altogether unsuccessful of the ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα of Greek.

The makura kotoba offer the chief difficulty in translating the lays of the Manyôshiu. Even where they are fixed epithets and nothing more, they are but rarely susceptible of being rendered by a single compound-expression in English. Their value only can be conveyed, and that in a more or less roundabout way. When they involve a wordplay, or apply to part of a place-name or word, with,

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perhaps, a word-play thrown in, they cannot strictly be rendered at all; all that can be done is so to turn the Western version as to give the reader more or less of the impression the original may have made upon the Japanese hearer of the eighth century. The same must be said of such cases as (lay 105) tsurugitachi shi, where tsurugitachi, straight-bladed sword, is applied to shi as a mere word, not to Urashima, whom the shi grammatically represents.

§ XIV. COMPARISON OF CHINESE AND JAPANESE VERSE

Of extant uta anterior to those collected in the Anthology -there are 111 in the Annals and 132 in the Chronicles, most of which are single stanzas or very short poems—only a very few possess any literary merit. The two best, one taken from each compilation, will be found at the end of the laysinfra, p. 304. The uta are mostly love- or drinking-songs. The love-songs in the Annals, according to Prof. Chamberlain's translation, are not seldom coarse 1; those in the Chronicles are free from any such taint. A few of the lays are narrative or descriptive, one in the Chronicles (N. I. 402) seems to anticipate the kaidô-kudari (travel-lays) of the Anthology and later times.² A very few are slightly martial in tone; in few are there any references to myth or legend, the lay describing the embassy of Tajima (Tazhima) to China to fetch the orange-tree 3 is, perhaps, historical. There is a loyal ode or two (N. II. 142) but no fervour of mikadoism is discernible anywhere in either the Annals or the Chronicles, the odes contain only passing allusions to natural beauty, but scarcely a line in praise of vernal blossoms or autumnal

them appear.

¹ Not, I venture to think, so coarse as the Latin translations make

² In which the 'names of places along the route are ingeniously [by word-play] woven into the narrative in such a way as to suggest reflexions suitable to the circumstances' (Aston, Hist. Jap. Literature, p. 172). The michiyuki or journey-verses of the Nô no utahi are of similar character.

³ See N. I. 186—the uta is altogether Chinese in tone—and also lay 231.

tints, the stock themes of Japanese natural poetry and art, from the seventh to the twentieth century.

The themes of the Kojiki and Nihongi lays are then largely different from those of the Anthology, and when the same, the latter are differently treated. But the diction in all the lays is practically identical, the use of the wordplays similar, and there is no pillow-word in the Annals or Chronicles that is not found in the Manyôshiu. Very few of the lavs collected in the latter are destitute of meritthough not seldom the merit is not great—and all are utterly free from coarseness of phrase or idea. It seems clear, therefore, that the compiler of the Anthology was chiefly influenced in his choice by purely literary considerations, and these could only be of a Chinese character. latter books especially, above all in the last four books, and more particularly in the compositions of Omi Okura and of Yakamochi himself the Chinese 'climate,' so to speak, of the verse is unmistakable, while the means of expression are native and its proper decoration is preserved. The pentasyllabics and heptasyllabics may have been an imitation of shi or Chinese poetry, where both, especially the former, are common, but not the alternation, nor the final heptasyllabic couplet of the uta which are not found in shi. The couplet briefly and often very effectively states the kuse-gist or conclusion or moral of the whole piece.

The oldest lays seem to have preserved what was, perhaps, the original native form of irregular verse; long ere the close of the Manyô period, however, most of the more ancient lays had become modified by continuous manipulation into a regular penta-heptasyllabic form. No attempt was made to introduce the Chinese decoration of rhyme, though rhyme is not, by any means, impossible in Old Japanese. Word-juggling was probably an imitation, in part at least, of Chinese devices, and so to some extent were the prefatial epithet-like introductions to words or even parts of words, as in lay 210 1, where He[guri] yama is

¹ Both in the Annals and the Chronicles similar introductions are found in the lays to this very syllable he (fold), part of the hill-name Heguri. A sort of like preface exists in the Ode on the Value of

brought in at the end of a long epithetical exordium or introduction.

The makura kotoba or pillow-words appear to be indigenous to Japan. Some of the allusive ones such as shiranuhi (lay 61) can be partially paralleled in Chinese poetry; the Lisao 1, for instance, is full of historical and mythical allusions, but these are not contained or resumed in a single expression. Most Chinese epithetical words, like the Japanese, refer to history, mythology, popular customs and traditions, and natural phenomena or events. The metaphors, similes and figurative expressions generally of both poesies are drawn from like sources, but though resemblant are not by any means identical in form or content. When the oldest of the Manyô lays, as we have them, were written down, perhaps as early as the sixth century, it is certain that Chinese learning was not unknown at the Japanese Court; to persons of culture in the seventh century Chinese literature must have been familiar. The poetry of the Shih King, of the latter portions of the Chou and earlier Han periods, and of the first century of the great Thang dynasty covering the period of production of the earlier poems of Lipeh 2 and Tufu 3 must have been known to Yakamochi and his brother poets.

Nevertheless in the *Manyôshiu* I find very little real resemblance to the poetry of ancient and mediaeval China—so far as my limited knowledge of Chinese poetry extends.

Friendship in the Shih King (no. 5 of second decade of second part of Lesser Festal Odes).

¹ The Lisao Et ('Removal of Sorrow') was composed by Khü Yüan (or Khü Ping) in the fourth century B.C. to 'convey instruction to his Sovereign's mind' (in the words of Mayers)—'who had unjustly dismissed him—by clothing the lessons of antiquity in a lyrical form'. A complete translation of this fine poem, and of the Nine Odes of similar import by the same disgraced minister, by Pfizmaier, will be found in the Denk. Kais. Akad. d. Wissensch., Wien, 1852.

² A.D. 699-762. The most famous of Chinese poets. Mayers, No. 361, Giles's *Biograph. Dict.*, No. 1181, and *Poésie de l'époque des Thang*, by the Marquis D'Hervey-St.-Denys.

³ Contemporary with, and inferior only to, Lipeh. See Mayers, No. 680; Giles, loc. cit., 2058; and *Poésie des Thang*.

The language of China is impersonal like that of Japan, and this identity of form involves similarity not only of phraseology but of treatment. But the themes differ considerably. The ancestral and sacrificial poems of the Shih King are not paralleled in the Manyôshiu; the social and historic events of China, so often the subjects of Chinese poetry, were quite different in character from those of Japan; the remonstrances addressed to the Chinese Emperor or Prince were never addressed to the Mikado, who was not an officer of Thien (Heaven) but a direct descendant of the gods, an incarnation of very godhead, who could do no wrong. Martial preparations and expeditions, weddings, wine feastings, praise of hunting with dogs, abstractions, evils of slandering and false friendship, incompetent officials and similar subjects are Chinese but not Japanese themes, while yearnings of parted lovers, longings for home on the part of officials dispatched to distant posts, are common themes of the poets in both countries. Even the naturesubjects of the two poesies were not alike. Spring and autumn, the time of sowing and the time of gathering were, of course, subjects of song in both lands, but in China the peach blossom, in Japan the wild-cherry blossom was the symbol of spring, and in the Middle Kingdom the momiji or ruddiness of autumn foliage was much less an object of poetic admiration than in Japan. The didactic and Buddhist pieces of the latter book of the Manyôshiu are distinctly Chinese in thought and treatment: But the one or two märchen (the story of Uráshima, lay 105, the Tanabata legend, lay 102, and, perhaps, the tale of the Maid of Unahi) of Chinese birth are dealt with in an original manner. On the whole the poetry of the Manyôshiu appears to me more poetic than any Chinese poetry I have read. It is less sustained, less intellectual, less varied, in some way less interesting, but we have only a very small body of Japanese poetry anterior to the ninth century to compare with a very great volume of Chinese verse. In the lovelays of the Manyôshiu, in especial, I think we find more grace and feeling, though perhaps, in a sense, more conventionality than in the work of the Thang poets. Much

of the advantage of Japanese poetry is due to the immense superiority of ancient Japanese as a means of expression to Chinese. Chinese is a skeletal tongue, a staccato sequence of formless vocables or double-vocables, brief without being terse, for the reader is left largely to guess the relations between the ideas expressed, and depending very much upon the visual comprehension of the characters. The jointures and articulations of the phrase or sentence are bare intervals leaving open crevices in the construction which, to a Western reader, remain unsightly. A Chinese poem, in a word, is rather a collection of notes for a poem, or a telegraphic summary of one, than a completed work.

Far other is the case of Old Japanese poetry. Every uta is a complete construction, all the elements of which are deftly combined into a single whole. It is, indeed, too complete, the sentences run into each other as the clauses of the sentence do, and the result is sometimes a certain clumsiness and confusion of style—the defect of Japanese verse, in a word, is the opposite of that found in the verse of the Middle Kingdom. The Chinese script in which the lays were of necessity written down is an obstruction, a veil, not a visual aid, a visual part of the verse as in Chinese. The allusions are brought in with more grace and skill, the suggestiveness is finer, the crude commonplace of Chinese is not absent but is less frequent, the figurative language has more soul and feeling, and the decoration is, usually, more suitable and more pure. The partial inflexion of the Japanese verb gives a pliancy and a sense of life absent from Chinese, the particles and expletives are more frequent and varied, the whole language is more plastic, more sensitive to the thought of him who uses it. Even the word-jugglery, always unattractive to us, is least so in Old Japanese, where it is used mainly as a decorative means of combining several values, often of a pivotal character, in a single expression. Lastly, the makura kotoba, as already explained in the section dealing with them, at least approach the dignity and beauty of the Homeric epithet, nearly all of them could easily be rendered in epic Greek compounds, and of themselves differentiate the poetry

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of Old Japan from that of China, much to the advantage of the former.

Two instances may be given illustrative of the foregoing remarks, showing the poverty of Chinese side by side with the fullness of the island-tongue.

明	ming	漬	shing
月	yüeh	, ,	shuan
松	sung	石	shih
間	kien	上	shang
照	chao	流	liu

ming yüch sung kien chao Chinese. tshing shuan shih shang liu

meio getsu shô kan shô } Japano-Chinese. sei sen seki jô ryu

aka[ru] tsuki[ha] sugi [no] ahida [ni] ter[u] kiyo[ki] idzumi [wo] ishi [no] uhe [ni] naga[su]

The meaning is: [The] bright moon shining through [the] pine [tree] [with its] clear light-flood [the] rocky surface o'erflows.

In the pure Japanese rendering the portions in brackets show the grammatical additions. A similar function is that of the brackets in the English translation.

The second example is:

chi getsu zen tô jô Japano-Chinese. 月光 san kwô kotsu sei raku 漸忽

東西 Ike [ni] tsuki [ha] yaya 上落 higashi [wo] nobor[u] yama [ha] hikari [ni] tachimachi [ni] Pure Japanese. nishi [ni] otor[u]

> [In the] lake [the] moon slowly ascends [the] east, on the hill [the] glow quickly westwards sinks.

The words and inflexions in brackets are not in the Chinese text at all; they are partly suggested by position, but have for the most part to be supplied by the reader's own intelligence.

The latter example is a good instance of the visual decoration more or less characteristic of some kinds of Chinese poetry. (lake), it will be noticed, is opposed

to 山 (hill), 月 (moon) to 光 (sun-glow), 漸 (slowly) to 忽 (at once), 東 (east) to 西 (west), 上 (ascend) to 落 (sink). And this answers to the kuse or meaning of the poem. The spectator is supposed to be contemplating the image of the moon reflected on the waters of the lake, at full moon as the orb rises in the east, while the glow of the setting sun is disappearing in the west—the whole picture being mirrored on the lake's surface.¹

§ XV. THE ANCIENT LEARNING 2

In explaining the meanings and settling the kana (syllabic) spelling of ancient words, Keichiu, the Nániha priest, led the way. He was followed by Wokabe, who, in his turn, was succeeded by Motowori, both of whom, especially the latter, made great advances in the study of words, though they were far from exhausting the subject. would seem that the need of some syllabic method of spelling words arose in China, where at an early date it became necessary to transliterate, as well as to translate, the Scriptures of Buddhism. It may be thought, (pursues the author of the Kogi, with a certain humility,) that it is not altogether permissible to dignify the study of the language of the Manyôshiu, a work of Fujihara and Nara times, as a part of the Ancient Learning, or to seek in it the true Japanese spirit of the Age of the Gods. Chinese learning was first introduced into Japan through Kudara (a southern state of Korea), in the sixteenth year of the Mikado Ojiu (A.D. 285), and by the same route, Buddhism was introduced some two centuries later. Under the Fujihara and Nara dynasties Confucianism and Buddhism became the two most important agencies of the time. It was these influences that shaped the forms and ideas of the

¹ I wish to add that in relation to the verse of the Manyôshiu I have collected numerous parallel or analogous passages from Western literature, ancient and modern, of which I have given a very few, by way of illustration, in the notes to the lays.

² A summary of one of the sections of Kamochi's Soron. It is well to remember that this was written during the last decades of the Shôgunate.

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age, and one would expect to find them so predominant in the poetry of the Manyôshiu period that it would be vain to search for any trace of the national temper of Japan in the productions of the authors of the poems contained in that Anthology. Such, however, was not the result of this contact with the civilization of China; and one may safely look for the ancient ideas of Japan in the Manyôshiu lays. The poets and philosophers of the Fujihara and Nara periods were, no doubt, admirers and students both of Buddhism and Confucianism; and were besides deeply impressed by Chinese learning. One of the most eminent of the Manyôshiu poets, Yamanohe Okura (eighth century), has confessed in some of his productions his reverent devotion to the new religion and the new learning. Nevertheless his poems are pervaded by the ancient Japanese spirit. In lay 68 he gives eloquent expression to the pride he felt in his country and its past. As an alternative translation, the following lines are given :-

From the Gods' own foretime hath run the ancient story how heaven-shining
Yamato hath been ever of lands the fairest, of lands the most divine, in speech most em'nent of all the lands that under broad heaven lie—so have our fathers told us, and in this age we, before our own eyes see we how true the tale is, and with our own souls know we how true the tale is!

Thus the ancient spirit of Dai Nippon was fully alive in the Manyôshiu age. But from that period onwards a gradual change took place. Foreign ideas more and more predominated, and the poetic impulse found a less and less perfect expression in accordance with the pure primitive genius of the people. The poems of the *Kokinshiu* (Songs

Old and New 1), and of later collections, departed in an increasing degree from the temper and form of the *Manyô-shiu*, to which we must look if we wish to know what was the true spirit of the earlier time.

What was that spirit? The Lord of Chikuzen (Okura) shall again tell us in a lay, nevertheless, of a didactic kind, and founded, as the preface to it states, upon Chinese ethics. It is in the sixty-second of the long lays of the *Manyôshiu* that we meet with the following pithy description of the true duty of a Japanese:—

Heavenwards mounting,
thou might'st thine own will follow,
but earth thou dwell'st on
where ay the Sovran ruleth,
and sun and moon 'neath,
as far and wide as hover
the clouds of heaven,
down to the tract so scanty
the toad's realm is,
wherever sun or moon shines,
allwhere the land
our Sovran's sway obeyeth.

The philosophy of China teaches that any one who is sufficiently virtuous may become the chief of the State. Not only is this not the Japanese ideal, but our doctrine is directly opposed to it. The Mikado is Sovran because he is Sovran by divine right, not by divine appointment, nor by the grace of God, but by right of divine descent, and his people owe him loyalty because of his descent, not because they appreciate his virtue. Such is the true motive of all Japanese feeling and action. In their exposition and praise of this motive our poets show their patriotism; patriotism is loyalty to the Sovran, for Sovran and country are one. So it has ever been from the beginning of our land—the Sovran is born one and the people are his servants. This is the unique character of the land and people of Japan. A quasi-rhyme runs:—

¹ Or 'Garner of Japanese Verse, Old and New', see *infra*, p. 378.

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umi yukaba mi-dzuku kabane yama yukaba kusamusu kabane ohokimi no he ni koso shiname. (Lay 227.)

We, too, so serve our Sovran,
serve him at sea,
our sodden corpses leaving
to the salt sea leaving,
our Sovran serve by land,
our corpses leaving
amid the wild-waste bushes,
rejoiced to die
in our dread Sovran's cause.

Such are the lessons of the Ancient Learning.

It is a foreign (i.e. Chinese) delusion that the Sovran ought to humiliate himself by assuming the designation of a 'virtueless man,' as the Chinese do who dub themselves kwajin, 'men of little.' The Japanese Sovran is a monarch by ancestry, and has no need to be humble. Our country, unlike other countries (i.e. China), scorns to boast of itself as a Middle Land, the centre of civilization, and to dub other lands as barbarous. There is no object in contrasting our land with other lands. Old names for Japan, it is true, are Ohoyáshima, the 'Great Eight Islands'; Toyo-ashihara, 'Rich Reed-Plain'; Midzuho no kuni, 'Land of Shining Ears,' &c. But these names express the gratitude of the people to their land; they do not bear a comparative meaning. They have no relation to Chinese philosophy or other foreign doctrines (Buddhism), as some teachers conceive; they do but state the unquestioned excellence of Dai Nippon, as known and admitted from earliest times.

§ XVI. SHORT BIOGRAPHIES OF THE PRINCIPAL POETS

Of KAKINOMOTO NO ASOMI HITÓMARO A ,—the Ason Hitómaro of the Kaki (persimmon—Diospyros, kakitree)—little is known. In the Jimmei-jisho (Dict. of Nat. Biography) we find the following account of him:—'His family is said to have traced its descent from

Ametarashi Hikokuni Oshihito no mikoto (a son of the Mikado Kôshô, B. c. 475-393, according to the Kojiki). Another account makes him descend from the Mikado Bidatsu (572-85). He served under the Queen-Regnant Jitô (A. D. 690-6) and the Mikado Mommu (697-707). As to the ranks and offices he held nothing is clearly known. He was a fine poet, and is known as the 'Sage of the World (or Age) of Poesy.' In company with Prince Nihitabe (son of the Mikado Temmu, A. D. 673-86) he travelled through Kii, Ise, Kamiwoka and Yóshinu, as well as Afumi (Ômi), Ihami, and Tsukushi. He composed poems on every place he came to. Towards the close of life he lived in Ihami and died there. His tomb is shown in Sohegami in Yamato.'

Mr. Chamberlain adds a story, derived no doubt from his name Kakinomoto ('Under the persimmon tree'), of a warrior, Ayabe, who found a child of more than mortal splendour under one. On being asked who he was, the child answered, 'No father or mother have I, but the moon and winds obey me, and in poetry I find my joy.' The boy was adopted and became the prince of Japanese poets. If the story is not the outcome of the name, the name is of the story. In the short lays following lay 30 his death is mentioned, his own feelings on its approach, and those of his wife and some of his friends. Lays 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, are the work of Hitómaro.

YÁMABE NO SUKUNE AKÁHITO 赤人.

According to the Nihongi, Wodate was the first murazhi of the Yamabe house—so called after the company of mountain-forest wardens created in A. D. 485. The Mikado Temmu (673-86) added the rank of Sukune. There seems to be some doubt whether Yamabe should not rather read 'Yama' only. The Jimmei-jisho states that Akáhito and Hitómaro are usually bracketed together, as equal in poetic rank, under the expression 'Yama-Kaki'. At the beginning of Jinki (724-9) he accompanied the Mikado (Shômu) to Kii, later he resorted to the hot wells of Iyo. He afterwards visited the Eastland, and it was on this

journey that he composed the well-known stanza on the view of Fuji from Tago Bay 1.

Онотомо No Sukune Yakamochi 家 持—Yakamochi, a noble (Sukune) of the Ohotomo clan.

In the eighth volume of the Anthology there are four short lays by Yakamochi ascribed to the eighth year of Tempyô (736). These seem to be his earliest efforts there preserved. Up to that time he had held no office, and was doubtless quite a youth.

Five years later, in 13 Tempyô (741), we find three lays of his, in answer to two of his brother Fumimochi in praise of the cuckoo. He was then called an *uchitoneri*. In 16 Tempyô (744) he wrote six short lays on the death of Asaka no miko, a son of the Mikado Shômu (724-48); he is still designated *uchitoneri*. The *toneri* were personal attendants of noble birth upon the Mikado and Princes of the Blood. There were three ranks of them—upper, middle, and lower; the middle, or *uchitoneri*, were at first ninety in number—royal pages, they might be called—and were first created by the Mikado Mommu (697-707).

In 17 Tempyô, Yakamochi was promoted from toneri to the lower division of the junior-fifth rank. In 18 Tempyô (746) an office within the Palace was allotted to him and he was made Etchiu no kami. In 1 Shôhô (749) he was placed in the upper division of the junior-fifth rank and made a shônagon (junior Councillor). In 6 Shôhô (754) he attained a subordinate position in the War Office, and a higher one in 1 Hôji (757). In 2 Hôji (758) he was granted the rank of Inaba no kami, and in 8 Hôji (764) that of Harima no kami. In 1 Keiun (767) he was made a shôni (a middle rank officer) of the Dazaifu (Tsukushi garrison), in 7 Hôki (770) an official of the Mimbu (Home Office) and advanced to the lower division of the seniorfifth rank), in 2 Hôki (771) to the lower division of the junior-fourth rank, in 7 Hôki (776) he was created Ise no kami, in 8 Hôki (777) promoted to upper division of the junior-fourth rank and afterwards made a Daishi-Great

¹ A translation is given on p. 308, No. 19.

Teacher, an honour conferred by the Mikado upon learned or virtuous persons; in 9 Hôki he was advanced to lower division of senior-fourth rank, in 1 Yenreki to upper division of senior-fourth rank, and then to lower division of junior-third rank. In 2 Yenreki (or Yenriyaku) he was made a chiunagon, and in the eighth month of 4 Yenreki (Sept. 785) he died. His claim to descent from the Ohotomo ancestor does not appear to have been recognized, for the common term shisu is used (in the Zoku Nihongi) to signify his death. However, he must have been of good stock-his grandfather Yasumaro and his father Tabiudo were both Dainagon. After his death and before he was buried, the murder of a chiunagon, Fujihara Tanetsugu, became known, and apparently Yakamochi was suspected of having been concerned in the crime. The result was that his children were banished. But the truth becoming known -namely, that Ohotomo Tsugibito and others were the real murderers, the family was reinstated. Closing the last volume of the Anthology, we find Yakamochi's short lay composed in 3 Hôji (759) which was recited or chanted at a banquet held at the residence of Inaba. Between that date and his death, twenty-six years later, he must have composed many poems. But there was no continuator of the Manyôshiu, and they are, unfortunately, lost.

Most of Yakamochi's productions are excellent, if slightly elaborate. His poetical correspondence with Ikenushi is a most interesting example of the literary life of the Court and official world in the eighth century. There can be no doubt that we owe the Anthology to his enthusiasm and literary discernment; his own numerous contributions—they almost fill the last four of the twenty volumes—never sink to mediocrity according to the accepted standards of Japanese poetry.

Of Yamanohe No [OMI] OKURA 臣 億 良—the Minister Okura (Little grange?) of Yamanohe (Uplands) family—little is known.

In 1 Daihô (A. D. 701) he joined the embassy to China of

Ahada no Ason Mabito (the true-man, ἐνανήρ, Ahada (Millet-field) of Ason rank) as shoroku, under-secretary. In 7 Wadô (714) he is mentioned as promoted to the lower division of the junior-fifth rank. In 2 Reiki he was made Hôki no kami and in 5 Yôrô (721) he returned to Court, doubtless much to his own satisfaction, and held an office in the Eastern Palace. His contributions to the Anthology are not numerous, but display, perhaps, more enthusiasm than any of the other poems comprised in the collections. Conf. lay 68 and notes thereto.

The above short biographies of the four principal poets of the Anthology are summarized partly from the *Jimmeijisho*, partly from the *Kogi*. Their historicity is doubtful enough, for in Japan history and biography, past or present, are anything but critical, but, even when not actual, they do, we may be sure, closely imitate fact. Of Yakamochi, as the compiler or the principal compiler of the Anthology, a fuller account is given than of the others.

§ XVII. NOTICES OF THE PRINCIPAL COMMENTATORS

TACHIBANA NO MOROYE 諸 兄 (originally Katsuraki) was the son of Minu, chief minister of the Jibusho (Board of Public Worship), and grandson of Nániha Miko. In Wadô (708-715) he gained the lower division of the juniorfifth rank, and in 1 Hôji (757) he died, aged 74, with the rank of upper division of the senior-first rank. He was a great student of ancient Japanese verse, and is supposed to have had a hand in the compilation of the Anthology. His accomplishments made him a favourite with four Mikados, and in 8 Wadô (715) he obtained the restoration to his family of the surname Tachibana (orange-bush), which had been bestowed upon one of his ancestors by a former Mikado as a reward for his services, the Mikado saying, as he handed a young orange-bush to the recipient, that so beautiful-flowered and fruited, so lovely and enduring a tree, well represented the devotion and loyalty he desired to acknowledge. (Jimmei-jisho.)

MINAMOTO SHITAGAFU (or Jun) III was the grandson of a Dainagon. In 5 Tenryaku (951) Shitagafu, with four others (known as the Nashitsubo or Pear-tub Committee), was charged with the preparation of a new Anthology (Gosen Wakashiu—After Selection of Japanese Verse), in twenty vols. In 1 Owa (961) he was made Idzumi no kami, and later Noto no kami. He died, aged 73, in 1 Yeikwan (983). The authorship of the Taketori story is credited to him. Of the earliest Japanese dictionary (a sort of encyclopaedia, still of great use), the Wamyo Ruijiusho, he was the author 1. (Jimmei-jisho.)

Of SENGAKU 仙 鲁 the family name and homeplace are We hear of him first at the New Buddha Hall (Shin Shaka Dô) at Kamákura. He seems to have been a Kenritsushi (commissioner or master in criminal law), but he soon acquired fame as an expounder of Old Japanese literature and as a commentator on the text of the Anthology. During the reign of Kameyama (1260-74) he rectified the extant ten (glosses) and offered the results of his labours to the retired Mikado Saga II (reigned 1243-46). His remains were collected by a priest of Fujisawa, Yua (?), who published them under the name Shirin Saiyôsho ('Leaves from a Forest of Words'), a work containing useful notes on various old words and forms of script. The date of the postscript is 1349. His work on the Anthology, called Manyôshiu Shô (20 vols.), is exegetical, and preserves portions of many Fudoki (Histories of localities, customs, &c.) now lost. It is the earliest complete commentary on the Manyôshiu. (Jimmei-jisho.)

¹ Conf. § V of this Introduction, and the Introduction to the Taketori, infra.

famous monastery of Mt. Kôya, in Kishiu. In 1662 he again changed his abode. He then took to travelling about the country studying Japanese, Chinese, and Buddhism; finally he almost confined himself to the Ancient Learning. The fame of his scholarship came to the ears of the Prince of Mito, who invited him to Yedo, and requested him to complete a commentary on the Manyôshiu which had been begun by another scholar. Keichiu refused both invitation and request, but of his own motion wrote the Manyô Daishôki in twenty volumes ('Manyô-Notes by another craftsman'), a work full of learning, good sense, and acumen. He died in 1701 in a village near Osaka, having continually declined the repeated invitations to Yedo sent him by the Prince of Mito. (Jimmei-jisho.) See also Sir E. Satow's paper in T. A. S. J.

KAMO (or WOKABE) MABUCHI 加茂氣淵 prided himself on his descent from the god who, under the figure of an eight-clawed crow, acted as guide to Jimmu in his invasion of Yamashiro (N.I.115). He lived in the county of Fuchi in Tôtomi, whence his name. His father was warden of the shrine of Kamo. In 1733, being thirty-six years old, he went to Kyôto and became a pupil of Kada Atsumaro. After his master's death in 1736 he removed to Yedo, where he spent the remainder of his days in the acquisition of learning. Chikage, the author of the Riyakuge (so well known to students of Japanese), was his pupil. He died in 1770. He was one of the greatest of the Shintô revivalists. His chief works on the Manyôshiu are the Manyô shiusai Hiyakushuge in three vols.; the Kwanjikô (a glossary of Makura kotoba); and the Manyôshiukô (Commentary on the Manyôshiu). (This is not mentioned in the Gunsho.) Mabuchi died in 1770. (Jimmei-jisho, Gunsho Ichiran, and Sir E. Satow's article on the Revival of Pure Shintau, T. A. S. J., vol. iii 1.)

¹ In Sir E. Satow's valuable paper a full account will be found of the Revivalist leaders Kada, Motowori, Mabuchi, and Hirata, of their works, and of the epoch-making movement itself, of which they were the soul.

TACHIBANA (or KATÔ) CHIRAGE + + + was the son of a clansman of Ohowoka, Echizen no kami, who was a police officer in Yedo. Chikage at an early age began to study the Ancient Learning, and later became a pupil of the celebrated Kamo Mabuchi. He succeeded to his father's office, but without abandoning his studies, and resigned after an illness that overtook him in 8 Temmei (1788). He died the 2nd of 9th month of 5 Bunkwa (October 2, 1808). His principal work is the *Manyôshiu Riyakuge*, Short Commentary on the Manyôshiu, a mediocre performance entirely superseded by the *Kogi.* (*Jimmei-jisho.*)

\S XVIII. SHORT NOTICE OF THE AUTHOR OF THE KOGI

The following biography of the author of the Manyôshiu Kogi 古 義,1 extracted for me by Mr. Kumagusu Minakata from the Kokugakusha Denki Shûsei 國 學 者 傳 記 集成, 1903, by Ohogawa Shigerro 大川茂雄 and Minami Shigeki 南茂 樹 (Biographies of Japanese Men of Learning), may be found interesting as a record of the life, ways, and surroundings of a scholar of the close of the Tokugawa Shôgunate. KAMOCHI MASAZUMI 鹿 持 雅灣 was born in 1791, and died in 1858 in the sixtyeighth year of his age (according to the Japanese fashion of counting the years of life), in the village of Kamochi 2, in the district of Irino 人野 in the county of Hata 幡 笔 in the province of Tosa [in Shikoku]. His clan was Fujiwara, and his family name was Yanagimura 柳村 or Kamochi. His common name 通林 was Genda 源 太, afterwards changed to 藤 大 Tôda. He was descended from a Kuge (Court noble) named Masakazu 雅 量, of the Asukai family 飛 鳥 井, of the Fujiwara clan, having the official title of shôgun

² As written, Shikamochi.

¹ I have in this and previous sections given the Chinese script of the names because of their frequent occurrence in Japanese literature.

小將 or general, who fled from Kiyôto during the civil war of Ônin 應仁, 1467-77, to Tosa, where he settled in the above-mentioned village of Kamochi. His father's name (the author of the Kogi) was Yanagimura Korenori 何 惟則. He changed the name to the original one, Kamochi, which, in turn, his son Masayoshi 雅慶 changed to the earlier one of Asukai. Masayoshi's son (grandson of the author of the Kogi) Masafuru 雅古 is still alive (1903).

Of Masazumi's childhood nothing particular is known. He entered upon his studies at the age of seventeen or eighteen. In Chinese letters his master was one Nakamura; he studied the Japanese classics under a teacher named Miyaji T th, and the art of writing under another named Shimomoto To To. He then devoted himself entirely to the study of ancient Japanese learning. As he lived, however, far from any centre of culture, and was besides so poor that he could not buy books, he was obliged to borrow them from his friends. The Karô (chief Councillor) of his clan, Fukuoka, hearing of his poverty and diligence, opened his library to him, and assisted him further by buying for his use books not contained in his library. Thus Masazumi made great progress, and was engaged as teacher by many of the samurai of the clan, some of whom afterwards took a prominent part in the Restoration of Ishin 1. Among such were Takeichi Hampeida 武牛半手太 and Yoshimura Toritaro 吉 村寅太郎. At a later period he taught the former daimio of Tosa, and a collateral member of the family (renshi 迪 枝). He also corresponded with many learned men throughout the empire, especially with Shimizu Hamaomi 清水濱臣, a famous classicist of the day. As his fame grew he was rewarded by his daimio with presents of money or rice. He was made tutor to his lord's sons, and a professor in the provincial college Bumbukwan

¹ Of 1868. The expression is borrowed from Chinese literature.

文武输. He was also granted the rank of samurai. The earlier half of his life was passed in such poverty that he could only purchase a day's supply of rice at a time. One day, while going to the rice-store with a little money in his pocket, he met an old flower-seller. attracted by the flowers, he spent all his money in buying them, quite forgetting that he would have nothing to eat that day. On another occasion the thatch of his house was blown off and the rain poured through, but he only shifted his seat and continued his studies. He would pound his rice with one foot whilst at work on his books, and go on pounding long after the rice was free from bran. He held books in such honour that he would never place them on the matting of the floor; in lecturing to his pupils he always bade them never to put their books elsewhere than on zen or sambo (low tables) if there was no proper desk at hand. He was a genuine scholar 1, utterly lacking all worldly craft. His pupils, time and again, found him employment, but he could never keep it. His poverty passed human thought; when supported by Fukuoka, the latter had to supply him with brush and ink.

The following is a list of his principal works:-

萬葉集古義 Manyôshiu Kogi: The Manyôshiu explained according to its ancient (true) meaning.

Manyôshiu 品物解 Himbutsukai: Explanations of the objects (fauna and flora) mentioned in the Manyôshiu.

Manyôshiu 吾所國分 Meisho Kuniwake: Arrangement under their respective provinces of the places mentioned in the Manyôshiu.

Manyôshiu 人物傳 Jimbutsu Den: Lives of Persons referred to in the Manyôshiu.

Manyôshiu 名所考 Meishokô: Notes on the Places mentioned in the Manyôshiu.

Manyôshiu Makura kotoba Kai: Explanations of the makura kotoba (pillow-words) in the Manyôshiu.

He was the author also of a number of treatises on

¹ The stories sound like Chinese compliments rather than realities.

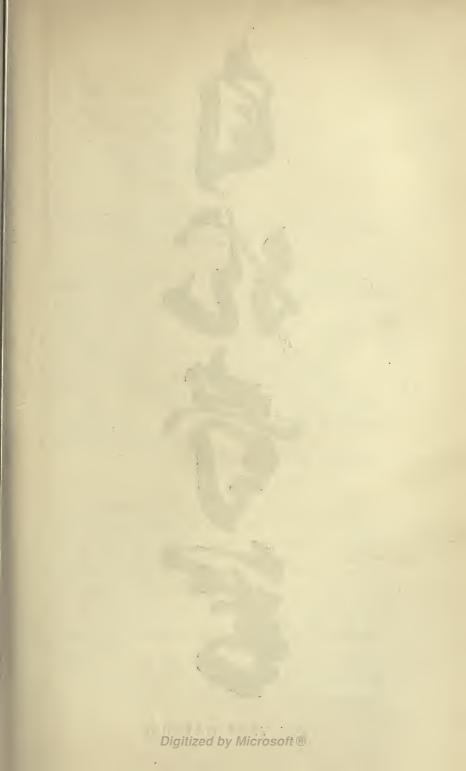
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literary composition, of an annotated edition of the *Tosa Nikki*, of a commentary on the *Nihongwaishi*, and of various other essays and short treatises on points of Japanese (as distinct from Chinese) learning, none of which are known to the present writer.

The Kogi was the magnum opus of the author, who devoted all his life to the study of the Manyôshiu, and is by far the best and most elaborate commentary on that Anthology. It was published by Imperial authority in 1879 under the direction of the Kunaishô (Ministry of the Imperial Household), in a magnificently printed edition, now very rare, comprising all the labours of Masazumi on the subject. A full description of the edition will be found in § II of this Introduction.

POSTSCRIPT

It should have been stated in the above Introduction that in the translations of the Lays the syllabic metre of the Japanese text is exactly followed.



shi zen

kyô

VOX VERA NATURAE

kike do aka nu

MANYÔSHIU

BOOK I, PART I

1

By the Sovran 1 at his palace of Asákura 2 in Hátsuse whence he ruleth all the land.

O maiden bearing
thy little basket,
O fine thy basket—
O maiden bearing
thy bamboo truel,
O fine thy truel 3,—
maiden wandering
upon the knoll-side
gathering
wild herbs for sallets—

o'er wide Yamato 4,
land of shining 5 mountains,
true lord am I and Sovran,
allwhere are men
to me obeisant,
men everywhere
to my will bow them,
wherefore thou'lt husband
call me,
and name and homeplace
tell me 6

The lay is addressed to a girl the Sovran meets out hunting, who is gathering potherbs or salads on the hill-side—perhaps an uneme or lady-in-waiting on a hunt for herbs and simples among the hills near City-Royal, a dissipation in which the early Mikados themselves often indulged. The ancient Japanese do not appear to have cultivated any vegetables. There is no envoy. Or the whole of the first part of the lay may be a preface to ko maiden, and so merely epithetical. [I use throughout City-Royal to designate Miyako, the Grand House-Place or Capital.]

¹ Yûryaku (A. D. 457-9). The Residence at Asákura did not last beyond his reign. In early days each new Sovran built himself a new palace. (See Aston's *Shintô*.) I take my

history, as the Kogi does, from the Kojiki (Ancient Annals), Nihongi (Chronicles of Japan), and the Zoku Nihongi (Continuation of the Nihongi). The latter two alone have any pretensions, and these not considerable, to historical accuracy, but at least their narrative resembles the truth.

- ² Asákura, as written, means hemp-grange. Hátsuse (in Yamato) is variously written, probably it means a head of waters, a river source, or perhaps a streamy land.
 - ³ In text fukushi or fugushi = hoguse, hera.
- ⁴ Yamato, confer Nagato, Yedo, minato (a haven, i. e. watergateway), may mean a pass or passage through or among mountains. The province is encircled by hills. But we do not know how far ancient place-names were script or phonetic alterations of older forms of Japanese, or even of Korean (invented anew or imported like Danish and Saxon names in England) or Ainu designations. (See K. 23, also Chamberlain's 'Geographical Nomenclature, &c., of Japan viewed in Light of Ainu Studies' (Mem. Lit. Coll. Imp. Univ. Japan, No. I).)
- ⁵ This may be taken as the value of the curious m. k. (makura kotoba or pillow-word, see List in volume of Texts) soramitsu. more usual meaning contains an allusion to part of the speech of Jimmu, the first earthly Sovran, to his elder brother (N. I. 110): 'I have heard from the Ancient of the Sea that in the East is a fair land encircled on all sides by blue mountains, and I think that this land will be suitable for the extension of the Heavenly Task [entrusted to me] so that its glory should fill the Universe. It is doubtless the centre of the world [a Chinese phrase]. Why should we not proceed thither and make it the Capital. The person [god?] who flew down there was Nigihaya-hi (soft-swift-sun).' The 'fair land' is Yamato which the god saw (mitsu) as he descended through the air (sora), or mi-tsu is the fair goal (of his descent in the famous 'rock-boat'). But the interpretation as 'shining' or 'glowing' or 'skyey' seems more correct. Japanese etymology, however, is a most unsatisfactory science.
- ⁶ The rendering is somewhat too imperative. In the original we have the slightly precative particle ne (negu, negafu). Up to the close of the seventh century Japan was but little sinicized, women were more on an equality with men—in 600 years before the ninth century there were eight empresses—and the Mikados were not secluded—a practice of much later origin.

In fact the less real power they had the more they—or rather their office—were revered, but there seems to have been little reality even in the reverence. It was an extremely useful political asset for any party in power.

The greater deference paid to women is well shown in the account of the interview between the mikado and the moon-

maiden in the story of Taketori infra.

During the Residence at Wokamoto in Takechi.1

2

A Royal Lay upon a View of the Land from Mount Kagu.

among its hills unnumber'd doth Amakagu² stand forth in perfect beauty—
The high browclimbing I look forth all the land o'er, the champaign showeth

Land of Yamato!

allwhere the smoke upcurling
from a thousand cabins,
allwhere the seaplain
showeth
flight upon flight
of busy sea-gulls rising—
O land to love,
fair land of rich ripe ears,³
Yamato, fertile, fruitful!

¹ The Sovran is Jomei (629-41) or the Queen-Regnant Saimei (655-61). Jomei built the Palace and was buried at Kinohe after temporary interment at Kame-hazama. In the 'Book of Barrows' (mi-sasagi) his is described as 102 feet high and 816 feet in contour. (N. II. 177.) There is no envoy.

² Amenokagu or Kagu or Kaku, in Yamato (there still exists a village, Kakumura). If Ame be simply epithetical, as is likely, the true rendering would be Heavenly Mt. Kagu, either sky-piercing, or the counterpart in Heaven of the one on Earth may be poetically alluded to. (See N. I. 34.) In K. 31 the name is connected with *Kago* (shika-ko), young deer.

³ Akitsushima, a m. k. In later days explained as the

Dragon-fly-shaped land (akitsu = tombo = dragon-fly). Often toyo, abundant, is prefixed to the name, of which the real origin is unknown.

3

On the occasion of a Royal Hunt on the moor of Uchi¹ the Princess Nakachi offereth the Sovran this Lay, indited at her request by Hashihito no Murazhi Oyu.

My Lord and Sovran,
in peace and power who
ruleth 2,
when daybreak showeth
in his trusty bow delighteth,
when dusk is falling
with heed aside he setteth,
and ever yon bow-end,
bow-end of bow of whitewood 3
my Sovran loveth,
full loudly it resoundeth,
for hunt at daybreak

av maketh he him ready,

for hunt at even
still maketh he him ready,
and ever yon bow-end
of the whitewood bow he
loveth—
it echoeth full loudly.

On Utsu's 4 moorland (the days of life are number'd) 5 the horsefolk gather, and men shall beat the jungle and rouse the game there crouching.

¹ Uchi or Utsu is in Yamato; Nakachi, according to Okabe, is the Consort Hashihito—so named after her foster-mother (of the family of Hashihito), a common practice in Old Japan. In the Nihongi (N. II. 165) she is mentioned as the second (nakachi or middle) daughter of the Mikado Jomei. She became the consort of the Mikado Kôtoku, and died in the fourth year of the Mikado Tenchi (665)—at her death 330 persons were compelled to enter religion (N. II. 283). Hashihito no Murazhi Oyu (oyu = okoto, venerable sir), a member of the Nakatomi clan, is mentioned in the Nihongi (N. II. 246)

under the year 654. The name Hashi is that of Nomi no Sukune, who advised the Mikado Suinin to bury clay images instead of live men in the *mi-sasagi* or barrows (N. I. 130). More correctly, Hashi (= Hanishi, potter), is the *bé* name. The object of the lay seems to be a remonstrance against the mikado's passion for the chase, which takes him so early afield, and brings him so late home, that the princess cannot properly attend upon him. There is no envoy.

² The m. k. yasumishishi may be thus rendered. See List of makura kotoba (Texts). Another rendering is 'who knoweth (ruleth) the eight (all) corners (of the land)', i. e. who ruleth all the land. But the former rendering is better—compare 'parcere subjectis et debellare superbos'—debellator, κοσμήτωρ.

³ adzusa-no-ki, Catalpa, or possibly Prunus, or hi-no-ki (Chamae-

cyparis).

' utsu (utsutsu) means real wakeful life as opposed to yume, dreams—hence the applicability of the m. k. in the text of which I have attempted to give the value in the second line of the envoy.

⁵ This line gives the value of the m. k. tamakiharu, life-limit-

ing, applied to utsu, real existence.

4

By Ikusa no Ohokimi on coming to the mountain passes he must cross on accompanying a Royal Progress to Aya in Sánuki¹.

'Tis misty springtime,
to close the long day
draweth,
and with the darkness
the mingling daylight
passeth,
and heavy my heart is,
the ruler of my being²,
whileowls ³ complaining
the night crowd with their
shriekings,

and all my spirit
is filled with wretchedness,
wherefore 'tis well
I utter my complaint—
my lofty Sovran
I follow in my service,
the mountain passes
where roar the blasts to
climb,
both morn and even

cold winds upon me blowing
in gusts unceasing
while I on couch all lonely,
on grassy pillow,
must wayfarer's rest still
seek me,
fair palace service
for toilsome tracks exchanging—
nor quit me can I
of many a sad regret,
till my woe burneth

my very heart within me, like fireflames roaring beneath the salt pans tended by fisher-maids of Tsunu.

The gales incessant
are rushing o'er the passes,
no sleepy night I
yearn not with love and
longing
to clasp thee left behind
me!

- ¹ Whether Ikusa no Ohokimi is a name or a title is uncertain. Ohokimi (Great Prince) was the title of the Mikado, of Princes of the Blood Royal, also known as *Shinnô* (Related Chiefs) and of *mi-ko*, Illustrious (*mi* or *ma*) Children. The progress was to the Hot Wells of Iyo, and took place in the eleventh year of Jomei (769). (See N. II. 169.) There is one envoy.
- ² An imitation of the m. k. murakimono, lit. all the inner organs.
- ³ Nuye, mentioned in what is probably the oldest of the lays quoted in the Kojiki (K. 76, note). Mr. Chamberlain cites a description from the Yô Kiyoku Tsûge or Tsûkai ('Commentary on the Nô dramas'): 'It has the head of a monkey, the body of a racoon-faced dog, the tail of a serpent, and the hands [sic] and feet of a tiger'; another, from the Wakun Shiwori ('Guide to a Knowledge of Japanese Words as distinguished from Chinese'): 'It is a bird larger than a pigeon and having a loud and mournful cry', and a third, from an old and curious Chinese work called Sankaikyô ('Mountain and Sea Classic'—a sort of Description of Nature): 'Like a pheasant with markings on its head, white wings, and yellow feet, whose flesh is a certain cure for the hiccough'. The original of this more or less mythic bird is probably a species of owl.

During the Residence at the Palace of Afumi.

5

On the Three Mountains, by Nakano Ohoye 1.

Exalted Kagu,
charmed by Unebi's beauty,
with Miminashi
to win the fair hill
strove—
such rivalries
the very gods' age knew,
long, long ago
so 'twas, and ever will be
that we poor mortals

for a woman's grace and favour shall strive in rivalry.

High Kaguyama
and the hill of Miminashi
together wrangled—
'twas to Inami's moorland
to 'suage the strife the
god came.

¹ The Mikado Tenchi (or Tenji), 668-71. He resided at Ômi no Miya (665-71). The Kogi says Ohoye (great Elder Brother) was a designation of the Heir Apparent. The Story of the Three Hills, all in Yamato, is this—two of them quarrelled as rivals for possession of the third, and the god Aho, hearing of this, left Izumo with the object of making an arrangement. On the way he heard that the struggle was ended, and, instead of pursuing his journey, turned his boat bottom-upwards and remained at Inami no hara in Harima, where he heard the news. (He must therefore have come round by sea-a pretty long voyage even for a god.) The mikado cites the case of the Three Hills as justifying men's rivalry in love in his own day. Perhaps in the story (among other memories) there is some faint echo of a strife between clans whose tribal gods had their seats on the hills in question. Of one of the two envoys the journey of the god Aho is the subject. The Kogi explains the rivalry as allusive to burning mountains. The name Inami means, homophonously, 'refuse', and may imply the refusal of the god to pursue a journey that had become useless.

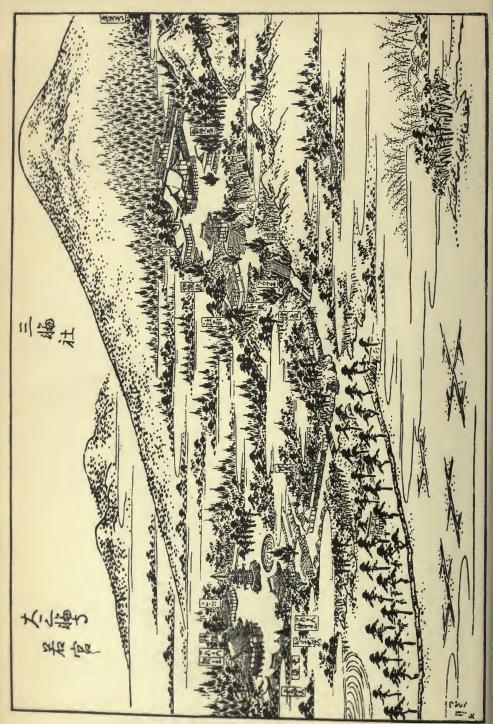
During the Residence at the Palace of Ohotsu in Afumi.

Spring and Autumn.1

From winter's prison ing 2, and birds late songless do fill the woods with I music. the copse erst flow'rless the hills with blossoms decketh, but in the springtime so thick-pleached are the bowers scarce way I win there to list the birds' new carols,

so close the jungle now cometh spring escap- I may not reach the blossomsin time of autumn featly pierce the thickets to choose and gather the sprays with autumn ruddiest, the sprays unglowing I thrust aside, unplucking, and so 3 for me, for me the hills autumn!4

- ¹ By the Princess Nukata. Chosen by the mikado at his palace of Otsu (Ômi) from a number indited at his command, comparing the vernal and autumnal beauties of the hills. command was delivered to the Naidaijin Fujihara no Asomi (the celebrated Kamatari Kô of whose mi-sasagi or barrow a woodcut will be found in Aston's Nihongi II. 243). He died in the latter half of the seventh century. See also Jimmeijisho sub Fujihara Kamatari. Nukata was one of the ladies of the Mikado Temmu (N. II. 322).
 - ² A rendering of the m. k. fuyukomori, winter-prison'd.
- ³ In the text nageku = naga-iku, lit. draw-deep-breath, of pleasure, or-more often-of grief.
- ⁴ Autumn is preferred because it is easier at that season to discover the ruddy sprays wherewith to deck the head than the blooms of spring amid the thick greenery. But spring is not to be despised.



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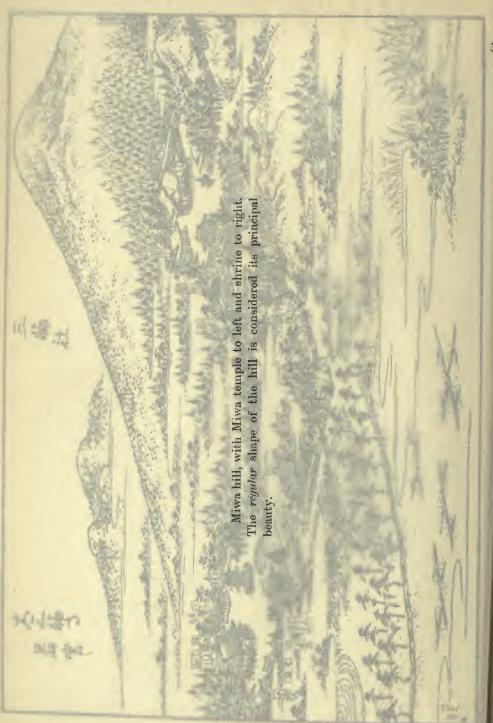
By the Princess Nakata on going down to be

O hall of Miwa,
nigh pleasant boars that
riseth,
sweet hill of Miwa!
over the Pass of Nara
(well-founded Nara)
after the track new bears
the

hat till is hidden Mine at every bend,

this to left and shrine to right

mint for hiding fliver, a for the part of the part of the hiding fliver, a for the part of the hiding fliver, a for the hiding fliver, a for the hiding fliver, a for the hiding in ancient Japan. Una still the flow of the part of the hiding in ancient Japan. Una still the part of the hiding fliver flavour?, and don't be have been part of the hiding for pared to the



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7

By the Princess Nukata, on going down to Afumi.

O hill of Miwa,
nigh pleasant home that
riseth,
sweet hill of Miwa!
over the Pass of Nara
(well-founded Nara!)
afar the track now bears
me
among the hills,
but till is hidden Miwa,
at every bend,

and they are many,
I turn to gaze on Miwa
while I may see it,
again, again to see it,
but mists too heartless
arise and hide
receding Miwa from me—
sweet hill of Miwa,
nigh pleasant home that
riseth!

¹ The traveller regrets leaving her home and chides the mists for hiding Miwa, a hill in Yamato, not far from City-Royal, famous for its beauty. The pivot of the lay is Miwa, the homophon miwa means a sort of sacred sake, and to it therefore is attached the m. k. umasakeno, sweet sake, a treasured thing in ancient Japan. Umasakeno is a curious m. k.; it is attached to other place-names beginning with mi, as Mimoro, where the mi is said to be the name of a herb added to sake (to give flavour?), and also to kami or kamu, 'chew', as in Kamunabi (a hill-name), because sake seems at some very remote date to have been prepared by chewing, in some such way as kava is prepared in Polynesia. Or, lastly, mi may be an abbreviation of kami. Umasakeno means 'like sweet drink', and may be compared with the Homeric ἡδύποτος.

BOOK I, PART II

During the Residence at the Palace of Kiyomihara in Asuka.

A Lay indited by the Sovran 1.

On high Mikane in Yóshinu's fair land snow ever falleth, and the rain it raineth everat every bend

of the winding mountain pathway as ceaselessly as falleth rain, snow falleth. on thee my thoughts dwell, dear!

¹ Probably the Mikado Temmu (673-86).

During the Residence at the Palace of Fujihara.1

By Kakinomoto no Asomi Hitómaro, on visiting City-Royal in Afumi.

By high Unebi (gift-bearing suppliants broad land know 2) that towers o'er wide Kashihara's moor was manifested the great divine sunruler 3, and ever after, age after age succeeding 4, the great god-rulers o'er all the under-heaven 5 have lofty sway borne—

anon Yamato, ofskyey heights, forsook the Sovran. his own dread will obeying 6, of well-laid Nara 7 to cross the lofty pass towards Ômi's 8 land no distant heaven under, a land all rocky with roar of waters echoing,

and by the ripples of Ohotsu's 9 strand highrear'd his stately palace, and ruled the underheaven: here dwelt our Sovrans. here dwelt our godlike rulers. and here their palace, as old folks tell us ever, their lofty halls, as we do ever hear, did stand, alas! but coiling mists in springtime. tall reeds in summer. are seen where rose the Palace.

where stood the stately halls 10!

Where Kara's 11 headland er Shiga's ripples

O'er Shiga's ripples towers,

though fair the age be, now never a barge there waiteth the pleasure of the Palace.

still are the waters
of the pool of Ohowada 12
in wavy 13 Shiga—
O would the men of old
time
there might be seen once

more!

¹ Between 690-707. This is the first of the Lays by Hitómaro, commonly regarded as the prince of the Manyôshiu poets. (See Introduction, Sect. xv.)

² The m. k. here tentatively rendered is tamatasuki, applied to une, arm, part of the place-name Unebi. It is generally explained as fine (tama) arm-bands (hand-helps)—that is, cords fastened behind the shoulders and supporting, originally, the tray on which offerings were carried to be offered to the gods, or food, &c., for the mikado by his uneme, or waiting-maids—none but women attended upon him. Tama itself is probably connected with tamafu, bestow—the meaning 'fine' or 'precious' being secondary. But the Kogi prefers to explain the epithet as nothing but a variant of tabatasuki, bands fastened to the openings of the sleeves, gathering them up (tabane) and drawthem back so as to free the arms for movement. The Kogi cites so many passages in support of this view that I am inclined to adopt it. Professor Florenz prefers the other view (T. A. S. J. VII). See List of m. k. (Texts).

- ³ The first mikado, Iharebiko (Jimmu).
- ⁴ There is a word-play here—a very poor one—not susceptible of imitation, turning upon the similarity of sound between tsuga (Abies tsuga) and tsugi (succession).
- ⁵ A Japanese rendering of a common Chinese expression, denoting the known, non-barbarian world, the οἰκουμένη of the Far East.
- ⁶ The literal meaning seems to be 'what could he be thinking of; what was his mind or will?'
- ⁷ The m. k. awoniyoshi might conceivably convey to a Japanese ear the meaning awomi yoshi, as epithetical of nara (Quercus glandulifera?), homophonous with Nara, City-Royal. But see List m. k.
- ⁸ Afumi (Ômi) = Ahaumi. Aha may mean 'foam', more probably here millet. Ahaumi would then mean millet-productive, not an unlikely place-designation. Here, as in so many cases of Japanese nomenclature, homophonous confusion has turned a significant into an unmeaning name. Ômi is more commonly written as foam-sea, and applied not only to the province but to the vast lake better known as Lake Biwa.
- ⁹ Or Ohodzu. It is best to use the *nigori* (muddying, i. e. voicing of surds) as little as may be. In the text the m. k. sasanami is applied to Ohodzu—sasanami, now written ripples or little waves, seems to have been an ancient name of a district, and as such is applicable both to Ohotzu and Shiga (see the envoys). The poetical use of it I have ventured to retain.
- ¹⁰ The m. k. here is *momoshiki*, and is variously explained. It seems to have meant originally a fort, or stone-faced earthwork, or *sangar*, or tomb-place, built of many (*momo*) stones (*ishi*). Ki is a keep or work or construction. The m. k. may fairly be rendered stout, stately, &c.
- ¹¹ Overlooking Lake Biwa. *Karasaki sakiku*, a pivotal wordplay, it might be rendered 'though Happy Cape hight, no happy barge awaiteth the pleasure of the palace', the second 'happy' taken as = opportune.
 - ¹² A creek of the lake, where the court-folk used to angle.
 - ¹³ More strictly, perhaps, wavy applies to Ohowada.

10

By Hitómaro, on the occasion of the Sovran's visit to the Palace in Yóshinu.¹

In peace and power o'er all the under-heaven our Sovran reigneth, o'er many a fair land reigneth, and none is fairer than Káfuchi² the hilly land of sweet waters, and Yóshinu the heart delighteth ever 3. where Akitsu's 4 moor white with fallen flowers. where stands the palace on stately pillars reared, where o'er the waters the servants of the Sovran in many a wherry

fare o'er the morning waters,
and the ev'ning waters
with many a craft are
crowded—
O never may
the rivers cease to flow
there,
the mountains never
to climb the heavens cease
there,
mid streamy roar
still flourish City-Royal 5,
a place of joy for ever!

A joy for ever ⁶ to gaze on Yóshinu, where glide the waters in streamy flow unending, a land to gaze on ever.

¹ The Sovran is the Queen-Regnant Jitô (690-6).

² Kafuchi = Kaha-fuchi, river-pools, now Kawachi, written Kaha-uchi, 'amongst the rivers'. Perhaps in ancient times uchi was pronounced fuchi. (Aston's Gramm., p. 34.)

³ This line renders the m. k. *mikokorowo*, here used not as an epithet but as connected by a word-play with *yoshi* = good, fine, part of Yoshinu, which no doubt meant 'reedy moor' (yoshi also meaning the reed Phragmites Communis).

⁴ The story connecting the name—Dragon-fly-moor—is given by Dr. Aston (N. I. 342). The Mikado Yuriyaku (457-9), being out hunting, was troubled by a gadfly. A dragon-fly, winging his way by, seizes the tormentor. Thereupon the

Mikado orders his courtiers to compose a lay, but they cannot, or dare not. He therefore composes one himself, ending thus—

Even a creeping insect waits upon the Great Lord, thy form it will bear, O Yamato, land of the Dragon-fly.

Thereafter the place was called the Dragon-fly-moor. or Akitsu, it will be remembered, is one of the names of Japan. (See Glossary, and List of m. k. (Texts).)

⁵ There is a place in Mino called Tagi (cascade or rapids),

but the tagi (taki) in the text is descriptive merely.

⁶ A close translation, 'although one gaze, never tired is one of gazing.'

11

By Hitómaro.1

on

the

In peace and power our Sovran Lady ruleth, divinely lonely, in majesty she dwelleth 2 in high-roofed palace midst Yóshinu's swirling watersthe great hills climbing o'erall the land shegazeth, for her the gods of the green empiled 3 hills provide due offerings, coronals of cherry-blossoms in happy springtime, of ruddy leafery garlands in time of autumn, while Yúfu's god purveyeth the royal fare,

upper ord'ring the cormorant fishing, the meshy nets far casting in the lower waters. SO humbly serve Sovran both hill and river-'tis the god's own age belike, a god Yamato ruling! The streams and mountains they throng to serve our Sovran, a very god shein Kafuchi land of waters

whereon she takes

pleasure.

waters

¹ There is no argument. The lay is by Hitómaro, on the same theme as the preceding lay. Far from the City-Royal, unattended by a courtly train, the Sovran is yet served by the very gods of the hills and streams, as though the ancient days of the gods when they held direct intercourse with mortals were come back. The Sovran was probably the Queen-Regnant Jitô, but may have been her successor the Mikado Mommu. The Yúfu river is in Yamato.

² More literally, 'reigneth at'. This and preceding line seem better to render *kamusabi* than 'as a god she exercised a god's choice'.

³ 'Empiled' renders the m. k. tatanadzuku; awokaki in the text I translate green, more literally it is 'green-fenced', i.e. covered with forest greenery, green-wooded.

12

By Hitómaro, on the occasion of Prince Karu's Retreat on the Moor of Aki.¹

Illustrious heir
of the shining sun's great
goddess ²,
divine in majesty
in awfulness who bideth—

he hath foregone
the state of City-Royal³,
the wilds of Hátsuse
by rugged hills engirdled⁴
the Prince hath sought,
climb'd trackless hills,
thro' forests⁵,
o'er rocks and bushes,

amid thick jungle faring, when morn is breaking, what time the birds are plaining, when darkens even. as dieth down the sunglow in the west still burning 6, where Aki's vasty moor with snow is whitened, where grow tall plumy grasses 7 aside he brusheth

to sleep on reedy pillow s and muse on days agone.

¹ The name Karu occurs several times in the Nihongi. In the Kogi, Karu is said to have been the child-name of the Mikado Mommu (679–707), son of Kusakabe, son of the

Mikado Temmu (673-86); Kusakabe is further identified with the Prince Hinami, who is thrice mentioned in Book II (see XXII). It is in remembrance of his father that the Prince practises a sort of retreat on the Moor of Aki.

² Amaterasu, the great Sky-Shine Goddess, ancestress of the

mikados.

³ I use this designation for Miyako, lit. the Grand House-Place, i. e. the Capital.

⁴ Equivalent of the m. k. in the text, komoriku.

⁵ The text is 'right-trees', trees fit for building, probably Chamaecyparis obtusa is meant. The name in the text (maki) is now given to the Podocarpus macrophylla or chinensis.

⁶ Here the m. k. (kagirohi) can only be conjecturally ren-

dered.

⁷ Hatasusuki, Miscanthus sinensis.

⁸ For a fuller explanation see List of m. k. (Texts).

BOOK I, PART III

13

A Lay of the Folk charged with the Building of the Palace at Fujihara.¹

Our Sovran Lady, Bright sun-descendedone, in peace and power o'er all the land who ruleth. on Fuji's moor where coarse wistaria groweth 2 she stood, forth sending her glance o'er all the champaign, and there she minded to rear a stately palace, divinely minded, and the gods of earth and heaven

And now vast balks of timber on Tanakami in rocky roaring Afumi ³, of right-wood timber which builders deftly split ⁴, are hewn and borne by eager folk to float them down Uji's river (which men call All-folk-water ⁵)

like river weed

their grace bestowed

her-

so crowded drift the timbersin multitudes we haul the logs untired. of homes, of selves, in service leal forgetful 6, as wild-fowl swim we the logs so featly floating wherewith the Palace to rear for our Sovran, the sun-child's Palace, from tracts unknown, remote. by Kose's road 7 we haul the heavy timbers-

for ages long endure, the tortoise omen 8. late shown of strangewrit shell, be happy presage, of time to come fair presage! by Idzumi's waters we bring the balks of right-wood, in rafts well knotted. full half-a-hundred 9 rafts. and so upstream against the waters pole we towards City-Royal, where men our travail watching shall own for a god we labour 10.

O may the land labour ¹⁰.

¹ The occasion of the lay is the erection of a new Palace at Fujihara by the Queen-Regnant Jitô (N. II. 400-9). According to Motowori the timber would be felled on Tanakami (in Afumi), thence dragged to the Uji-gaha, and floated down the stream to a point, whence it was borne to the Idzumi-gaha, to be made into rafts which drifted down to Naniha, whence they would be poled up the Kii river by Kose to Fujihara. I have not been able to verify this itinerary for lack of maps.

² I render the m. k. here by 'coarse', though applicable rather to the cloth made of Wistaria bark than to the shrub itself.

³ More literally 'land of rocky torrents'. There is a m. k. (koromode) here which cannot be rendered; it is explained in the list of m. k. (Texts).

⁴ The m. k. is literally 'wood-split', i. e. easy to split, an epithet applicable to hi (Chamaecyparis), the timber still used temples and important buildings.

⁵ Here is given the gist of the m. k. which literally is 'com-

panies of warrior-folk' and 'eight score' (very many) applied to 'clan' or 'family'.

⁶ 'King Wan used the strength of the people to make his tower... and yet the people rejoiced to do the work.' Mencius, Legge's translation.

⁷ The Kose road (Kose-ji) passed through the district of

Fujihara-kose=pass along or over.

⁸ In N. II. 293 under A.D. 670 we read 'within the capital a tortoise had been caught, on its back was written the character for saru (ape or monkey), one of the twelve signs of the Chinese zodiac'. The wonder recurred two years later, the reappearance of the tortoise was marked, however, not by prosperity, but by civil disturbances.

9 The m. k. is 'less than a hundred', applied to 'fifty', used

merely to signify a large number.

¹⁰ Compare the line 'divinely minded. The palace is fit for a god.'

14

In praise of the Palace of Fujihara.

In peace and power she ruleth all the land, our Lady Sovran 1, the shining sun's descendant. midmost the plain of the Fount of Purple Blossoms 2 her Palace building oft on the dyke there watch'd she of Haniyasu³ (where potters erst their art plied) and gazed around her-There Kagu's green hill saw she o'er broad Yamato

east of the Palace rising,
there fair Unebi
high o'er the wide plain
shining
west of the Palace,
there green-rushed Miminashi
'gainst the northern skies
uprising,
and the flow'ry slopes
too
of the hills of Yoshinu
noon's heaven climbing

where earth meets cloudy
welkin—
on high the skies are
rounded in radiance,
and all the heavens

shine with the sun-orb's splendour, 'neath either glory the Fount's bright waters sparkle; flow ever those sweet waters! 4

Now built the Palace. how gladly render service successive bevies of maids, obeisant service to their high Sovran yielding. 5

¹ The Queen-Regnant Jitô (690-6).

² The Fount or Well of Fuji or Wistaria. There is a m. k. not translated-arataheno, of rough cloth (made of Wistaria fibre).

³ Of Haniyasu-no-ike, the pool of Haniyasu. It lies at the foot of Mount Kagu in Yamato. In the Nihongi (N. I. 119) we read, 'Take Earth [said the Heavenly Deity] from within the Shrine of the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and of it make eighty (i.e. many) Heavenly Platters. Also make sacred jars and therewith sacrifice to the Gods of Heaven and Earth.'

⁴ The lay is anonymous; the author is doubtless a member of the Queen-Regnant's suite. Some portions of the translation are more or less conjectural.

⁵ This seems to be the meaning, but the envoy is somewhat obscure. Okabè considers the stanza not to be an envoy at all, but an independent tanka.

During the Residence at Nara.

15

On the occasion of the removal of the Court from Fujihara to Nara.1

In dread obeisance Sovran, fair home and pleasant in Fujihara quitting, o'er watery ways from hill-engirdled Hasse

I wend me sadly, to my great lord and and never a turn I round by of endless windings whence times a thousand thousand I turn not, gazing

tow'rds Fujihara, gazing with wistful glances, from dawn till even latens the spear-ways 2 wending until of Saho's river I reach the waters 3 flow nigh well-founded Nara. and waking marvel to see the moon still shining, and all the land white with show of rime and hoar-frost; and all the waters to floors of ice fast frozen, the livelong night thro' the chilly night thro' restless—
as thus I wend me
I vow for a thousand ages
shall we, friend, meet
still
in yonder house new-

builded where long may'st thou live happy!

Well-founded Nara—
where now, friend, thou
abidest,
for time uncounted
I will not fail to show me,
nor think thou to forget
me!

¹ By an unknown author. The removal of the Court took place about 708. The author, it seems, has assisted his friend in building a new house in Nara, where the friends shall still meet, despite the distance that may separate them. The author like his friend leaves Fujihara, but apparently goes to Hasse or some neighbouring place.

² Of the m. k. thus rendered several explanations have been given. One is 'straight as a spear' with reference to a quibble in *michi*, road, which may be read (Motowori) *mi chi*, true shaft of spear: *michi* may be used for landways or waterways. Another turns upon the story of Izanagi and Izanami, who, standing upon the Bridge (or Ladder) of Heaven, thrust down a wondrous spear into the ocean, the drops of brine dropping from which on withdrawal produced the island of Onogoro by self-coagulation. Dr. Aston gives the m. k. a phallic origin upon good grounds (see his *Shintô*).

* The journey is by river.

BOOK II, PART I

During the Residence at the Palace of Fujihara.

16

The first of two Lays by Hitómaro, on leaving his wife in Ihami 1 to go up to City-Royal.

On Tsunu's coast anigh Ihami's waters though men may say no sheltering bay there lieth, though men may say salty flats there no offer,2 yet on the shore-sands of the sea of whaley³ waters, upon the shore-sands Watadzu's marge that border, the green green seaweeds 4. shore-weeds and deep sea tresses with the morning breezes are blown to find their resting, and as the seaweeds at last rest, wind or wave-

tost.

so in my arms, dear,

thou bod'st whom I leave sadly 5, while times ten thousand, at every winding corner of lengthening track I turn me round and homewards my wistful eyes send, whileever farther, farther, our homeplace fleeth, and steeper rise the mountains I climb, wayfaring; as herb in summer drooping love's burden bows me, Ohills remove your masses that I may see our cottage!

From mid the wildwood
on Takatsunu hangeth
in our Ihami
my sleeve in farewell
wave I,
O will she see my token?

By soft winds ruffled the sasa 6 leaves are rust-

ling amid the still hills but me the murmur mindof the woe of parting from

- ¹ In the far west of the main island.
- ² Where shell-fish may be gathered.
- 3 The m. k. is 'where men catch whales', an epithet of the sea.
- ⁴ Various seaweeds were eaten by the ancient Japanese, some are still articles of food. The grace of woman is often compared with the flexuous drift of laminar or filamentous sea-As the weeds find their final rest on the shore, so the wife found hers in her husband's arms, who now, alas! must leave her for City-Royal. The opening portion of the lay serves as an introduction or preface to the line, 'so in my arms, dear.'

⁵ The m. k. of 'leave' (okite) I am obliged to leave unrendered. It is tsuyushimono, rime and dew, as 'left' on the branches and leaves of plants in the morning or evening, or a

symbol of impermanence.

⁶ A small bamboo (Arundinaria japonica) forming a low brushwood.

171

By Kara's cape (what babble Karatalk is2) from deep-sea bottom by ivy-cloth'd Ihami³ the sea-wrack riseth. and all along the sea-sands float fine sea-tangles, so deep within me bideth love deep as sea-wrack for her who by mesleepeth like shore-weed restful. nor many alas have been our days of joyance, and each time we are parted

as cruel 'tis as clinging ivy stripping shelt'ring from trunk

now all my heart, chief ruler of my being, is filled with sorrow, as long looks throwing towards our home-place, dear, I find the ruddy shower of the leaves of autumn. wherewith glows vast Watari.

from my eyes hideth the waving of thy sleeve farewell me bidding, the while upon Yakami from rift infrequent the hast'ning clouds allow the moonbeams' shimmer, sad moon sad thoughts recalling, and the sun scarce ling'ring its course in the far west endetha warrior am I

fine stuff

are drench'd with the dew of tears.

In headlong gallop on his grey steed hasteth beyond all knowing and far beyond he passeth her home-place whom he loveth.

High hill of Autumn awhile thy leaves so ruddy delay to showera little longer let me gaze where she gazeth yet now my sleeves of tow'rds me.

¹ This is the second of the two lays mentioned in the argument of 16.

The first portion of the lay forms a preface to the line 'for her who by me sleepeth' (by the poet's side, when abiding in his own home).

As far as seemed legitimate I have incorporated the value of the various m. k. in the translation. Of the two envoys the first is inappropriate, and doubtless wrongly placed here. It implies a regret that some passing love, perhaps on official duty, does not give a moment to his mistress.

² The name Kara reminds the poet of Kara (China or Korea) of strange speech.

3 The m. k. is, exactly, εὖκισσος.

BOOK II, PART II

During the Residence at the Palace of Ohotsu in Afumi.

18

By one of the Ladies of the Court on the ascent to heaven of the Sovran.¹

Earthly and mortal,
my lord I may not follow
on high ascended 2,
and far from him divided
each morn my tears
each even flow my tears,
from him wide sunder'd—

were I a jewel worn,
or any vestment,
I should be still unparted³
from whom I love,
my lord whom in a vision
but yesternight I saw 4.

- ¹ An elegy (banka) by one of the Mikado's ladies. Another explanation mentions her ascent of the mi-sasagi (barrow) there to mourn the Mikado.
- ² In early Shintô the Mikado was regarded as a god incarnate on earth. His death was a return to heaven, where he had his palace, ama tsu mi kado.

έγω χιτων γενοίμην ὅπως ἀεὶ φορής με. Anacroon.

⁴ The appearance of friends or lovers in dreams is a common incident in Chinese poetry.

19

By the Queen-Consort, on the occasion of the Enshrinement of the Mikado 1.

On Afumi's waters
—wide as the whaley sea—²
ye boatmen oaring!
or deeper waters seek ye,
ye boatmen oaring!
or shallow waters seek ye,
bend gently, pray you

to inward oar 3 or outward—
the birds he cherish'd,
my lord and husband
cherish'd,
free flight new straights

free flight now straightway take they.

One of four elegies. The other three are tanka, two anonymous, one by a tozhi or house-lady. The Mikado may have been Tenchi (668-71). The enshrinement or 'lesser burial' was a disposal of the corpse in a tomb of rough stones (araki) or shrine or mortuary chapel while the mi-sasagi or barrow was being prepared, or the barrow might be heaped over the araki. The boatmen are bidden to row gently so as not to alarm the birds now liberated on their master's death. This may be a Buddhist practice. At the present day birds are often set at liberty at a funeral, and the equivalent in Japan of 'no flowers' is 'Ikebána tsukúribána hanashidori go sôyo no gi wa onkotowari moshiagesôrô,' 'we beg to decline flowers, real or artificial, and birds to set at liberty.' (Chamberlain's Introd. to Study of Japanese Writing, 423.) Hawking seems to have been introduced into Japan from Hyákusai (Pekché) in Korea. In N. I. 249 an interesting account of its introduction will be found. Hawking was a favourite amusement of the Shogans and of the Daimyos up to the close of the Bakufu period (1868). But hawks do not appear to be meant here -pet birds of some kind are intended. From the Nihongi I take the following descriptions of funeral ceremonies from the age of the gods to the close of the seventh century.

'On the death of Ame-waka-hito (the Young Sky-Lord) his wife (the Undershine Princess) sent down a swift wind to bring the body up to the sky. Then an araki was made in which it was deposited. The barn-door fowls were made head-hanging bearers (with offerings of rice on their heads) and the river geese were broombearers (to sweep the road in front). The kingfisher attended as the deceased, sparrows represented the pounding-women (pounding rice for guests or offerings), and wrens the mourners. [Evidently birds were necessary as the funeral took place in the sky. For eight days and nights they wept and sang dirges.' Apropos of this passage Mr. Aston cites, appositely enough, the story of the Death and Burial of Cock Robin. On the death of the Mikado Ingiyô, the King of Silla (in Korea) sent eighty (i. e. many) tribute-ships with eighty musicians, who put on plain white garments, and wept and wailed, and sang and danced until they assembled at the araki of provisional burial. In N. I. 326 will be found a view (after a photograph) of the mi-sasagi of Ingiyô tennō.

In A.D. 612 the body of the Queen-Consort Katashi was re-interred in the great *mi-sasagi* of Hinokuma. Funeral orations were made on the Karu way, and offerings to the spirit of the dead of sacred things and garments, fifteen thousand kinds in all.

In 683 the Mikado Temmu granted a distinguished official burial with beat of drum and blowing of horns (N. II. 360, n. 2). Officials of the third rank were allowed one hearse, forty drums, twenty great horns, forty small horns, 200 flags, one metal gong, one handbell, and one day's lamentation. In 686, on the death of Temmu, various eulogies were pronounced on behalf of different orders, guilds, and ranks, and the priests and nuns made lament. On some occasions abstinence was practised, chaplets were offered, remissions of punishment were made, many additional eulogies were pronounced, and the tatefushi (shield and sword dance) was performed. Under the year 646 rules are given for interments. Originally, we are told, burials were made on high places, but there were no mi-sasaki and no plantations of larch and cryptoneria. offerings should be rice and clay figures, not jewels or pearls or 'jade armour'. [This description shows that the above is merely a Chinese plagiarism. Of Princes the barrows must not exceed nine fathoms square by five fathoms high. In the case of superior ministers the dimensions shall be seven fathoms square by three fathoms in height. 'The work shall be completed by 500 labourers in five days.' The bier shall be borne by men and have white hangings. Ordinary persons must be interred at once without mound, and the hangings must be of coarse (unbleached) cloth. Suicide at the grave, slaving of horses, thigh-stabbing while pronouncing eulogiums are forbidden practices, no gold or silver, no silk or dyed stuff shall be buried. See also Dr. Gowland's 'Dolmens, &c., in Japan,' Archaeologia, 1897, and Mr. Lay's paper on Japanese Funeral Rites, T. A. S. J. XIX.

² See isanatori, List of m. k. (Texts), also lay 16.

³ That is, 'do not splash too loudly with the oars.' There is a long note in the Kogi on the subject of larboard and starboard. What exactly were the oars or sculls used by the mariners of ancient Japan we do not know. The modern ro (of which an excellent cut is given in Lemaréchal's Dictionary) was not known, apparently, in the earlier centuries of the pre-

sent era. The kai and kazhi, mentioned in the Anthology, seem to have differed. The kai was perhaps a paddle, or side oar, the kazhi a stern oar, or scull. Anciently the left hand was known as oki no te, the right hand as he no te. He and oki mean respectively shallow waters and deep waters (offing). Okitsukai then meant to turn the prow to larboard (port), and hetsukai to turn it to starboard. The explanation, however, is not in all points clear to me. The expressions okitsu and hetsu are found in K, lay V.

20

By the Princess Nukata, on her return from the misasagi of the Mikado ¹ at Yamashina.

In peace and power
o'er all the wide land
ruled he,
my lord, and Sovran
whose lofty tomb is
builded
on high Kagami

Yamashina o'ertow'reth,
where all the night
through,

and every night and all nights,

where all the day through, and every day and all days, the royal servants

have mourned their mighty
Sovran—

their watching ended,
their different ways they
wend them
who served the stately
Palace!

¹ The Mikado Tenchi (Tenji, 668-71), who died in 672. The barrow was completed in 674.

During the Residence at the Palace of Kiyomihara in Asuka.

21

By the Queen-Consort 1 on the ascent to heaven of the Mikado.

In peace and power as fell the evening
Our Sovran ruled his he joyed to see his serpeople, vants ²

as broke the morning
to greet his servants joy'd
he—
on Kamiwoka
aglow with the tints of
autumn
he lieth, I would he,
each day might greet his
servants,
and every morrow
glad eyes bend on his
servants—

but as I gaze on
yonder lonely hillside,
as even latens
my heart is full of sorrow,
and with the morning
I wake alone and des'late,
my sleeve, alas,
of hempen cloth unbleachèd,
no truce of tears knowing!

¹ The Queen-Consort is Jitô, afterwards Queen-Regnant. The Mikado is Temmu (673–86).

² Or the Queen-Consort only, but the indefiniteness of Japanese as to number justifies a reference to the servants of the court generally, or to the Mikado's ladies more particularly. In many of these lays a similar vagueness is found which cannot be rendered in the translation.

During the Residence at the Palace of Fujihara.

22

By Hitómaro, on the occasion of the Enshrinement ¹ of Hinami no Miko.²

In the beginning,
when earth and sky were
sunder'd,
midmost the channel
of the stream of shining
Heaven 3
the countless myriads
of gods, the thousand
myriads,
held high assembly

and sat them there in council—
the gods then parted, the world's dominion parted,
and gave high Heaven to the majesty of Hirumè 4,
sky-shining goddess!
and o'er the spacious Reedland,

where ay the grainplants
show ears in ripe abundance,
a Sovran chose they—
those gods of Earth and
Heaven!

The Earthly Sovran⁵ broke through the clouds of Heaven, through clouds empiled, to rule his realm for ages, till glebe and sky again should come together—⁶

'Twas thus the Sun-Child
came in his majesty
through many an age
to rule all under-heaven,
in Kiyomi's palace
a very god abiding
till that he open'd
the rock-door of the sky,
and there ascending
as god and ruler bideth—
anon our Prince he
to rule the land descended,
to all folk bringing,

a time of flowery spring 8,

and weal and joyance
as moon at fullest ample;
till men to rest them
and lean upon him learnt,
as shipmen trust them
to their great hulls stoutbuilded,
as on the heavens
for welcome rain men

lean-

then—why so happ'dit',
that thus our Prince bethought him—
on lone Mayumi 10
alas, far from us lieth he,
where stately shrine 11
is on stout pillars reared
there still he ruleth
in majesty he ruleth—

But ne'er on any morrow
fair greetings may he
exchange with his good
lieges,
so months and days
will come and go for ever,
his men unknowing
what ways of life to follow,
their gracious lord still
mourning!

Or time of mourning. Actual enshrinement (lesser or temporary burial) seems not to have been confined to the Mikados.

In the Nihongi (N. II. 391) we read that in 689 the

Prince Imperial Kusakabe died. Kusakabe was a son of the Mikado Temmu, and was born in the first year of the reign of the Mikado Tenchi (668-71). He died in his twenty-eighth year. Hinami (Hinami Shirasu) was a second name of Kusakabe.

- ³ The m. k. here rendered 'shining' is explained in the list of m. k. (hisakatano). It is sometimes explained as gourd- or dome-shaped, as sunbright, eternal, &c.
 - ⁴ Amaterasu no Ohongami.
- ⁵ Hono ninigi no Mikoto, a grandson of one of the two deities originating from the Lord of the Centre of Heaven (Fl. I. 216). (See also N. and K.) The expression 'broke through the clouds of heaven, &c.' is perhaps an imitation of the quintain, which is supposed, but erroneously (see Introduction), to be the oldest extant Japanese poem. Its text is Ya-kumo tatsu | Idzumo ya-hegaki | tsuma-gomi ni | ya-hegaki tsukuru | sono ya-hegaki wo. Various renderings of this tanka have been given (N. K. Fl.). I venture to add my own: 'Clouds upon clouds arise | eight-fold (i. e. manifold) is the fence of bright (or dread) clouds | for a spouse-secluding fence | is this manifold fence made | O this manifold fence!' I take idzu as meaning 'bright' or 'dread'. As to the application of the tanka, there are no adequate data. Many of the lays contained in the Kojiki and the Nihongi seem to me to be more or less illustrative interpolations of uncertain but comparatively late dates: most of them could not have been contemporaneous, in their extant shape, with the events they are introduced to embellish.
- ⁶ Creation was the parting of sky and globe, the end of the world is their coming together again.
 - 7 Hinami no Miko.
 - ⁸ The m. k. in the text are slightly amplified here.
- ⁹ That is, 'how did it please him to think or intend?' 'how came it about'; an indirect way of suggesting the fact of death as a voluntary, not a forced, change of existence.
- ¹⁰ Spindle-tree (Euonymus) Hill, in Yamato. A *mi-sasagi* is described as having existed there in early mediaeval times.
- ¹¹ The meaning seems to be that from his shrine (mi araka) symbolic of his 'Palace in Heaven' (ama tsu mi kado) he still ruleth.

By Hitómaro, on the occasion of the Enshrinement of Prince Kahashima 1 presented to the Princess Hatsusebe [or Prince Osakabe].

In the upper waters of Asuka's morning river (when fowl in flocks fly 2) the water-fronds are floating, in the lower waters the river-tresses waving, hither, thither, in swaying grace are drifting, so graceful was mylord, mynoble princein close embracings my lord's fine arms within (sword-wielding arms)³ more soft yielding sleep I, and our alcove as darkest night is desolate.

(dark as black berry on pardanth 4 shrub that showeth)oh, would that I some solace still might find me. e'en Ochi's moor I would affront to meet him. though morning's dew should drench my finestuff vestment 6, and with the nightmists my long-sleeved robe be wetted on grassy pillow wayfarer's rest I'd seek me, my lord, once more to meet thee.

¹ Prince Kahashima was the son of the Mikado Tenchi. He died in the fifth year of the Queen-Regnant Jitô (695). The Princess Hatsusebe was one of four children (two boys and two girls) and a daughter of Ohomaro. The argument of this lay is of uncertain authenticity. In some old books Kahashima is said to have been buried on the moor of Ochi and the lament to have been written on that occasion. In N. II. 404 he is said to have died in 692. One account makes the Princess the

wife of Osakabè. But in the Nihongi she is mentioned as his sister. The lay must be taken as composed by Hitómaro to represent the feelings of the Princess.

² The m. k. relates to asu (morning), part of the name Asuka (probably asa kaha, shallow river), and can only be partially

rendered.

³ The m. k. here is merely epithetic, applied really to mi (person) not to 'arms'.

'Pardanthus chinensis, compare Tennyson 'more black

than ash-buds in the month of March'.

⁵ Wochi (ochi) in Yamato. There was a mi-sasagi here of the Queen-Regnant Kôgyoku, who abdicated in 645. The m. k. means 'dripping', epithetic and repetitive of wochi, drip or drop.

⁶ The text has tama mo, which by word-play may be rendered

either 'fine seaweed' or 'fine skirt'.

24

By Hitomaro, on the Enshrinement of Takechi no Miko no Mikoto on the Hill of Kinohe.¹

I fear to utter, to utter word I fear. so dread the theme is my soul a strange awe filleth midmost the moor of high Makami riseth, of sunbright heaven the lofty palace riseth which in his wisdom he hath established. a rocky dwelling for majesty to bide in, dread Lord and Sovran-2 who crossed wild-wooded Fuha.

beyond the frontier,

and on Wazami's 3 moorland a resting palace did build, where as from heaven descending dwelt he, and all the wide realm ruled, and all the land would settle to his swaysocharged the Prince he the host forthwith to summon of cock-crow Eastland, to quell the fierce smiters 4, and lands rebellious

compel to royal peace-

so stoutly girding

his great sword on his thigh and stoutly grasping his mighty bow in hand

and stoutly grasping
his mighty bow in hand
the Prince, true Prince⁵
he,

the Eastland host arrayed;

the welkin echoed

with order'd drums' loud thunder,

the horns outblared like fierce tigers roaring to flight men scaring

with their tremendous growl,

while high the pennons upborne o'er the moorland flutter,

as flames 6 in spring time

run flickering mid the bushes

when spring escapeth from winter's prisoning clutch—

so waved the pennons beneath the windy skies, and echoed widely

the clang of twanging bow-ends

like din of storm-gale mid winter forest roaring, men's ears with the awful sound affrighting,

while thick the shafts flew,

as snow flakes tempestdriven,

from countless bowstrings—

the crowd rebellious

in arms arrayed there

like morning's dew or hoar-frost

but show to vanish;

like noisy flocks of wildfowl

along the border

of the battle fight they fiercely,

when, lo! there bloweth

from holy Watarahi ⁷ a wind divine

the froward folk confounding,

with cloudy canopy the skies and all the land there

in darkness wrapping as of the under-world—

so brought to peace was

the Land of Shining Rice-ears,

in years agone—

DICKINS. II

Prince's and now the Highness 8 the wide realm's welfare before the Sovran 9 layeth, in godlike maj'sty in peace and power who ruleth the under-heaven and so for a myriad ages like bush in blossom, men hoped would still endure the happy time, when—to his place of resting as shrine divine forth come the whiterobed mourners, and mid the moor 'fore Haniyasu 10 that lieth from ruddy dawn of day, and all the day long stag-like on bended knees do bend them there. and bow them there in prayer, and when descendeth night black as pardanth berry, upon the shrine they gaze, and wander about the fence, like crouching quail they wander,

and long to serve him who ne'er can know their service. like birds in springtime they err distractedly, their wailing endless, their woe unending everwhat time they come fromstammering Kudara¹¹ who for him order the rites funereal and on Kinohe. where green the woods are hanging, a tomb enduring for our high Prince establish. that ever god-wise in peace divine he rest thereso was it ordered, but time was when our Prince a palace builded,

through many an age to

through many an age

the palace built he,

and now as though

tow'rds heaven

last,

to last

on Kagu's hill,

my eyes I lift there, in reverent memory my noble Prince still keeping.¹²

Months, days unknowing,
to my lord my love still
passeth,
I know, who ruleth
in sun-bright heaven ruleth

[where now his state he keepeth].

Their ways they know not,
his servants wand'ring wildly,
amid the grasses
grow tall on Haniyasu,
the dike of Haniyasu.

¹ The text of this lay is not free from difficulty, and the rendering is, occasionally, somewhat conjectural. It is the longest in the Manyôshiu, containing 150 verses—a few of which are irregular in metre—and 536 characters in the Chinese script. It is the only example of martial poetry known to me, and Takechi is the only hero celebrated in old Japanese verse. Of most of the masurawo of old Japan it must be said—

'illacrimabiles

Urgentur ignotique longa Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.'

Takechi was a son of Temmu (672-86), the earlier years of whose reign were disturbed by a civil war, which the Prince mainly assisted in quelling (N. II. 301 sqq.). A remarkable speech of the Mikado addressed to him is recorded (N. II. 310), and is worth quoting: "At the Court of Afumi (Ômi) are . . . shrewd ministers with whom to conclude counsel. Now We have no one to advise with except young children. What is to be done?" The Prince . . . bared his arms and grasped his sword . . . saying, "However numerous the Afumi ministers may be, how shall they dare to oppose the [Mikado's] divine spirit . . . thy servant Takechi, in reliance on the spiritual help of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, will inflict chastisement on them." . . . The [Mikado] . . . stroked his back, saying:-"Be prudent . . ." . . . and delivered to him the entire conduct of military affairs. The Prince straightway returned to Wazami.' The decisive battle

took place at Seta towards the close of the seventh month of 672. The description of the rebel army may be compared with that of Takechi's host in the uta. 'Their banners covered the plain; the sound of their drums and gongs could be heard for several tens of ri, their ranged crossbows were discharged confusedly and the arrows fell like rain.' [This description is based on the conventional Chinese account of a battle.]

The above story shows that a considerable period (twenty-four years) elapsed between the event referred to in the first eighty or ninety lines of the lay and the death of Takechi.

A brief history of Takechi may be subjoined, taken from the Nihongi as cited in the Kogi. He was the son of the Mikado Temmu by one of his ladies, Amako, the daughter of a man having the curious name of Munakata Tokuse. He was consequently a half-brother of Prince Shiki, the subject of Lay IV. In A.D. 676 he was granted certain official dresses and armrests—the latter only accorded to princes and nobles of high rank. In the same year 'sustenance-fiefs' were allotted him—i. e., he was granted the tributes or taxes and services paid and rendered by a certain number of households.

In 685 he was promoted to the second division of the rank Jôkwô (pure amplitude). In 686 additional fiefs were bestowed upon him. He also gained prizes at the 'conundrum' tournaments over which the Mikado himself presided, and in which princes, ministers, and high officials took part.

Various other fiefs were allotted him, so that by 692 he possessed 5,000 of these. In 693 he was promoted to the first class of Jôkwô, having previously acted (690) as Daijô Daijin (Prime Minister). In the Minô war, as related above, he displayed great valour. He died in 696. His mi-sasagi was erected on Mitashi Hill, in Hirose in Yamato; an old name of Mitashi is Kinohe. A half column is allotted him in the Jimmei-jisho ('Dict. of Nat. Biography').

To understand the lay, it must be remembered that the Mikado Temmu is buried under the *mi-sasagi* of Makámi; that the battle takes place at Seta, not far from Wazami; and that the miya, mentioned towards the close, is one built by Takechi during his lifetime on the slopes of Mount Kagu, near to Haniyasu no ike, alluded to in the second and most interesting of the appended hanka. The temporary interment would be at Haniyasu, the *mi-sasagi* on Kinohe as above stated. The first four lines of the lay, or the former or latter two which are parallel-

isms, are common modes of humilific expression, recalling—
ϵἴ μοι θέμις τάδ᾽ αὐδᾶν, Soph. Electra.

- ² High ruler—the Mikado Temmu (672–86). He continues to reign from his burial place, as if from Heaven to which he has ascended.
- ³ Wazami. The m. k. cannot be translated. Makura kotoba often apply to a part of word or name, and are then quite untranslatable. It is, however, precisely in such cases that they least deserve notice. Wazami is in Minô.
- ⁴ chihayaburu in the text, a m. k. of uncertain meaning. See List m. k. texts.

 ⁵ Takechi, as Daijô Daijin.
 - ⁶ Bush fires lit to burn the ground for renewal of vegetation.
 - ⁷ The seat of the principal gods in Ise.
- 8 Takechi, twenty-four years later. A thunderstorm occurred on the day of the battle, in 672, at which, however, Takechi was not present.

 9 The Queen-Regnant Jitô (690-6).
- ¹⁰ At the foot of Mount Kagu in Yamato. H. no hara and H. no ike.
- ¹¹ kotosaheku in the text, applied to Kudara, means to stammer or speak indistinctly as a foreigner does. The place-name Kudara (written Hiyakusai) is that of one of the Korean states, transferred to Japan—a memory of one of the many Korean immigrations into early Japan.
- ¹² There are seventeen m. k. in this lay, all of which could be rendered by Greek compounds; some of them indeed are nearly the equivalents of common classical epithets, such as yasumishisi (κοσμήτωρ), shirotaheno (λιπαρο-), chihayaburu (ἐκατό-γχειρος οτ ἐγχέσπαλος), &c.

BOOK II, PART III 25

On the Passing of Prince Yuge 1 by the Eastlander Okisome.

My Lord and Sovran
in peace and power who
rulest,
great Sun-descended
Prince and Highness
in sun-bright heaven

thou bidest in thy palace²,
a very god,
a very god thou bidest
in wondrous maj'sty—
and every day and all day,
each night and all night,

I lay me down and mourn thee nor tears assuage my sorrow. Ah, mighty Lord, a very god he dwelleth beyond the clouds, beyond the clouds empiled he bideth hidden from me.

¹ A son of Temmu (672-86).

² Represented on earth by the shrine of temporary interment. At death the soul (*mi-tama*) of the Mikado mounts to Heaven, and dwells in a palace there.

26

By Hitómaro on the occasion of the Enshrinement of the Princess Asuka on Mount Kinohe.¹

Of Asuka's river (of morning bird-flights minding) 2 the upper waters mid bridging rocks swirl the lower waters rush rough log-bridges under. there river-tresses upon the rocks cling firmly, wilt and renew and drift and sway for ever, upon the timbers, that bear the feet across, the streamy tangle in long abundance groweth,

wilting, renewing, and drifting, swaying ever—

alas how happ'd it 3! as watery tresses graceful e'er was my lady, asstreamy tangle graceful, e'er was my lady, or stood she straight and slender, or lay she idly her slim limbs on the mattingwas it her lord morning forgat some duty, or night-watch broke, lord beloved and her comely!

while quick her days were in time of spring fair flow'rs to deck their heads. red sprays in time of autumn to deck their heads, amid the wild-woods sought they. their fine-stuff sleeves together touching roamed they the hills around, with eyes as bright as mirrors in tireless joyance [on spring and autumn] gaz'd they the orbed moon still rounder growing watch'd they, the Princess and her

on Kinohe
(of royal drink that
mindeth)²
a shrine is builded,
where she shall rest for
ever,
all ended now
their multitudinous
words and glances ended,

lover—

long hath he sorrowed and all his days are weary like nuve bird unmated left and des'late, like restless wild-fowl that flutter in the morning he wand'reth, wond'reth, beneath his mis'ry drooping like summer grasses, like even's star uncertain4 his steps are wayward, his heart like ship at sea toss'd with sorrow heaveth, no solace ever for his woesome soul he findeth, nor any help to him may come, come ever, her name and story shall ever move to pity, while earth and heaven endure the tale shall sadden. and her fair name, to Asuka's stream that answereth 5. to the end of time shall the winding waters hallow him of her beauty minding.

¹ In the Zoku Nihongi ('Continuation of the Chronicles of Japan') we read of a daughter of the Mikado Tenchi by Tachitana no Irátsume, Asuka no hime, who died in 701. The motive of the lay is partly the identity of the name of the Princess with that of the river (in Takechi in Yamato). The kimi or spouse is Osakabe no miko, a son of the Mikado Temmu. Some commentators see in the lay a pendant to Lay 23 (on the death of Prince Kawashima), but the style ohokimi given to the Princess in the lay points to its being composed wholly in her honour. There are two envoys of no importance.

² In each of these parentheses the value of a m. k. is given.

³ The following lines suggest that the interruption to the course of their love was some misfeasance or omission of duty by the Prince, on account of which he was banished. During his exile the lady died.

⁴ The different positions and appearances of Mars (kinsei = golden star) and Mercury (suisei = watery star) may be intended. Or Venus as a morning and evening star, shifting thus from east to west, may be meant.

⁵ The bed of the river Asuka is constantly changing, and is frequently cited in Japanese poetry, new and old, as illustrative of the devious course of lovers' fortunes. The name of the Princess is a homonym of the river, hence the suggested word-play.

27

By Hitómaro on the death of his wife.

By Karu's track
(high fly the birds by
Karu)¹
my love, my sister
abode she in her village ²,
and deep desire
to see her filled my soul,
but eyes too many
forbade my constant visits,
and eyes too curious

but meetings few vouchsaf'd us's,
yet ever I trusted,
tho' endless as the wild
vine 4
the ways might be
at last to meet my dear,
as shipman hopeful
who on his tall ship
leaneth—

while secret still
our ways of love were,
secret
as pool secluded
mid rocks (bear seeds of
fire) 5
alas, my world
a sunless world became,
and clouds o'er spread
the moon that lit my
heaven.
for she, my love,
as deep-sea tangle graceful 6
like autumn's glory

out of my days hath

fadedsuch are the tidings sceptred the runner 7 bringeth, as clang of bow-string of whitewood bow 8 I hear them. but word to answer or means of solace find not. the very words e'en are pain intolerable, yet fain a thousandth I would assuage my sorrow-

so Karu towards

where ay she watched my coming I wend me listening, listening for her voice, but only hear the screams of wild fowl flying across Unebi 9, and folk the spear-way 10 thronging I meet and scan their faces, but no face ever like hers behold I, so nought is left me I can but call her name and wave mysleeve in vain.

Amid the hill ways
by autumn's red leaves
hidden
my wandering love
I fain would seek but
know not
those mountain-ways I
know not.11

With fall autumnal of the ruddy forest leaves the runner see I, and think of a day of trysting that never more shall be. 12

¹ Karu is in Yamato (not far, probably, from the then City Royal, Fujihara. Its homophon karu (karu-gamo) is the

dusky mallard (Br.), hence the application to it of the m. k., of which the value is given in the second line of the translation.

- ² Sato is more than a mere village; it signified a district containing fifty houses at least, in early days probably houses inhabited by courtiers and officials with their servants and cultivators.
- There is a difficulty in the lay, that of the need of visiting the wife secretly. This appears, however, to have been the custom in ancient Japan, where the wife often remained with her parents long after her quasi-marriage. The whole subject of early marriage is briefly dealt with in the Introduction. The author of the Kogi asks with reference to this lay: If Hitomaro does not display genius in this revelation of deep emotion, what poet is there who does? The envoys suggest, more Japonico, rather than express their meaning.

The wife (who was, perhaps, a concubine, having borne no children), must be taken to have died in Autumn.

The term me, woman, is used, not by way of depreciation, but as an expression of intimacy and affection.

- ⁴ More correctly *Kadzura japonica* (Br.), a trailing creeper of which the end is difficult to find amid the bushes, and therefore often made the subject of a simile illustrating indefiniteness in space or time.
 - ⁵ See List of m. k., sub voce kagirohi.
- ⁶ With the flexuous slenderness of various seaweeds the Japanese poet often compares the graceful lines of female beauty.
- Tamadzusa, the 'sceptre' (one is reminded of the Homeric σκήπτρον) was a rod or branch of whitewood (Catalpa, or Prunus cerasus), decorated in various ways, perhaps with beads or haliotis pearls after a fashion conveying a meaning to the recipient, or guaranteeing any verbal message that might be delivered; or a writing might be attached—but this would be in later times probably. The word tamadzusa in modern Japanese means a letter. A hank of yufu (Broussonetia) yarn, hung outside the door, usually indicated the house of call. This mode of communication was commonly employed by lovers. De Gubernatis, in his Mythologie des Plantes, tom. ii. p. 263, writes: 'Dans la campagne d'Arpinum (S. Italy) les jeunes filles connaissent le degré d'amour de leurs fiancés à la couleur du ruban dont ils entourent la branche d'olivier qu'ils

apportent de l'église à la bien-aimée le dimanche des Palmes.' Posies or nosegays with amorous meaning, or with a love letter attached, were common in England up to a recent period.

⁸ A tentative rendering of the m. k.—whitewood bow.

⁹ Of the m. k. of Unebi I have not attempted to give the value. See tamatasuki, List of m. k.

¹⁰ See tamahokono, List of m. k.

¹¹ An allusion probably to her wandering in the darkness of death along paths he cannot follow.

¹² He is reminded of an autumnal meeting (to cull the ruddy sprays) arranged by a like messenger.

28

A Second Lay by Hitómaro on the death of his wife ¹.

When we twain wended the ways of life together, and hand in hand upon the elm trees crowding the dike's ridge yonder anigh our cottage rising did gaze together, were thoughts of love as frequent as leaves in spring upon the thick pleached branches, and on thee leaning mysoulupon thee restedbut sad the doom is that none may win escape from: across the moorland

(where men see far the flames glow) 2 thy bier is borne mid banners white funereal 3. at break of dawn who rose as morning fowl fly, must now be hidden as day by sunset hillsa little son is thy memorial, he weeps and begs and seeks for comfort from me, but I can nothing give him. no toy to cheer him, I can but clasp him to me and fondle him
as doth a man, ungently—
how desolate our chamber
where close our pillows
did erstwhile lie together;
from dawn to darkness
the day is full of sorrow,
from dusk to day-break
I sob and sigh unsleeping,
and know not whither
to turn me in my misery!
and love thee ever
though never may I see
thee.

on high Hakahi (though cock-crow hill its name be)

I know thou sleepest, for men such tidings bring me;

the steep heights stony to climb with painful travail but bootless toil is,
for thee whom living
loved I

I may not see,
e'en for a moment dimly
my eyes let rest upon
thee.

The same moon 'tis this autumn night illumeth

that shone a year gone, but thee and me a year's space that year agone divideth!

I turn me homewards,⁴ and round our chamber gazing, without the alcove my eyes upon thy pillow

upon thy pillow linger.

¹ The subject of the lay must have been a chakusai or true wife, one who had borne a child. The m. k. can only be partially rendered in this lay; of Hakahi, lit. wing-flap, the m. k. is ohotori, great bird, i. e. cock, 'cock-crow' is an imitation of the m. k. There may be an opposition intended between 'cock-crow' and 'sleepest'. There is another envoy in which the husband declares that returning from his wife's tomb on Mount Hikite, he finds life worthless. Mount Hikite is a portion of Mount Hakahi.

² This line is an attempt to combine the literal meaning of the text with the explanation given by the Kogi, which regards the passage as indicating an extensive moorland, being one

over which for long distances the glow of torch or beacon would be visible.

3 Or screens (of white cloth?), according to the Kogi.

⁴ After accomplishing his week's mourning by her tomb. The note to 1. 43 (vol. of texts) is too positive as to the husband's hope of seeing his wife's spirit. The Mikado, and perhaps his relatives, alone appear to have been endowed with a mi-tama, though ghosts are once or twice mentioned in the Manyôshiu. But a ghost—or attenuated body—is not identical with a mi-tama.

29

By Hitómaro on the death of an uneme 1 who came to City-Royal from Shigatsu 2.

Her cheek was glowing 3 as spray of autumn forest, her form was graceful as bending bamboo's stem, I know not how so sad a fate was hers. for life long seeming as coil of cord of yufu, like dew of morning that perisheth ere even, like mist of evening that perisheth with the morrow 4 hath passed and vanished as twang of bow-end noiséd, of bow of whitewood, the tidings brought me

sorrow

though scarce upon her had ever dwelt my eyes but oh how desolate the heart of him. how turned to misery the love he cherished, whose arm with made pillow (soft shining pillow) 5, her lover whom she loved (sword-girt 6 and youthful) untimely victim the maid hath passed away, her little life like morning dew is vanish'd, like sunset mist is gone!

Yon maid of Shigatsu, and by the stream to Shigatsu in Sasanami, wander she hath the world and think of her 'tis sad. left—

- A palace waiting-woman or court-maid. Dr. Aston's derivation yone-me means rice-woman, rice-bearer. But why not simply uneme = arm-woman, i. e. bearer. In N. II. 209 we read, 'For waiting-women in the palace let there be furnished the sisters or daughters of district officials . . . good-looking women [with one male and two female servants—slaves?—to attend on them], and let 100 houses be allotted to provide rations for each waiting-woman.'
 - ² In Afumi (Ômi), probably a ferry or a village by a ferry.
- ³ This rendering is doubtful though supported by some commentators. Comp. text (vol. of texts).
- ⁴ In the above lines the implications in the text are rendered.
- ⁵ The m. k. is lit. a fine fabric coverlet, mantle, or plaid, or perhaps sleeping dress. It is applied to anything connected with sleeping. Here its value cannot be fully given without excessive paraphrase, but of this and a conjoined m. k. the suggestion is contained in the translation.
- The m.k. sword-girt is really a decorative epithet of mi, person, self, but in this instance, as in many others, the suggestion to the Japanese hearer would be, though indistinctly, obliquely as it were, after the manner of Japanese poetry, an application of the m.k. to the lover. The uneme was, possibly, a celebrated beauty whose early death excited commiseration. There are two envoys: the first (here given) upon the grief caused by the sight of the Shiga river—the uneme came from Shigatsu and was buried there; the second echoes the poet's regret for the untimely death of a beautiful maid.
- ⁷ So rendering the m. k. sasanami, which Mabuchi, however, explains as sasanabiki, dwarf-bamboo-bending. The stream alluded to is unknown.

By Hitómaro on seeing a corpse lying on the shore of the island of Samine by Sanuki.

On Sanuki's shoresands fine seaweed folk do gather, and fair the land is whereof the eye ne'er wearieth, a land divine, most excellent, exalted, of Iyo's faces 1 one face it is as ever have said our fathers, as earth, sky, sun, and moon for ever perfect.and now from Naka's haven the ship hath started, and over sea I oar me, by timely breezes 2 blown towards the cloudy sea-marge, and mid the waters the waves I mark restless. and on the shore-sands the whitening breakers hear: the whaley sea how vast it is and awful!

now hither, thither, with turn of helm I wander. and many an island I pass the waters crowding; Samine's isle 3 of all the isles is fairest, whose pebbly strand I tread and thereon build a scanty shelter, and gaze around and hear the ceaseless rumour of the waves the shoresands beating where hath he pillow on couch of rough stones made him who lieth here upon the strand flung prostrate, his home-place knew I I would the sad news tell there. or knew his wife what ways to wend to seek him she would come surely, but the spear-ways she know'th not,

and anxious waiteth
for his home coming yearning,
his winsome wife she
waiteth!

Dwelt his wife near, upon Samine's hillside fresh wild herbs 4 would she have gathered for her husband for yet the season lasteth!

Upon the shore-sands
whereon the waves are
rolling,
are ever rolling,
his pillow hath he made
him,
belike, to take his rest.

1 (K. p. 21) 'Next they [Izanagi and Izanami] gave birth to the island Futa-na in Iyo (sometimes in the old days designating the whole of Shikoku, of which it is now one of the four provinces). This island has one body and four faces, and each face has a name [the names being, as it were, in wedded pairs]. So the Land of Iyo is called the Lovely Princess; the Land of Sanuki is called Prince Good-Boiled-Rice; the Land of Aha is called the Princess-of-Great-Food; the Land of Tosa the Brave Good Youth.' Sanuki is by some derived from saho no ki, saplings used for poles to propel boats. Speculation on the meaning of very many of the old names of places, gods and persons, is, however, very unfruitful, for want of data, i. e. for want of earlier specimens than any extant of the dialects spoken in ancient Japan. Such speculation, too, is extremely facile, from the number of homophons in Japanese. Mr. Chamberlain has done his learned best in this matter, and better theories than his, conjectural though these largely must be, are not likely for some time to be forthcoming.

- ² See text.
- ³ Samine, off Sánuki (NW. portion of Shikoku).
- ⁴ The plant named is *uhagi* (Boltonia cantoniensis?) a composite plant used as a vegetable. The plural form of the word *tsuma* (wife) is used in the text—but I take it as an honour-singular, like *kora* in the preceding lay. She would have gathered herbs to save him from hunger.

Several short lays follow, which are worth giving as they refer to the death of Hitómaro.

A Lay on his approaching death by Hitómaro.

On the rocky heights of Kamo's 1 hill must rest, belike, my body unknowing my sad fate alas! doth she await me!

¹ Kamo is said to be identical with the present Kamoshima, an island off the coast of Ihami. There is still a yashiro (shrine) there known as Hitomaro (written 人力) Daimyojin, with an image of the deified poet. The people there say the image is of great antiquity. Another reading is Imo hill (sister or wife-hill).

Kamo read ka mo expresses doubt and anxiety, hence a word-play rendered in 'belike'. In the dai (argument) the word for death is mi makaru, but the character is shinuru, used only for persons of or below the sixth rank; for the fifth and fourth is used, for the third and higher ranks (sugimaseru, passed away).

Two Lays by the Lady Yosami¹, wife of Hitómaro, on the death of her husband.

Each day, each day
I hoped to bid thee welcome
to thine own homeplace—
who now as the dead shells empty
of Ishi art men tell me.

¹ Yosami must have been a second *chakusai*, or true wife, recognized under the Chinese reformation of 645. The meaning of the *tanka* seems to be that death leaves the body a mere empty shell as it were—a Buddhist notion. The River Ishi flows at the foot of Kamoyama.

The second lay was composed after Yosami had gone down to Ihami upon hearing of her husband's death.

O would I might again my lord's face see, it may not be so—yet, oh, were the mist but lifted from Ishi's flowing waters 1.

¹ She would at least gaze upon the stream familiar to her dead husband.

A Lay made by Tajihi no Mabito, as an answer from Hitómaro.

Fine pebbles gather ¹ rolled down by Ishi's waters to heap beside me, that some kind soul may tell her hereby her husband lieth.

¹ To serve as a cairn to mark his resting-place.

Another anonymous lay is cited from a makimono (MS. roll) apparently representing the feelings of Yosami.

In heaven-distant
march-land of moor and waste
my lord is left—
and ever shall I love him
and broken-hearted mourn him.

During the residence at the Palace of Nara.

31

A Lay indited on the Death of Prince Shiki i in the long-moon month of the first year of Reiki 2.

On Takamato—
where roves the hunter, in archer-hands, the deer grasping to stalk and chase—

on Takamato, though autumn tints the moorland, the gleam I noted of flaming springtime fires, and fain would know of passing wayfarer the spear-ways wending what might they mean, these flamings? 3 fast fell his tears his fine-stuff sleeves bedrenching like summer showers as there he stood and answer'dbut wherefore ask him,
ask him of things unhappy,
his tale with tears,
but filled mine eyes with
tears,
his mournful tidings
but wrung my heart with
sorrow—

'the funeral train 'tis
our noble Prince that
beareth
to his last rest,
and the fires of their
torches
you moorland slopes illu-

mine!'

¹ Son of the Mikado Temmu (673-86), and father of the Mikado Kōnin (770-81). See N. II. 379. He died in the long-moon month (9th) of 715.

The first six lines are a quasi-epithetical preface or introduction to 'Takamato', the name of a hill in Yamato.

² A.D. 715. The Lay is in the Collection of Kasa no Kanamura Asomi—perhaps by Kanamura himself,

³ It was autumn, and what seemed to be bush-fires usual in spring to renovate vegetation, suggested the inquiry.

BOOK III, PART I

32

By Hitómaro, on the occasion of a Hunt by Prince Naga¹ on the moor of Káriji

My noble Prince child of the sun-orb in peace and power who that shineth in high ruleth, heaven,

hath ta'en his horses hath ranged his horses with him 2 on grassy Káriji wild fowl and stag to chaseas stag that boweth his knees upon the ground, as quail that creepeth amidtherustling jungleso I too staglike the knee do bow before him, so I too crouching like quail amid the jungle, my service loyal to him do humbly tender3, and lift my eyes up

as to the sun-bright heaven,
lift eyes as shining asmirror truly polished—4
is he not winsome,
my Prince, as flowers in springtime,
my noble lord and
Prince?

The moon, see, crosseth large-orbed the shining heaven, we will set cords to 't—and draw the very moon down to canopy his litter!

The conceit of the envoy is to honour the Prince by proposing, after the moon (harvest- or hunter's moon?) has risen, at the close of a late hunt, perhaps, to bring down the broad orb to serve as canopy, or cover, or roof to his *mikoshi* or litter.

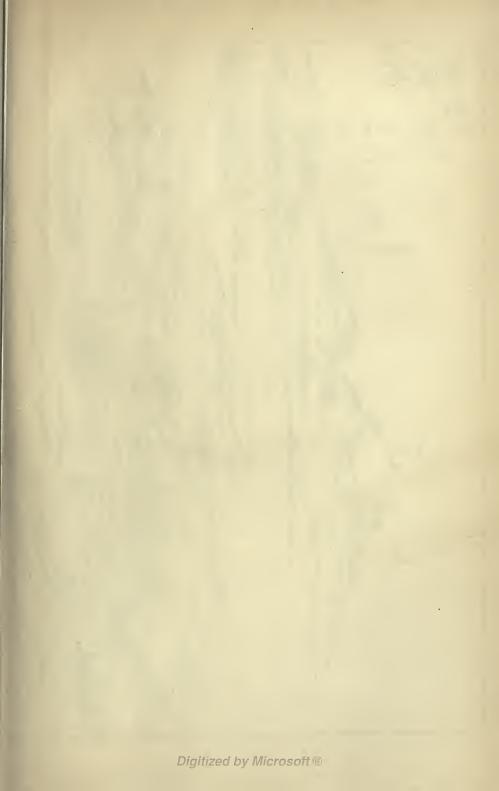
For the m. k. see text, especially as to the one (hisakata) rendered 'sunbright'.

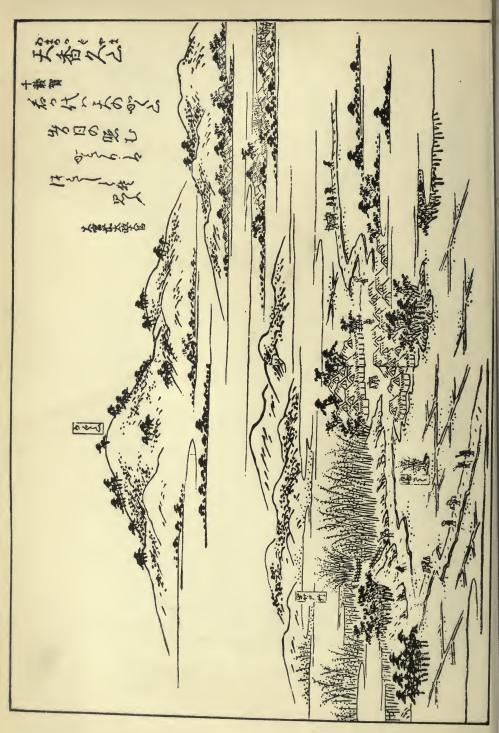
¹ No doubt an adulatory effusion written to order. Naga was the fourth son of the Mikado Temmu, he died in 715. Kariji Moor is in Yamato.

² So, literally, but horses and attendants are meant. The first part is introductory to the rest.

³ The knee-bending stag (a distinctive attitude) and the creeping quail are common illustrations of dutifulness in ancient Japanese poetry.

⁴ The implication may be that his loyal heart is as free from stain as a well-polished mirror (a treasure in ancient Japan) from flaw.





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TO

By Kanton Klaster bits apon Hourt Regul In misty s of pales link, on heavenly Kages ball, with page and our halls where long upo demonstrate on the system the great high descended, g Monut Virenokadır - , the Celesti'l IIIII'. VII the qefair The years is taken from a Collection of 'Thousand-year o monderfully true to the character of the landscape in the this woodout, as of the others illustrating the Anthology, the breezes migna pool ben'y navious oil
hill,
while cherry paradimin
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waters middle the aun in brightness riset would ruel englers mere as the days that risell vild-duck of small vind of the wife of the first of the first of the wife of t Amana kunisi ka supply o to one ella ella Of this party the debling to

Ing no feet and alone how long

W. Nest -or widgestin.

30回の思い は、大日人と は、本日人と	la da
All the details g the Anthology, landscape in the	
Mount Amanokagu—'the Celestial Hill.' All the details of this woodcut, as of the others illustrating the Anthology, are wonderfully true to the character of the landscape in the more fertile parts of Yamato. The verse is taken from a Collection of 'Thousand year Congratulatory Odes'.	I, the of the office of the of
Mount Amanokagu—' the Go of this woodcut, as of the other more fertile parts of Yamato. The verse is taken from a Congratulatory Odes'.	Kimi ga yo ha Amanokaguyama idzum hi no teramu kagiri ka tsukizhi zo to omofu. (By the former Prime The mountain is 'thic daily over it.

33

By Kamo no Kimitari-hito upon Mount Kagu.1

In misty springtime
on heavenly Kagu's hill,
where long ago
the great high gods
descended,
the breezes murmur

among the clustering pinewoods, the waters ruffling of the pool beneath the

hill,
while cherry blossoms
still whelm the groves in

beauty—
the waters midmost
the wild-duck calls his
mate,
the strand anear

loud whirr the flocks of a ji²,
but on the waters
no barge awaits the

pleasure

of palace folk,
with pole and oar forth
furnished,
all desolate on the waters
unmanned there lie the
barges.

That no man oareth
or boat or barge, 'tis
plain,
for diving wild-fowl,
the oshi and takahe stand perch'd upon their
borders.

How long hath lasted this awful solitude? the moss hath gather'd, on Kagu's straight-shafted cedars will tell the mournful tale!

¹ Of the author of the lay nothing is known. The lament is on the ruined chapel of Takechi (see 24).

In the first envoy the desolation is shown by the birds perching on the royal wherries; in the second the moss growing on the trunks of the cryptomerias shows how long it is since the burial took place.

- ² A kind of teal (Anas formosa?).
- ³ Anas galericulata.
- ⁴ Some kind of wild-duck or teal or widgeon.

34

To Prince Nihitabe.

My noble Prince!
in peace and power who
ruleth,
child of the sun-orb
which shineth in high
heaven—

where mid the hills
our Prince to rest him
deigneth,
from the sunbrightskies
adown the air now falleth
white snow incessant—

as frequent, Prince, thy presence bestow upon the Palace.

So thick it falleth
the snow the wild woods
hideth
on Yátsuri's hillside,
and well 'tis now to see
the court-folk brave the
tempest!

35

By the Chiunagon Ohotomo no Kyô, on the occasion of a Royal Visit to the Country-Palace at Yóshino in the *yayohi* month ¹.

Yon country Palace
fair Yóshino ² midmost
standeth
by hills engirdled,
hills excellent to look on,
by sweet streams
water'd,
whose flow to watch is
pleasant—
as earth and heaven
for years a thousand thou-

sand

may it endure, unchanged may it endure our Sovran's country Palace.

As Kisa's 3 waters
seen long ago once more
my eyes do gladden—
Obrighter glow the waters,
more shining rolls the
river!

¹ The yayohi is the third or 'blossoming' month. According to the Zoku Nihongi the year was 1 Jinki (724).

² There is a m. k. of Yóshino in the text which would make

the meaning lit. 'Yóshinu fair Yóshinu'.

³ On the river Akidzu there still exists a village called *Kisatani mura*—'village in the vale of Kisa'. The envoy describes the pleasure of the poet (who may have been long absent on provincial duty) on revisiting scenes familiar to him as a courtier.

36

By Yámabe no Sukune Akáhito, on viewing Fujiyama.¹

Since earth and heaven
were parted long ago
hath Fuji reared
its lofty peak and glorious,
divine and lonely,
midmost Surúga's land—
as wondering
I search the sunbright
heavens,

I note the mountain theverysun's light hiding,
I note the mountain the very moon's light hiding ²,
about the mountain

the white clouds wayless
hov'ring,
and on the mountain
the snows lie everlasting—
and so for ever
I would there ran the
story,
of the lefty reak of

of the lofty peak of Fuji!

On Tago's strand
I wander forth to gaze—
lo, whitest white
high Fuji's summits hineth
with white snow newly
fallen!

¹ The first of the lays attributed to Akáhito, one of the most famous of the poets of the Manyôshiu. Little is known of him. Sukune is a title—younger prince (F. II. 310), also a kabane which—as here probably—often became part of the uji or family name. The Kogi has a long note on the name Yámabe and the ways of writing it ideographically. The name Yámabe no Sukune is found in the Nihongi (under 13th year

of Temmu). In the *Jimmei-jisho* ('Dict. of Nat. Biogr.') he is considered nearly equal in poetic merit to Hitómaro, the prince of Japanese poets, part of whose name (Kakinomoto) he adopted. In Tempyò (729–49) he was in Yóshinu, and later in the Eastland, where he saw Fujiyama.

² So lofty is the mountain its peak part hides even the light of the lofty orbs of sun and moon as they fulfil their course.

³ A quintain almost identical with the envoy will be found in the *Hiyakunin Isshiu* ('A Hundred Poems by a Hundred Poets'). See *infra* Hiyakunin, No. XIX. Tago (Tako) is a favourite place whence to view Fuji, situate on the coast of Súruga.

37

A Lay upon Fujiyama.1

describe Where Kahi marches -of savoury shell-fish minding-2 with the land of Súruga, amid the lands encircling, on high great Fuji its tow'ring peak exalteth, where hither, thither, the heaven-clouds come and go, where fowl high-flying to reach the peak soar vainly, where burning fires the snows etern would vanquish, where falling snows the fires etern would vanquishwhat words may fitly

mountain which his dread seat the awful god hath made himanigh the mountain the lake men Se³ call lieth. whose waters Fuji doth with its high slopes border. and from its flank forth a river 4 roareth seawards, by wayfarers crossed east or westwards faring, all our vast Dawnland the land of Old Yamato that great god ruleth who hath his seat on Fuji,

the chiefest treasure

yon

peerless

of all our land is Fuji,
that hill exalted
o'er all the hills of Súruga,
a joy unchang'd and
changeless!

on Fuji's peak

the fallen snow that lieth in the month of midyear 5,

when the moon is fullest melteth,

and the self same night snow falleth 6!

¹ Said to be found in the collection of Tsukasa no Ason Kanamura, though contained in the Anthology of Mushimaro.

² Kahi (Kai) is one of the eight provinces adjoining the mountain; the homophon means 'a shell', hence the m. k., of which the value is attempted in the next line. In ancient Japan shell-fish were esteemed somewhat of a luxury. But kahi was more probably the equivalent of tani, a valley.

³ There is in the Kogi a long note upon Se, the upshot of which is that it is a lake or pool in the vicinity, and is not the 'divine water', more properly narusawa, said to be found in a hollow place at the bottom of the crater, surrounded by small shrubs, and containing a huge boulder in its midst. Narusawa means 'resounding-swamp', and the name, we are told, is due to the roar of the steam and greenish vapours that bubble through the water, a sort of solfatara which may very well have existed in the more active days of the volcano within the present crater (more probably in the neighbourhood of the hump known as Hóyeisan, caused by a flank-eruption in the fourth year of the nengo (year-period) so called (1707). According to the Wakansanzaidzue ('Chinese and Japanese Pictorial Encyclopaedia of the Three Powers, Heaven, Earth, and Man', published in eighty volumes in 1714, founded upon the Chinese 'San ts'ai t'o hwui') the creation of Fuji took place in the reign of the Mikado Kôsei (in B. c. 285), and eruptions from the summit occurred in 18 Yenryaku (A.D. 800), and again in 5 Jôgwan (A.D. 865). See my Fugaku Hyakkei, or 'Hundred Views of Fujiyama. There are said to be eight tarns or lakes round Fujiyama. See also the story of Taketori, infra.

⁴ The river is the Fujigawa, forded on the passage along the Tôkaido, the great Eastern sea-way connecting the Eastern and Western capitals, the capital of the Shogun (Yedo now Tôkyō), with that of the Mikado (Kyôto or Saikyô). Of course this road

was not in existence in the Manyô age, but it probably follows the old Eastland track.

⁵ Fifteenth of the sixth month.

⁶ This tradition is paralleled by another—that the stones constantly rolling down the flanks of Fuji during the daytime roll up again during the night, and so preserve the height and mass of the mountain unchanged.

38

By Akáhito, on visiting the Hot wells of Iyo.1

Many the lands are within our Sovran's sway lie, and healing waters in every land are flowing, but the land of Iyo² most excellent in mountains. in islands excellent, its lofty peak 3 show'th towering, in craggy steepness, o'er the knoll of Izaniha. where long ago the Learned Prince stood musing in reverie poetic-

while idly gazing upon the grove there clustering above the Hot-wells, of the omi tree 4 I mind me where rivalling songsters once carolled, carolling still there 5, and ever may they from such a tree still carol the Sovran gladdening who shall these happy waters bless with his godlike Presence.

¹ The poet, on a visit to the famous hot springs in Iyo, remembers that here was once a favourite resort of the Learned Prince, Toyotomimi, and, later, of the Mikado Jomei (629-41). On the latter occasion the Mikado was much charmed with the song of a pair of birds, the 'ikaru' (Japanese hawfinch), and the 'shime' (common hawfinch) who haunted an 'omi' (note 4)

tree or grove near the springs. In the Nihongi, under the year 593, the story of Toyotomimi-'Learned Prince', otherwise Shôtoku Daishi, the real founder of Buddhism in Japan—is He was the second child of the Mikado Tachibana Yōmei, 586-7. His mother, on going round the 'forbidden precinct', reached the door of the stables, when she was suddenly delivered of him without effort. He was able to speak as soon as he was born, and was so wise when he grew up that he could attend to the suits of ten men at once and decide them all without error-mirabile dictu. He also knew beforehand what was going to happen. He became thoroughly proficient in the Inner Doctrine (Buddhism) and the Outer Doctrine (Confucianism). He was known as the Senior Prince, Mumayado Toyotomimi (stable door or sharp-eared Prince). Almost verbatim from N. II. 122-3. His death is recorded under the year 621.

² See ante Lay 30.

³ Ishidzuchi yama is the name of the hill.

⁴ Omi no ki, the courtier's tree, a sawara (Chamaecyparis pisifera?) that grew near the residence of the Wokamato Mikado, Jomei (629-41), when he visited the springs with his consort.

39

By Akáhito, on going up to Kamiwoka 1.

In Mimoro ²
on the hill of Kaminabi
the leaves are crowded
of the tsuga trees there
standing,
and countless ever
as the leaves are of the
tsuga ³,
and endless ever
as the coils of tamakadzura ⁴.

I hoped my farings
to Asuka ceaseless would
be,
now desolate, deserted—
where tower the mountains
and far-off waters glisten
in days of spring time
where fair to see the hills
are,

in autumn moonlight
the rivers sparkle bravely,
where morning clouds
rise
to hide the noisy cranes,
and mists of evening
the croaking frogs to
cover,
the scene so fair
now filleth me with
sorrow

on ancient memories musing.

Like mists arising
from every pool that
stayeth
Asuka's waters
the mists of memory bring
me!
sad thoughts that pass
away not 5.

¹ Kamioka.

² Mimoro, in Yamato, seat of the god Ômiwa. The name means sacred cave [dwelling?]: according to (F. I. 146 n.) a sacred grove.

³ Abies tsuga: there is a jingle here, tsuga=tsugitsugi, which

I do not imitate.

⁴ Cercidiphyllum japonicum, a long trailing sarmentaceous hedge-plant.

Both lay and envoy allude to the deserted condition of the palace of the Mikado Temmu (673-86) at Kiyomihara.

⁵ The text of the *hanka* cannot be rendered literally: as close an imitation as possible is given.

BOOK III, PART II

40

By Kanámura, on embarking at Tsúnuga in Echizen 1.

From Tsúnuga's haven to fare o'er Koshi's waters the great ship starteth, with stout oars manned full amply to ride the waters whence men huge whales drive shorewards—

as pant the rowers
Tayuhi's ² bay is reached,
where high the fumes
rise,

the fumes of fires blazing
the saltpans under
which fisher-maids are
tending—
on grassy pillow

a lonely traveller nothing thescene me pleasureth, to Yamato³, land of islands, with longing thoughts I turn me.

¹ He is homesick. The m. k. in this lay can scarcely be rendered. One suggests—in the usual aside—heroic strength in relation to ta (arm) of Tayuhi; another a phrasal m. k. consisting of three verses emphasizes the sentiment of the last two lines. Tayuhi is in Échizen. Koshi is an old name for the three modern provinces of Échizen, Etchiŭ, and Echigo. Of Kanámura (Kasá no Asomi Kanamura) nothing is known.

² That is, the view of the salt-pans (often cited as a picturesque element in Japanese poetry) affords me no pleasure, having not my love to share it with. This I believe to be the meaning of the text, supported by a short lay (the sixth) in the seventh book, in which, for a like reason, the poet can take no joy from contemplation of the beauty of a moonlight night.

³ Shimane may also be either a place in (there is a *Ken* of that name still), or an old name of, Yamato.

41

By Akáhito, on ascending to the moor of Asuka.

Upon Mikasa ¹
(of royal cap reminding)
by cloudy Kásuka ²,
where springtime bringeth mist,
morn after morn still
the kaho bird doth twitter,
with heart a-drifting
like clouds that hover
flutt'ring

unmated sitteth,
so I each morn unmated,
and all the day through,
and every night the night
through,
am filled with sorrow,
for that with thee I am not
whom daylong nightlong
love I.

¹ Mikasa may mean a canopy or sunshade held over the Sovran or his litter. The translation is, in part, imitative.

In the Nihongi (Iida's edition) under the year 649 I find the following uta:-

> on the mountain river two pairing wild-fowl are there of equal beautyand she and I were paired too, but she hath been ta'en from me!

² In Yamato, a part of the Mikasa group.

42

A Lay of Invocation by Sákanohe no Irátsume 1.

On Takechiho. where long ago descended'st from sunbright heaven, thou dread god2, on our land--of sacred clevera fresh flow'ry sprays I gather, with white cloths 3 deck. and hang with shining tresses. full jars of sake in due array presenting

before thy altar, thou god from heaven descended. and full-thrid bead-lace of bamboocirclets wearing I bow me lowly, asbend the deer I bend me, about me casting my woman's scarf of prayer 4 and ask the god, dear, that I again may meet thee again that we may meet, dear.

- ¹ Daughter of Saho Dainagon no Sukune Yasumaro, younger sister of Tabihito no Kyô and aunt and mother-in-law of Yakamochi no Kyô. She married first Prince Hôdzumi, then a Fujihara, and lastly Ohotomo Sukune Namaro, and bore him two daughters, of whom one was Sakanohe no Oho Iratsume, often mentioned in the Anthology. Iratsume does not appear to be a title but rather a designation, 'beloved lady'. had a house at Sakanohe village.
- ² The god was Ame no Oshihi no Mikoto ancestor of the Ohotomo house.
 - 3 Of paper mulberry bark.

⁴ A long veil or scarf, hiding the face, reaching to the hem of the skirt, used in prayer, originally (said to be) part of the ordinary dress of women.

43

The Ascent 1 of Mount Tsukuba.2

In cockcrow Eastland, though many the lofty hills are, of all the noblest is the twin-peaked hill of Tsukuba³, and ever hath been from the age of the gods till now— whence all the champaign may men with full delight

view,

and now when springtime,
escaping clutch of winter 4,
hath come, yet snow still
upon the mountain lieth,
I will not further,
untried the mountain,
wend me,
but climb the hill ways
and strain to reach the
twin-peak
amid the snows unvanished.

¹ Mentioned in the *Nihongi* under the year 737. In 739 he was made Mimbu no Shôbu (Under-Secretary of the Home Office).

² The double-peaked mountain in Hitachi familiar to the inhabitants of Tokyo, and a conspicuous object from Yokohama.

3 More lit. 'twin-godded'; one peak is the seat of a god, the

other of a goddess (see post, Lay 110).

⁴ From this point the text is obscure; two lines are interpolated by Keichiu. I have slightly amplified the translation to give what appears to be the full sense.

44

A Travel-lay, by [Wakamiya Toshinwo Maro?].1

Most wonderful the sea is, realm of gods midmost whose waters Ahaji's isle upriseth, which pass we, rounding the white surfed shores of Iyo, and from Akashi

(of the bright'ning moon-orb 2 that later riseth minding) we oar as falleth, the dusk of even falleth, the tide it floweth. and as the daylight followeth the tide it ebbeth, daylight showeth, as ebbeth, what waves and mighty the flowing tide upheaveth. roar mid the rocks Ahaji's shores defending---

I cannot sleep,
when will the night-gloom
vanish
and day appear—
on Asa's moor by Tagi³
betimes the pheasants,
will each their mate be
calling,
up men, the oars man,

up men, the oars man, and pant we forth to sea, for calm is the morning sea-floor

The isles we coast,
round Minume's lofty cape
our bark we oar—
the cries of cranes I hear,
is this beloved Yamato!

¹ The lay is attributed to Wakamiya, of whom, however, nothing is known.

² According to the Kogi the seventeenth day is that of the *tachi* (when one may see the moon-rise ere retiring), the eighteenth that of the *wi* (when moon-rise may be seen just before retiring), the nineteenth that of the *ne* (when moon-rise may be seen after retiring to sleep)—alluding to the changes in the time of rising of the satellite immediately after full moon. The translation is an attempt to give the value of the *makura kotoba*.

³ In Settsu. The cry of the cranes reminds the traveller—always in ancient Japan a reluctant one—of the homeland, Yamato, where stands City-Royal.

BOOK III, PART III

45

By the Lady Nifu¹ on the Passing of Ihata no Ohokimi.

O graceful, comely
my ruddy lord he was—
and now come tidings
on Hátsuse's hill secluded
in loneliness
and blessedness he lieth,
such are the tidings
the sceptred runner bringeth—

what sad words these?
or false or foolish marvelling
in grief I ponder,
and earth and heaven
seem full,
seem full of sorrow,
to the very clouds above,
as far as heaven,
as far as earth extendeth—

so forth I wend me,
on nearer ways or further,
on staff still leaning
or by a staff unholpen 2,
the evening oracle
ofwayfarers'talk to listen 3,
or rock to question
DICKINS. 11

and thence draw helping answer—4

I will a shrine set will set within my dwelling invoke the gods there, and by my pillow range sacrificial jars, and don my bead-lace bamboo-rings close thridded, and suppliant arms upbear with cords of yufu, and in my hands will take the sacred rushhaulm 5 that in the meadow of Heaven's sasara 6 groweth. nay, in the waters of Heaven's own stream eternal would lave me purefor my sweet lord to pray who lieth steepy on Taka!

Oh would they false
were!
these woesome tidings
false were,
alas, he lieth
on Taka's steep outstretched,
alone my lord he lieth!

Thick as the cedars
hide Furu's hill upon me
sad thoughts come
crowding—
nor may I chase them
from me
for they are thoughts of
thee.

³ Going forth into the crossways to listen to the utterances of passing wayfarers, and gather from these such guidance as may be possible.

¹ She flourished in Tempyô (A.D. 729-49). There is, however, another Nifu, who was a man, mentioned in the list of *ohokimi*. Of Ihata nothing is known.

² This became a common phrase—tsuwe tsuki mo tzukazu mo yukite, meaning 'at all events', 'in any case'—or, perhaps, 'if blind or old', tsuwe tsuki = mékura (eye-dark, i. e. blind).

⁴ A mikado (Keikô, 71-130) is said to have found a boulder on Kashiha moor and to have declared—'If We are to succeed in destroying the rebels (tsushi-gumo, earth-spiders or earthcave-dwellers), when We kick this stone may it fly up like a Kashiha (oak) leaf.' He then kicked it, the boulder flew up, and the cave-men were subdued (N. I. 195). [In a work of the fifteenth century we read-'There is a stone kept at the shrine of Sai (Sahe?) no Kami (Priapus) by lifting up which people practise divination-if they succeed, good luck will attend them.' With regard to the road-oracle-Chikamatsu in one of his plays, Horikaha nami no tsudzumi, describes a Kataki uchi (vendetta) party, who hesitate on meeting a group of peasant women talking together about having had no opportunity of beating their sandals (waraji uchi), or words ominous of their inability to kill (uchi) their enemy. Afterwards they draw courage from the words of another party who are talking about an ignorant barber cutting (kiru = cut or kill) his customer by the awkward use of the razor.]

⁵ 'Sacred rush' written 'seven joints'. The Kogi gets over the difficulty by reading 'seven' as 'iha' (stone)—the two characters might then be read iha ahi, from which the transi-

tion to *ihahi* (blessed, sacrificial, sacred, &c.) is no feat in Japanese etymology. The rush was used to sprinkle water in the Lesser (or personal) Purification. See K. 280, and Florenz, (T. A. S. J. XXVII), also Aston, Shinto.

⁶ A moor in skyland. Keichiu, however, says there is a place called Sasara in Yamato, and that its transference to heaven arose from a confusion with Sasara no ye (the broom in the moon); Sasara ye otoko is the man in the moon who holds the broom, a Taouist fancy.

46

An Elegy by Yamákuma no Ohokimi on the Death of Ihata no Ohokimi.¹

Ihare's track
—all ivied o'er the rocks
are—
each morn he trod,
Iwould he trod them ever,
and Imightmeet him—
the fifth moon 2 under,
when blithe-voiced cuckoo
cometh,
fair sweet flag flow'rs
and orange blooms would
gather,
and weave in garlands
wherewith to deck the
head—

in the late-moon 3 month. when showers fall apace, the sprays of autumn would pluck and weave in chapletsand so for ever. for time as endless as the coils of kuzu 4, would fare to meet my lordbut now, alas, more the morrow no know'th him. where may my eyes behold him!

¹ Some commentators attribute this lay to Hitómara. In some editions the envoys follow. Yamákuma was a son of Prince Osakabe, one of the sons of the Mikado Temmu. Of Ihata nothing is known; see XLV.

² Sa-tsuki. Various explanations, none satisfactory, are given of this name. The 'Kotoba no Izumi' suggests sa-nahe, quick growth.

* nagatsuki, not 'long month', but perhaps 'long or late moon', 'hunter's moon month'. Another derivation is from nigi, 'fruiting' month.

⁴ A trailing leguminous plant, Pueraria Thunbergiana.

47

By Akahito on passing by the Tomb of the Maid of Mama in Katsushika 1.

In Mama village
in the land of Kátsushika
of old time dwelt
a maid of wondrous
beauty,
and well wooed was she,
exchanged were Shidzu²
girdles
and bride-hut builded ³,
so well wooed was the
maiden—
her tomb they told me
lay here by thick pleached
leafery
of maki hidden

yet long as pine tree lasteth her piteous story the tale of all her sorrow shall in my heart endure!

Still heaves the seawrack
in Mama's clear waters
by Kátsushika—
how oft the drifting sea
spoil
hath Mama's fair maid
gather'd! 4

¹ Known in Eastland as Kátsushika no Mama no teko (The Beauty of Mama). She was of low degree, but wooed by many, and embarrassed by the difficulty of choice finally threw herself into the sea; probably because she could not become the wife of the one she preferred.

Compare the lays on the Maid of Unahi (122, 125), and the one on Sakura no ko (203).

² Shitsu = shidzu, a sort of cloth (hempen?); also a variety in which a weft of dyed yarn was woven in to form a sort of mixed pattern. It was used for girdles. In old Japan lovers exchanged their girdles in sign of mutual affection, or knotted them in token of fidelity.

³ In the text, fuse-ya, a small cottage, or hut, or penthouse. In old days a small hut was built by the bridegroom's house in which the pair passed the first night. The custom is often alluded to in the Annals. In a village in Tosa known to the author of the Kogi (a Tosa man), the same custom still obtained in his day (first half of nineteenth century).

⁴ A similarity is implied between the movement of the floating

weeds and the grace of the maid who gathered them.

48

An Elegy by the Hangwan Ohotomo no Sukune Minaka on the Death by self-strangling of the Secretary of Fief-allotments in the land of Tsu, Hasetsukabe no Tatsumaro, in the first year of Tempyô (729).

'True liegeman ever of those who guard the frontier from marge to marge of o'er canopying heaven, or watch without, or serve within the Palace am I,' exclaimed he, to father, mother, to wife and children saying 1, how faithfully for generations endless as coil of kadzura² good service to their Sovran his foregoers gave, and he would prove him worthy of their great name-

so from the day of parting his lady mother who tenderly had nursed him, full jars of saké before the gods presenting, in one hand bearing god-gifts of yufu cloth, in one uplifted fine-fabric offerings due earth and gods, and prayed them to protect him from every evilwhat year, what month, what day, the housefolk wonder. will they behold him,

the flower-blooming house lord,
like absent mate to niho duck returning 3, his lonely wife with his caresses gladden, standing, sitting 4, his housefolk thus await him—

In dread obeisance
to his Sovran's high command
years long he bided
in the land of wave-worn
Naniha,
undry the sleeves
of his bright vestments
ever,

morn and even
thus bided he in sorrow 5
when—no manknoweth
what thoughtarose within
him—
the mortal misery
of this mean world imper-

of this mean world impermanent
as dew and rime are 6
to flee for ever left he
untimely sped self-fated!

But yesterday
perchance he still drew
breath,
and now, alas,
above the pines shore
fringing
hisfuneral fumes are drifting!

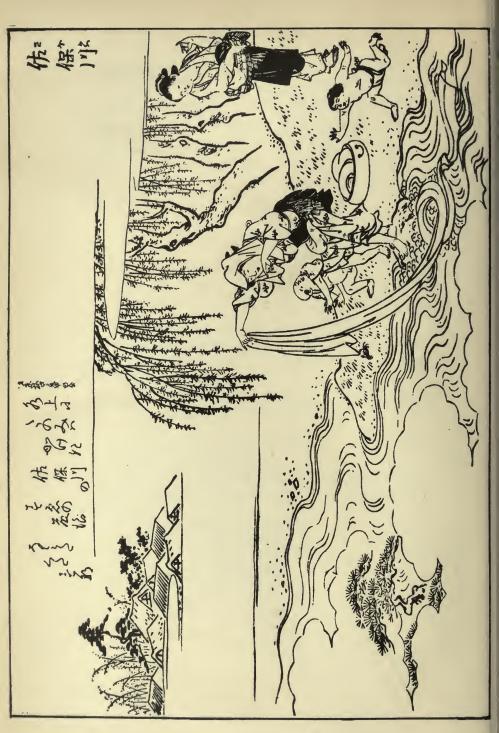
² To take provincial service.

¹ They would all be under the same roof. See Glossary.

³ Allusion to the common Chinese illustration of mandarin ducks as examples of wedded fidelity. See the first ode of the Shihking.

A phrase signifying 'continually.'
 Regretting his home in City-Royal.

⁶ The m. k., of which the value is here given, is in the text an epithet of okite, 'abandoning.'



Digitized by Microsoft ®

An Flore de July Obosomo no Sakanohe on the Dont of the Korean Nan Rigwan in 7 Transportation.

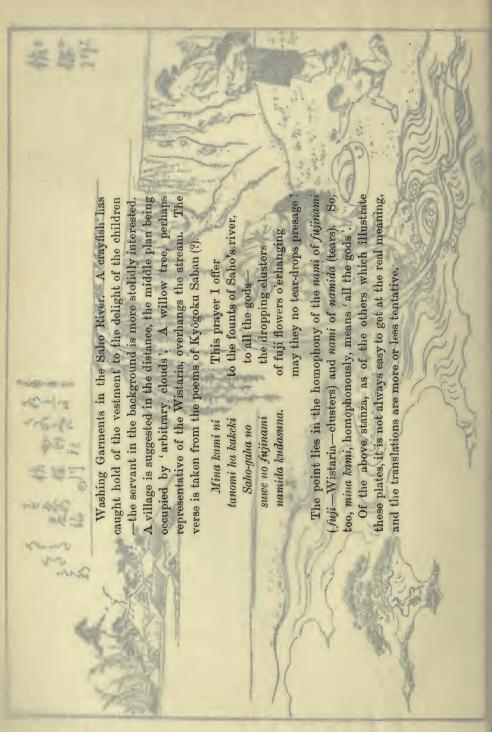
From hrom Mindri the thread of years abode imaniji lo imam and fo prodpomori and ni bilo pier eifer. Od .. (eras) ab mam lo imam bus (= busto - sine -iV - iyi)

elos min anism prodpomori propomori min anism pool to man anism pool to anism prodpomori min anism pool to the spanism produce and to the spanism produce and the shall be anism produce and the spanism to our distant basi she may they no trundrops Presses; Live Chinasa rylbiloh eyong erbunorgsbad edd ni dusvrse eddelbbin eft genarib edd ni be esque ai egaffir A
end wallin A ebuolo yra didus ; d beigesop
meda's nalogory to emade the from the person invaluation of the didustrial of beigesop
meda's nalogory to emade the first of the frame of the first of t Day bears over mer fair white slower beaure mi Grenching. and as I weep within myself I rune perchance my bears may wall beddied her esclonded er Arima gether in a consector of the

twere while longth-

and fall in gentle min

there!



An Elegy by the Lady Ohotomo no Sakanohe on the Death of the Korean Nun Rigwan in 7 Tempyô (735).

From bright 2 Shiraki to our distant land she journey'd, whereof the fame from men's lips had she heard, tho' kindred none, tho' parents none, nor brethren for sweet devising abode in our Dawnlandnor City-Royal where many a mansion standeth in sunlight flooded 3, chose she for her abode, but other-minded beyond the stream of Saho sought solitude amid the mountain ways like child that weepeth and sure refuge findeth anigh its mother; so came the Nun among us and builded her a modest house to dwell in and there while length-

en'd

the thread of years abode she, but none the dest'ny of mortals may avoid—

while those who loved
her 4
ondistantways are faring
—grass-pillow ways—
o'er Saho's stream is borne
tow'rds the wild-wood
hills
beyond the moor of Kasuka,
in darkest darkness
to rest, the outland nun—
nor help is any,

nor words of solace any,
alone and des'late
I wander hither, thither,
my tears ever
my fair white sleeves bedrenching,
and as I weep
within myself I muse
perchance my tears may
as clouds o'er Arima gather
and fall in gentle rain
there!

¹ The nun Rigwan came from Shinra (Silla, a kingdom of Korea), and lived for many years in (or near) the house of the Dainagon, the Commander-in-Chief, Ohotomo no Kyô (Yasumaro no Kyô?). In 7 Tempyô (735) she fell suddenly ill, and died. The wife of the Dainagon had gone to the baths of Arima—her name was Ishikaha no myôbu (a fifth rank dignity)—and the death took place during her absence. The daughter, Sakanohe no Iratsume (see Lay 42, to be distinguished from her daughter Sakanohe no Oho-iratsume) alone accompanied the funeral, and sent the elegy to her mother at Arima.

² The m. k. is '(white as) mulberry bark cord'.

³ This is a literal rendering of the m. k.

⁴ i. e. her friends, save Sakanohe herself, who at the time of her death had gone to Arima.

50

An Elegy by Ohotomo no Sukune Yakamochi on the death of his me ¹.

Now in the forecourt thy flower2 well it bloometh. yet bringeth to me, no ease of heart it bringeth, were we together, like water-fowl a-pairing, I'd pluck a flower and show it to thee dear, but mortal wast thou, thy days on earth were fleeting, impermanent as rime or dew of morning, and now thou liest amid the wild-wood hills. like setting sun beyond the ken of earth, O what my sorrow,

what grief my soul doth burden, I cannot speak, thy name I cannot utter, this world without thee is but a traceless misery to bear my woe I know not!

How long so'eer life's end impendeth ever, her sad fate mourning, from me my love is taken and but a baby left me.

Would I had known
what way of fate were
thine,
would I had known it

I would have held thee hath bloomed and passed safe, love! away, and barred that way 3 for agone its season—

and barred that way ³ for thee.

away,
agone its season—
and flow afresh my tears
my sleeves are undry
ever.4

Theflowerthouknewest

¹ Me, lit. 'woman', here means 'wife'; not used in a humilific sense, but as a term of intimacy.

This lay seems to be the first chôka by Yakamochi.

² A nadeshiko, or pink (Dianthus), planted by the wife.

³ The way of death.

⁴ Several short elegies precede the above, of which one may be given as explanatory of the longer lay—

As autumn showeth,
the pretty pink thou plantedst
to make my home
more bright with memory of thee—
what profiteth its flower!

The date of these lays is 740.

51

An Elegy by Yakamochi on the Death of Prince Asaka.¹

With awe and reverence of things so high to chant 2—

from Kuni's Palace, from Kuni, City-Royal my noble Prince, would that a myriad ages o'er great Yamato high rule thou mightest have borne,

from Kuni, where

as swaying spring forth
cometh
all where the hill-sides
are rich with crowded
blossom,
and the clear rivers
are live with darting
troutlets 3,
as each day groweth
with vernal beauty
gayer,

there come the tidings,

these tidings, sad to hear, that—O to tell them the servants of the Palace fair white robes donning to the wooded heights of Wadzuka have borne thy bierof my Lord's new rule in
Heaven,
on the woods of Wadzuka,
as day by day passed by,
I turned but eye indifferent.

and thou in all-shine
Heaven
high sway still bearest
but low with grief I grovel,
my sleeves with tears bedrench'd!

The wooded hill-sides,
where close the hi trees
cluster,
are gay with blossom—
as wilt the flow'rs and
perish
my lord from the world
hath faded!

While yet I dreamed not

¹ The lay is the second of six, four of which are short lays indited in memory of Asaka a son of the Mikado Shômu (724-48), who died at the age of seventeen. Shômu established his City-Royal at Kuni, in Yamashiro, but only, according to Satow, from 724 to 728. The Prince died in the kisaragi month of 745. Kisaragi is an old name for the second month. The etymology given is ki (put on), sara (again), gi (raiment?), i. e. the month of doubled clothing to ward off the cold.

Asaka was apparently regarded as heir, and would preserve his earthly rank in heaven, whence his ancestors came, and where they now were gathered. Like the Jews, the ancient Japanese thought there was a counterpart in heaven of the world they knew—a heavenly Nippon, just as there was a heavenly Jerusalem.

² This is a rendering of the introductory quatrain, with which many of the lays open. More literally—'with a great fear to utter, with awe to speak, belike!'

'Where stooping you may see the little minnows darting aimlessly.'

⁴ Now the hill is endeared to the poet as the burial place of his Lord.

52

A Second Elegy by Yakamochi on the Death of Prince Asaka.

Withaweandreverence of theme so high to singofttimes would summon. my Lord the palace servants 1 to the chase of deer amid the hills of morning, mid the hills of even to rouse the wary wildfowl his goodly courser with staying hand restraining on hill and river to gaze and heart to gladden-

on high Ikuji
where hang the wild woods
shaggy
the sprays were blossoming,
but now of all their glory
the hills are empty,
for such the fleeting way is
of this our world—

with stout glaive girded, with hero-heart high beating,

with bow of whitewood and arrowful quiver slung across their shoulders, as long as heaven,

as long as earth should last, for a myriad ages

thy servants on thee leaned them and trusted ever

so might the state endure—

whothronged thy spacious palace

like flies in summer, like flies on summer ways, but now, white-robed,

their whilom smilings vanished,

their busy joyance gone, as the days agone

their piteous plight lament.²

² The sense of the various m. k. is included in the trans-

lation.

¹ Lit. weapon-wights, warriors; equivalent nearly to toneri, retainers, palace attendants of gentle birth, who in ancient Japan were always of the warrior class.

53

An Elegy by Takahashi no Asomi 1 on the Death of his wife.

Our fair white sleeves on love's embrace enlacing till jetty tresses to snowy locks should turn them. year after year to dwell together ever, unparted ever the thread of our twain lives. was what we vow'd each, we vow'd each to the other, thou and I, dear, but unfulfill'd the bond is, our hearts' desire all unachieved remaineth for destiny our shining sleeves hath parted and thee, my spouse, from pleasant home hath taken, behind thee leaving, a baby's tears leaving—

like morning mist now vanishest thou from me,

towards Sagaraka,
o'er-towering Yamashiro,
as thou art borne,
nor words I find me,
nor ways to ease my
sorrow—

before the chamber,
where close we slept
together,
in morning hour
about thy garden pacing²,
in evening hour
within the chamber pacing,
I grieve for thee, dear,
and as a man may, strive I
thy wailing infant
to fondle and to solace—

as plain the wild-fowl,
who cry in morning hour,
for thee I weep,
but nought my tears avail
me,
and where thou liest,
though speech none win
I of thee,
I will betake me,
I will the steep hill climbing
uponthylovestillleanme.³

¹ Of whom little is known. We hear of two members of the clan or family in the year-period Tempyô (729-49). The date of the lay is the 20th of the 7th month (August 22) 745.

² The garden (*niha*) around the sa-neshi tsuma-ya, the spouse house or pavilion where they slept together. Immediately after this use of the character for *niha* it is employed to signify the particles *ni ha*.

³ I conjecture this to be the meaning of the last couplet of the lay; literally—'the mountain where she lies buried I yearn for as a place of refuge or help'.

BOOK IV, PART I

54

A Lay by the Wokamoto Mikado.1

From times remotest though men in generations incountless crowds have

incountless crowds have full fill'd the wide worldspaces

in noisy multitudes ²
like morning flights of
wild-fowl—

yet all the day thro'
till day is lost in darkness,
and all the night thro'
till day the darkness
chaseth,
I know but sorrow,

I know but sorrow, forthou mylordartabsent, I cannot sleep, too slowly the tardy hours are passing 3.

¹ The use of *kimi* in the text points to a Queen-Regnant as the authoress. If so, she must have been Kôgyoku who, after abdicating in 645, was restored (with the after-name of Saimei) in 655. The beloved is absent, fickle, too, in all probability: the multitudes of other men give no comfort; it is for him she grieves.

² The epithet 'noisy' is borrowed from the next line.

³ The following tanka are worth giving:—

'Along the borders of the hills the flight of aji (Anas formosa) fill tumultuously the air [so men fill the world]; but I am lonely, alas! for my lord is not with me.'

'Mid the ways of Ômi ever floweth Isaya's stream from

Toko's flank; but will the love of former days still endure?' Toko is everlasting, Isa[ya] = isa, an exclamation of doubt, ke (in the text) = kihe, vanish. The whole sense is, 'Will love last or disappear with the lapse of time as the river mists do with the advance of day?'

55

A Lay by Tajihi no Mabito on going down to the Westland.¹

By Mitsu's 2 sea-strand —like polish'd mirror shining, court ladies treasure in dainty toilet-casket my under-girdle in ruddy grain deep-tinted in faith still knotted. I long for thee, my dear, the livelong night thro', till dawn the darkness breaketh, and all the welkin with scream of cranes is ringing thro' the mists of morningsome whit, how scanty ever, a thousand thousandth, of the woe my heart oppresseth to ease, towards home

to take a last look turning I send my eyes, and see green Katsuraki³ whose canopy of white clouds hideth it, and westwards faring behind me leave Awaji the homeland fronting, and further Aha's island mid the distant waters I pass, and listening hear the cries of sailors across the calm of morning, in the calm of evening the sound of oars I hearken, so o'er the sea waves alengthening track pursuing the rock-islesthread I, pass Inabitsuma's bay, like sea-fowl tossing upon the heaving billows,

till that I beach
on Ihe's distant shingle,
where floating seaweed,
which men call 'wordlesswort' '4,
remindeth me I left thee
nor said what I would
say thee

Our sleeves exchanging our shining sleeves we change 5, and till I see thee the months and days shall count me must pass ere I shall see thee.

¹ Of Tajihi nothing is known. On the point of embarking for Tsukushi on duty or in the train of the mikado, he remembers that he has not said the farewell to his wife he might have said, which will be found in the envoy. The lay is a good example of the travel-lay in which the places passed are mentioned, and appropriate similes or quibbles extracted from them.

² In Settsu, in the county of Nishinari, west of the present Kozu, and near the ancient Naniha. A double m. k. is applied to mi (a vocable of many meanings), part of Mitsu in the three lines preceding the name, which may be literally rendered 'mi, which is like the mirror that ladies of the court keep in their comb-box.'

³ A hill in Yamato. The ki is written sometimes with the character ki (tree), sometimes with that representing castle, fort, earthwork. Kadzura may be a contraction of kazari-tsura, 'face- (or head-) deck,' referring to the garlands or chaplets with which the ancient Japanese, of both sexes, were fond of adorning themselves, as the Polynesians are to this day. From this origin the word came to have various botanical meanings, Olea, Cercidiphyllum, &c., also a wig or false hair, the man in the moon (Katsura-wo), and so forth.

⁴ This lay is a sort of *Kaidô-kudari*, or road-song. A curious word-play in the text is worth explaining. The 'wordless-wort' is *nanoriso*, a species of Sargassum (S. Horneri). The true origin of the name is, of course, *nami-noru-so*, wave-float-weed, a most apt designation. But *na nori so* also means 'do not say', hence the quibble. [In N. I. 322 we read—'In 242

the mikado made a progress to the Palace of Chinu . . . Sotohori Irátsume (the Lady S.) made a song—"For ever and ever Oh! that I might meet my Lord, | as often as drift beachward | the weeds of the shore of ocean | (where whales are caught)." Then the mikado said, "No other person must hear this song. For if the Empress heard it she would surely be greatly wrath." Therefore the men of that time named the shore-weed na-nori-ahi-mo.' Dr. Aston thinks the point of the story not quite clear. But na-nori-ahi-mo may mean 'do not each call the other by name at all', i.e. let there be no such intimacy as the song alludes to. According to Prof. Matsumura's Shokubutsu Meii ('Enumeration of the names of Plants'), 1904, nanori-so is Sargassum Horneri. It still forms part of the festal decorations of the new year. The mikado's prohibition was in fact a tabu. See Mr. Minakata's paper 'The Tabu System in Ancient Japan', read at the Bristol Meeting of the British Association in 1898.]

⁵ An exchange of sleeves, according to Motowori, was a token of affection between lovers who had to part for a time. Each wearing some article or part of the other's dress was constantly reminded of the absent one.

56

A Love Lay by Aki no Ohokimi 1.

Far from thee, dear,
by lengthening spear-ways
wending,
I know the sorrow
the woe of absence know I,
would I a cloud were
in the empyrean floating
would I a bird were
under heaven soaring,

I would the morrow
sweet speech seek with
thee, dear,
that each for other
might still unanxious be,
as erstwhile were we
I would we were together
asin the daysnow perish'd.

¹ Nothing is known of him beyond the fact that he was the son of Asuka no Miko, grandson of Shiki no Miko, and flourished

in the period Tempyô (729-749). He is on some official mission, and longs for home and wife whom he has left behind at City-Royal. There is one envoy, lamenting that a whole year has passed since he pillowed his head on his wife's arm.

'O wind that o'er my head art flying, I should not feel the pain of dying Could I with thee a message send.'

57

By Kanámura, at the prayer of a damsel to whose lover, a squire in the Royal train, he is asked to give it.¹

Among the squires attendant on our Sovran now Ki-wards faring in royal state and splendour. my sweet lord goeth, by Karu's path far-wending, where high the fowlfly 2, o'er steep Unebi, -ofsuppliantarmsthat mindeth3anon the road-track to Kii leadeth treads he and mid the falling flying leaves of autumn his love may haply yield to their ruddy

and grassy pillow 5 of toilsome travel better than my arms please him-I am not sure. me many a doubt assaileth.6 and fain to follow my dear lord I were, and times a thousand my heart to follow longeth, but feeble woman whatmay Idare to venture, to road-guards curious what speech of mine were answer, what trembling gest and

stammer!7

¹ Of Kanámura (Kasa no Ason) nothing is known. Keichiu classes him with Takahashi no Mushimaro, Yamanohe no Okura, Tanobe no Sakimaro, and other poets of the Manyôshiu, whom he ranks with but after Hitómaro and Akáhito. The date assigned to the lay is 1 Jinki (724).

beauty 4,

- ² Karu, a place-name, is also the name of a bird, a kind of mallard. The verse gives the value of the m. k. amatobu ya and tamatasuki.
- ³ Thus I render the suggestions contained in the m. k. See ante Lay 27 and also List of m. k.
 - 4 He will be distracted by the beauty of the autumnal tints.
 - ⁵ The suggestion of the m. k. kusa makura is here given.
- ⁶ I am not sure of the rendering of the text which seems obscure here. The commentators (but not the Kogi) think some lines have been lost.
- ⁷ There is here an untranslatable fancy. The text is tsumadzuku, which means stumbling (as of a horse), or, spousal embrace. The suggestion of course is double—her desire to meet her 'comely lord', and the uncertainty and danger of endeavouring to do so.

There are two envoys which echo the thought of the lay, the first of them turning on a word-play on the name Mt. Imose, which the lover must cross, and which should remind him of their union—imo se = wife and husband.

58

A Love-Lay by Kanámura.¹

On Mika's moor a wayfarer I lodged me, and on the spear-way by hap I met a maiden, but careless glance I as though at passing cloud cast. nor one word speaking word to yonder one maiden, when suddenly my heart seemed stilled within meand to the high gods, the gods of earth and heaven,

I leave it whether
our sleeves shall intertwine
and she my love be,
and if this night that
laggeth
shall find her mine,
oh, grant, ye gods, it outlast
a thousand nights of
autumn.

I saw her passing asone a heaven-cloud sees², yet such her beauty body and soul clave to her, clave to that fair creature. ¹ The date is 2 Jinki (725), the love-struck squire was in attendance upon the mikado, who was passing to his country palace on the moor of Mika in Yamashiro.

² Lit. 'looking heaven-cloud-elsewhere,' i. e. gazing carelessly

as one passes along the road.

59

A Lay of Complaint by the Lady Sakanohe 1.

With constancy
firm stablish'd as the
sedges
that grow deep-rooted
in the pools of wave-worn
Naniha,
he spoke and promis'd
through all the years to
love me—

and I my heart gave
unflecked as polished
mirror,
and leaned upon him,
and all my faith put in him
as in tall ship
his trust the sailor put teth,
nor from that day forth
as drifting sea-fronds wave
once wavered I—

yet—is't the gods almighty
us twain have parted!

or slanderous word of mortals, that who so often came, cometh now no more, nor sceptred messenger e'en sendeth to me ever—ah! sad my lot is, where help to seek I know not, thro' the drear darkness

as black as pardanth berry, and all the day thro' until the shades of night fall,

I weep unholpen, unhoping still and hopeless—

a hapless woman
'tis plain I be to all folk,
and like a child
I weep the while I wander
nor dare a word wait
from him

¹ See Lay 42.

BOOK IV, PART II

60

A Complaint by the Lady Sakanohe, from her country house at Tomi, to her eldest daughter the Great Lady Sakanohe, left at the family mansion in City-Royal.

Away from thee, child, though not in the world of darkness ¹ since thou our door left I nothing know but sorrow, my child, my darling, black night ² or shining day divide I cannot, for I am lean with misery, I weep and weep, my sleeves are undry ever, my child, my lady,

for vain my love for thee is,
of thee, dear, empty
how drear is the homeplace
these many months and
weary!

My thoughts are tangled,
as tangled as my hair
on morning pillow,
forso I love thee, daughter,
I see thee in my dreams³.

¹ Even if not dead at loss of thee, I am full of sorrow.

² The m. k. is 'black as pardanth berry', see ante Lay 23.

³ I adopt Motowori's explanation.

Book V, Part I

60A

The Fifth Book opens with a Chinese zho, or preface, to a short lay by the Dazaisui Ohotomo no Kyô, which is an answer to official expressions of condolence on the death of his wife. Ohotomo no Kyô is the Tabihito or Tabiudo no Kyô mentioned in the Third Book. According to Keichiu, it was upon tidings of the death of Ohotomo's wife, Ohotomo no Iratsume, reaching City-Royal that two representatives of the kimi (princes) and kyô (ministers) were sent

down to assist at the mourning. In the Third Book will be found three short lays on 'one who has passed away' (his wife), dated 5 Jinki (728).

In the same book are five short lays composed on Ohotomo's way up to City-Royal upon his advancement to the office of Dainagon in 2 Tempyô (730), and three others composed on his return, all expressing his grief for the loss of his wife.

In the Eighth Book also there is a short lay by one of the representatives above mentioned—Nori no Tsukasa (President of the Board of Rites), Isonokami Asomi—in which the death is alluded to, and an answer to it by Ohotomo.

The death, therefore, of Ohotomo no Iratsume, would seem to have deeply impressed both her husband and the Court.

The zho laments the miseries and vicissitudes of this life, the frequency of the need of consolatory inquiries, the writer's deep sorrow at his loss, and the comfort he has derived from the visit of condolence, ending with regret at the insufficiency of the brush to write words, and of words to express the feelings he entertains—an insufficiency the ancients had to regret as much as the moderns [he is anxious to justify himself by adducing the practice of the ancients].

The short lay is subjoined—

Well we know how empty are our days, each day new sorrow, and every day new sorrows in endless sequence brings us!

Following this come the headings. 23rd of 6th month of 5 Jinki (Aug. 2, 728).

A Chinese elegy on the death of his wife, with a Chinese preface, by Chikuzen no Kami Yamanahe no Omi Okura.

The zho to the Chinese poem is an interesting example of early Buddhist feeling in Japan.

'If we consider the Four Births (tchatur yoni—from the womb, from an egg, from moisture as gnats, fishes, slugs, &c.,

and by transformation, as in silkworms, &c.), that is, all existence, we see that life is but a vanity and a dream.'

'The Three Existences (trâilôkya-kâma, of desire; rûpa, of form; arûpa, of formlessness) fluctuate in an unresting circle. Therefore even the great sage Yuima (Vimalakîrtti, a contemporary of Sakya Muni), in his one -jô (ten feet) square cell 1 could not escape sickness. So the Buddha himself, sitting in benevolent contemplation under the twain trees of meditation (the Sâla grove in Kusinagara where Sakya entered into nirvana), had to endure pains in the achievement of supreme absorption. These holy saints could not oppose Death when, in his resistless strength, he came to bear off their lives. For who in all the 3000 universes can hope to avoid the search of the goddess of Black Darkness. The twain rats (sun and moon, or day and night) are rivals in rapid lapse, like the flight of a swift bird time flies before our eyes, the four snakes (i. e. the four elements, earth, fire, air, and water) carry on a constant and insidious warfare [hence their personification as snakes against our bodies, which perish daily, rapidly, as a swift horse seen galloping past a chink. Alas! ruddyfaced maids must go with their three obediences (to parents, to husband, to eldest son), lost for ever are the fair faces with their four virtues (language, behaviour, appearance, works). Can we hope to live in married union till both spouses are old? we must fly alone ere life is half over, in her fragrant chamber the tapestry waves in the wind [the room is untenanted, the wife being dead], his (the husband's) heart is wrung with grief, by the pillow hangs the mirror all unused, his tears are so greatly tinged [with blood?] as to dye bamboo. Once the gate of the nether world shut upon them, the dead are invisible-alas, alas, what grief, what grief is this!'

The Chinese poem is in heptasyllabics, a common measure of the Thang period.

The waves of the Stream of Love ² have disappeared, The woes of the ocean of Sorrow can no more beset me, Wherefore satiated I renounce this world of filth, My deepest wish is for a new life in that Pure Land ³. ¹ So we have the *Hôjôki* ('Notes from a *jô*-square Hut') the well-known classic of Chōmei (see 'A Japanese Thoreau of the Twelfth Century', *Journal of the R. A. S.*, April, 1905).

² The agitations of emotion.

³ Paradise. The Chinese texts in the Manyôshiu are more or less corrupt, and, as restored, are not always intelligible, hence my translation is often, in some degree, conjectural.

61

A Japanese Elegy [by Omi Okura, the composer of the Chinese Poem 60A].

To far-off Tsukushi,
where glowed of yore
strange fires 1,
me did she follow,
in love upon me leaning
as child its mother 2,
in tenderhaste that spared
her
no toil of travel,
but short the time, alas,
was,
when unawares
down-stricken dead she
lay there!—
what words may help me,

where all unholpen am I, from stocks and stones what solace can I gather ³ in our own homeplace if but thy form were left me!— but thou art cruel, my wife, my lady wife, how hast thou used me, did we not vow for ever, like mated wild-fowl ⁴, to live our life unparted?— broken the vow is, for far apart alas! now thy lonely home and ours

The m. k. in the text is *shiranuhi—shiranu hi*, unknown fires. In the *Kotoba no Izumi* the following explanation is given. In the time of the Mikado Keikô (71–130) the monarch being off the coast of Tsukushi in a boat, upon a dark night, was in great peril, when opportunely sea-glows were perceived which indicated the coasts of Hizen and Higo. In connexion with the Maldive myth of the shining boat that brought annually a demon to Male who had to be

lie!

propitiated by a young girl, Dr. Frazer, in his admirable Early History of the Kingship, quotes Mr. Gardiner, of Caius College, who writes to him 'a peculiar phosphorescence, like the glow of a lamp hidden by a roughened glass shade, is occasionally visible on lagoon shoals in the Maldives. I imagine it to have been due to some single animal with a greater phosphorescence than any at present known to us.

² The m. k. is 'like weeping child', i.e. a quite young

child.

³ He is in the wilds of Tsukushi, on official duty. The gods had in early days deprived stones and trees of the power of speech.

4 Niho-tori, a sort of grebe, Podiceps minor.

The death having taken place on the wild frontier, far from City-Royal, amid hills and forests, the survivor finds no human solace, and his sorrow is increased by the remoteness of her tomb from their home in or near the capital. There are five envoys echoing the various sentiments expressed in the lay. The last I subjoin on account of its curious extravagance.

Ohonu yama kiri tachi-wataru waga nageku okiso no kaze ni kiri tachi-wataru.

o'er Ohonu's hill
the mists that drift and hover
are of sighs born
sharp-drawn from me by sorrow,
the mists that hang on Ohonu!

okiso seems to mean, shrill, sharp breathing. There is also a hill of that name; see Lay 141, and perhaps a word-play is intended.

62

A Lay composed by Chikuzen no Kami Yamanohe no Ókura on the 21st day of the 7th month of the 5th year of the period Jinki (A.D. 729) to bring back the froward to the right way.

The following preface in Chinese precedes the lay—its thought is classical, not Buddhist:—

The man who does not honour his parents is he who does not supply them with proper food.

He who provides not for his wife and children treats his duty lightly, and is regarded as a vulgar savage.

Though a man's aspirations rise above the grey clouds his body remains attached to this vulgar world of dirt and dust. He [who neglects the above duties] is ignorant of the wisdom of righteous conduct and of keeping to the true doctrine, and is of the folk who run away to hide among the hills and swamps (riff-raff).

Therefore it is that inculcating the three bonds (Prince and Vassal, Father and Child, Husband and Wife) and displaying the Five Duties or Relationships (the three bonds and those between brothers and friends), in the following lay an endeavour is made to bring back the froward into the right way.¹

Father and mother
thou shalt not fail to treat
with honour ever,
to love and care for always
thy wife and children,
nor fail thou to remember
the younger's duty
to the elder brother,
nor how behoveth
youth to yield to age,
nor how to friend
in interchange of amity
should friend be faithful—

for such the world-way is and midst the world's ways

thou art enlimed, my friend. Inor knowest thou whither thy life's stream bear'th thee,]2 if human duties thou scorn'st as ragged foot-gear shalt thou thyself call not man but stock or stone-bornheavenwards mounting thou might'st thine own will follow. but earth thou dwell'st where ay the Sovran ruleth,

and sun and moon' neath, as far and wide as hover the clouds of heaven, down to the tractsoscanty the toad's realm is 3, wherever sun or moon shines allwhere the land our Sovran's sway obeyeth—

of thine, my friend, shall rule not thy conduct here below!

Remote the ways ⁴ of shining heaven are turn thou then, turn thee to thine ownearthly home, and do thy duty there!

so wayward will

¹ The text seems, in part, corrupt, or at least it has been manipulated. The version is almost literal, despite its modern air. The classical wisdom of China is, in fact, modern in tone and spirit, even in language. It is an enlightened, in some respects extended, Machiavelism on paper, very inadequately carried out in practice.

² These lines—they signify the course of events—are said to

be an interpolation.

³ That is, the whole land down to the petty territory of toads, taniguku = hikikaheru (Bufo vulgaris), is under the Sovran's rule.

⁴ The envoy teaches the need of attending to the duties of this life, irrespective of any life to come.

63

On the Love of children.1

On melon feasting ²
my children I remember,
or munching chestnuts
yet more I love my
children,
whencecomethey to me?
as daily I behold them
more anxious ever am I! ³

what count I silver,
what count I gold or
jewels,
what count I these?
my children are my
treasure,4
all other treasure passing!

¹ Said to be by Omi Okura. The lay is preceded by sentences in Chinese, cited, apparently, from the Sûtra of the most excellent Dharani of Buddha's Head (see Nanjio's Tripitâka, No. 352):

'Shaka, who cometh to men as came the countless Buddhas before him, spoke with his golden mouth these words of righteousness:—

"I care for all men as I care for my own son Rahula."

And again: -

"There is not any love that surpasseth one's love for one's own children."

The wisest and most virtuous of men, then, loved his child. Much more shall not the common weeds of earth (mankind) love their children' (that is, to do so will be no derogation in view of the Buddha's own example).

² Melon seeds probably meant: the idea is Chinese.

³ More lit., 'their image fills our eyes, never are we at ease about them.'

⁴ The envoy may be read generally, in the first person plural.

64

An Elegy on the miserable impermanence of Human Life, preceded by a short Chinese preface.¹

Acquirement [of the apparent good things of this life] is easy, but choice [true selection of the really good] is difficult.

We cannot help coming into contact with the eight adversities but we never get to the end of them. (They are Birth, Old age, Disease, Death, Parting of those who love each other, to be subject or object of Hatred, to strive and not succeed, subjection to Skhonda [Life, or the five shadows or forms of existence, i.e. Form, Perception, Consciousness, Action, Knowledge]). What the ancients grieved over was the loss of a hundred years' (i.e. enduring or real) happiness, now to attain this is the help of the present

lay offered to chase away the miseries of both hairs [black and white hairs, in other words the miseries of youth and old age].

¹ These prefaces, no doubt, were elegant courtesies of the period, the first third of the eighth century. They show that by that time the court poets were well acquainted with the language and literature of China.

In this our world
the ills of life succeed,
as years and months
slide,
in sequence ever endless;
life's accidents
uninterrupted follow
and all life's evils
must men meet as they
may—

fair maidens ever the wont of maidens following fine outland jewels upon their long sleeves broider their shining sleeves they let flutter in the breezes, and smocks all scarlet, of deep-dyed scarlet, trail they, as hand in hand held disport the like-aged bevies: such time of blossom

they fain would stay but may not, for ne'er the days rest, but surely bring time's hoar-frost to whiten tresses erst black as pulp of seashell, while wrinkles in rosy faces come why or whence one know'th notand lustie youths too the wont of bold youths follow, on stout thigh girding the trusty blade of warrior, strong bow of hunter in eager hands they grasp, and ride their coursers. their chestnut coursers, harness'd with finest furn'ture so since the world was. hath the world, belike, been ever!—

or doors too noisy

are boldly pushed and opened,
and fair arms searched for
and fine fair arms enlacéd;
long last such joys not,
ere many years are over,
on staff supported
come tottering steps to
stumble,
and as time passeth
to sere age youth turneth,
for such man's life is.

what comely was is hat eful,
his days are number'd,
to piteous plight they
bring him
nor help for him is any!

Such ever must be
the life of the world
below—
alas! that never
of these our fleeting days
the hours may be arrested!

¹ In parts the version is slightly amplified to give the full sense.

65

A Lay made by Omi Okura on the Chinkwai Stones in Tsúkushi.¹

of that Sovran Queen
Tarashi
I dare indite
who all the wide land
ruled
and realms Korean
had to her sway compelled—
to her great heart
repose to bring and peace
she took and blesséd
these twain Rocks, precious treasures,
for a memorial

With awe and rev'rence

to all her folk to witness,
for a myriad ages
her fame undimm'd preserving—
and nigh the waters
that brood in deep Fukaye,
unfathom'd waters
by Kofu's brine-bound
moor,
her own hands royal
these twain Rocks have
establish'd,
dread Queen divine,
her very soul containing

shall they not be revered!

¹ Chinkwai may be translated 'comforting'. The preface to the lay says 'on Kofu moor near the village of Fukaye, in the County of Ito, province of Tsukushi, on a knoll near the shore, are two stones of egg-like shape and beautiful appearance, very jewels in fact. All who pass, officials or not, dismount and do them reverence. Old men declare that when Okinaga-tarashi (the Queen-Regnant Jingo) conquered Shiraki (Silla), she took these stones and put one in either sleeve to facilitate her confinement (of the Mikado Ôjin), and afterwards placed them in this spot. A very different account of her purpose is given which need not be mentioned here. Jingo reigned 201–69, and died at the age of 100. See also N. I. 229, where a somewhat different tradition is given.

BOOK V, PART II

66

An Elegy by the Provincial Governor, Ókura, representing the feelings of Kumagori.¹

Towards City-Royal the Sun-Child's sunny city beyond the care of her who nursed me faring, thro' tracts unknown and o'er uncounted hills wending, devising when might my eyes behold fair City-Royal, windings the weary following of the long spear-way I pluck wild herbs for pillow, and strew the bushes

to make my couch, too des'late, and there I fling me to lie in grief and tears— Oh would I were in my own land where still we. son and father, in my own home where still we. son and mother. might each the other gladden² but so it must be for such the world-way is, and like a dog that by the roadside dieth

must Ilie down and perish! now must I leave you,
leave you
In all the world again Ine'ershall seethem, you.

father, mother—

¹ The lay is the only long lay of six compositions by Yamanohe no Ókura representing the feelings of Kumagori on his death-bed. I subjoin the story told in a sort of a preface written in Chinese.

Ohotomo Kumagori was a native of Hinomichi no shiri (Higo). In his 18th year (3 Tempyô, 731) he was accorded the seimei (surname) of Tomohito (Squire of the Guard). He therefore started to go up to City-Royal, but heaven visited him in the way, he fell ill and died at the relay-station of Agi or Aki (Geishiu); on his death-bed, sighing deeply, he exclaimed: 'I have heard the saying, "Easily perisheth the body which is the result of a chance rencounter (of the four elements, earth, water, fire, wind)". Existence is like foam, it endureth not, wherefore it is that the thousand sages have died, and the hundred worthies have not remained, much more as to the common folk, how could they escape destruction. But my old father and mother, they see the days pass as they wait for me in my cottage, I am full of grief as I think of them, their hopes will be disappointed, they will be blind with tears, alas! for my father's grief, alas! for my mother's woe, I grieve not at my own death, but over the sorrow of my parents who overlive me in misery, to-day 'tis a long farewell, how shall I learn whether they are hale or sick.'

² The meaning is that were he in his own land, or in his home place his parents would tend him in his illness.

67

A Dialogal Lay on the Misery of Poverty.1

Amid the whirling wind and driving snow, amid the driving rain and falling snow, the night is chilly, and help for me is none salt sesamum cake² I nibble, nibble, swallow

sour vilest sake of sorry dregs roughbrew'd. I cough and hawk and wheeze and snuffle sorely and stroke my beard, scarce feeling it my own as still I stroke it, and yet I vaunt me a man I still must be, or none a man is, so to myself I boast, yetthe cold's so bitter, well o'er my head I draw my coverlet hempen and all the bark-cloth cloaks I can, yet ever the night is bitter cold, ay! bitter cold! yet many a wretch there be than me more wretched, for his parents cold and hungry do starve and shiver, his wife and little children do beg and weep, and how through weary life may such win ask I how winn'st thou thro' this world, friend ?-Though wide its bounds be,

the world of heaven and earth too hardly hems me, thoughsunandmoonshine brightly, for me they shine not; is this the lot of all men, or mine alone such? a mere chance belike, each worldly life is 3, and I, as must my fellows, must labour ever, my cloak unwadded hangabout my shoulders, in sorry tatters hanging like ragged sea-wrack, tumbling myshabby hovel, its floor bare earth with wisps of straw o'erstrewn, that there my parents beside may sleep pillow, and wife and children for sleep seek at my feet, in huddled misery; no smoke from my hearth riseth. their webs have spiders about the cauldron spun that hath forgotten e'er was seeth'd thereinand last there cometh
hoarse-voiced as nuye
bird,
my less to lessen
my cloth too short cut
shorter,⁴
and rod in hand
the village headman call-

for dues or service in loud and angry tone—

such is my lot,
unholpen, helpless am I,
for such the world's ways
be!

¹ This very curious lay, the date of which must be anterior to the middle of the eighth century, is not an actual dialogue, but the poet puts first the case of the unmarried wretch, and next that of the still more miserable married one.

- ² Lit. 'hard salt', perhaps coarse salt fish is meant.
- 3 A Buddhist notion.

ing

⁴ An almost literal rendering.

There are three envoys: in the first the poor man deplores the world's misery, and wishes he had the wings of a bird to flee from it; in the second he describes his joy at receiving the cast-off rags of the children of the rich; in the third he laments the lack of even the coarsest raiment wherewith to cover his nakedness.

68

A Lay of 'God-speed' and 'welcome home' respectfully offered by Omi Okura.¹

From the Gods' own foretime
hath run the ancient story how great Yamato
land of skyey mountains hath ay been fairest
of lands the most divine in speech most em'nent of all the lands that under

broad heaven lie,
so have our fathers told
us,
and in this age we
before our own eyes see we
how true the tale is,
and in our own hearts
know we
how true the tale is—

 \mathbf{H}

now mid the multitudes our land who people, the Sovran, dread descendant of the sun that shineth on high in middle heaven, -a very god he, in plenitude of glory hath gentle scions of noble houses 2 chosen to serve his Majestyand thou mylord amongst them a chosen servant to distant Morokoshi must cross the waters Sovran's bearing our greeting to that far outland, and may the gods whose kingdom the sea-deeps are, and eke the gods who sway hold o'er the shallow waters, yea all the gods with power girt o'er ocean, thy prow draw all unscathed

across the sea-plain, the gods of earth and heaven and that great spirit ofourownland of Yamato 3 from high beholding with favouring eyes convoy theeand when, concluded thy mandate, thou returnest, once more the great gods lend thee their grace and favour, with hands divine thy ship drawstraightway homeward on track unswerving as mark of builder's ink-

past Chika's headland
—where aji fowl build—
to Mitsu's shining haven 5
straightway, and so
to homeland, well and
prosper'd,

line 4.

return, and that right speedily!

² Of families that have held high office.

On the departure on an embassy to China of Taji no Mabito Hironari in 5 Tempyô, 733.

³ No doubt the god Ohokunidama mentioned with Amaterasŭ no ohongami in N. I. 151. There are (or were) shrines

to this god in the district of Yamato in the county of Yamate in Yamato. As to the signification of this god the field is open to conjecture.

⁴ Straight as a carpenter's ink-cord or line.

⁵ The m. k. (not rendered) here is ohotomo, great warrior, epithetical of *Mitsu*, valiant, taken as *mitsu* of *mitsumitsushi*, heroic. See K. 142.

One of the envoys is worth giving:- 'As I hear of the arrival of this ship in the haven of Nániha, I unloose my girdle and am like to hurry there in one jump' (tachi-bashiri). The Kogi cites, in illustration, a passage from the Nihongi (N. I. 205): 'Looking over the sea he (Yamatodake) spake with a loud voice, and said:-"This is but a little sea; one might even jump over it (tachi-bashiri)."' The reputation of Omi Okura stands high with lovers of the ancient learning, though his name is not well known to the general reader. He was appointed an undersecretary to the embassy to China of 701. In 703 he went to China in an official capacity, returning in 704. About 716 he was nominated governor of the province of Hôki. Later, he was appointed guardian or tutor to the Crown Prince, and was afterwards governor of the province of Chikuzeu. the age of seventy-four in June 733, some two months after composing the lay. A considerable number of his lays, long and short, are collected in the Manyôshiu.

69

A Lay on the increasing misery of growing old and on parental love.¹

Within the limits
of this our little life
would all were smooth,
would all were fair and
pleasant,
nor evil threatened,
nor loomed a time of
mourning—
but full the world is

of wretchedness and misery,
as tho' one poured into a gnawing sore ²
sharp salt and bitter—
our burdens grow more heavy,
as packhorse groan we beneath a load redoubled,

with years increasing amain our ills increase, from dawn to darkness we spend the hours lamenting, and all the night thro' we sigh and weep till daybreak, the long years thoro' as ill to ill succeedeth 3 and moon moon follow'th our woe more wild'ring groweth and we would die,

but when around us see we our children playing like summer flies in frolic we cannot bear, we cannot bear to leave them and death we fear 4—such miseries we endure with hearts that perish, and various is our sorrow as pining, pining, we grow full faint with grief and knownotruce of tears.

¹ By Omi Okura? The lay is preceded by some Chinese heptasyllabics.

The changing course of the common world is a matter of vision.

The regular march of human affairs is a matter of action, To ride upon floating clouds is to voyage in empty air, If mind and body be exhausted what is there left!

In other words, use your sense, and govern your action by the knowledge so gained; waste not your energies physical or mental in vague speculations which lead to futile action.

- ² Life itself is a misery to begin with.
- ³ Reading yami shi.
- ⁴ The text here is to me obscure. I base my rendering on the sense of one of the four envoys:—Our life is full of miseries, and the time comes when we would fain go anywhere to escape from them, but the thought of our children arrests us.

An Elegy on the Death of the Poet's son, Fúruhi.1

Seven treasures ²
do men in this life covet,
but none I coveted,
my son my only care was,
my Fúruhi
my boy, my fairest jewel,
my son born to us—

as rose the star of morning in brightening glory, he would within our alcove, now standing up, now lying still, caress me, and talk and frolic, and when the star of evening shone in the heavens, he would my hand take, crying, 'Come, daddy, mammy,

like midmost haulm
of three-stalked mitsuba 3
I'd sleep between you'—

'tis bedtime, do not leave

me,

so would he prattle
my pretty boy, my sonny,
the while I pondered
what might he as a man
be,

and ill I fear'd,
and weal I dared to hope
for,
and on good luck lean'd
as sailor on tall ship
leaneth—

what time, unthought
of,
some sudden breath of evil
was wafted us-ward,
and all unholpen were
we;
my whitest armbands
around my shoulders
throwing,
and brightest mirror

and brightest mirror
in suppliant hands uplifting,

my eyes to heaven
I rais'd in anxious prayer,
and prostrate flung me
'fore gods of earth and
heaven,

or good or evil
to the high gods' grace
committing,
but vain my prayers

were, and all unholpen were we,

little by little

the boy each day grew weaker, his body thinner, and morning after morn-

ing 'twas less he prattled, till that his little lifethread was shorn asunder.—

I reeled in misery, and stunn'd with sorrow

lay groaning the on ground, sobbing, sighing, my beating heart nigh broken,

my boy for ever

hath fled from my embraces,

so sad the world's way is.

My little sonny upon the ways of darkness too young to know them!—

that dread realm's angel would I

with gifts implore to bear him!

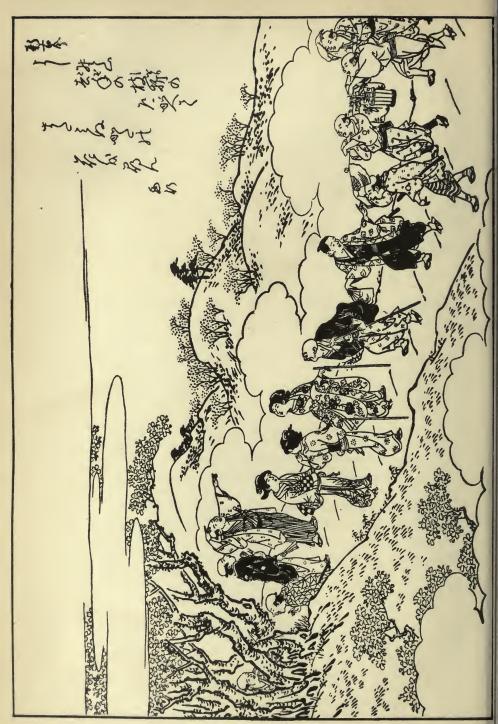
With humble offerings will I beseech Lord Buddha 'mong the Dêwa's ways

along the way of grace to lead my little sonny!

¹ The author, probably, is Omi Okura.

² The Sapta Ratna of Buddhism are no doubt meant. There were several of these categories—the more usual Japanese one is, Gold, Silver, Lapis-lazuli, Pearls, Rubies (Garnets?), Coral and Agate (Cornelian?).

³ In the text sakikusa. Some say a pine-tree is meant, some Chamaecyparis (hino-ki), some the lily. But mitsuba or mitsubazeri (Cryptotaenia japonica, Hassk), an umbellifer may be In the word sakikusa, a play on saki (good fortune), intended. may be implied.



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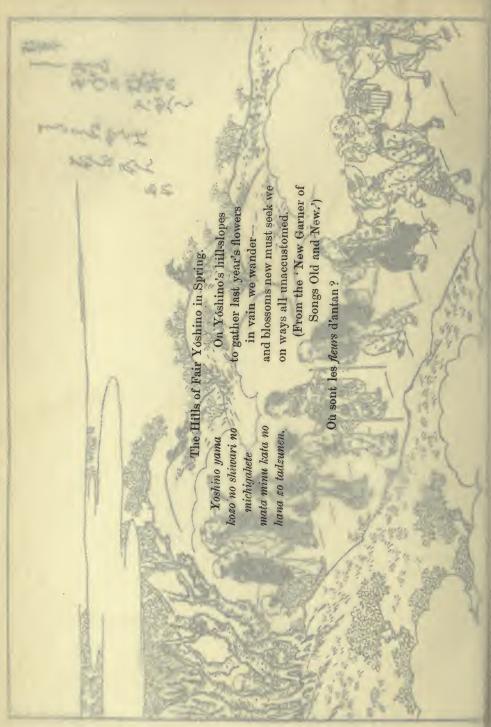
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Book VI, PART I

71

By Kanamura, on the occasion of a Royal Progress to the Country Palace in Yóshinu in the summer (5th) month of 7 Yaurau (Yôrô 723).¹

For a myriad ages
through generations
order'd 2
like tsuga trees
their abundant leaf'ry
showing,
thro' years unending,
on Mifune by Tagi
endure the palace
of Akidzu in Yóshinu,
fair Yóshinu,

divine abode
to be for ever honour'd,
mid scenes of beauty
delightful to behold,
where bright the rivers
and manifold the hills
are—

O Palace-Royal the very gods belike of old thy fair site stablished.³

- ¹ By the Mikado Genshô, 715–23. The translation is slightly abbreviated.
- ² The value of a quibble on *tsuga* is here attempted. Tsuga is a species of Abies.
 - 3 There is an envoy worth giving:-

Where the hills are lofty, and white with flower cascades, and the streamy land with roar of waters echoes, 'tis a scene of joy unending.

The point of the envoy turns on the word ochitagitsu, fall in cascades, applied to the mass of bloom, and the swirl of waters in the fair land of Tagi (cascades).

By Kuramochi no Asomi Chitose 1.

Far-voiced as thunder echoing under heaven wide fame the beauty of Yóshinu extolleth², whence from the uplands with right-wood ³ trees thick studded, are seen the rivers, and the mists there ever wreathing

with every daybreak,
and whence are heard each
even
themarshes murmur4—
while these weary ways I
wend me,
nor e'er ungird me,
I would my folk were
with me
on scene so fair to feast
them!

² In these four lines an attempt is made to give part of the value of a twofold word-conceit in the text—umakori, pretty-woven, as epithet of aya (pattern), homophon of aya, strangely.

¹ Of whom nothing is known.

³ Maki trees—in early times species of Chamaecyparis—now hi no ki were probably thus designated—true or right trees, that is, for building purposes. At the present day species of Podocarpus are usually called maki. According to some authorities the maki tree was the modern 'sugi' (Cryptomeria japonica).

⁴ The croaking of the frogs—not unpleasing to the ear of the Japanese poet.

By Akáhito, on the occasion of a Royal Progress to the Land of Kii.¹

From Sáhika's ² moor, where have his servants builded a country palace for our dread lord and Sovran, the eye that roameth seawards will flash upon a fair-beached island.

where white the surf breaks under the winds of ocean, and every tiderich harvest of tamamo bringeth, wherefore, 'The Island Precious's from the days of the gods men call it.

¹ The Mikado was Shômei, and the Progress took place on the 5th of the 10th month of 1 Jinki (Oct. 28, 724).

² He built a palace here attracted by the beauty of the seaward view, inclusive of the island of Tamatsushima. [Sahika is not more than a couple of miles from my friend Mr. Minakata's residence.]

³ Tamatsushima yama, the mountain island of Tamatsushima, celebrated in three lays in the Seventh Book, and in one in the Ninth Book, also in the Kokinshiu. (See post, Preface to Kokinshiu.) The name may have reference to the richness of the shore in tama, washed up by the tide. What exactly tama were it is not easy to say,—awabi pearls, cornelians, agates, &c. There are two envoys; one extols the shores as rich with seaweed, the other delights in the cry of the cranes as they fly landwards among the sedges when the tide flows in over the lowlands, their feeding grounds.

By Kanámura, on the occasion of a Royal Progress to the Country Palace in Yóshinu in the 5th month of 2 Jinki (June-July 725).¹

With hi trees 2 studded, swirling with rivers water'd are the fair hills of Yóshinu the pleasant, and as I gaze on Yóshinu's clear river from the upper waters I hear the dotterelspiping, from the lower waters frogs their mates the a-calling, and fellow-lieges I watch in busy multitudes

about the palace on various service haste them to do their dutymost fair to see and pleasant and the gods of heaven, and the gods of earth I pray, for a myriad ages, for time shall be as endless as wild vine's 3 creeper, high may such state endure, such is my humble prayer!

75

By Akáhito.

O dread my Sovran
in peace and power who
resteth,
thy palace standeth
in Yóshinu engirdled
by manifold hills
whose steeps are whelm'd
in greenery,

mid clear rivers,
waters of streamy Kafuchi
'tis there in spring time
the land is drown'd in
blossom 1,
in time of autumn
the mists roll o'er the
hillsides—

¹ The Mikado is Shômu.

² See List of m. k., sub voce ashihiki.

³ Kadzura japonica.

may the hills endure, the rivers run, for ever, the stately palace with thronging courtiers crowded to time's end last I pray!

¹ Of the cherry and plum trees.

The three envoys are merely echoes of the principal uta.

76

A second Lay by Akáhito.

On the lesser moor
that high Akidzu crowneth
in pleasant Yóshino
now are the trackers
order'd,
the bowmen posted
uponthe craggy hillside—
for 'tis this morning

my dread lord 1 will go
hunting
and start the stag
and with the fall of evening
the wild fowl rouse 2,
so is the chase commanded
amid the lush spring moorlands!

¹ The Mikado. The envoy may be given:—Among the wooded hills, upon the moorlands, the Royal Chase forth goeth, arrows carry they under their arms, and the twang of the bow resoundeth.

² For hawking. I have slightly abbreviated the lay by shortening of a few common forms.

77

By Kanámura, on a Royal Progress to the Palace of Nániha in the godless (10th) month.¹

That shining ² Nániha—tall reeds engirdle Nániha—had been the capital all menhad long forgotten, deserted city, and so at Nágara ³ builded the Sovran's servants on stout and lofty pillars
theirdreadlord's palace,
and there in peacefulness
he ruled Yamato—
upon the waste of Aji
where sea-fowl gather

the servants of the Sovran
their dwellings builded
but travel-huts they
builded
and made their CityRoyal.4

- ¹ By the Mikado Shômu in 725. The 'godless' month is the 10th (November), in which the gods are all busied with discussing the affairs of the universe for the ensuing year, assembled in the bed of the River of Heaven, more correctly at Kidzuki in Idzumo.
- ² So the m. k. here is often written. But another meaning—probably derived from the common etymology of the name Naniha (nami-haya, where the waves are swift—a name said to have been given by Jimmu; comp. N., sub Jimmu)—is oshi teru = oshi-tateru, referring to the surging or toppling of great waves, wave-worn.
- ³ In 665 in winter the Mikado removed the capital to Toyosaki, in Nágara by Nániha. Old people said . . . 'the movement of rats towards Nániha from spring until summer was an omen of the removal of the Capital.' What the 'old people said' is a mere plagiarism from Chinese history (N. II. 205, note). The object of the poet is to remind Shômu of the ancient story of Nániha, the landing-place of the ancestor of all the Mikados, Jimmu. These removals were sometimes regarded as arbitrary (see the Hôjôki, Journal R. A. S., April 1905), and perhaps the plagiarized passage in the Nihongi above cited is a satirical allusion to the readiness of some courtiers to anticipate a tyrannical act of the sovereign, forced upon him, probably, by the dominant faction of the moment.
- ⁴ The presence of the sovereign made a sort of City-Royal, even of the hastily run-up houses of his courtiers.

By Kuramochi no Asomi Chitose.

By the fair sea-strands

—where men great whales
haul in—
to note 'tis pleasant
the wealth of trembling
sea-fronds,
in the calm of morning
the countless ripples
sparkling,
in endless following
the waves of evening
breaking—

from the sea-deeps ever rolls in the heaving swell, in lines white-crested sweepin the nearer waters, as glide the months by, as glide the days, 'tis pleasant, for ever pleasant on Suminoye's sea-strand to watch the foaming breakers.

79

A Lay by Akáhito.

As heaven and earth
wide
is our dread Sovran's rule,
as sun and moon long
may that mighty sway
endure
from stately palace
in wave-beat Naniha—

of land and ocean all days the spoil is brought there and fisher-toilers
of Nu's isle, nigh Ahaji,
who search the deeps
still
from hidden sea-rocks
gath'ring
pearls of awabi—
in many a ranged bark
the waters riding
their loyal service render,
and brave the scene to
watch is.1

¹ In the Nihongi (N. I. 303), a curious story is told of the Mikado Richiu, in which the fishermen of Nu or No play a part. Before ascending the throne, Richiu desired to make

a nobleman's daughter, the Lady Kuro (dame brune), his concubine. By a stratagem she was seduced by the Imperial Prince Nakatsu whom Richiu had sent to the lady to arrange a lucky day for their union. The result was a plot on the part of Nakatsu to destroy the Mikado by firing his palace. The Mikado, however, though 'drunk and unable to get up', escaped through the help of his attendants, and raising troops went towards Mount Tatsuta, where he saw a number of armed men following in pursuit of him. He hid his own men, and finding that his pursuers were No fishermen sent by Nakatsu, gave the signal, whereupon his own forces, sallying from their ambush, fell upon the No fishermen and slew them all. Possibly a tribute of shell or pearls was in consequence imposed upon the islanders.

80

By Kanámura while accompanying a Royal Progress to the moor of Inami in Hárima (15th of the long-moon month of 3 Jinki) (Oct. 14, 726).

From Funase,
anigh Nakísumi lieth,
far o'er the waters
is seen Ahaji's Mátsuho,
where folk fine seaweed
in the calm of morning
gather,
where fisher-maidens
at even tend the salt-fires
men tell me, yet

fare o'er the wave Icannot,
nor boat nor oar find
to bear me o'er the waters
to greet those damsels
for whom my heart is
longing,
and woman-like
unwarrior-like, I wander
a lot too sad bewailing!

¹ The gathering of seaweed for food and the tending of the fires under the salt-pans on the sea-shore, were regarded as among the principal elements of picturesque nature. The poet indirectly praises the famous strand of Mátsuho by regretting his inability to visit the spot. There is no boat to carry him, he pleads, but in truth his duty is the bar, though as a servant of the Mikado he cannot allege it as a reason. The touch is characteristically Japanese.

By Akáhito.1

In peace and power where my great Sovran restethin Fujiye's waters —of wild wistaria minding - 2by the vasty ocean Inami's moor bounding the fishers, fishing for tunny, crowd their barks, and fishermaids many

the flames 'neath the saltpans nourish, and fair to gaze on that busy bay it is, that busy strand right fair to watch it is, a scene my Sovran full oft doth love to gaze on, that shore on the bright sea's border!

¹ The occasion of the lay, of which the version is slightly abbreviated, is that of the preceding one.

² The wistaria is in Japanese fuji; here the allusion involves a reference to a kind of cloth made in ancient times of wistaria fibre.

There is an envoy:—

Midmost the jungle o'ergrow'th Inami's moor my couch I make me, and every sleepy night still my thoughts turn ever homewards.

82

By Akáhito on passing the Island of Kárani 1.

Away from thee, my love whom I love to roll for slumber may Idearly,

no nightly pillow o'er sea must fare on ship with birch-bark fended. where now are mann'd the oars and forth I wend me. Núshima's island anear Ahaji passing, till Karani loometh beside Inami's border. and from the islands I look towards my homeland. but mid the green hills 'tis from my eyes secluded, mid manifold clouds 'tis veilèd from my gaze, and on we oar still

past many a curved coast oaring, and island headlands oft hide our ship from view 2— as each is rounded of thee I still think dear, while the weary way is length'ning.

a cormorant fishing midmost
Kárani's waters—
wer't so no pain of parting
were mine, nor any
sorrow.3

I would I were

 1 Kárani is sometimes said to be named after Korean (Kara) merchant-ships (ni), which resorted to that port. See N. I. 269.

² Anchored or beached in the bays.

³ He would have none of the regrets which vex a man who has to leave home and family on official duty.

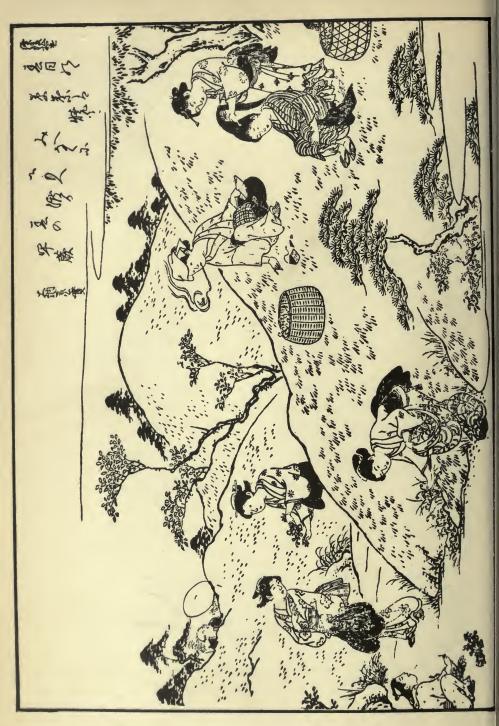
The m. k. in the text, which are complicated with wordjugglery, are explained in the volume of texts.

83

By Akahito on passing the Bay of Minume 1.

High Minume's bay,
Ahaji's isle that faceth,
—of millet minding
that maketh royal fare—
in the outer waters

doth miru deep-weed flourish, in the nearer shallows men wordless-wort do gather—



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as deep by hegy will 's me, no tidings as deep well growth in earlyings we seer-parted, sue thee end on our class are lifems damb of these my word ag dimit-WORL

' Minume is a series. The ser from the key and again and ee, is a homophor of regra, and nor, the name of confirming the state of not seek by in & H h twice-two are used to him & glig (four), but his roll; has E while. The the Building Han norm ve less infelettoria em a envoy represents the feeling of the

I would BI ween m close was mort to my booten

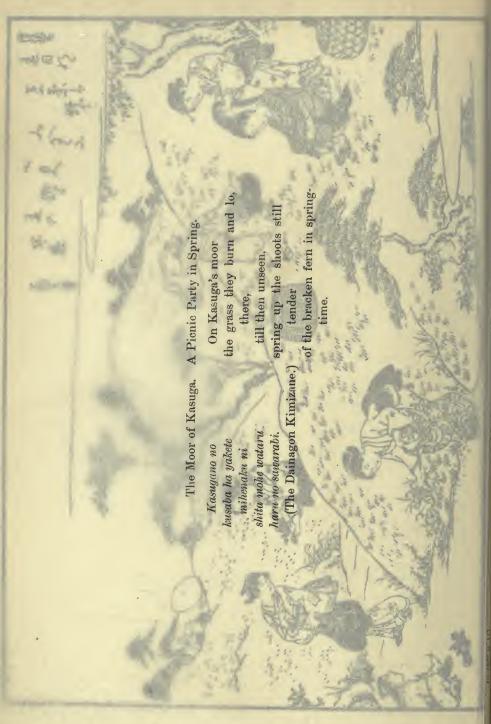
A Pienie Party in Spring.

The Moor of Kasuga.

lay on the Detout upon the Chief Palace Armon Wane-July

Un Kazuknie L

communication along a re-



as deep my longing, as deep-weed grow'th to see thee. as dumb of thee my world as any dumbwort___

woe's me, no tidings exchange we ever-parted, and so my days are lifeless!

¹ Minume is in Settsu. The subject of the lay has departed from City-Royal on some appointed duty and regrets his separation from his spouse. The text, full of conceits of a typical kind, is worth a brief explanation. First, awa (millet) is suggested by the name of the island Ahaji. Next, miru, to see, is a homophon of miru, a sort of sea-wrack (Codium), and nanori, the name of a common sea-weed (sargassum), na-nori, do not speak. Lastly, in the Chinese script, characters meaning twice-two are used to signify the Japano-Chinese vocable shi (four), but shi is really employed as a pure Japanese emphatic particle. Under these conditions nothing beyond an imitation, more or less infelicitous, could be accomplished. envoy represents the feelings of the deserted spouse:-

> I would I were as close as smock to salt-girl to my beloved,that never a day unmindful of thee, my lord, I were!

84

A Lay on the Detention, by Sovran command laid upon the Chief Ministers and Ministers, in the Palace Armoury in the 6th month of 4 Jinki (June-July, 727), of certain gentles of the Court.1

On Kásuka's hill where lush the creepers coil-2 eth

DICKINS. II

its wind-sway'd vernal leaf'ry, and mists are coiling now spring-time show- the mountain slopes enwreathing,

while nightingales sing blitheon Takamato-'tis now the season whereof the wild geese tell us. the welkin filling of with noisy scream greeting, when we were wont amid the pleasant villages to ride in companies, we gentles of the Palacebut vainly have we spring's awaited fair coming,3 ere led by pleasure with awe and dread confess weto break our duty,4 would we ourselves bethought had

rush roots ⁵ to gather and fern of polypody ⁶ to ward off evil, and in the running waters our bodies cleansing ill lusts from us forth driven—
to high behests had we, as servants loyal of the lofty Palace, obeisance duly render'd now knew we spring's new beauty.

The plum's white flowers,
the willow's drooping leafery,
they will not stay—
of merry jaunts 7 by Saho
the rumours fill the palace.

¹ The author is not named. A number of the Palace guards had gone out among the hills near City-Royal, some say to play a sort of polo, in defiance of a recent edict forbidding such neglect of duty which had become too common. They were put under arrest, and lament their exclusion from the pleasures of the season.

² A species of Pueraria, a creeping leguminous plant common in Japan.

³ That is, a spring not of enjoyment but of detention.

⁴ Their fault; had they anticipated such a falling off from duty, they would have taken the means mentioned in the following lines to avoid.

⁵ Suga, used for purificatory purposes in Shintô ritual; suga suga or sugashi means pure, undefiled.

⁶ Or *shinubu-gusa*, all kinds of (evil) desires, also the name of a fern, Davallia Bullata.

⁷ Which they, being under arrest, were, unhappily, unable to join.

85

By the Lady Sakanohe on crossing Mt. Nago on her way to City-Royal from Chikuzen in 2 Tempyo (730) ¹.

Ohónamúji and Sukunabikona,² great gods, first gave its name to lofty Nago,³ but solace none, nor comfort, no not any, despite the name,

Mount Comfort doth afford me
o'er its rough ways now
faring.

¹ In the eleventh month (November) cold comfort—nago, may mean peace, comfort, &c.—is all that Nago's hill affords her, despite its name. The Irátsume was daughter of Saho Dainagon Arimaro Kyô, and younger sister of Tabiudo no Kyô; she had gone with the latter to Tsukushi and now returned with him to City-Royal. She leaves her husband and child behind her in Chikuzen, and is eager to reach the capital.

The great and small gods of Izumo. Ohonamuji (Oho-namochi), great name-possessor, or as probably, great land-(na) possessor, was the son of Susa-no-wo. Sukuna-biko-na (or Sukuna-hiko-na) was a much older god, being of the third series, beginning with the Lord of the Centre of the Sky, Ama no minaka nushi. His name seems to mean the Lesser or Dwarf Prince. But in both names namay equal ne, a term of endearment (F. I. 143. Consult also the excellent synopsis of Divine Genealogy, p. 309). See also N. I. 59 'Ohonamuchi and Sukunabikona with united strength and one heart constructed this sub-celestial world... The people enjoy their protection universally until the present day.'

⁸ Nago (nagu, nagusamu, nagi) is written to mean calm, peace, &c. The word-fancy is obvious. In the text there is a succession of na which may also be so intended. See also Aston's Shintô.

By Takahashi no Murazhi Mushimaro, on the Departure of Fujihara no Umakahi no Kyô for the Western Frontier 1 on a military 2 expedition.

Now rime and dew tint cloudy Tátsuta's woods with colours ruddy what time my lord forth fareth o'er hills a hundred 3 to frontier-guarding Tsukushi—

among the hills
among the hills and moorlands
the points of vantage
he chooseth for his
warriors,
as far as echoes
amid the hills reverb'rate
the land he vieweth,
theordering thereof noting
down to the scanty
tract of valley murmurer 4—

and when spring cometh, escaping winter's prison, return, I pray thee return, my lord, as swiftly as bird e'er flieth, when glow the red azaleas anigh Okabe that lieth by glowing Tátsuta, and cherry blossoms do all the hill-slopes whiten. and I'll go forth when thou to City-Royal returnest, forth to meet thee 5!

o'er countless rebels, unnumber'd hordes of rebels

—no prayer is needed he shall return victorious, and hero shall I hail him.

¹ In 4 Tempyô (732). The 'western frontier' means the marches and coasts of the vice-royalty of Tsukushi. According to the Zokki, Umakahi was this year sent on a special expedition to Tsukushi. A short pentesyllabic Chinese ode was addressed to him on his departure:—

In years gone by to Eastland, and now to Westland farest thou, thy life is one of burdensome journeys, how oft wilt thou endure the toils of further warfare. ² In Yamato. In the third volume of the Yamato Meisho (Illustrated Description of Yamato) will be found an admirable woodcut of the Tátsuta river, with its floating broidery of autumn leaves, which the Mikado is admiring, so often celebrated in Japanese song.

3 lit. 'five hundreds of hills.'

⁴ taniguku, toad, which only wanders over a small extent of ground. The intention is to illustrate the minute care with which an official ought to do his duty. These hyperboles are all borrowed from the Chinese. Anciently taniguku (translate 'toad') may have meant 'frog'.

⁵ The difficult m. k. yamatadzuno in the text cannot be adequately rendered.

87

A Lay chanted at a Banquet given by Sovran command on the dispatch of three kyô or commissioners on special duty to the Eastland, the Westland, and the south and north Midland.¹

To distant marchlands, my lords, I bid you fare, that I your Sovran may tranquil sway enjoy and fold my hands ² in perfect peacefulness.

and I, your Sovran, will solemn offerings ³ make, and pray the high gods, their favouring grace imploring, success to lend you—

and when returned ye shall present yourduty, rich wassail shall ye of this rich sake quaff, rich sake with me quaff!

¹ By the Mikado Shômu in 4 Tempyô, 732. There were three kyô (ministers), Fujihara no Ason Fusasaka, dispatched to the Eastland and South Midland, Tajihi no Mabito Agatamori to the North Midland, and Minakahi to the Westland. Their duty no doubt was to inspect and pacify (see N. II. 370, where a like nomination of commissioners by Temmu is mentioned under the year 685). Some commentators pretend that the Mikado was not Shômu, but the Queen-Regnant

Genshô (715-48), who is also credited with the authorship of the lay.

² A purely Chinese expression.

3 Mi te gura = mi tahe kura, fine-fabric-offering-stand. The offerings consisted, in early Japan, of cloths of hempen and mulberry-bark, represented in later times by gohei, strips of white paper cut and folded in conventional imitation of vestments.

⁴ The banquet or feast referred to is equivalent to investiture of office, or decoration for faithful execution of duty. There are many examples in the Nihongi of the festive and ritual uses of sake (N. I. 154-6).

BOOK VI, PART II

88

By Akahito, under Sovran command, on a Royal Progress in the 10th (godless) moon to the country palace in Yóshinu.1

In Yóshinu

my dread lord's palace tow'reth,

high are the hills there, the clouds upon their peaks lie,

swift are the rivers.

their murmuris delightful,

in lofty majesty the mountains scale the

the rivers allwhere

heavens.

730.

roll down their sparkling watersand till the hills their peaks shall cease to rear. until the rivers shall end their swirl and flood shall yonder palace, the vast and spacious

ne'er cease to be, belike?

palace,

¹ The Mikado was Shômu, and the progress was made in

89

A Lay on the exile of Otomaro no kyô to Tosa 1.

My lord of Furu ²
Isonokami's Highness
from path of duty
seduced by a frail girl's
beauty,
cord-bound, a prisoner,
like packhorse led by
halter,
like stag by archers
by bowmen set and
warded,³

for act of treason
'gainst his liege Lord and
Sovran,
an exile fareth
to march-land heavendistant—

oh, may my lord the hill of Matsuchi ⁴ climbing again behold his homeland.

90

A second Lay on the exile of Otomaro.

In dread obeisance
to his great liege and
Sovran
my lord now fareth,
the paired lands 5 tow'rds
he fareth—

with awe and trembling the god revealed invoke I of Suminoye,⁶ his Presence to establish in power divine ⁷ upon the ship's high prow;
so round the headlands
of all the isles in safety,
in safety ever,
the capes of all the bays,
my dear lord fare,
rough waves nor foul
winds meeting,
unhurt and halesome,
fulfilled the time of exile,
to his own land returning!

¹ This and the succeeding lay are attributed to the wife of the exile. The story as given in the Zokki runs thus:—Otomaro (who is called Kyô, an appellation used in relation to the third and higher ranks, and here given by courtesy to Otomaro, who did not attain the third rank until later) was banished to Tosa, then a frontier land (hina), on account of an intrigue with Kume no Muraji Wakame, a lady favoured by the Mikado, she herself being sent to Shimôsa. The event took place in 11 Tempyô (739). In 13 Tempyô a general amnesty was proclaimed by the Mikado (Shômu), and Otomaro returned to City-Royal.

There is a difference of one year in the respective chronologies of Zokki and the Manyôshiu in this connexion, but in the chronology of ancient Japan that is hardly a blemish.

- ² At Iso no Kami, a village-district in Yamate County (Yamato), was a shrine known as Furu no miya, from which the ancient family of the lords of Isonokami took their designation of Furo no mikoto (mikoto = Highness, not applied to the mikado only and the princes of the blood, but also to persons of rank, especially if of royal descent; thus we have tsuma no mikoto, my lord husband, imo no mikoto, my lady younger sister, &c.)
 - 3 The allusion is to a drive of four-footed game.
- ⁴ Matsuchi. The etymology may be ma-tsuchi, right or true soil (i. e. glebe-gods), or matsu chi, pine-wood land, or ma utsu chi, right-beat-land, that is, where the cloth is true-beaten. The last etymology (the true one probably, is either 'place of glebegods' or 'pine-wood land') is the one to which the m. k. furu karomo (old garment) in the text applies by a sort of word-play, not here renderable. In the Hyakunin Isshiu there is a tanka (XCIV) Miyoshino no | yama no aki-kaze | sayo fukete | furusato samuku | koromo utsu nari ('on the moorlands of fair Yoshino, cold are the autumn winds, at dead of night in my old village will be now heard the sound of the beating of the cloth') a reminiscence of home by a courtier in attendance on the Mikado at his country palace at Yoshino. In the text here the phrase is furu koromo Matuschi no yama yu. Matsuchi is a hill on the borders of Kii and Yamato, which the traveller returning from Tosa, by way of some port in Kii, would cross on his journey to City-Royal.
- ⁵ The expression in the text, sashi nami (sashi-nami no kŭni, i. e. Tosa), is explained in a long note in the Kogi. It may be a m. k. of to (door) part of Tosa—in ancient Japan the doors opened as they do in the West, often apparently as folding doors—more probably it = sashi-mukahe, right opposite, Tosa

being opposite (in a manner) to Kii. Lastly it may refer to the fact that the island of Shikoku (i. e. the island of the four Provinces, Tosa, Iyo, Sanuki, and Awa), from whichever of the four quarters of the compass regarded, presents two (sashi-nami = twain = prominent) provinces or 'paired lands' to the traveller's view.

⁶ Suminoye's gods (or god?). On Izanagi's return from Hades (K. 39) he got rid of the pollutions of that 'hideous land' by bathing in the waters of an estuary, the creek of Suminoye or Sumiyoshi ('Beau-Séjour'), and, among a crowd of other gods, were thus brought into being the three gods of Suminove, the god of the upper waters, the god of the middle waters, and the god of the lower waters. immediately after this fruitful ablution that were born of the washings of Izanagi's left eye the great-sky-shine goddess (the Sun) and from those of his right eye the moon-night-possessor (or perhaps, 'lord of the moon's excellence'), while the god born of the washings of his nose was the evil god Suso, identified by some with the rain-cloud or thunderstorm (O'Neill, Night of the Gods). But Dr. Aston does not accept this explanation, see his Shintô, where we learn that the gods are invoked as protectors against shipwreck and foul winds.

⁷ That is, a god revealed in mortal form (N. I. 342), perhaps an image. As to *ara* and *nigi* Kami (rough and gentle gods), see Aston's *Shintô*, 33.

91

A third Lay on the exile of Otomaro.1

My honoured father right well he loveth me, right well her son too my lady mother loveth, yet their love maugre must I towards Kashiko wend me where all the lieges

to City-Royal journeying
due gifts do offer,
and I, too, dare to offer
coarse cloths and fine
cloths
the high god's grace
imploring

on my weary way to Tosa.

¹ The occasion is that of the preceding two lays, but the lay is attributed to Otomaro himself.

92

A Lay of sorrow over the desolation of Nara, the City-Royal.¹

In peace and power where ruleth our dread Sovran, in wide Yamato since the days of the gods themselves in line unbroken hath Sovran after Sovran o'er all the land ruledathousand thousand years gone 2 there 'twas decreed Nara should be stablished for City-Royal, where when the bright spring showeth upon Mikasa anigh the hill of Kásuga the cherry blossoms along the moorland border whelm all the land in beauty, and kaho 3 warblers sing singing, ever singing; where dewy, rimy autumn cometh ruddy, and on Hakahi 4 and Tobuhi's lofty steep the leaves fall thickly

of hagi bush, and softly the hillsides cover 'neathhoof of stag to rustle his consort calling tillall the welkin echoeth 5; where fair the hills are. and fair were the homes to dwell in. and wide the roads lay, by the lieges' mansions borderedfor a thousand ages still might fair Nara flourish. until that heaven and earth should come together 6 my 7 hopeand trust was, but with the course of days obeisance loyal the Sovran still requireth8 and as the blossom of spring doth fall and wither. and as with daybreak the birds wing far their flight, are gone the court-

folk,

their bravery ⁹ all is no sound of horse-hoof ended, now echoeth where stood the ways untrodden, the ways they thronged are silent, Nara, City-Royal.

- ¹ Found also in the Tanobe collection (Tanobe no Sakimaro). Little is known of him. According to Keichiu he became Nániha no Kô in 20 Tempyô (748), and was sent by Tanabata no Sadaijin to Yakamochi in Etchiu as karei or counsellor. The [temporary] desertion of Nara took place in the reign of Shômu. On New Year's Day he occupied the Kuni Palace in Yamashiro. The walls were unfinished, and the reception of the Court was accomplished within curtained screens. About four years later the ruin of Nara had begun. In 744 the lay was composed. The Mikado referred to in the lay is, probably, Temmu.
 - ² lit. 'eight hundred myriads, a thousand years.'
- ³ Kaho (face or beautiful?) birds, perhaps uguisu; according to some commentators, kingfishers, hisuhi, are intended.
- ' Ikoma has been suggested, but Hakahi is supported by other passages in the Manyôshiu. It was one of the hills used for signal-fires (tobu-hi) in the days of the Mikado Gemmei, 708-21. It may be that Tobuhi is merely a descriptive name for Hakahi (Yamato).
- ⁵ The stag, poetically at least, calls its mate about the time of the wilting of the hagi or bush-clover.
- ⁶ Heaven and earth, separated 'in the beginning', will come together again at the 'end' of the world.
 - ⁷ It may be 'my' or 'our' or 'their' hope, &c.
- ⁸ The meaning of this passage is to me obscure. It seems to be, that circumstances change with times but always must the Mikado's leading be followed. Regret for Nara must not interfere with abandoning the old for the new capital at the Sovran's command. The poet had, no doubt, to 'save his face'.
- * Sasudake no ohomiya hito; sasudake is [earth] piercing bamboo [shoot]. The young shoots grow with extraordinary rapidity, hence the m. k. = 'flourishing,' &c. Another explanation is that it is an old name for kibi (Sorghum, sp. the kaoliang) and kibi had a variant kimi, homophon of kimi (lord)—hence the application of the m. k. to kimi, &c.

93

In praise of Kuni, City-Royal.1

Illustrious Sovran within thy broad realms lie full many a land and many homes of menin Yamashiro where high the ranged hills rise. where by the rivers stand ordered homes wellbuilded. by Kase's steep on pillars stout is rear'd thy lofty palace, Futagi's lofty palace, whence thou the land rul'stwhere ever is heard the murmur of running waters, and the song of birds ay echoes

from neighb'ring woods, where noisily in autumn the hart his mate calls, where the sprays bear wealth of blossom in spring's fair season steepy cliffs hiding— 'tis fair to gaze on, Futagi's spacious champaign, most excellent for any City-Royal, therefore, belike, our Sovran bath manded of his royal will there princely 2 halls to build him, princely palace build

¹ From the lays of Tanobe Sakimaro. It is the Palace of Futagi rather than Kuni, City-Royal, that is the subject of the lay. The Mikado was Shômu (724-56). Kuni was the miyako from 724-28 only, according to Sir E. Satow's tables, but, according to the Zokki, the choice of the site was made in 12 Tempyô (740) on the advice of Tachibana no Móroye (one of the supposed compilers of the Manyôshiu), and the new capital

him.

was inaugurated with a banquet and consecrated by a religious mission to Ise in 13 Tempyô.

Futagi is usually interpreted as *futa tagi* (two torrents, or fork of a rapid river, or of the river Tagi). It designates the tract of land in Yamáshiro in which Kuni was built.

² 'Princely' is the nearest equivalent I can find for the m. k. (sasudakeno), as applied to ohomiya, palace. See preceding lay, note 9.

94

A Second Lay in Praise of Kuni.

Futagi's palace where our dread Sovran ruleth mid high hills riseth with many a tall tree shaggy, where swirling rivers foam noisily through the plain, where in the spring-time amid the bushes nightingales the sing loudly, and sprays all blossoming with glow of painted flowers 1 embroider gaily the rough rock-faces frowning, and where in autumn,

mate calls, the mists sweep skywards. whereof sharp rains are born. and all the scene with ruddy tints is brave thro' countless ages the while may all folk render. good service render to their great Lord and Sovran, and ay unchanged through generations endendure the stately palace! O hill of Kase 2

when loud the stag his

(of young maids' toil with days hath grown reminding thy glory spin endless hemp-achieved in City-Royal! skeins)

² The homophon of Kase means a hank of yarn (hempen), and the point of the conceit, in addition to its word-play preface, is to suggest a hope that the new capital shall flourish for a time endless as the thread of the hank. The personification in the translation may here be admissible.

95

A Lay of Regret on the ruined state of Kuni, City-Royal, visited in Spring.¹

On the moor of Mika stood Kuni, City-Royal, where high the hills are and clear run the rivers and fair the scene is as ever have men declared it, and fair to dwell in as ever to me hath seem'd it—

but now 'tis desolate,
none tread the ways
deserted,
the homes are empty
where men once dwelt as
neighbours—

how fair the scene was, by Kase's hill o'erlook'd where the god his shrine hath,² where still the sprays

a-blossoming show all their wealth, their wealth of varied colour,

where hosts of warblers still fill with song the valleys—

O pleasant land, how men might love to dwell there, alas, 'tis lone and desolate! . ¹ In the Lays of Tanobe (see 92). The lay was composed after the final removal of the Court to Nara.

² Motowori reads here *umi wo kaku* as in the envoy to 94. The Kogi gives an account of the choice of Kuni or Nániha as capital. Twenty-three courtiers of the fifth and higher rank and 157 of lower rank voted for Nániha, and twenty-three of fifth and lower rank and 138 others for Kuni.

96

A Lay made at the Palace of Nániha.

By Nániha's 1 palace, where oft our Sovran fareth. anigh the sea (whence men haul monstrous whales!) fair pearls are gathered upon the strand where roar the morning breakers, and pleasant 'tis to hear the endless murmur, and pleasant 'tis at even the sound of oars to hear across the calms, or with the daybreak, from the night's long sleep awaking,

anigh the sea
to listen to the dott'rels
upon the shore sands
their mates a-calling
as fall the ebbing waters,
and note the screaming
of busy flights of cranefowl
mid the reeds resounding—
to hear folk tell e'en

to hear folk tell e'en
of scene so fair onelongeth
to view Ajifu²
(fare royal provideth)
where riseth the stately
Palace
one wearieth ne'er to gaze
on.

¹ See 92, 95. In 16 Tempyô (A.D. 744) the treasury and great shields were removed from Kuni to Nániha, and shortly afterwards the store of arms was taken by water to the latter place. There, accordingly, the ministers of the Mikado requested that the Court should be removed, which was graciously permitted.

² Ajifu, aji- field (so written), is in Settsu. Aji (Anas formosa) were royal fare, part of the tribute in kind paid by the people.

97

A Lay made on passing the Bay of Minume.1

Since the far foretime
of the god of countless
spears,²
of ships and sailors
hath Minume been the
haven
'fore all exalted—
upon the shore there,
blown by the winds of
morning
the waves break nois'ly,
and with the tides of
evening

fair harvest floateth
of welcome tamamo seaspoil;
on that strand shining,
on those clear floods for
ever
eyes all unwearied
may men turn, still
delighted,
on that fair strand and
sea-flood.

¹ Among the lays of Tanobe (see 92). The translation is slightly abbreviated. Minume is in Settsu.

² Yachihoko. He is the god Ohonamuchi; see ante, lay 85, also Aston's Shintô and Nihongi.

BOOK VIII, PART I

98

A Lay on the Hill of Kusaka.¹

I leave behind me
wave-worn Nániha faring
towards Kusaka,
(where green the swaying
reeds are,²)
and darkness falleth

as o'er the hill I wend me amid the blossoms of áshibi 3, full flowered; ah! fine to see, and fine my kind love, were it to meet, no further faring.

¹ Said to be the composition of a person of mean condition, no name being given.

The subject of the lay is supposed to be a girl who is anxious to arrive at the place where her lover is to meet her.

² The sense of this line is partially implied in the name Kusaka (in Kawachi).

³ Asebi (Andromeda japonica). There is here a soundquibble, of which an imitation is given in the repetition of the word 'fine'.

99

In Praise of Cherry Blossoms.¹

For heads of ladies. these wide realms for heads of courtly gentles brighten, to weave in garlands. O fair to see the blossoms of the cherry tree in O fair the cherry blooms flower! are from end to end

¹ By Wakamiya no Ayumaro, of whom nothing is known,

In the Jimmei-jisho a man of that name is said to have flourished in the period Jôkwan (859-79), but he cannot have been the author of this lay.

100

A Lay of Farewell, addressed to Hironari on his Departure for China.1

A day ne'er endeth. I yearn not for my lord, for whom my love is the thread of all my lifedays 2, who now obeisant, as mortal man he must be.

to his dread Sovran. DICKINS II K

as the night hours pass, and calleth the crane his partner, Nániha's from haven fareth; the tall ship ready, the stout oars all forth furnish'd,

over the white waves
of the great sea-waste 3 he
oareth,
beyond the islands,
uponthefartrack speeding
to Morokoshi 4—
the while right offerings

the while right offerings take I

and pray the high gods
to have him in their
keeping,
and swift return vouchsafe him

to me in the homeland waiting!

- ¹ In 5 Tempyô (734), Tajihi no Mabito Hironari was sent as envoy to China. The embassy is the subject of lay 68 in the fifth book, and of lays 119 and 254 in the ninth and nineteenth books respectively.
 - ² So I render iki no wo ni omofu, conf. 101.
 - 3 arumi, for aruru umi, which is exactly πόντος ἀτρύγετος.

4 An old name for China.

There are two envoys, one of which expresses the desire of the vassal or friend (or mistress?) to be the rudder-oar of the traveller's ship, that there may be no parting. Though 'offered' by Kanamura, the lay must be the work of Yakamochi or Sakanohe.

101

By Yakamochi, on sending a Spray of Orange Blossom to his Wife, the Elder Lady Sakanohe.

When shall I see
thee?—
the while the garden
midmost
the bosky orange
in leafy richness revels,
and now nigh cometh
the lush 1 month, time of
garlands,
and pregnant blossoms

the leafy sprays are bending,
with every morrow
I gaze upon them hoping
they may endure
till come clear moonlit
nights,
when thou shalt, dear,
who art my very life's

thread 2,

a glimpse, if scanty, gain of my flowering orange—

oh, orange flowers! I pray they may not scatter. and jealously my bloomy treasures watch I when—mischievous that rogue the cuckoo cometh. each ruddy daybreak reckless spoiling doeth.3 I chase him, chase him, but more he cometh,

shouteth,

and now the blossoms
alas! the ground they're
strewing,
nor help is any,
so spray I pluck and send
thee
my dear, for thee to look on.

A spray of orange
that groweth in my
garden,
on mid-month night,
the clear full moonlight
under,
I thought to show thee,
dear.

¹ So sa may be rendered—the fifth month (June—July). The fruits of the orange were small and threaded as a chaplet.

² The thread on which the years of my life are strung—a Buddhist notion.

³ The cuckoo spoiling the orange blossoms is a Chinese idea. The bird (hototogisu) is the Cuculus poliocephalus, which flits restlessly in and out of the orange bushes, on moonlight nights especially, and rends or rubs to pieces the leaves and blossoms. The cry resembles 'hut-tu-tu, hut-tu-tu', very rapidly repeated.

BOOK VIII, PART II

102

On Tanabata night, by Omi Okura.

(There are ten lays on this subject, of which two, a short lay and a long lay, are given).1

upon

the

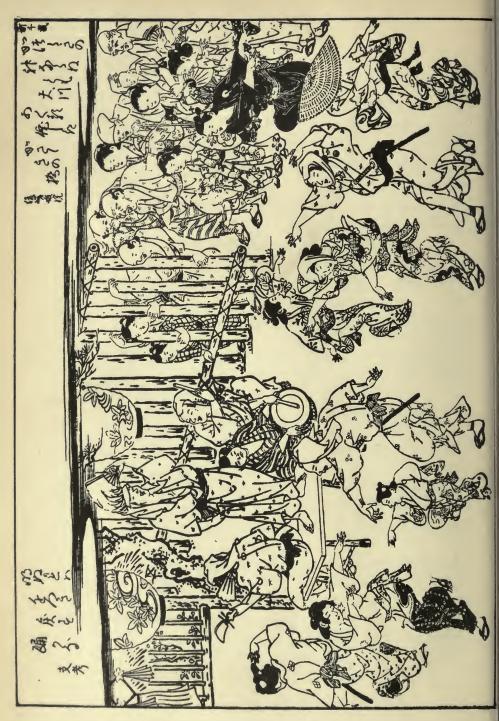
Upon the waters
of the River of Shining
Heaven²
oh! will my lord
his bark this seventh night
launch
and fare across to love me?

Since earth and heaven long, long ago were parted,3 upon the shore of heaven's wide flood standing the youthful Herdman for the Webster Maiden longing, with love thoughts pining, no peace knew in his heartno peace knew, sighing, sobbing ever, for ever gazing upon those waters blue,

for ever weeping,

gazing, in manner piteous the youth stood SO lamenting, so stood the lover with empty yearnings stirr'dfor bark red-painted how sorely did he long, with oars bejewell'd, with trusty oars forth furnish'd to beat the waters in the calm time of the morning, or flood at even to cleave with level keel so stood he idly by the stream of shining Heaven, her scarf a-waving, his fine arms far outstretched embrace desiring, and heart with love afire while Autumn tarried still.4

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I Omi Phone is made of the Rolls, and allalized the The desired of the second of the research intentile Dith cond 724. To the second of the property of the party of the pa handloom. As the law the night of a set awath) is Iwaya membanad in the Allindogy as dating Iron the age of the gods, it would appear to been had considerable assigning aven in the eighth century. may lignify nothing man the bases in which the hald. The story is a China and a tree Byere's Chinese Theader' & 3 allinsion to the belief which from the theme of cross the River of Heaven (Milky Way) to enjoy their one The dance is known as the Mugpie -the night of the 7th of the 7th moon, when the lover-stars be considerativith the Aquis, 3 tis you sad daybreak Canadan in Switt rong E Lyry), and ther sitting on the Haydranda when the Hold mort E E En E.Liu NE To a hay ha to d a 21号 有 Tan Baid 本语 证 क्षिति कि के कि कि wite the With Far-gine and in poson to the gergealussy to Western A & embrace of the year. Il Playe round up the Year hasasadi no hushi The Align Street The state of the s quo no ma an the vary TO WALL MEDT IN Chang Silder A the the spanish the land to Japanese the Hoy is called by an indicate to the Tambolik

In Milks Was as a second world,

as in the

Empolos.

cross the River of Heaven (Milky Way) to enjoy their one Here we see a rustic dance celebrated on Tanabata night, -the night of the 7th of the 7th moon, when the lover-stars embrace of the year. The dance is known as the Magpie dance, in allusion to the belief which forms the theme of the tanka from the Hiyakunin numbered x on p. 307 of this The verse to the right is taken from the New Collection o'er Heaven's river must bear once only in the year he i.e. away from his love whom nearer, farther, backwards. The god of Katsuragi was the god of Bridges-he was tis not the god reproach we, Symbolizing the meeting and farewell of the lover-stars. upon the Magpies' Bridge With morning's twilight 'tis you sad daybreak Of Katsuragi forwards! oh, the dance dawns of 'Thousand-year Congratulatory Odes'. so ugly he only showed himself by night meets.) The second Saga In.) To the left is an epigram (Shikô.) kami naranedomo kasasagi no hashi. chikadzuki modosu Katsuragi no akuru wabishiki Amanogaha odori kana! Akenureba volume.

1 Omi Okura is mentioned in the Zokki, and attained the fifth rank. The tanka is dated the seventh of the seventh month 724. Tanahata (ta na hata, but not so written) seems to mean handloom. As this feast (seventh night of seventh month) is always mentioned in the Anthology as dating from the age of the gods, it would appear to have had considerable antiquity even in the eighth century. But its reference to the divine age may signify nothing more than the honour in which it was held. The story is a Chinese one, and as summarized in Mayers's Chinese Reader's Manual, p. 97, sub Khien Niu, is seen to be connected with the relative position of the 'Cowherd' constellation (\beta \gamma Aquila, or, according to others, parts of Capricornus and Sagittarius) and the weaver-woman or Webster star (a Lyra), on either side of the Milky Way. Hwainan tsz (alias Liu An or Liu Ngan), who died B.C. 122, found or invented the story that the two stars come together every year on the seventh night of the seventh month (at half moon nearly) by means of a bridge (kasasagi hashi) made by magpies joining their wings together. During the rest of the year the lover-stars are supposed to be 'star-gazing' at each other vainly across the stream. All sorts of legends and poetic motives have been founded upon this story. Chang Khien, who went on an embassy to Western Asia in the second century B.C., is said to have rowed up the Yellow River (which was supposed to be the continuation on earth of the Milky Way) until he met a herdman and a weaving-woman, the latter of whom gave him her shuttle, telling him to show it on his return to a certain star-gazer. Chang Khien did so, and the wise man discovered that on the very night in question a wandering star (Chang Khien) was seen to intrude itself between Aquila and Lyra. Thus Chang Khien found he was the only mortal who had ever rowed on the waters of the Heavenly Stream. In Japanese the herdboy is called Hikohoshi and the webster-woman Tanabata tsu me, as in the text.

² The Milky Way.

'In the morning of the world,
when earth was nigher heaven than now.'
Browning.

 $^{^4}$ In various difficult passages I follow the explanations of the Kogi.

103

Lines to his Wife, by Yakamochi 1.

Full of sad thoughts, dear. I know not any solace; oh, would each morrow, hand held in hand together, about our garden might as lovers wander, and as fell ev'ning, our chamber well preparing, our shining sleeves in close embrace commingling, there wait the daybreak and love as we were wont the hill-bird², say they, beyond the hill wellwooded his mate he wooeth, but I am but a mortal. nor help for me, nor help for me is any, each day, each night, I away from thee know tears unceasing ever

my heart is full of sadof sorrow full 'tis, wherefore to find me comfort to Takamato, to hill and moor I hasten, my misery to ease in wandering there among the flowers, among the blooms and flowers 3, more my love but grow'th as more I gaze upon them. and howsoe'er I would shake off my sadness for thee my heart more yearneth. On Takamato

On Takamato
I see the pretty faceflower 4—
and so thy beauty
how should I there forget,
dear,
how should I there forget!

¹ Sakanohe.

² The yamadori, or copper cock. His mate is supposed to fly away over the hills at night.

³ The plum and cherry blossom on the hills.

* Kahobana=kakitsubata (Iris laevigata).

Book IX, PART I

104

In Praise of Fair Támana of Suwe in Kádzusa.1

In the land of Aha long-—where the breath'd 2 birds are flockingin Suwe village -Bow-end³ the people call itin Suwe, say I, fair Támana she dwelleth, wide-bosom'd is she, offigureslim, waistslender as any sand-wasp4, and very sweet of face, a flower of beauty in every smile she seemeth, and all who wend them along the spear-ways, her smiling seeing, to further fare forget they,

e'en uninvited
about her doorway linger;
those, too, who dwell
anear, in sudden fashion
their wives forgetting,
the key of all their treasure
to give her will they,
ere she the gift demandeth,
for such her beauty 5
all whom she approacheth,

If by her doorway one stayeth but a moment, he leaveth witless, his way in life is lost him as a wanderer's by night!

fair Támana, bewitcheth.

² According to Mr. Minakata, with whom I agree. The

¹ The author of this lay is unknown. Suwe, placed in Kadzusa in the argument, in the text is placed in Awa, an adjoining province, which at the date of the lay was probably not yet separated from Kadzusa.

Kogi gives 'long-tailed'. The word is Shi-naga. Shi we find in tama-shii (soul-precious breath, $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$); also in kaze, wind (kami-shi, kaze = god's-breath). The bird intended may be a

niho (sp. perhaps Podiceps Philippensis).

³ In the text adzusa yumi suwe, whitewood-bow—suwe. Suwe is a bow-end, where the string is attached; see woodcut of a bow, with parts named, in the Oho Yedo Setsuyô, a useful popular encyclopaedia, published in the last year of the Shôgunate.

⁴ Sugaru. In Japanese there are five homophons of sugaru, but the choice here lies between sugaru, a kind of deer, and sugaru, a sand-wasp (Vespra fossoris, M.).

⁵ Another reading is tori-yosohi, 'dress oneself finely'. The

heroine of the lay is evidently a courtesan.

105

The Lay of Uráshima.

Upon a day,
a misty day in springtime,
all idly wandering
on the sands of Suminoye,
the boats a-fishing
upon the heaving waters
I watched, and suddenly
an old-world tale remembered.

'Twas long ago when
Uráshima, the Childe
of Midzunoye—
a boasting fisher was he
of bream and tunny—
for days and days until
that

the tale was seven,
his threshold never cross'd
he,
for he had oared him
far o'er the great blue seaplain,
and there the daughter
of the mighty sea-god
met he,
O happy wight he!
as still the oar he plied,
they sat together,
and long the twain devisèd,
until love bound them,

at last in union bound

then far'd they further,

them,

to the sea-god's palace fared they,
and hand in hand held the inmost bower reach'd they,
there are unknowing

there, age unknowing, by death unvisited, in lasting joyance one life they thought to lead—

but the world-wight,

a mortal in his folly,thus spake his dear,A little while, I fain,sweet,

from thee would wend me,

my father and my mother to seek and greet, but not beyond the morrow

shall we be parted '—
so heard the maid, and
answered,

'if thou desirest
to our Deathless Land
again to turn thee,
and our fair life of love
to live for ever,
take thou this comb-box
with thee:

but good heed have thou the comb-box ne'er to

open'-

so vow'd Uráshima
to do as he was bidden,
and wendedworldwards
and came to Suminoye,
and there his homeplace,

there his village sought he, but found no village, nor there his home-place

found he,

and marvelled greatly, for that, but three years by-gone,

were fence and house too from all the land evanished—

then he bethought him, the precious comb-box given,

perchance, if open'd,
might bring back home
and village—
and so the lid

a little lifted he, when out came coiling a vast white roll of cloud, which spread and drifted

towards the Deathless Land—

Uráshima, he ran with haste and anguish the cloud pursuing, and rav'd and wav'd his sleeves,
and in an agony
fellheadlong on the strand,
his limbs a-tremble—
what time all suddenly,
his heart did fail him,
his body, erst so youthful,
did shrink and wrinkle,
his jetty hair fell grey,
and eke his breathing
grew breath by breath
still weaker,

till life departed from Midzunoye's Childe, Uráshima, whose home once stood anigh where I this lay indite.

In the Deathless Land still his abode might be, but foolish world-wight, was that sword-girdled¹ gentle, the Childe of Midzunoye.

The lay seems founded upon a Chinese motive (itself perhaps of Indian origin), and many of the elements in the Fûdoki story are distinctly Chinese; nevertheless the treatment is entirely Japanese, and whatever grace lay or story may possess is of a Japanese, not a Chinese character.

In the lay the story is less fully and much less interestingly told than in the *Tango Fûdoki* ('Description of Tango')², said to have been written in the first half of the eighth century, earlier than the Manyôshiu itself. I subjoin a complete translation of the story, and of the *tanka* appended to it ³:—

In Tango is a county known as Yosa [still so named], and in Yosa a canton ⁴ called Heki, and in this canton ⁵ a village ⁶, Tsutsugaha. Among the dwellers in this village

¹ This is merely a fixed epithet of 'gentle'.

² Tango was originally a part of Tamba, but separated in 6 Wado (708-15).

³ The story is referred to in N. I. 368, but the commentators reject it as an interpolation.

^{&#}x27;This is better than 'village' for sato. Prof. Florenz uses the word 'gau'.

⁵ According to Prof. Florenz.

⁶ mura.

was the ancestor of the Fuhi Shitabe no Kami, whose name was Tsutsugaha no Shimako. He was a man of handsome appearance and incomparable elegance. He was afterwards known as Midzunoye no Uráshima no Ko. The ancient author Ihobe Umakahi no Muraji has described him much as above, so I will set about my narrative.

In the days of the Asákura Mikado (Yuryaku, 457-9) Shímako 9 rowed out alone to fish with line in mid-sea. For three days and nights he fared onwards and caught nothing. Then he hooked a five-hued tortoise 10, and was greatly surprised. He put the animal in the bottom of the boat, and immediately fell asleep. The tortoise at once changed into a damsel of peerless beauty, and Shímako [awaking] spoke to her, and said:

'We are far away from any dwellings of men, and the sea is empty of men, too. Who art thou that thus suddenly appearest here?'

She smiled, and answered:

'Elegant youth, you are all alone on the blue sea, with none to have converse with; so I came to you, riding on the winds and clouds 11.'

Then Shímako spoke again:

'Whence camest thou on the winds and the clouds?' She said:

'I am a Sennin 12 from above the skies, and I say to you hesitate not, but devise with me lovingly.'

⁷ Prof. Florenz has Kusakabe no Obito, but this does not seem to agree with the characters in the text as cited in the Kogi.

⁸ Midzunoye may have been an old name of Suminoye, but it became that of a family. Ko is 'son', used here as an honour-title of address. It often signifies Prince or Sage.

⁹ Shímako may be an abbreviation of Uráshima no ko.

¹⁰ The five colours varied somewhat; generally they were green-blue, red, yellow, white, and black.

11 'Through the air.'

¹² Celestial being—not exactly an angel. The character means 'recluse of the hills'. In Taouism, one who by virtue rises above man yet is not divine.

But Shimako, seeing she was in truth a Sennin, was afraid, and knew not what to do. Then she spoke again, and said:

'I have determined to become your humble spouse, for as long as heaven and earth and sun and moon shall last. What think you? tell me. Do you not agree?'

Shímako answered:

'I hardly dare say.'

But the damsel added:

'You would do well to change your course, and steer for the Eternal Land.'

Next she bade him close his eyes, and in a trice they came to a great island in the middle of the ocean. It looked like an expanse of precious stones. There were gateways with high keeps over them, and also many-storied pavilions shone there ¹³. All was quite different from anything Shímako had ever seen or heard of. The twain, holding each other's hands, then walked slowly towards the Palace, and after a time came to a great gateway.

The Sennin then said:

'Wait here a little while.'

Then she opened the gate and went in. And presently seven young gentles came out and, talking among themselves, said:

'He is the Princess Tortoise's husband.'

Next eight young gentles came out, and, talking among themselves, said:

'He is the Princess Tortoise's husband.'

So Shímako knew the Sennin was called the Princess Tortoise.

After a little time the Princess herself came out, and Shímako told her what had occurred.

She answered:

'The seven gentles are the stars of the "rising" constellation (Pleiades), and the eight gentles are the stars of the setting constellation (Hyades). Do not be astonished.' So

¹⁸ This description is altogether Chinese in character.

saying, she went on in front and led the way within. And her parents came to meet them, and all saluted and took their seats. Then they explained to Shímako the difference between mortals and the denizens of that heavenly palace, and referred to the happy meeting of a divine being and a mortal, after which all kinds of sweet-smelling refreshments were offered. Her elder and younger brothers and sisters lifted cups and offered nectar, and young maidens with rosy cheeks came in from the neighbouring mansions, who amused the guest and made the empty air resonant with their celestial songs, and danced celestial dances before him. The joyance and feasting were ten thousand times more pleasing than among mortal men.

Meanwhile Shímako saw that it was getting dark; but as twilight deepened all the divine beings gradually withdrew and only the Princess was left behind with him. So, eyebrow to eyebrow and sleeve enlaced with sleeve, they became bride and bridegroom.¹⁴

After this fashion Shimako forgot his former life, diverting himself in the Palace until soon three years had passed. Suddenly a feeling of homesickness arose in his heart. When alone, he thought with sorrow of his father and mother, and his grief and misery increased greatly, so that day by day he fell to sighing more and more. At last the Princess spoke and said:

'I have watched your face of late, my Prince; it is no longer what it was. Tell me what ails you, whatever it may be.'

He answered:

'The men of old said that the ordinary man longs for his village as the dying fox to lay his head on his own earth. I took that for foolish talk, but now I know it is true.'

She said:

- 'Do you wish to go back to your own land, then?'
- 14 The restrained and decent language of the story—very different from that of the native myths collected in the Kojiki—is additional evidence of its Chinese—originally Indian—origin.

He answered:

'Though near, I went away from the ways of my relations; though far, I came to this land of Sennin. I cannot resist my affection for my kin, and so I have come to think perhaps I might hope to return for a little while to my own folk and salute my father and mother.'

The Princess feel to weeping and sighing, and said:

'I thought we were to live together for ten thousand years, as long as bronze and stone endure. Why do you yearn after your own folk so much as to wish to desert me for a time?'

Then hand in hand they wandered up and down, devising with each other, and torn by grief, and sleeve touching sleeve, they came to a parting of the ways. There followed them the Princess's father and mother and all her family, and they all sorrowfully took leave of Shímako; and the Princess gave him a precious comb-casket ¹⁵, and as she gave it to him she said:

'If you do not forget your humble wife, and if you desire to see her again, keep carefully this casket, and above all be sure never to open it to look inside.'

Then they parted, and Shimako got into his boat, when she bade him shut his eyes, which he did, and in a trice found himself at his old home at Tsutsugaha. He gazed at the village, but men and things were so changed there was nothing he could recognize. So he spoke to a countryman he met, and said:

'Where is the house where the family of Midzunoye no Uráshima no Ko formerly dwelt?'

The man answered:

'Whence come ye who ask about a man who lived so long ago? I have heard old folk talk of one Midzunoye who rowed out into the blue sea all alone and never came

¹⁵ Comb and mirror were among the earliest treasures of the women of ancient Japan—both were doubtless among the most admired importations from China. The *tai* mentioned in the lay is a species of sea-bream (Pagrus cardinalis), and is the most excellent in flavour of Japanese fishes.

back. But this happened three hundred years ago. How is it all of a sudden you come here and ask about him?'

Well, Shimako had left all his heart behind him to come and salute his parents, and now not a single relative remained. So he spent several tens of days wandering about his old homeplace, until one day his hand touched the casket, and he bethought him of the Sennin who had given it him; but he forgot what had passed between them, and with a sudden movement opened the casket. Before he could so much as look inside it, in a moment something fragrant issued from the casket, amid the winds and clouds (into the air), and coiled upwards towards the sky. For Shímako had gone against what had passed between the Sennin and himself-now far from her, never should he behold her again. So, turning his face towards the Immortal Isle, and beside himself with grief, he sobbed and sighed and wandered up and down, and then, brushing the tears from his eyes, he made a verse and sang:-16

> Toward the Deathless Land the coil of white cloud rolleth, and beareth with it the last words of Uráshima, the Childe of Midzunoye.

To which the celestial maiden answered softly from afar:—

Yamato-ward
the rising wind doth blow
as clouds in heaven
far, far thou art from me—
yet thou forget me not.

And Uráshima sang:--

For thee, dear, longing at dawn of day I stand in mine own doorway, and hear the waves that break on the shores of the Happy Land.¹⁷

¹⁶ The following tanka are all quoted in the Kogi commentary.

¹⁷ With the above three tanka I may, perhaps, venture to

In a later day men have sung:-

Uráshima, the Childe of Midzunoye unopened had he that casket kept, as bidden, his love he ne'er had lost.

And again (but the text is deficient and the rendering conjectural):—

To the Land Immortal
the rolling cloud is borne,
nor stayeth a moment,
had I but kept my promise
I should not know this sorrow.

The story of Yuan Chao may properly find a place here. 'During the reign of Hanming (A.D. 58-75), when [Yuan Chao was rambling with his friend Liu Chhen among the Thienthai hills, the two travellers lost their way, and after wandering about for many days were at length guided by accident to a fairy retreat among the hills, where two beauteous sisters feasted them on the seeds of the huma (hemp plant), and admitted them to share their couches. Returning at length to their homes, they found with dismay that seven generations had elapsed since they left their homes' (Mayers's Chinese Reader's Manual, Pt. I, No. 959). Perhaps the earliest embodiment of the Taouist myth in Japanese legend is to be found in the story of Ho no Susori and Hohodemi (Aston's Shintô, 113). Ninigi, the grandson of the Sun-Goddess, was sent down to earth by the gods. There he married the Princess of Tree-blossoms, rejecting the Princess of Rocks as too ugly, who thereupon cursed her (younger) sister's progeny. This is why human

compare a rhyme of Provence taken from Prof. Ker's Dark Ages:—

Quan la douss' aura venta deves vostre païs m'es vejaire qu'eu senta odor de paradis. life fades and perishes like the blossom of trees. [All this is entirely Chinese in tone.] Retiring to a doorless house (parturition hut) she bore three children. Of the two elder of these the elder was Ho no Susori, and he was a fisherman, the younger was Hohodemi, and he was a hunter. They exchanged fishhook and bow and arrows, but neither could learn the use of the other's weapons. Hohodemi into the bargain lost his brother's fishhook and offered him a number of his own make. These were, as might be expected, ill-made, and Susori raised such a pother that his brother went down to the seashore and stood there weeping bitterly. There came to him the Old Man of the Sea, who advised him to visit the sea-god's palace at the bottom of the sea. Hohodemi went there accordingly, and climbed up a cassia tree near the gate overshadowing a well. While he was there the daughter of the sea-god came out to draw water, and saw his face reflected in the well. She fell in love with him, and at her instance her father called a council of the sea-fishes to find the hook which was eventually discovered in the mouth of a tai fish, which Hoho was told to hand over with averted face after spitting twice. Meanwhile Hoho married the Princess and lived with her for three years. Then he became homesick and returned to the world, where he built a parturition house for his wife, thatched with cormorant's feathers. She came riding on a tortoise, and begged him not to look at her, but he did, and found she was a monster eight fathoms long. She was disgusted [as probably he was], and returned to her father. Her child was brought up by the ugly Aunt, and this child was the father of Jimmu, who is officially regarded as the first of the Mikados of Japan.

Upon the *märchen* of Uráshima are founded a *Nô no utahi*, or religious mediaeval drama, and a modern opera, both so named. In the Nô, Uráshima has become a god, he has a shrine at a place called Midzunoye, of which the Mikado has heard, and sends an envoy to report upon it; to him the story, or rather part of the story is suggested rather than told, and he returns, after having been honoured by the presence of the god Uráshima, the king of the sea-

dragons, the five-hued tortoise, and an angel from Hôrai (perhaps the sea-nymph whom Uráshima loved and fatally disobeyed). He also seems to bring back with him a portion of the Elixir of Life. The piece is vague and shadowy, almost incapable of definite translation; but it possesses a certain dreamy charm not uncommon in these unique mediaeval miracle-dramas.

The opera, quite a recent production, is a much more elaborate performance.

The story follows the legend pretty closely, but Uráshima, who becomes a god in the Nô, finally resumes his youth as a mortal in the opera, the closing lines of which may be thus rendered:—

Shineth the sun's light ever, quit we the sun's light never, never—and ever charmed by the land etern let us to earth return, Hôrai in this world find we, this world in Hôrai mind we!

¹ Translations of the lay of Uráshima have been published by Dr. Aston, Prof. Chamberlain, and Dr. Karl Florenz, all of which have been consulted.

106

On a Lady crossing a Bridge alone.

A Lady see I
across yon red bridge
tripping
that beareth o'er
swift Kata-ásuha's river,
her smock of scarlet
behindhertrailing daint'ly,
and dark-blue mantle

upon her shoulders wearing
as all so lonely
across the bridge she
trippeth—
I wonder whether
some lustie swain she
loveth.

or still unmated like single acorn 1 pineth, and fain would ask her,

but know not where her home-place, nor where she bides in beauty.

¹ The acorn, a single kernel, is symbolic of spinsterhood; the chestnut, often double, of married life. The lay is anonymous.

107

On the occasion of the Court going to Nániha.1

Nigh Tátsuta's hill, where ever white clouds hover. on Wókura's steep swirling o'er waters rising 2, the cherry blossoms do all their pride display, but high the hills are and ever the gales are blowing, and therains arefalling, and the tree-top blossoms lie scattered, blown, and withered.

but the under-flowers

are on the sprays still

hanging-

oh, tender blossoms
yet bide awhile, beseech
you,
nor fall nor scatter
untilmy lord cross Tátsuta
towards City-Royal,
rough grassy couch
affronting,
oh, blossoms bide to cheer
him!

Ere seven days gone
I fare to City-Royal
oh, god of Tátsuta,
the winds who rulest,
spare
the blossoms spare, I pray
thee.

¹ In 3 Keiun (707) from Fujihara on the occasion of a Royal Progress of the Mikado Mommu. The taifu, daibu, or tayu—mahetsukimi in old Japanese—were heads of departments. They had been sent to Nániha in the third—yayoi or growing

month-to prepare for the reception of the Court. The friend of the poet (who is unknown) is one of them, and the poet's wish is that some of the cherry blossoms, at least, may remain to cheer his friend on the homeward journey. Or does kimi in the text simply refer to the return of the Court, as in lay 108.

² Of the Tátsuta river. Or simply, Tagi no he.

108

A second Lay on the Cherry blooms of Tátsuta.

As even latens, across the hill of Tátsuta. white-clouded Tátsuta, I wend my way and notice the cherry blossoms by Tagi 1 blown and scattered. but buds unblown still upon the sprays I see there

to flower filling upon this spray or that spray, may they not wither 2 unseen those coming blossoms. for soon, belike, my Lord and Sovran journeyeth by Tátsuta's hill to Nániha.

¹ Tagi no he (above the rapids) is in Yamato.

109

Lines on returning from Nániha after a night's stay there.

But yesterday along the slopes I journeved

mid islands there fast floweth, but one night spent I o'erhang the river in wave-worn Naniha,

² The translation follows the explanation given in the Kogi, which would interpolate this verse as missing.

yet from the hill-side
the cherry blossoms saw I
adown the river
by the swirl of waters
carried—
oh, till my lord
his eyes feast on the
blossoms

blow not ye stormwinds,
I pray at the wind god's shrine
blow not a while, ye stormwinds!²

¹ Keichiu thinks *shima yama* in the text was the name of a hill on the Nara road. I have included the Kogi view in the first four lines of the translation.

² This lay must be read with the two preceding ones. The translation, in this as in lays 107 and 108, follows the indications given in the Kogi.

BOOK IX, PART II

110

On ascending Mount Tsukuba with the Kenzeishi 1 Ohotomo no Kyô.

I longed to climb
the twin-peaks of Tsukubane
in wide Hitachi
—of long sleeve folds that
mindeth—²
what time mylord came,
and through the heats
together,
with sweaty toil,
with many a pant we
clomb,
the tree-roots grasping,

andshrilly sighing, breathing,
until the twin-peaks
I showed my lord there
rising,
and welcome gave us
the god who one peak
holdeth,
the goddess blessed us
whose seat is on the other,
while high Tsukubane,
where oft in sudden wise
the clouds collecting
in showers of rain dissolve,

shone bright in sunlight 4 and all the land, oft misty, revealed its beauty, so filled with joy our hearts were, our girdles loosed we, and at our ease we lay there as though in chamber, nor deeper could our joy
be
in pleasant spring-time
when flow'rs are gay
and birds are singing,
for rank and thick
though grew the summer
jungle
all the wide land's beauty
saw we.5

¹ Of the Kenzeishi, tax commissioner, nothing is clearly known. More than one Ohotomo no Kyô is mentioned in the Anthology. We are told, however, elsewhere, that he may have been Takahashi no Murazhi Mushimaro who remained in Hitachi after the expiration of his employment as commissioner. But there is no certainty, and the point is not worth labouring.

Tsukuba, some forty or fifty miles north of Tôkyô, is often visible from Yokohama, and shrines still exist there on either peak.

- ² The meaning of the m. k., of which the value is given in this line, is much disputed. See List of m. k. (Texts).
 - 3 Ohotomo.
- 4 On this occasion the mountain put on its cheeriest look in honour of the visit.
 - ⁵ Which the mists of spring would have hidden.

111

A Lay on the Hototogisu.¹

Among the fledglings
of the nightingale
the cuckoo hath his
birth—
alone is he,
nor like his father singeth,

nor like his mother, he soareth high, and flieth to the moor side, amid the white-flow'r'd bushes 2, and with his singing
the welkin all resoundeth;
the orange blossoms
he rendeth as he singeth,
and all day long
his song I hearken gladly,

and bribe him would I
ne'er far away to fly,
but in my garden,
among the orange blossoms,
to sit and sing for ever.

¹ The Japanese cuckoo—Cuculus poliocephalus. The common cuckoo is also found (C. canorus). He is known as Kakkôdori. The Hototogisu—the cry resembles hut-tu-tu—is often noisy till late at night, even through the night, in copses and bushes. He is known as ta wosa, rice-field inspector, because he appears about the time when the young rice is transplanted. The bird is also called shide no tawosa The death-official. Shide is a corruption of shidzu, common, rustic. Some among many tanka on the bird may be given:—

Ikubaku no ta no tsukureba ka hototogisu shide no tawosa no asana sana yobu. how many many rice-fields dost thou labour O hototogisu who every morning shoutest 'here comes the rice inspector,' 'shi-de no ta-wo-sa';

for his note is supposed to resemble the syllables of the last line.

Sanahe toru toki ni shimo naku hototogisu shide no tawosa to ube mo ifu nari. when folk transplant the tender slender seedlings the hototogisu cometh singing, singing, 'the rice-field's lord is he!'

When Ise no Nyogo (889-934) lost her child-prince, aged eight, she wrote—

Shide no yama kahete ki tsuramu hototogisu koishiki hito no uhe kataranamu. the hill of Shide
hast thou crossed hither
coming
O hototogisu!
tell me about him, tell me,
my child ay lost to me!

Here shide (shidzu) is confounded with the hill in Hades where the Old Woman receives the clothes of the farther

faring dead who will have no more use for them. (I owe the above to my friend Mr. Minakata.) Confer De Gubernatis' Mythologie Zoologique, and Brand's Popular Antiquities. also lay 101.

² In the text u no hana (Deutzia scabra), a common hedge-

bush in Japan.

There is a pretty envoy:-

On misty nights when falleth rain in showersto hear the cuckoo. as through the night he flieth, how pleasant 'tis to hear!

112

A Lay on the Ascent of Mount Tsukuba.1

With wayfare wearied and wayfare's grassy pillow 2 I clomb Tsukubane all fain to win me solace. and from high Tsukuba my tired eyes let wander o'er the fields of Shidzuku with scattered grass- the pains of many a day plumes 3 matted,

where screaming wild geese announced the chills of autumn, and the winds the waters to white waves raised on Toba—4

so fair the scene was of toilsometravel vanished.

¹ Anonymous. Shidzuku village and the Lake of Toba are in Hitachi, not far from Tsukuba yama.

² That is, toils and hardships of travel, very great in early Japan. The famous view (still famous) from the top of Tsukuba would console him.

³ Wobana (Miscanthus sinensis).

4 In Nihibari county, in the province of Hitachi.

Change-singing on Mount Tsukuba.1

Above Mohakitsu²,
'neath eagle-haunted Tsukuba,
come sirs and dames
in merry troops assembling,
in changing ditties
their blithesomeness exchanging—

with my wife thou, friend,

and I with thine will sing, so hath permitted the spirit of the mountain from time uncounted ³ on this our day of joyance; and so this day let all our looks be kindly and all our speech be friendly ⁴.

¹ In the text kakahi or kagahi (etymology uncertain) is written with characters that mean (according to Prof. Giles' Chinese Dict.., No. 11071) seductive or gesture-songs, songs of the southern barbarians. It appears to be an Eastland expression, the Yamato word is uta-gaki, song-fence, a sort of Welsh 'penillion'. These song-fences are very ancient, they are mentioned in the Kojiki (K. 330), and in the Nihongi (N. I. 399), and afford proof of the freedom of women in early times, when, indeed, to the relations of the sexes was applicable the trouvere's line—

'toutes pour tous et tous pour toutes'.

² Lit. 'above the ferry of Mohakitsu'—if tsu here means ferry—tsu is perhaps the to of tokoro, place.

³ Lit. 'from the time when the mountain became the seat of a deity'. The envoy may be rendered: Around the peak of the male god (one of the two peaks of Tsukuba), though the clouds thicken and the showers fall, and drenched my vestments may be, yet fain would I again join in the dance and song there.

⁴ In the text megushi, which has two opposite senses, see vol. Texts. I take the passage as megushi mo na mi so, as preserving the parallelism with the next line.

A Lay on the Hart in Autumn.1

On high Mikaki²
that faceth Kamunabi
in the land of Mimoro³
where the bush of autumn
bloometh
for his wife still longing
morn's moon the hart still
hateth⁴

and mid the mountains
with hi trees thickly
studded
his cry resoundeth
among the hills far echoing
as still his mate he calleth!

- ¹ The stag is believed to bell for his mate in the autumn when the *hagi*, bush of autumn (Lespedeza or bush-clover), is in flower.
 - ² Mt. Takechi in Yamato.
- ³ It is possible that Mimoro (mi moro = shrine), may be intended as a sort of m. k. of Kamu (kami) nabi.
- ⁴ The moon shining till daybreak was objected to by the ancient Japanese lover as counterfeiting the unwelcome dawn.

115

A Tanabata Lay.1

Along the channel
of the river of sunbright
heaven
the upper waters
by a precious bridge are
spann'd,
'tis the lower waters
a boat bear floating on
them,
so if it raineth

and with the rain wind bloweth, and if it bloweth and with the wind rain raineth, with garb unwetted still mayest thou cross to me, to me by yon fine bridge cross!

¹ Invitation of one of the Tanabata god-stars to the other. See ante, lay 102.

A Lay of Farewell addressed to Ohotomo no Kyô at the Bridge of Kárunu in Káshima.

The bark red painted by Káshima's headland lieth, that stretcheth towards the bay of Miyake he fine oars set are, and now the tide full-floweth, and with the even the shipmen all are summoned, and forth there glideth

ship on the tall waters who love theethronging the waters edge do wish thee a prosp'rous voyage, and roll them on the seashore their feet a-shuffling, rending the air, lamenting, as over sea thou farest for Unakami's haven!

¹ Káshima and Kárunu are in Hitachi, Unakami and Miyake in Shimôsa; but there was also an Unakami in Kadzusa. Ohotomo no Kyô is the Kenzei of lay 110.

² The m. k. of Miyake is untranslatable. It seems to mean a bull in some way sacred, perhaps for sacrifice (conf. Kotoba no Idzumi), and so applicable to Miya (shrine or palace), part of name Miyake, in the sense of the latter as a government granary. Conf. Asakawa ('Early Institutional Life of Japan'), p. 76. The various explanations in the Kogi appear farfetched.

117

A Lay made in the Autumn of 5 Jinki (728).

The flesh's burden, is a burden hard to bear, by a sad chance only into this world we come—

but die we, live we,
we must the Sovran's
bidding
obeisant follow—

therefore while on this earth thou dwell'st a mortal, liege loval to thy Sovran thou must remain still,

who now you distant frontier

to guard forth goest, forth goest with company as flocks of wild-fowl at dawn their far flight winging multitudinous,

the while in City-Royal

the friend thou quittest shall not forget to love thee how long soe'er thou'rt absent!

Towards Koshi 1 faring, when snowy hills thou'rt crossing thy friend remember, whom thou hast left behind thee. with love remember him!

¹ Koshi comprised the modern provinces of Etchiu, Echizen, and Echigo, the three Echi. The poet's friend must do his duty, ill world as this is; but when most he feels the hardships of the rough ways he must remember how much he is loved by him whom he leaves in City-Royal. During the pleasanter part of the journey he will be comforted by the beauties of nature.

118

A Lay made in the closing month of the first year of Tempyô (729).1

But mortal am I and to my Lord and my tumbled vestments Sovran owe dread obedience wherefore in Furu's village in Isonokami in wide 2 Yamato's land 'tis loos'd my girdle, and all undoff'd, I sleep-

and every daybreak tell me 3 much more I love thee, yet love thee, dear, I may not, lest folk should know it, and all this night of winter I yearn, unsleeping,

I long for lingering daybreak—
I love thee, dear,

and fain would face to face
I fain again would see
thee!

¹ [By Kanamura?] Mention is made in the Zoku Nihongi of the dispatch of a commissioner to survey the lands of the Home Provinces in the eleventh month of the 1 Tempyô (729). The author of the lay was probably in the train of the commissioner, and laments that although so near City-Royal as Furu, his duty compels him to abstain from visiting his wife, and condemns him to pass the long winter nights alone. Furu no sato ('ancient residence') is in Yamato, perhaps it was the site of some former capital. See the first of the Kokinshiu quintains which follow these lays.

² In the text Shikishima; shi (stone), ki (fort or earthwork), shima (tract) or island. Originally a place with a stone-faced fort in Yamato—such places, camps or 'tuns' are mentioned both in the Kojiki and Nihongi. At a later period shi ki, variously written, was confounded with shiki, 'spread out', 'spacious', &c., while shima became more restricted to one of its two meanings, 'island' and thus Shikishima was applied to Yamato, and finally to all Japan.

³ He has not put on night-garments but slept in his day ones. It was a special duty of the Japanese wife to keep her husband's hakama, haori, &c., clean, in good condition, and properly folded.

In the Chinese script of the text we meet with two curious instances of kariji, or characters used rebus-wise. In one, the syllable i of i mo nezu (cannot sleep), is written with characters signifying i, fifty; in the other, the word de (go forth) is written with characters signifying 'upon-mountain-again-piled-mountain', because the character for de (shutsu in Japano-Chinese) resembles the character for mountain san in Japano-Chinese) doubled on itself vertically. Again, the character for 'one' (hito), is written for the character (hito) 'man'. Confer the section on the script of the Manyôshiu in the Introduction (Texts).

A mother's farewell to her son on his departure from Nániha as member of a mission to China.¹

As hart, that wooer
of autumn's blossomy
bush time 2,
hath one son only,
of one son only mother
am I who write thee,
who far from me now
fareth,
on toilsome journey 3—

wherefore beads closely
threaded
of bamboo circlets,
and full-fill'd jars of sake,
and cloths of yufu ⁴
before the high god offering
I pray for my lov'd one's
safety.

¹ In 5 Tempyô (733).

² So-called because in autumn, when the *hagi* (Lespedeza) flowers on the hill sides, the stag bells for his mate.

3 Literally, 'on grass-pillow wayfare.'

⁴ Inner bark of paper mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera). The Chinese characters in the text are now used to represent *momen*, cotton, which was introduced into Japan at a date much later than the Manyô age.

120

A Love-lay.1

My love, my pearl,
thy name must not be
thridden
on string of language²,
while days pass by full
many
I ne'er may meet thee,
yet while the days are
passing
my love increaseth,

but way I never
may find to ease my
sorrow,
my heart that guardeth
that guardeth all my lifeways³
now faileth me,
my lips are ever trembling
with words unspoken—

my love, I would I clasped
thee
as close as armlet,
with mine eyes looked in
thine
that shine like mirror,4
as Shitahi's bhidden
waters
my love deep lieth,
nor may I tell it thee,
to tell it yearning

to thee, my heart's desire, all truce of grief unknowing.

By slanders parted of folk as hedge set round us,

how many many
the days are that we
meet not
which sum to months to

which sum to months, to months sum.

¹ In the collection of Tánobe Sakimaro. She has to keep her love secret because of slanderers—common nuisances to lovers in Japan as elsewhere.

² Wo, thread or string, is seen in tama no wo, 'string of pearls (or gems)' = life, there being a word-play alluding to tama shi (precious breath), $\psi v \chi \dot{\eta}$. So here the expression in the text is koto[ba] no wo, 'string of words', one familiar to ourselves; again iki no wo, 'string of breathings' = life. The passage, however, is somewhat obscure, and could not be fully rendered without a paraphrase. Literally, 'cannot unravel the thread whereon words are thrid, so as to bring out thy name.'

³ The heart and liver are the two chief organs, one on either side. Hence the epithet (m. k.) of heart is here 'that lieth opposite the liver'. I have not had the courage to put 'liver' into the translation. But the word for 'liver' (kimo) seems anciently to have denoted any internal organ.

⁴ The Japanese mirror was (and is) of highly polished white metal.

on Shitahi hill in Settsu a god named Amatsuwani is said to have descended in the form of an eagle. He devoured men, until a hero named Kuhawo crept up a drain or underground aqueduct (shitahi) to his lair, and there managed to propitiate the monster. Possibly the story preserves the memory of a tarn or pool liable to overflow, to guard against which some ancient man of sense devised the shita-hi. Shitahi, again, means 'love', also shitahi = shita-dohi, secret wooing. Conf. K. App. LXXVIII.

A Lay made on seeing a corpse lying in the Pass of Ashigara in Sagami.¹

Ah never more will be unloose that girdle now thrice too large for vonder shrunken body, fair bleachen girdle some woman's hands have woven, who spun the hank and bleached the hempen thread within the home fence for him who lieth thereperchance returning, his toil and travail over, his service rendered. he thought to see his homeland. his wife and children, his father and his mother, when thus o'erta'en

by death on the High God's Pass in cock-crow Eastland. he laid him down o'erpowered. clad all too scant'ly against the clime to fend him, his tangled hair still black as pardanth berry about him loosely about him loosely blowingwhence came he, where dwelt he, vain the question, his lips are voiceless, his service leal hath brought him to this last desolation.

¹ In Tanobe no Sakimaro's Collection. Ashigara is in the Hakone district.

122

A Lay made on passing by the tomb of the Maid of Ashiya.1

Upon the tomb of the maid of Ashinoya long years ago did woo,

whom noble rivals

I stood and gazed, upon that stone-fenced tomb—

to tell the story
through many an age that
men
might never cease
the maiden's lot to pity
yon tomb was builded
anigh the track there
leadeth—

from parts remote as heaven-clouds distant

the wayfarer coming pauseth awhile thereby to shed a passing tear, the village folk still with sighs and lamentations do tell the story, and now on her grave gazing, in musing mood I do the tale remember. this old-time tale of sorrow.

¹ From the lays of Tanobe no Sakimaro. Ashiya seems the older form of the place-name, but in later literature it is more commonly written Ashinoya.

The story of Unahi is of ancient origin, and forms the subject of two other *uta* in addition to the present—lays 125 and 250. As given in the *Yamato Monogatari* (Yamato Stories, attributed to the retired Mikado, Kwazan, i. e. Blossom-Hill, reigned 985–1008), summarized in the Kogi, it runs as follows:—

Once upon a time there lived a girl in Settsu who was sought by two suitors, one a man of the same country named Uhara (or Ubara), the other a man from Idzumi called Chinu. Both suitors were equally young and handsome, nor was it possible to detect any difference in their dispositions; they plied their suit as dusk fell and offered gifts, but in these matters also were alike; it was impossible to say which of the two was the better lover. (Confer the Wooing of the Maiden in the story of the Old Wicker-worker, infra.) The girl was perplexed, her parents distressed, and the situation at last became intolerable. 'If you can but choose one of them,' said the parents to their daughter, 'the other will cease his wooing.' But the girl could make no choice, and [with her parents] meanwhile retired to a curtain-enclosure on the banks of the Ikuta. There came the suitors, and the parents said to them: 'So alike are you

gentlemen in worth that our young daughter cannot choose between you; but some way or other the matter must now be settled. One of you comes a long distance from a far land, the other is of this land, but is unwearied in wooing, and we sympathize with both of you.'

The two lovers expressed their joy in respectful language.

'Now what we would say,' the parents went on, 'is this; take aim, each of you, at yonder wildfowl swimming in the river, and to the one who hits it we will give our daughter.'

'A good suggestion,' cried the lovers, and each took aim and shot his arrow. But one of them hit the bird in the head, and the other in the tail, so that the plan failed, for it could not be determined which was the better marksman of the pair.

The girl, driven wild, composed a stanza:—'Oh, I am tired of life, and I will throw myself into the river, which is no river of life for me, despite its name' (iku = life). Then, as the curtain-enclosure was close to the water, she let herself fall with a sudden splash into the river.

Her parents, in despair, called for help, and the two lovers jumped in after the damsel; one caught her by the arms and the other by the feet, but all three were drowned.

The father and mother of the girl were distracted with grief, and it was with many tears and lamentations that they buried her body. The parents of the lovers, hearing of the disaster, came to bury their sons, and it was arranged that one should be buried on either side of the ill-fated maiden. The country-folk, however, would not allow the Idzumi man to be buried on their soil, so his parents had to return to Idzumi and fetch therefrom a ship-load of soil wherein to bury their son. So that the maiden's grave was the middle one, and on either side were the graves of her two lovers. In one of these (the grave of Chinu) were buried the hunting gear, quiver, bow, girdle, and sword of the dead man, but in the man of Idzumi's grave nothing was buried, his parents seem to have been ignorant folk. The name given to the triple grave was Otome no tsuka—the maiden's tomb.

Dr. Aston, in his valuable History of Japanese Literature, tells us that he 'once made a pious pilgrimage to these tombs (of the maid and her wooers), which are still in existence not far from Kôbe. He was not a little surprised to find that they were immense tumuli, 'certainly the sepulchres of much more

important personages than the heroes and heroine of the above tale. Not only so, but the so-called lovers' tombs are a mile away on each side from that of the fair lady for whom they died. . . . The Ikuta river . . . now sends to the sea a volume of water about equal to that of the stream which waters the public gardens at Bournemouth.'

It is further related that a traveller, on one occasion lodging hard by the tombs, heard to his astonishment a noise as of a violent quarrel, and presently there stood before him—he was in bed—a man covered with blood who declared he had been wounded by an enemy, and begged for the loan of a sword to avenge himself with. [This would be the lover foolishly buried without his arms.] Though much alarmed, as it was for the good purpose of revenge, the traveller lent his sword, though when he awoke the whole seemed to him to have been a dream. However, presently, the noise of fighting again began and he found that his sword was really gone. After a time the man he had seen reappeared, looking highly pleased, and exclained: 'Owing to your noble aid I have at last, after many years, slain my enemy.'

The traveller wanted to know more, but the dawn broke and the man vanished. The sword, which he had returned, was found covered with blood, and also blood was visible on the grave [of the Idzumi man].

The tomb of the Otome is at East Akimura village, the tomb of Chinu is on the Ikuta river, at Ohoishi is the grave of Uhara.

The motive of the story seems insufficient, perhaps, but the dilemma of the girl closely resembles that of Eustacia in Mr. Hardy's fine novel *The Return of the Native*, and is solved in a similar manner.

123

Elegy on the death or a younger brother.1

My younger brother! together children grew we in true affection of father and of mother, brother and brother² in mutual love we grew—
like dew of morning
thy day hath come and
vanished,
thy place allotted

by the great gods in council no more doth know thee spacious within the boundaries of Ashihara, fair land of rich-eared grainnormoreshallknowthee to distant Darkland wandered. like ivy coil ivied trunk far creeping, and we are parted, as far as clouds in heaven are we divided. and as in darkness wandering

am I distracted, in pain of heart and sorrow like wounded deer, in woe of mind as vexèd as tangled wattles, as birds that plain in spring time my wail is ceaseless, nor sight nor speech of thee may now delight me, of day and night as dark as pardanth berry no difference ever know I, but burning ever, my heart with grief consumeth and misery unending.

¹ In the Collection of Tanobe Sakimaro. The m. k. in the text cannot be fully rendered.

² The m. k. thus imitated might be taken to mean 'as like as two chopsticks'—but we need not ascribe to the poet such an interpretation as probable because possible.

124

Elegy on the Maid of Mama.1

In cock-crow Eastland still folk the ancient tale tell of the damsel beautiful of Mama in Kátsushika on hempen mantle a collar green she wore, her skirt was woven of simple stuff unbleachen, her hair no comb knew, her feet unshod and naked, yet noble maiden, in rich brocade apparell'd,
no lovelier bridewere—
it was a face as perfect
as moon full-rounded,
her smile was like a
flower—

as moths to flame flock,
as ships haste towards
their haven,
men sought her, eager
to woo to wife the damsel,
but—why, one knoweth
not—
few were her days to be,²
and now she lieth
anigh the haven's head

where the echo ever
of breaking surf resoundeth,
and while time lasteth
shall men still tell the story
with sorrow fresh,
as though but yester morn
last saw the world her
face.

On the well of Mama in the land of Kátsushika as fall my eyes,

I stand in silence dreaming of the maid who there drew water.

¹ In the Collection of Takahashi no Murazhi Mushimaro. See also lay 47.

² Self-slaughter is probably suggested; she could not make a choice, and so drowned herself—quite the right thing to do in Old Japan.

125

On Passing by the Tomb of the Maid of Unahi.

In Ashinoya
dweltthe Maiden of Unahi,
eight summers counting,
and o'er her shoulders
fell still
her tresses parted
in maiden-wise unlifted—
from eyes of neighbours

in safe seclusion hidden
dwelt the maiden,
but fame so noised her
beauty
men longed to see her,
and mocking her seclusion
around the dwelling
a fence of wooers made
they,

and one of Chinu. one was of Unahi, aflame with passion each the other counted rival and wooed the maidenof blade well-forged each stoutly grasped the hilt. and bore on shoulder full quiver, bow of whitewood, or fire or water to dare was ever ready, so fierce their rivalry when thus she spoke her mother, these words she spoke, 'A hank of common hempyarn, so mean a creature how may these noble lovers to win concern them. why live the days then since mate I may not, wherefore I will in Darkland await my dest'ny'so spoke she, and in secret pined she, weeping, and so her life deserted to him of Chinu that night in dream the damsel

appeared, and straightway his love the lover followed, he of Unahi his eyes to heaven raised, defiance shouted, flung him on the ground in fierce anger, to mortal rival vowed he ne'er would he yield him, his dagger girded on him and hied him wildly as 'twere to track the wildvine upon the moorland so parents, kindred of these unhappy three devised together, and that to furthest time the piteous story, to latest generations might not unknown be, midmost the wooers' tombs her tomb they builded, so resteth she between them. between her loversthe tale unheard before to sorrow moved me, and sad tears flowed from o'er a grave new-digged.

Now where she resteth its leafy branches o'er a tree implanted bendeth the grave of him of —so folk do say— Chinu.¹

¹ In the lays of Takahashi no Murazhi Mushimaro. The story on which the lay is founded is given under lay 122. In the present lay, the rivalry of the two wooers seems to be viewed as developing into the more active hostility alluded to in the traveller's dream appended to the story. The deaths of the ill-fated trio are not stated but suggested, nor do they occur together, nor do the lovers die in attempting to save the girl. See also lay 250.

There are several m. k. of doubtful interpretation in the text, of which the value is given as far as was possible. Two only need be discussed here. One is the m. k. utsuyufu, applied to komorite (secluded), which I take to be the inner (utsu = uchi) bark of the paper-mulberry (Broussonetia), of which a soft-fibred cloth was made in ancient times, or uchi (utsu) may refer to beating the fibre to make it supple. The word yufu, however, is written with the characters for 'cotton', and the cotton fibre within the pod might therefore be taken as the source of the simile. But there is no mention (as far as I know) of cotton in the Anthology. Some commentators refer the allusion to the silk cocoon's protective enclosure of the chrysalis.

Another m. k. is the word tokoro-tsura (or dzura), applied to tadzune (seek). Tokorotsura is a species of Dioscorea, and as an epithet of tadzune (seek), illustrates the difficulty of search by reference to the slender twining stem so hard to trace to its end in the thickness of the bush or jungle. The kadzura or katsura (Cercidiphyllum) is often used as a like illustration in the Manyôshiu. The verses 'and hied him wildly', &c., contain a poetized suggestion of the distraction and death of the second lover, who follows the favoured suitor in death.

Of a third m. k. the rendering is omitted in the line 'and in another [world]'. It is the curious compound shizhi kushiro. Shizhi or shishi is no doubt = shigeki, abundant; but kushiro, by some commentators, is taken to mean bracelet. But in this case the application of shizhi-kushiro to yomi seems impossible. A better interpretation turns upon the identity of kushiro and kusuri (physic), anciently used to denote sake or rice-beer, regarded as

a delicacy. The word would then signify some supremacy of excellence and be applicable to yomi, read not as yomi, Hades, but homophonously as yomi, having the same relation to yoki, good, as bemi to beki, able. The probability, however, is that the passage is corrupt. Shizhi-kushiro, with some such signification as the above, is found in an uta in the Nihongi (N. II. 10), where it is applied to umashi, fine, lovely, &c. Perhaps originally the word was susu kushiro, sake-sipped.

BOOK X, PART I

126

A Summer Lay on the Cuckoo-Bird.1

On Kamunabi
by ancient City-Royal ²,
where liegemen wont
were
to come and go obeisant, ³
as daybreak gloweth
the mulberry bushes ⁴
midmost,
as dusk descendeth

among the piny tree-tops
the cuckoo singeth
for happy village listeners,
along the valleys
among the echoing hills
his note resoundeth,
'tis deep into the nighttime
hisnote the cuckoo calleth.

¹ In a collection known as Kokashiu (Ancient Anthology).

² Asuka, the site of City-Royal at various times from the fifth to the beginning of the eighth century.

³ That is, on official duty to and from the provinces. In this and the preceding line an attempt is made to give the value of the curious epithetical preface in the text.

⁴ This bush may be Morus alba, or Cornus Kousa, or Cudrania triloba.

BOOK X, PART II

127

A Tanabata Lay.¹

Since Heaven above from Earth below was parted, across the river he the further shore watcheth each year revolving, for twice to meet his dear in a single year he may not dare to hope and so when cometh in each revolving year the night appointed a great bark winneth he, and stem to stern the bark he maketh ready to cross the River, the River of Tranquil Heaven, and stout oars setteth, and mid the bulrushes 2 when breezes murmur that night of autumn softly, across the River, the whitening waves affronting

and swirling waters, to clasp his love he passeth, his love as lissom as swaying herbs in springtimeand so he rideth, as sailor tall ship trusteth, the waves he rideth. and every year and each year anew the River will cross to meet his dear. yet ever pineth the long months thro'each year till that month cometh which full of rice-ears bloometh 3. and the night appointed, the seventh night thereof of her ay dreaming, the weary months he waiteth, everdreaming of his dear!4

¹ Seventh of seventh month, when the Herdman and

Webster stars cross the Milky Way (River of Heaven) to celebrate their yearly nuptials (Chinese).

² More strictly, 'grasses' (Miscanthus sinensis).

³ fumi-tsuki (seventh month in lunar calendar, parts of July and August), fumi = ho fufumi [rice] ear-containing.

⁴ I add a German version (A. Forke, Blüthen chinesischer Dichtung) of a Chinese poem on the same subject to illustrate the difference in treatment.

DER HIRT UND DIE WEBERIN.

Tief am Himmel blinkt Hell des Hirten Stern, Und am weissen Strom Sitzt die Weberin fern.

Sie fährt hin und her Mit dem Händchen fein, Webstuhl klappert laut, Schnell fliegt's Webschifflein.

Wenn die Arbeit sie Abends nicht vollbracht, Weint sie manche Thrän' In der stillen Nacht.

Dort der Himmelsstrom Scheint ihr klar und seicht, Zu dem Hirten hin Däucht der Weg ihr leicht.

Doch da fliesst's heran
Und hält sie zurück.
Beide schau'n sich an
Nur mit stummen Blick!
MEICHÊNG.

128

Another Tanabata Lay.1

From the beginning,
when Earth and Heaven
were parted 2,
it was appointed
by sunbright heaven's own
doom
that as the course ran
of the months the months
that follow,
I might my love meet—

wherefore by Heaven's
River,
the winds of autumn
my wide sleeves blowing,
ruffling,
I wait impatient,
what way to find unknowing,
my heart within me

that ruleth all my being3,

my soul, too, fluttering like vestment all ungirdled 4, this night appointed

I watch the waters, trusting Heaven's stream may flow for ever.

¹ Anonymous, but perhaps by Hitómaro.

² To come together again at the end of time.

³ The value is here attempted, the curious m. k. murakimono, literally, 'all the livers'—applied to kokoro, heart. According to Motowori all the internal organs were anciently known as 'kimo', and the sense might be simply the heart, one or chief of the crowd of organs.

4 See tokikinuno, List of m. k. (Texts).

BOOK XIII 1, PART I

129

From clutch of winter
now 'scapeth spring in
gladness,
and every morrow
dew on the leaves is
sparkling
and every even

mists up the hills are creeping,
the tree-tops under by Hátsuse all the night through blithe nightingale he singeth!

¹ All the lays in this book are anonymous and lack dai (Arguments). Many of the best lays in the Anthology are here found.

130

O Hill of Mimoro 1, a joy to men for ever, whose slopes are hidden in wealth of ashibi 2 blossom whose heights are ruddy

with flaming - flowered camellia en e'en children's tears are dried are dried at sight of Mimoro.

¹ Mt. Kamunabi, near the ancient capital Asuka, seems to be intended. The word *mimoro* originally signified sacred cave or home or shrine, afterwards confounded with *mi* (see, or the honour-word *mi*) and *moru*, watch. But Japanese etymologies, it cannot be too often repeated, are extremely delusive.

² Andromeda japonica, Thunb.

131

The sun is hidden amid the mists of heaven, the long-moon month1 is dim with rainy showers, scream of wild geese the air fills pleasantlynigh Kamunabimid the domain-land royal a watch-hut standeth 2, within the fence a dike a pond surroundeth, and on the dike tall trunks rise. full half a hundred 3 of holy elms 4, whose leafery

with tints of autumn is glowing and there I put forth my arm enringed 5 with bracelets of tinkling bells. a feeble woman myarm put forth and bend the red sprays toward me, and break a leafy branch off and bear away the spray I bear away to deck thy head, my lord!

¹ The 'long-moon month' is the ninth, the month of harvest, or hunters' moon month (parts of October and November).

² To guard the crops of glebelands or government lands.

³ Lit. 'less than a hundred '-a sort of m. k.

⁴ *i-tsuki* = *imi tsuki* (Zelkowa acuminata). In N. II. 389 we read, '213 Yemishi [aboriginal Ainus] men and women were entertained under the tsuki tree west of the temple of Asuka.' Kamunabi is near Asuka.

⁵ This and the next line give the value of a m. k. which actually applies only to ta (arm) of tawayame, feeble, weak.

In Hátsuse's waters
(O hill-engirdled Hátsuse)
is ever mirrored
the brightness of the
clouds—
no kind bay hath it
that fishermen ne'er beach
there?
nor shoresands welcome
that never anglers fish
there?

be it so even
no beach for boats there
offereth,
be it so even
no shore for angling offereth,
yet from the deeps
ye angling fishers oar
oar in, in rivalry!

¹ I take the meaning to be that despite the absence of opportunity for successful fishing, such as the sea and its coasts offer, the attractions of the clear river of Hátsuse are worth a visit. Hátsuse (modern Hase) is not far south of Nara.

133

Within the Reedland
of ripe abundant ears,
on Mimoro,
high hill of Kamunabi,
were offerings made ¹
from the days when the
god from Heaven
on the land descended,
from the days of the
thousand gods
the myriad gods
as men have ever
in every age related—

in time of spring there the mists coil creeping upwards,

in time of autumn are all the woods dyed russet on Kamunabi where Mimoro's hill is girdled by Asuka's torrent, and every night in vision, until the peak grow green with mossy verdure scarce rock sustaineth 2, the welfare be revealed 3 of land and Sovran while ever fine glaives be offered to Mimoro's god exalted 4. ¹ The god was Kayanarumi no mikoto.

² A common poetic phrase denoting length of time.

3 Literally, 'show the way of realizing their wishes.'

⁴ A practice dating from the reign of the Mikado Suinin (B.C. 29-A.D. 70). In N. I. 178 we read: 'The department of worship was instructed to ascertain by divination what weapons would be lucky as offerings to the gods. So bows, arrows, and cross-bows were offered' [slightly abbreviated].

134

With pious offerings
from Nara City-Royal,
by Hodzumi,
where sallet herbs grow,
wend we¹,
pass Sákate,
where fowlers spread their
nets,
to Kamunabi,
where echoing waters roar,
and there our Sovran,
to break his fast, we offer
fine fare and royal,

at country palace resting, and as our feet tread Yóshinu we remember how loved our Sovrans Yóshinu¹.

The months and days
they come and go, for
ever,
but long endure
anigh the Hill of Mimoro
our Sovran's country
palace!

¹ Or I. The lay is a sort of kaidō kudari. The m. k. here (midzutade) can scarcely be translated. It may signify a saladherb (Polygonum flaccidum?) or a condiment herb (a kind of water-pepper), or tade may be taderu, steeped, sodden. The m. k. in this lay are applied to parts only of the place-names, and not really therefore to the places themselves. But they suggest their application to those places.

135

Amid the hi trees my stout axe plying crowd Nifu's wooded I hew the trunks and slopes bind them

in raft together,
and ship me sculls and
oar me
adown the river
'mong rocks and islands
winding,
unsated gazing
on Yóshinu, rejoicing
in the white waves' murmuring music—

O Land of Ise 1!

who ruleth ever

within our Sovran's realm

Fair Yóshinu's waters adown the valley roaring in swirl of waves white-crested—would she were here who stayeth in City-Royal to gaze on the whitening waters!

136

in peacefulness his people,
descendant glorious
of the high-shiningsun²—
O Land that giveth
to royalty sustenance,
where ay the spirit
of the mighty gods doth
breathe,
how lofty, noble,
are thy great hills to gaze
on,
how bright and clear
are thy running streams
to look on,
how rich in havens

are thy broad seas to sweep o'er with eyes delighted, and how thy islands soar high o'er the waves soar! or far or near one gazeth 'tis fair to eye, to eye and heart 'tis fairwith dread and reverence I dare these words to utter, the royal palace on Ishi's plain by Yámabe1 built by his servants I dare to celebrate. the stately palace

¹ He wishes his wife were with him to enjoy the beauty of the scene. This envoy is a *sedoka*; the last three lines are the poetic answer to the first three.

in the sun of noon that gloweth, in the setting sun howfairthe palaceshineth, 'tis fair to eye to eye and heart'tis fair—

when cometh spring time how the hills there wave with blossom, in time of autumn
what wealth of tints they
furnish,
and all the servants
of the stately palace pray,
while earth and heaven,
while sun and moon shall
last,
this happy time endure!

¹ In Ise. The poet Akáhito had a house here. The plain of Ishi is said to derive its name from a stone or menhir that stood there, near which in later times a temple was erected to Yakushi Nyorai. The author of the lay is unknown.

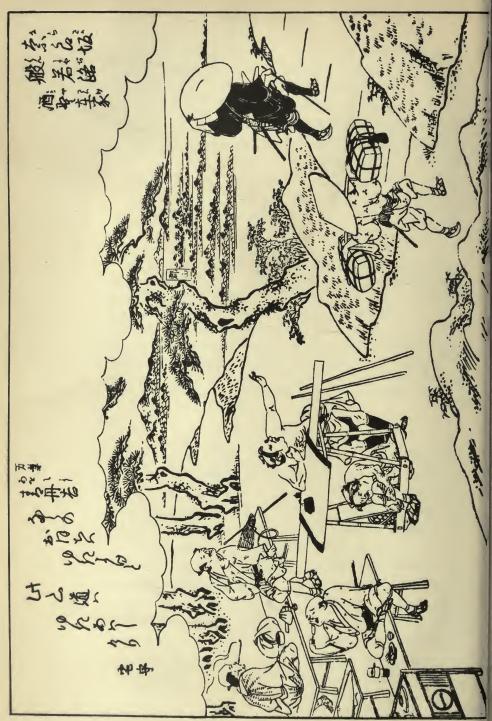
² It may be that these introductory lines—almost a common form in the Anthology—ought to be read as referring not to the reigning Sovran, but to the line of Mikados. The vagueness of the Japanese language as to number answered to a similar vagueness or generalization in the poet's mind.

137

The Pass of Nara

—with oak trees ever green 1—
 midmost Yamato,
where the hills the high skies pierce,
I climb and wend me towards Ihata's grove—
 for years a thousand with never break or fail, for a myriad ages may men still make that journey,

by Tsutsuki's moor
in the land of Yamashiro,
by Uji's ferry
of fierce gods the seat ²,
by Agone's waste
anigh Taginoya,
to the holy grove
of Ihata in Yamashina,
where the great god
dwelleth
for whom right offerings
bearing
now climb I high Ozaka.



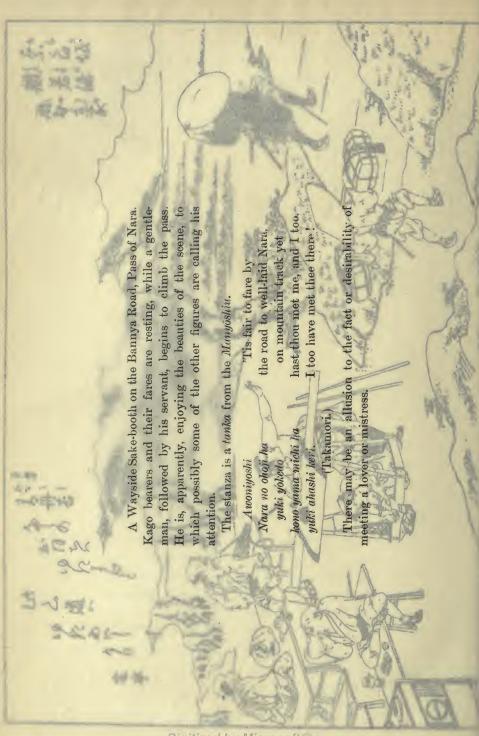
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LONG LAYS A very the modes of rendering the on k. morniyo - at any (green) and its applicability to mare in the The second second appeared to the second sec plied to It. rules of the second to apparently, enjoying the beauties of the scene, to Rego bearons and their fares are resting, while a gentle-Way-ide Sake-booth on the Bannya Road. Pass of Nariessay but during of enignet to the passes .oot I bun om om nidt teen Attlideries to sure our out I want of I want o which possibly some of the other figures are calling the road to well-laid Nara, The obstacl is a to old from the alle of its aniste of Austra 150 openie po attention. Lit, mulby

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A wayfaring lay. One of the modes of rendering the m. k. awoniyoshi, preserving at least awo (green) and its applicability to nara (oak-tree).

² The curious m. k. chihayaburu (ichi or uchi hayaburu), applied to Uji, seems a mere phonetic jingle, chi for uchi = (with nigori) Uji, but otherwise applied (to kami, &c.), it seems to mean 'swift brandish', 'violent', 'fierce', &c. There are several obscurities in this lay, the precise object of which is not known, though Okabe conjectures a motive. The general sense is praise of the shrine at Ihata, with an expression of hope that men will continue to frequent it. The value is not given of all the word-plays.

138

Of green-oaked Nara ¹
the pass I climb and fare
toward Uji's ferry,
—of warrior lineage minding ²—
in my hand bearing
due offerings to the god,³
o'er Maid-meet ⁴ hill
toward Omi's lake I haste

—where tryst fond lovers 5—
along whose wave-worn strand by ways uncertain my secret footsteps bear me to meet thee, dear, longing!

me,

¹ See preceding lay.

² The m. k. is *mononofu*, lit. 'warriors' = men of gentle birth, applied to Uji, the homonym of which signifies a *gens*, or family.

³ Lit., meeting-pass hill, Afusaka yama. Confer lay 137.

⁴ There is a herb called tamuke gusa, a species of Chenopod, Suaeda glauca, Bunge, but this is not specially meant here. A commoner name is hamamatsu, 'shore-pine'. Keichiu says it was usual to make an offering to the gods for safe journey at Afusaka (Ôsaka) yama, the first stage on the Tôkaidô after traversing the Kinai (Home Provinces). Here tamuke gusa probably means various offerings only. The values of the m. k. are incorporated partly in the translation; in the text they are mere epithets.

⁵ Giving the value of the line wagimoko ni.

Wide Ômi's waters
boast many a spacious
haven
and islands many
in lofty capes there tower,
on every headland 1
bloom orange bushes
brightly,
whose upper branches
the fowler hath well
limed,
the middle greenery

doth hide a grossbeak ²
fledgling,
the lower leafage
a tender hawfinch ³ holdeth
to trap their father,
and eke to trap their
mother,
they sit unknowing
the fowler's dire purpose,
yon pair of tender fledglings!

The lay is said to have been sent by an omi (minister) of the Mikado Temmu to warn his sons, the Princes Takechi and Ohodzu, of the designs entertained by Prince Ohotomo against their father, of which they were ignorant, and for which they were to be used as decoys. In N. I. 156 we find the following song: 'Ah Prince | unaware that some are stealthily | preparing to sever | the thread of thy life | thou art careless as a woman.' These words, sung by a girl, were overheard by an aunt of the Mikado (Sujin) and interpreted by her as a warning to avert her nephew's murder. Compare as to diction, &c., K. App. XLIII.

140

In meet obeisance
to my dread Lord and
Sovran
I climb high Nara
unsated with its beauty,

next Idzumi's torrent
with right-wood timbers ¹
wealthy
I pole across
so Uji's ferry reach,

¹ So in text, yaso shima no saki-zaki, but we may, perhaps, take part of this sentence as a sort of m. k., and one saki (cape) only intended.

² Ikáruga—the Japanese hawfinch.

³ Shime—the common hawfinch.

and mind me there of the great swift-brandishing gods 2 as the swirling waters that roar adown the land I cross, and straightway upon the track to Ômi Ozaka climb. and there with offerings due pray that me the god Cape Kara in Shiga land 3 again to gaze on will of his grace vouchsafe me, -0 wave-lapped Shiga4thence fare and halt me,

upon the scene retreating
to gaze with sorrow
as drags the lengthening
path,
and the mountain passes
more toilsome prove and
steeper,
to high Ikako 5
my weary feet now bring
me
my journey's end unknowing.

Of earth and heaven
the gods I pray with tears
good fortune grant me,
that I once more may
gaze on
Cape Kara in the land of
Shiga 6

at every road-turn halt

of the waystill winding,

me

¹ hinoki (Chamaecyparis obtusa).

² chihayaburu, see lay 137.

³ There is a repetitive jingle here. Shiga no Karasaki sakiku araba, as well as a play upon the name Kara, the homophon of which, kara, means 'bitter'.

⁴ For the m. k. here (sasanamino) see List m. k. (Texts).

⁵ In the text a two-verse m. k. is applied by a disgraceful word-play to the place-name *Ikako*, taken as *i-kaku*, to attack.

⁶ The occasion of the lay and envoy is said to be the unjust banishment of Hôdzumi no Asomi to Sado in the *nengo* Tempyô (729-49).

Nigh Kúguri's miya¹
in Minu's wide-famedland
a village lieth
where a most fair damsel
dwelleth²,
so rumour hath it,
and many a month and
day
I fain would haste me
to gaze on that fair
damsel—

but Okiso 3 riseth,
and Minu's 3 hill tooriseth,
the way to bar me,
nor foot nor hand may
help me 4
such barriers cruel
to overcome, alas!—
for heartless things are
both these monstrous
mountains,
both Okiso and Minu!

¹ See (N. I. 190). The palace of the Mikado Keiko (71-130).

² This is what is meant by the text—literally, 'village most desirable to visit.'

³ Mt. Okiso and Mt. Minu (i. e. Naka yama) are both in Mino.

⁴ i. e. nothing he can do will affect the hills, bend them to his will or remove them from his path.

142

Upon the shore-sands ¹
of Nágato's ² narrow
waters
in the calm of morning
the flowing tide high
riseth,
in the calm of evening
the waves break softly
there,
may so for ever
the waters of the tide flow,
and ever rippling

the waves break on the sea-strand,
for so my heart e'er
for love of thee, dear,
beateth
as I do wend me
my heart with thoughts
of love filled
to Ago's 3 waters,
and there the fisher-maids
watch
the sea-wrack gathering

by yonder shore sands under the floating, their bright scarfs drifting, their armlets lightly tinkling, their white sleeves fluttering

sea-borne breezes-

and as I gaze on the pretty scene, myheart, my heart it turns to thee, dear! 4

¹ The first three lines of the text form an untranslatable m. k. preface to Nagato. Naga = long, the m. k. means tas-aball-of-yarn-in-a-basket (long)'.

² In the province Agi (Western Japan). ³ Probably the same as Nago in Settsu.

4 Whom he has left at City-Royal. The uta is by some official sent on service to the West.

143

Be high for ever the Ladder of the skies. and soar for ever the peaks of the lofty hills!1 that I may gather,

the moon-lord's 2 manna gather, and humbly offer my lord that rare elixir from age and death to fend him.3

¹ That the skies may be the more easily reached from earth. It was down this ladder that the gods descended to the Reedland. It was upon Takachiho (Kirishima yama in Hiuga), with the help of the ladder, that Ninigi-no-mikoto-his name is four times as long—descended from Heaven (K. 111).

² See (N. I. 18, 28, 32, 39). Nothing is said in the Nihongi about the moon-god's possession of an elixir. But in the story of Taketori (see infra) the elixir is brought down from the moon by the company of angels, who descend to bear away the Lady of Light. The myth is of Chinese (perhaps Taouist) origin. So in Macbeth,

> 'upon the corner of the moon there hangs a vaporous drop profound.'

The moon-god was born of the washings of the right eye of Izanagi (K. 43). See also the story of Susa no wo in K. and N., and in Aston's Shintô.

3 More lit. 'to bring him back to youth.'

144

In deepest depth of Nuna's 1 river lieth life's talisman,

oh, would that I might win it. for now, alas, old my dear lord groweth!

1 Nuna's river is Nuna's fount in the middle of the bed of the River of Heaven. In the story of the Divine Age (see Kojiki) it is written Nuna-wi (= Nu no wi) or Ma na wi (Right or True or Excellent Well or Source). Nu is the precious material of which the spear used by Izanagi and Izanami was made. (F. I. 13 nu-boko).

145

In wide Yamato are many the men that dwell. but all my thoughts like flowers of festoon'd fuji 1 about my lord hang,

my lord as the young herbs comely 2, and what my love is shall I ever hope to prove him-

I long for the dawn too tardy

¹ The Wistaria.

² The m. k. wakakusa.

146

Akitsushima, O Land of great Yamato, a Land divine 'tis. needed. yet must I speak,

for the gods of earth and heaven know not belike wherefore no word is what woe my heart oppressethas the moon's bright orb eth,
and the shining days
the shining days succeed,
oh, with what sadness
myheart is ever burden'd,
what longings ever
make wearier my soul!
if I ne'er meet him
my days will cease to be,
yet all my life long,
with all my heart I love
him,
and till our eyes

as polished mirrors shining, shall meet, no surcease of love's sad pain can I or truce of sorrow know.

As shipman trusteth to his tall ship I trust still to meet thee dear—
yea, constant my heart hopeth
mine still shall be that fortune.1

¹ Of this somewhat difficult lay and envoy the meaning seems to be that the lady, separated from her lover, despite the divine nature of the land, fears the gods will not pity her case and bring about a meeting with him, yet declares hope in the envoy.

147 1

O Land of Reed-Plains,
fair Land of Rich Ripe
Ears,
O land divine
in need of word that
stands not—
yet must I speak
and pray that thou may'st
prosper,
thy days unvexed be,

and I as often meet thee
as wave on shore
breaks,
as break the waves in
myriads
upon the shoresands
so oft such prayer shall
mine be,
sooft such boonimploring.

¹ In the Lays of Hitómaro; compare the preceding lay. The subject is a girl, for the time, separated from her lover.

From the beginning
the world hath ever said
that never lovers
may peace of mind enjoy,
this thought-thread ever
hath through the ages run
yet the heart of woman
unfathom'd still shall
man e'er
know what it holdeth!—2

as weak as dryrush-haulm
is
my heart's infected,
and anxious fears oppress
me,
for I do perish
with the love I must from
men hide
my very life-thread snapping.

¹ A variation of the well-worn theme, souvent femme varie fol est qui s'y fie.

² Two lines appear to have been lost here containing the word 'sea' (umi) to which a m. k. is attached, otherwise without meaning. See List m. k. natsusobiku. Here, as in most cases, the value of mere epithets is suggested in the translation.

149

Years come and go
but never a word to me
doth any runner
his emblem bearing bring
me,
the while spring cometh,
long days of misty spring,
and earth and heaven
are filled with my love
for thee,
while I secluded,
like chrysalis within

its ball immured,
in gloom my days must
pass,
nor tell to any
the love that doth consume me,
and pine for ever
as ever the pine winds
murmur—
each day and every
when the sun that circleth
heaven

to rest declineth
my shining sleeves are
drench'd
are drench'd with constant
tears

Did we not love,
not love each other thus,
our vows exchanging—
unloving me thou would'st
be
as cloud in heaven indiff'rent.

150

Fount of Ayuchi
midmost Wohárida!
ne'er folk have ceas'd
to draw those limpid
waters,
for countless ages
those waters sweet to

drink-

so I too, still
do love thee, love, with
love
unknowing pause for
ever!

Wohárida is in Owari (Wohari).

151¹

By Hátsuse's river
Hátsuse hill-engirdled,
by the upper waters
a stout post² deep I drive,
by the lower waters
a right stout post I drive,
and shining mirror
upon the one post hang I,
upon the other,
aright fair beadlace hang I,
a right fair jewel
art thou, my dear, to me,
as bright as mirror
I think my love to be—

a right fair jewel, my
dear,
in homeland were she,
a mirror-bright maiden,
were she
to homeland would I
haste me but there she
bides not—
for whom should I now
haste me. 3

The world for me is for me but misery,

forth from my dwelling to fare, what profit were it but to turn me homewards wretched.

men may far from their love live. so rumour hath it, but I, what space may I away from thee, dear, live!

Twelve months, twelve months

¹ This somewhat obscure lay is found also in the Kojiki (K. 303, 361). The story there told is as follows (K. 296 sqq):

'After the decease of the Heavenly Sovereign (the Mikado Ingyô, 412-53) it was settled that King Karu of Kinashi should rule the Sun's succession. But in the interval before his accession he debauched his younger sister, the Great Lady of Karu . . . therefore all the officials and the great people of the Empire turned against [him] and towards the August Child Anaho. Then . . . Karu fled to the house of a Grandee . . . thereupon Anaho raised an army and beleaguered the house.' Finally, the Grandee, tired of his dangerous guest, 'secured Prince Karu, and led him forth, and presented him [to Prince Anaho].... So Prince Karu was banished to the Hot Waters of Ivo. ... Queen Sotohoshi ... being unable to restrain her love . . . went after him. So when . . . she reached [where Prince Karu was] pensively waiting, he sang [a song], and again he sang' the present lay. 'Having thus sung, they forthwith killed themselves together.'

² What the meaning of the posts or piles driven in by the Prince may be, it is not easy to say. In Korea devil-posts are common, and may have some affinity with these offering-posts of ancient Japan. So too may the 'yenawo' of the Ainu tribes in Yezo. (See The Ainu of Japan, by Rev. J. Batchelor, and my translation of a Native Diary in Karafuto, Transactions

Japan Society).

3 The translation differs somewhat from that given in Mr. Chamberlain's Kojiki (p. 303). I take 'ari' to refer to the poet's 'imo's' continued residence (or existence?) in the land, but in lieu of the reading in the Kojiki of the last versekuni wo mo shinubame-I adopt that of the Kogi-taga yuwe ka yukamu. Of the two envoys-it is doubtful whether they really belong to the lay—the first implies that death is preferable to a vain search after his love, or it may be a Buddhist condemnation of kwanzoku (return to world from religious life); the second declares that he cannot exist without her, be it for ever so short a time. Both the hanka are elliptical, and the translations are conjectural, the sense being suggested rather than fully expressed, as is usual in Japanese poetry, ancient and modern. The meaning I give to the second envoy is that attributed to it in the Kogi.

152

In spring the cherry
show'th all its wealth of
blossom,
in time of autumn
the slopes of Kamunabi
are rich with russet,
in Asuka's river girdling
the sacred mountain
the river tresses softly
to the swift stream
yield them

my heart as yielding beateth, and brief my days seem as morning's passing dewdrop, 'tis sign and symbol how deep a love I bear thee still kept secluded from me?'

¹ She is still kept at home under her mother's wardship. There is in the text a m. k. descriptive of Kamunabi which cannot be translated. It is umasake wo or sake-sweet, and is applied to Kamu (kami), of which the homophon kamu means to chew, reminding one of the preparation of Polynesian kawa by chewing various roots.

153

Beyond the cadence of Mimoro's Kamunabi the sky is heavy with clouds and falling rain, while sharp winds under the misty heavens blow o'er wild Makami¹ —of huge wolf-jaws remindingwhere wayfarer lonely through wind and rain he fareth to gain his homeplace, oh, may great Heaven grant him he reach his home wellprospered.² Through the long night
hours
black-dark as pardanth
berry
I lie all wakeful,
and think upon my lord
faring lonely through the
night.

- ¹ In this and the next line, I endeavour to give the value of the m. k. ohokuchi (vast-mouth), the use of which seems based upon the resemblance of Makami to ôkami 'wolf'. Possibly some story of a wolf-adventure on the plain of Makami may be alluded to.
- ² He is returning to his own home after an interview with his wife or mistress.

154

In wretched hovel
for burning only fit,
on ragged matting
to useless tatters fallen,
her arms too sordid
with his will he enlace—
yet all the day long
from red dawn until dusk.

and all the night long, through the black and weary hours, our alcove sadly with my laments resoundeth, from dusk to dawn lamenting.1

Of this lay the explanation given in the Kogi seems the best among several, that it is the complaint of a wife (or quasiwife) deserted for a mean creature. The traitor is not worth a thought, but nevertheless she can but lament such infidelity. Keichiu says the lay is the complaint of a lover whose mistress has given herself to a mean man.

The little moor 1
where all my heart outpoureth
those village fellows,
toonear, with shrine-rope 2
holy
would fence from me,
such rumour reacheth
me—

what may I do,
what way may I devise
me ²,
my very homeplace
hath lost its pleasantness,
on grassy pillow
of weary wayfarer
I seem to rest,
no joy I know nor peace,
nor from my heart

may I chase this annoy, like wayward clouds I wander hither, thither, my thoughts disorder'd as brushwood sheaves in house-fence. as thread entangled of tumbled hank of hempyarn on mat unravell'd, not e'en a thousandth of the love that me consumeth can other men know and if my love prove hopeless my life-thread will be severed.

¹ That is, the poet's mistress.

² The rice-straw rope hung over the portals of Shinto shrines.

The poet is disquieted at the rumour of suitors who besiege his mistress from whom he is kept away. The 'village fellows' are probably officials of like rank with the poet living near the 'little moor'. In the envoy the pains of jealous love are represented as a cause of emaciation so great that the girdle that formerly went once round his body will now encircle it thrice. The same simile is found in lay 121.

Of this Lay only four verses seem really to belong to it—of the remainder part belongs to Lay 187 and part to Lay 188.

The four verses may be rendered—
rolling back the white sleeves of my dress
as in loneliness I sleep—

157

Tow'rds Yámada¹far'd I
—on the hills the larches
cluster—²
nor word was spoken
as I from my mistress³
parted,
my mistress fair
as coverlet well bleachen,
and as the river

know'th not where haste
its waters,
what time, I knew not,
might bring me whence
once more I
might greeting sleeve
wave—
so, fared I like a packhorse
along the far ways stumbling.

¹ Something prevented his saying farewell, and he had to leave on his service in a state of misery and distraction. The lay should be read with the next—the two perhaps originally formed one—strophe and antistrophe.

² Lit. hi no ki, Chamæcyparis obtusa—the line refers to the yama (hill) of the place-name Yámada. There are two Yámada, one in Yamashiro and another in Kawachi. It is also a family name.

The m. k. shikitahe no is written 'wavy clouds' in the text. It is more commonly written 'spread-thin-coverlet' or 'colour (fine)-delicate'. The Kogi, premising that it is hard to ascertain the precise value of the expression, explains shiki by reference to shiku shiku, 'repeatedly', and tahe (written yuki, snow), as 'beautiful, delicate'. The fine fabric tahe is explained in the Kotoba no Idzumi as a cloth woven from the inner bark of a tree (paper mulberry). The m. k. here is applied to

tsuma. The values of the m. k. are, here as elsewhere, as far as possible incorporated with the translation, suggestively, so to speak, rather than directly. They are essentially verbal decorations, but would convey a real meaning to the Japanese hearer.

158

Or where to turn me or where seek help unknowing, my heart o'erburden'd with griefs that all the world fill, I sigh and sigh, sighs fathom deep I sigh, still lonely hoping that if, perchance, our souls love 1 he may come to me should and some traveller upon the spear-ways stop me, stop me asking, 'What aileth thee?'2 no answer dare I give him. my lord's name dare not

my ruddy lord's name mention,
lest folk should know it and know he seeketh me, so shall I answer
'I wait the moon to see rise o'er the hill top where thick the larches cluster' so shall I answer, who am no moon a-watching but for my lord am longing!

I cannot sleep
for love of thee, my lord,
where art thou, dear,
this weary night where
art thou,
I wait, but thou, thou
com'st not!

¹ Literally, 'if our souls meet (or reciprocate).'

^{2 &#}x27;Why sigh you so deeply?'

In my stable
a fine bay horse he
champeth,
in my stable
a fine black horse he
champeth,
both coursers feed I
and both I ride by
times—
just so my dear

uponmy heart she rideth².

like bowman posted
on lofty Takayama
among the hollows
to watch the wary deer,
so I do wait for
still wait for my lord's
coming,
therefore, ye dogs, be
silent!³

¹ The lay seems to be defective. The first portion expresses the thoughts of a man, the second those of a woman, the link between the two is missing. Or there may have been three separate lays, whereof the middle one is lacking.

² Comp. the expression kokoro no koma, colt of my heart.

³ So as not to give the alarm. The dogs (or dog) must be as silent as the men set to track the deer must be. The envoy bids the dogs not to betray by their barking the visit of the lover who scrambles through the fence.

160

My lord I wait for
but still he cometh not,
and forth I gaze
into the night's black
darkness
the heavens scanning,
full late the night hour is,
and from the mountains
rush down the stormy
blasts,
while on my sleeves, lo,

there peering in the mirkness, the snow that falleth hath into hard ice frozen—

ah, will my lord come on such a night come to me, he will come surely, though endless seem the hours as coil of wild-vine,

my heart too would I comfort,
my fine sleeves gather
and set the chamberready,
e'en see I not

my lord in waking hour, in dream that passeth I surely shall see him ere night be lost in morning.

161

This lay is almost identical with 160, of which it is little more than a replica.

162

As lovingly
as rush-root clings to
earth
I would to thee cling,
my dear whom I love,
and 'fore the gods,
the gods of earth and
heaven,¹
full jars of sake
I offer, close-thrid beadlace
of bamboo circlets

around my shoulders
hanging,
and pray the high gods
not bid me hide from thee
the love my heart consumeth,
for I am sick with love!2

My mother nought have I told of our love, but to my lord in love obeisant am I and but his will I follow!

¹ This common expression is exactly the Greek χθόνιοι θ υπατοι.

² The lay is commonly taken as the work of a man, the hanka as that of a woman. The word rendered 'lovingly' nemokoro (or nemogoro = nengoro) is partly written in the text after a curious rebuslike fashion. The characters may be taken to mean, one prostration and three salutes, referring to an ancient custom (more or less common in most lands) of hailing the moon with such a ceremony. Now korobu signifies to lie prostrate (there is a proverb nana korobi ya oki, seven

times down and eight times up—an optimistic description of the vicissitudes of life), and to the *koro* of this word we are led by those characters of the script which denote the manner of salutation of the moon.

Lay 163 is little more than a duplicate of 161, and Lay 164 is made up mainly of the three preceding lays. Cf. also Lay 169.

BOOK XIII, PART II

165

As evanescent
as rain-drops fallen
on leaf of lotus
on 'girded Glaive Pool'
floating
my hope to see thee,
for mother hath forbidden
again to meet thee,
but Kiyósumi's waters
are not more deep
than is the love I bear
thee,

and I shall never
a moment's space forget
thee
until our happy meeting.

In the beginning
the gods ordained our
union 2,
and I shall never
a jot fail in obeisance
to that most high decree.

¹ A tank, so called, constructed in the time of the Mikado Ôjin (270-310), where in the reign of Jômei (629-41) an auspicious *hachisu* (lotos) appeared bearing two flowers on one stem. The drops on the broad lily-leaf may be blown away by the wind at any moment.

² In the great council held in the bed of the River of Heaven (or at Kidzuki in Idzumo) in the very beginning of the parting of Heaven and Earth. The Kogi sees an allusion to the Buddhist doctrine of *ingwa* (cause and effect—predestined events), but the reference seems to be to the assembly of the gods determining the lot of mankind in the beginning of things. Cf. Aston's *Shintô*.

As cling the rushes to the wild-wood hillsides studded with right-wood 1 trees midmost exalted 2 Yóshinu. my love too clingeth to my sweet lord who goeth, in dread obeisance to his high Lord and Sovran, to far-off march-lands to rule in peace the people—

and flights of birds are soaring,
my lord will leave me,
but I shall love him ever
as far he fareth,
oh, let him not forget me,
but what words help
me,
where may I look for

solace?
our parting pitiless
as when one strippeth ivy
from close-clung treetrunk ³

upon some wooded hill-side,

as daybreak showeth, oh, pitiless is our parting!

¹ Timber fit for building—Cryptomeria or Chamaecyparis.

² The Mikado had a country palace in Yóshinu.

3 A conventional simile.

167

On high Mikane
in royal Yóshinu
rain falleth ever
and ever falleth snow,
so men aver,
and like that falling snow
my love shall cease not,

and like that falling rain,
my love shall fail not,
for such my love is, dear,
nor e'er shall time be
I shall not love thee, love
thee,
thyself I shall not love!2

¹ Compare lay 8. In the envoy added to the above as a late version of lay 8 the girl is reminded that although only a glance

was had of her, as of a passing cloud floating over the peak of snowy Mikane, not sufficient to explain his passion, yet his love went on increasing as time passed.

² In this lay—as often in other lays—every verse leads up to the last, to the *imo* (wife), to whom the lay applies as an unbroken adjectival sentence—'thyself' represents *imo*—thyself I shall love continuously as the rain and snow fall on Mikane.'

168 1

The moorland o'er—
Miyake's sunny heath—
his feet a pathway
the summer jungle thoro',
I pray, win hither,
thro' thigh-deep thickset
bushes
a way be won me,
yet am I fair that for
me,
for me such travail
my lord should dare affront—

'tis well, well is it
the mother wist it not,
'tis well, well is it
the father wist it not,
as flesh of mina ²
jet black her tresses are,
with yufu bands,
fine bands of bleachen yufu,
her locks abundant
are mingled and uplifted
with fine comb fixed,
comb of Yamato box-wood
my spouse, my love so
dainty! ³

¹ The text and meaning of the concluding climax of this lay are much disputed. Some outline of the controversy will be found in the notes to the text.

The first half of the piece expresses the fear of the 'secluded wife (mistress)' whose family have some inkling of the lover; the latter half is the lover's answer.

² Or dishevelled, as when waking. There are several interpretations of this passage.

³ The comb was fixed in the girl's hair by her lover as a sort of tabu. When thrown down it tabued the woman from approaching the man—thus Izanagi divorced Izanami, and by a similar means kept off the female demons who at the bidding of the divorcée attempted to attack him. A like story is found in Scandinavian folk-lore. When the newly elected Saigū (Itsuki

no miya) set out for Ise, there to remain in virginity during the lifetime of the Mikado, the latter fixed a comb in her hair. which she took out on arrival at the Watarahi shrine, but carefully preserved during her lifetime. In the Diary of the Kamakura Shôguns (Adzuma Kagami, 'Mirror of the Eastland') is a strange story of a man who tried to annihilate the tie of blood in order to commit an outrage by throwing a comb down which the object of his violence picked up. But in the present lay no tabu of any kind seems intended. I owe the above to Mr. Minakata. Yamato box-wood seems to have been a famous material for combs. Combs, highly decorated, are still much prized by Japanese women.

169 ¹

If my lot be not to meet thee, dear, ever, whom ever love I without a moment's surceasewhile daylight shineth, I cannot live without thee!

while night's black darkness lasteth I shall not rest, for such the love I bear thee.

¹ This lay is very similar to 162. In the envoy the poet declares he would rather die, but if he should continue to live it will be but a joyless life as long as his love is unrequited. There is a play upon imo, 'my love', and i mo (nezu), 'I cannot sleep'. In the script of the envoy, the shi of shinamu (I shall die) is written '2 × 2' which = 4(III) in Japano-Chinese, shi.

170

Across the waters upon the further bank I see her lingering, and full of love am wretched. and full of mis'ry my heart no ease it knoweth-

oh, fain I would some bark red-painted find here and precious oars, wherewith to cross the waters and with my love de-. vise!1

¹ Another reading names the stream—the secluded river of Hátsuse. The lover has taken, it seems, his first stage on some official journey. The occasion of this lay, like those of most of the other lays contained in this book, being unknown, the version is to some extent conjectural. The plural *imora*, of *imo*, my love, is found in the text as an honour-form.

171

Love's soft impeachment
with all the strength denied I,
times and again,
that fishers show a-hauling,

by wave-worn Nániha, their red-stained ships a hauling, yet my name in men's mouths echoes.¹

¹ Of this very obscure lay only a conjectural version can be given, founded upon Motowori's explanation cited in the Kogi. See Appendix (volume of texts).

172

On Ise's shoresands—
divine breath'd land of
Ise—
in the calm of morning
the waves roll in the deepweed 1,
in the calm of evening
roll in the fine returnweed,
as deep as any deepweed

my love for thee, my lord,
is,
again to see me
when passed the months
and days are,
and call me spouse eke
will not thy heart incline
thee,
whom I must love for
ever!

¹ Fukamiru and matamiru are species of Codium, a seaweed. The couple are separated for a time, but the bond shall not

bow

be broken by her, nor, she trusts, by him. He is to come back to her; the two miru are as one, fuka ('deep') illustrating her constancy, mata ('again,' or 'return,' more literally perhaps 'forked'), being symbolic of their reunion with the passage of time.

173.

By Muro's bay and is the tie within the land of Ki that bound us but a thread for years a thousand now with her to bide unparted, like yon sea threadfor a myriad years, weed. years, months and days to break if one but strain it ?-I trusted. as trusteth sailor for village rivals to his tall ship, I trusted they press around her striving below the headland, to win her from me, midmost the blue sea like screaming children jutteth, urge her, the clear waters and as the hunter with morn roll in the from white-wood forth speedeth deep-weed, with evening stillness of arrows twain one would they divide the waves roll in the twainthread-weed. oh, full of fear, am I.1 as deep my love is as any deep-weed groweth,

¹ The explanation given in the Kogi of the lay is this: An official residing at Muro is stricken with love for a girl there, but—if the next lay be really a pendant to this—is recalled to City-Royal. He has rivals in the place who seek to win his love from him and fears disaster.

The Kogi adds, 'No one has ever yet found the key to this lay'. The latter part of the version is largely conjectural.

Thus spake he to me

—a village neighbour was

it—

'the man thou lovest,
thy comely swain he
fareth
by Kamunabi,
where now the leaves lie
scattered
of russet autumn,
on a black horse riding
fareth
across the waters

of many - channelled
Asuka 1,
and heavy-hearted
the wayfarer seemed to
be,'

so spake to me the villager.
As lief I were
he had not spoken to me,
nor by ill hap
had met my lord who
fareth,

my lord who fareth from me!2

¹ Famous in Japanese song for its changing and devious channels. The occasion of this lay is unknown, unless, as Motowori suggests, it is a pendant to the preceding lay. In both, taken together, some commentators see an allusion to the uncertainties of life, the miseries of its many partings, and the changing ways of this world; but this is to see a good deal.

² For to hear of him only renews her grief.

175

In happy mood
along the spring ways
wandering,
the vernal hillsides
with joy I contemplated,
whose bright azaleas
my mistress doth outshine,
whose cherry-blossoms
my love excels in fairness—

with mine thy name,
dear,
the world doth ever couple,
with thine my name
dear,
men-folk do ever mention,
the wild hills even
to words of men will listen,
be not thy heart more
cruel.

¹ Cf. lay 141, where the hills Okiso and Minu are entreated to yield to the prayer of the lover whom they part from his mistress. Here the girl is adjured not to be more hard-hearted than the hills themselves are desired to be.

1761

So may it be, Sir,

but pass must many summers

and fall my tresses
o'er either shoulder flowing

till taller am I

than topmost orange
blossom—

forget me 2 not,
as the river ne'er forgetteth
adown the vale to flow.

This lay is defective. It appears to be an answer to 175. When the girl is old enough she will respond to her lover—meanwhile let him not forget her. At the age of three or four the hair was first cut, the ends only (fukasogi), when it reached the shoulders it was parted in the middle (furiwake), after eight it was not cut. Up to gembuku (shaving of forelock in boys), and kamiage (putting the hair up in girls), boys and girls were known as waraha (children).

² i. e. the maid herself, who lives by the river. The last two lines of the translation are somewhat conjectural. The lay is *tatohe*, the only other one among the long lays of the Manyôshiu is lay 182.

177

This Lay is a combination of 175 and 176.

178

To the land of Hátsuse
and down the rain hath
mid lofty hills secluded
I come a-wooing,
and thick the snow hath
fallen
from clouded heaven,
and down the rain hath
from lowering sky,
while the pheasant loudly
calleth

across the moor, and the household cock shrill croweth the day betokening, and the mirk of night hath yieldedyet enter will I
to seek my love within
there,
wherefore I bid you
open!

The lay—describing a lover's impatience after a toilsome journey to visit his mistress—though dawn has shown, enter he will,—is more or less an imitation of one contained in the Kojiki (K. App. II) attributed to the god of eight thousand (countless) spears—i. e. lord of a vast host—Yachihoko no Kami (Ohokuni nushi). The following version of what is, perhaps, the oldest example of Japanese poetry extant (yet of course having nothing like the antiquity of the events with which it is connected in the Kojiki), may be found interesting.

Of spears countless
His Majesty the God—
in all wide Yashima
he sought but found no spouse,
in far-off Koshi
a virtuous damsel dwelt,
so heard the god,
a beauteous damsel dwelt,
so heard the god,
so went he her well-wooing
to woo and woo her,
his glaive in belt still girded,
his veil unloos'd,
'And here I stand', quoth he,
'her door to open,

And here I stand', quoth he,
'her door still pushing,
the while the owl-bird screameth
the green hills midmost

and the moorland pheasant echoeth,

and nigh her dwelling the cock, too, loud he croweth!—

'I would these birds all would stop scream, call and crow,

these fowls too wretched that fill the air with rumour!'

Of the remainder of the text of the lay I can make nothing. It may mean 'this is what the swift messenger of the skies, swift as a flying stone, hath told me (K. loc. cit.), or in view of the envoy to lay 178, 'like a messenger, swift as a stone flying through the air, would I tell my thoughts', or, better still, reading ishitafu as ishitobu (= ishi fumu), 'this is what I say,

climbing the rocky hills, and swiftly mounting them to reach my love'.

The appellation yachihoko is credited with a signification which may be best understood after reference to those portions of the Kojiki which Mr. Chamberlain, with, perhaps, excessive prudery in some instances, has clothed with the decent vesture of Latin.

179

In pleasant Hátsuse, a land remote secluded, my lord his wooing his wooing would he urge—

within our homeplace my mother sleepeth she from doorway furthest, my father sleepeth he to doorway nearestand if my side he leaveth
my mother knoweth
and if the house he leaveth
my father knoweth—
now dark as pardanth
berry
to-day night yieldeth
and as we loved not must
we
our love still must we

hide.1

¹ This lay, like the last, but in a less degree, resembles the Kojiki lay, of which a translation is there given in the notes.

180

a-riding on his horse
towards Yamáshiro,
Yamáshiro, land of mountains,
I met, and sorrow'd
my lord should go afoot—
and thereon musing
until my heart was vex'd,
I took my mirror,

That woman's lover

fine shining mirror given
by her who nursed me,
and put therewith my
kerchief¹
with dragon-fly wings,
and told my lord to take
them
and buy him steed therewith.

 1 A sort of κρήδεμνον or rica or scarf, or wimple. One is reminded of 'Shule Agra'—

'I sold my rock, I sold my reel, to buy my love a sword of steel.'

181

the gallant thou awaitest Fine pearls to gather they say the waves roll in fine shells would gather thereroll'd in by the waves of my lord will wend him, ocean, to Kii's land will wend him, fine pearls would gather fine pearls to gather the surging waves bear they say the waves roll in in. there. and so delayeth should he bide long, for and so hath cross'd he Se's hill, the hill of Imo, thee 'twill be days seven, to Kii faring: 'Oh, when will he return be few thy days of waiting me', two days 'twill be, I haunt the spear-ways so saith he,' saith the the evining oracle askoracle 1 ingbiddeth and me be 'My lady sister, patient.'2

What is gathered from the talk of passers-by.

² Attributed to a girl whose lover is sent to Kii on some duty (from City-Royal) to whom the 'evening oracle' gives consolation, saying her lover is delayed only by gathering pearls for her. Imo and Se are both hills in Kii. *Imo-se* mean husband and wife; lit. younger sister and elder brother. Awabi pearls (Venus's ear) are meant, or beads of awabi—mother-of-pearl.

182

A rush too tender, of Okinaga's Wochi by Sanukata within steep-hilled Tsukuma a rush too tender to reap for weaving hats, a rush too tender to spread upon the floors— O rush unreaped, thou little rush of Wochi, with anxious dread thou fill'st me!

¹ The rush too young to be reaped symbolizes a young maid not yet arrived at a marriageable age. She must not therefore be disturbed—but what if some other suitor should reap the rush! The lay is a *tatohe* or exemplary lay—one of the only two *chôka* of that category, the other is lay 176.

183

ence I dare these words inditein Fujihara fair City-Royal stately, where years unnumber'd lords many, princes many, have served with gladness their mighty Prince exaltedas very Heaven the Palace they regarded, and on his Highnesis

With awe and rever-

as very Heaven
the Palace they regarded,
and on his Highness
in humble hope they
leaned them,
trusting that ever
the under-heaven ruling
like full-orbed moon
my lord would the realm
illumine 1—

when came forth spring, my dread Lord, whose high mem'ry men's hearts ay keep would stand the pinetrees under 2 that crown the brow, the brow of Uyetsuki, and view the landwhen fell the showers of autumn, on the hagi bushes grew lush about his halls. their heavy blossoms with dewy burden bending, his sad eyes lingered, and when the snows of winter the mornings whiten'd his bow of white-wood took he,

wide-rooted white-wood, in mighty hand to bare it the chase to follow—

a long day through of spring time of misty spring time one loved to look on him, unsated ever, with mirror-bright eyes unsated with gaze on him, and oh what stout hope was there! so fair a time might last for endless ages when— tears but fill, tears fill my blinded eyes, for as I look tow'rds my Prince's lofty shrine with white cloths draped, I see the train of mourners, gentles and servants who serve the sunbright palace in whitest garb wend, to his high rest to bear him-

is it a vision or real, this sad sight? a night cloud-darkened

surroundeth me, and failmy heart with sorrow, as Kínohe's track I gaze from (green-hilled Kínohe 3) on ivied Ihare gazing I see the mourners my lord to his last rest bearing, such is my misery I know not where to turn me. I mourn for him, but nought my mourning helpeth, I weep for him, but find no goal of tears, the very pine-trees which felt his princely sleeve's touch can give no answer to any words of sorrow, yet ever will I lift up to yonder grove my wistful eyes as though to heaven I lifted my eyes in reverent memory.

Upon Ihare
[the place of rocks where
ivy

abundant groweth] and of my lord bethink a white cloud see I hovering

¹ Perhaps that he would attain completeness like that of the full moon, i.e. that the Miko would become Mikado.

² The m. k. here (tohotsu hito), read with matsu (pine tree) as homophonous with matsu (expect), suggests the feeling with which a household might await the return of its lord or some member thereof.

³ This is a poetized change of the meaning of the m. k. A truer rendering would be—of hemp-robe minding.

⁴ There are several m. k. in the *uta* of which I have not been able to incorporate the value. In the envoy a white cloud seen hovering on the peak of Ihare is wistfully suggested as emblematic of the Miko's soul. So in the *Nihongi* (N. II. 253) we have a 'first' lay made by the Queen-Regnant Saimei (Kwôgyoku 642-61) on the death of her favourite grandson Prince Takeru, at the age of eight.

On Womure's peak in the land of Imaki were drifting cloud but seen in pure whiteness my tears I should dry!

It is not clear of what *miko* the death was lamented in the above elegy. Possibly, as the mention of Kínohe suggests, it may have been Prince Takechi (lay 24), in which case the author of the lay would be Hitómaro. It is quite in his style.

1841

Within the broad bounds
of wide Yamato's land on Kínohe
a lonely fane is builded, and there seeluded
in shrine remote he lieth, oh, how befell him,

our Prince, a fate so
early!—
who every daybreak
and every even summon'd
his men who gathered,
like flights of birds at
daybreak,
to do his bidding—

'tis vainly now his ser- unknowing where to turn vants await his words. alert their stout hearts are. with tear-drench'd sleeves but cloud-wise drift they,

them, distraught with sorrow, fall'n prostrate in misery still unended!

¹ The lay (probably by Hitómaro) is an elegy on the death of Prince Takechi (lays 24 and 183). No more will be summon his men to make ready the morn for hunting or hawking.

185

My lord of Minu and well his horses -O grassy land of with fresh drawn draughts Minuare wateredwhy hinny they then, to west a stable hath builded for his horses. his dappled steeds why to east a stable hinny? hath builded for his horses. well fed, well watered are and well his horses they!1 are fed with fresh cut grass,

1 They hinny and neigh not for their food, of which they have plenty, but after their dead master. The stable to east and the stable to west denote a man of wealth able to maintain a number of horses. The envoy, which contains a curious m. k. (see text), refers to the unwonted hinnying of the steeds as a proof of their almost human feeling of regret for their master. The envoy (omitting the difficult m. k.) is subjoined:-

> You dappled greys how strange their hinny soundeth! have they then heartsthus strangely hinnying those dappled greys that hinny?

Among the folk who
under the low white
clouds dwell
are far and wide spread,
under the great blue cloud
dwell
the land o'erhangeth,

under the infinite canopy
of the clouds of heaven,
are none but I to mourn
him—
for I alone,
belike, did love him.¹

¹ The text of this lay is doubtful. The Kogi separates the lay from the next, to which in most editions it serves as an introduction, and reads it with lay 188. The lay was, no doubt, intended as a reproach to men who had not sufficiently honoured the memory of their lord. 'White clouds' are the lower clouds seen white against the blue expanse above them, regarded as a vast blue cloud. Such seems to be the best explanation of this difficult text.

187

All earth and heaven cannot contain the grief . wherewith my soul is like to sicken, my heart to break with sorrow that daily groweth as pass the months and days bv though time there be not any grief is not with me, this long-moon 1 month his memory most mournful shall be, and years and years a thousand

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shall last that sorrow, for years a thousand thousand still unforgotten this month of misery shall be, this long-moon month when from the world he faded oh, what the misery! I know not how to bear it, month after month I know not how to bear nor help is any,

nor solace for me any—
the solemn hillways
I climb and where his
shrine lieth,
morn after morn

the tomb's wide-builded
portal
I leave to weep,
and there retreat each even
to mourn, to mourn for
him.²

¹ The ninth month, when the husband died. The last portion of the text is identical with the opening of lay 156.

² It was the custom for the relatives to mourn the dead for a week at the grave itself. The tomb was built near a cliff, or was fenced in with stone, or approached by a covered passage in which—or in huts erected for the purpose—they remained during the time of mourning, which often lasted much longer than a week or eight days.

188

My jetty tresses,
as black as pardanth-berry,
lie all dishevell'd,
sweet sleep I cannot win
me,
with thoughts of sorrow
still to and fro I toss me

like seaborne ship
tossed—
my sleepless nights of
grief,
oh, I have lost their
count!

¹ To be read with lay 186. It is a replica of the latter portion of 156.

189

In the upper waters
of Hátsuse's stream secluded
cormorants many
dive at the keepers'
bidding,
in the lower waters

at their keepers' bidding
dive they,
in the upper waters
fine fish the birds are let,
in the lower waters
fine trout are let to
swallow—

and fine my love too,
oh, would she still were
with me,
but now a bowshot
apart she lieth from me,
and ever heavy
my heart is, full of her,
with restless sorrow
my heart is ever burdened—

a hempen mantle
by some hap torn may yet
be deftly joined,
a bead-lace snapp'd, too,
may
be pieced together,
but we twain, dear, thus
parted
we nevermore may meet¹.

The lay is a lament on the death of a wife or mistress. The whole of the first part is merely introductory to kuhashi in the text—here rendered 'fine'. kuhashi also means 'to cause to, or let, swallow', as the cormorant is allowed to swallow and made afterwards to disgorge, his prey. For 'join', 'piece', and 'meet', the same word afu is used in the text.

190

Among the mountains of hill-engirdled Hátsuse green-wooded Osaka stands forth a noble mountain, most excellent
to gaze on is the mountain—
alas, 'tis lone and desolate! 1

¹ Cf. N. I. 346

'The mountains of Hátsuse they stand out— excellent mountains the mountains of Hátsuse!'

The Kogi cites the above, and assumes that it served as a model for the present lay, which is taken to have been composed in honour of some promising youth who died early and whose fate is somehow symbolized in the allusion to Osaka—possibly he was buried there.

The seas and mountains are seas and mountains ever, the high hills changeless, the seas are everlasting—

but man
is but a flower-thing
that perisheth—
in this passing world
such mortal man is!

192

In dread obeisance to his dread Lord and Sovran Yamato left he in the Land of Rich Ripe Ears. from the haven faring, Mitsu's fair haven, westwards. and oars unnumber'd, stout oars were mann'd, and forthwith across the blue plain the tall ship maketh wayin the calm of morning are heard the shouts of sailors, in the evening stillness

so fares my lord,

while I with holy offerings
the gods beseech
for safe and swift homecoming—
alas my heart!
as leaves in autumn wither
on Tsukushi's hillsides,
hath faded and passed
away,
my lord hath passed away.

Oh, false these tidings,

oh, true they cannot be!

in the calm of morning are heard the shouts of his life's thread should be sailors, lasting—
in the evening stillness so vow'd my lord and the splash of oars is heard, promis'd!2

¹ As the ship went on its way it would anchor every evening and start every morning.

² The husband goes to Tsukushi (in the extreme West) and dies there. The wife remains behind in City-Royal. There are several m. k. left untranslated.

Along the spear-ways
hath he wended, climbing
painfully
the wooded hill steeps,
and cross'd the wastes
and moorlands,
the rivers waded,
and reach'd the whaley
sea
at Kami passage,
(the blest god's ferry 'tis)
where the wind it blow-

but bloweth not too
lightly,
where toss the billows
but toss they not too
softly,
where waves incessant
the further way do bar
him—
whom rememb'ring
the boiling waters dared
he
to cross with feet too
venturous? 1

¹ In this lay the fate of the drowned man mentioned in the next is, possibly, anticipated. For whose sake was it he rashly waded through the torrent; i. e. was he hastening home to his family?

194

Anigh the sea-flood,
—unheard the cries of
birds are
at daybreak there 1—
the great hills far behind
him,
on sea-wrack pillowed,
his form unvestur'd even
by scanty mantle
with dragon-fly wings
well furnished,
there lieth he
upon the pebbly seashore
of the whaley sea,

in loneliness there lieth
as were he sleeping
and of the world all care
less—
yet once have haply,
have father, mother,
haply,
his parents loved him,
and fair young wife was
his,
but no word ever
again from him shall
reach them,
his name or homeplace

'tis vain to seek, no answer from those lips cometh, speechless as puling infant's—

a sight of sorrow, 'tis piteous to behold it; but so the world's way is.²

¹ The birds that start their whirring flight on the hill-passes are meant.

² Compare the preceding lay.

195

A Lay by Tsuki no Omi on finding a corpse lying on the strand of Kamishima off the coast of Bingo.¹

Either the lay is made up of lays 193 and 194, or they are taken from it. The differences are merely verbal. There are four envoys, of which two are worth translation.

(2)

Within his home
his household folk await
him—
alas, in loneliness
the rough sea-shore embracing,
there lieth he, stark and
lifeless!

(3)

Upon the sea-strand
alone in death he lieth,
'To-day, to-day
he'll come, he'll come,'
she crieth—
his wife, her woe unknowing!

An error for Bitchiu, anciently Kibi no Michi no Naka (Midmost Abundant Millet). Kamishima is mentioned in a short lay (Book XV of the text) as the port whence a mission sailed to Shinra (Korea) [in some year not stated]. There is a Tsuki no Omi (or Obito) Afumi, mentioned as living in 2 Wadô (709), who is alluded to in Book I. The script signifies Chief of the Department of Taxes (tsuki = taxes consisting of made articles as distinct from natural productions), but the official title may have degenerated into a mere name.

As sailor trusteth to his tall ship I trusted ere this moon ended my lord to welcome home, and waited wistfullywhen came the sceptred runner and said 'Like autumn, my lord like leaves of autumn hath passed away', such words he spoke, elusive as dancing firefliesthe gods of earth and heaven with tears beseech I, or standing or yet sitting1 alike all hopeless, I am as one distracted in thick mists wand'ring in sighing fathom-deeply through empty hours,

and there is none to tell me where he beas clouds in heaven my steps uncertain bear me, hither, thither, like wounded deer T wander, and I shall die, I know not where to seek him. in loneliness, of him I love bereaved, I can but weep and wail! The tall reeds towards

The tall reeds towards
I watch the wild geese
winging,
with every wing-beat
of my lord I do bethink
me
his shafts well-feathered
bearing!

¹ A common phrase equivalent to 'continually'. The lay is by a wife on the death of her husband—she cannot even follow him to the other world, being but a woman: in the envoy, as she watches the flight of the wild geese, she thinks of her husband as a hunter with his quiver full of arrows furnished with feathers from their wings.

Come, children, hearken!
far o'er the plain of Toba with fine pines studded your eyes send where your father his last rest taketh, as further from him, from country and from homeplace,

the way doth lead us—
oh, gods of earth and
heaven,
why cruel are ye,
I ask ye, why so cruel,
on painful journey
unhusbanded to send me
and part me further from
him.1

¹ The wife is returning to City-Royal from Toba in Hitachi, where her husband has died and is buried.

BOOK XV, PART I

198

As even latens in the reedy bottoms whirring, as morning breaketh in the middle waters swim they, the flights of wild fowl in pairing couples thronging. and wings o'erlapping ward off the chilly hoarfrost with coats of feathers. those fowl that pair together, in love together-

as flood that passeth and cometh never back, as wind that bloweth and none see it returning, so fleeting is this traceless world of ours, whereof poor den'zens we twain are somewhile partedof wonted vestment with sleeve unmated, lonely how may I welcome sleep find!1

¹ In 8 Tempyô (736) an embassy was sent to Shiraki (part of Korea). The members composed lays and answer-lays on the hardships of parting and various other subjects, both at departure and during the voyage. Amongst these were the present chôka and the next, both said to have been composed during the voyage as part of a sort of album of verses. Of the author only the name is known, Tajihi no Taifu, who complains of his separation from his wife, and contrasts their position with that of the proverbial and exemplary wild-fowl who answer poetically to western turtle-doves. The lay is partly Buddhisti in tone, partly an imitation of the Shihking. The translation is slighlty abbreviated.

199 1

As mirror shining
my dear each morning
holdeth
in her fair hand
is Mitsu's 2 strand, whence
launched
the tall ship floateth,
and stout oars many are
manned,
and o'er the sea-plain
tow'rds distant Kara fare
we—

by Minume 3 oaring,
that standeth o'er against
us,
the tide await we,
and drift adown the fairway
to open ocean,
where high the white
waves surge,

across the waters our bark we row until that Awade's 4 isle (lone isle its name and loveless) we sight, and darkness cloudy sea-marge falleth, as night still deepeneth, our further course unknowing, Akashi 5 see we, (and now my heart grow'th lighter in the Bay of Brightness), as there awhile we tarry and wave-rocked slumber—

thence seawards gazing

watch I

the fisher-lasses from crowded boats a-row their lines still casting, and as the day grow'th brighter and the tide 'gins flowing the screaming wild-fowl view I toreed-marsh hast'ning, and in the calm of morning the shouting hear of sailors making ready, and fishers launching their boats across the breakers—

the grebes, too, watch I swim pairing on the waters as Iheshima 6 in the cloudy distance loometh (men call Home Island well-named me-seemed the island), and fain to comfort my weary heart I longed there swiftly faring upon those shores to gaze, but further oaring

our tall ship we affronted huge ocean-billows that rose and curled and toppled, wherefore the island

we passed, and elsewhere gazed we as onwards fared we

to the hollow bay of Tama 7,

where time we tarried, and on the wild shore gazing my thoughts to home-

land turn'd and tears fell from

there I bethought me awabi pearls to gather, such as do deck the sea-god's sacred arms,

me-

and gift-wise send them by runner to my homeplace,

but found no runner wherefore 'twas vain to gather,

and there unglean'd I left them!

¹ This lay is a sort of *kaidô kudari* or 'journey-song'—word-plays on the place-names conveying or illustrating the sentiments.

² Mitsu is in Settsu-mi, fine; tsu, port.

- ³ In Settsu.
- ⁴ Awade (ahade = not meet, i. e. one's love).
- ⁵ In Harima. Usually written Red Rocks (aka-ishi), but akashi also means the brightening of daybreak.
 - ⁶ In Harima; ihe = home, homeplace.
- ⁷ In Hizen; tama, jewel, suggests the awabi pearls mentioned below. One of the two envoys intimates that on the return home in the autumn (wasure-gai, forget, i. e. forget-menot (?), shells—a kind of clam so called) will be gathered as gifts for wife and homefolk.

BOOK XV, PART II

200

Elegy on the Death of Yukino Murazhi Yakamori.1

towards Tsukushi, Kara fronting, the furthest frontier of our dread Sovereign's realm, he hath departed or lack hishousefolk piety, or fail disloyal to their lord's mat left lonely,2 Iknownot-'Autumn'. to her who nursed him said he, 'shall yet be with you when home again shall see me'; but gone is autumn,

My lord my brother,

month after month agone is, to-day, to-morrow, 'oh! will he come?' his housefolk day after day cry ah, Kara³ never reached he. far from Yamato, far from his folk and homeplace on rocky height he lieth in loneliness, in a grave rock-builded on a wild-waste isle he lodgeth for whom still yearn his housefolk.

Ihata's moor where be their lord, I his lodging is, alas! know not, to his folk who ask, oh, what to say I know me not.

- The author of the lay seems to have been a member of the mission mentioned under lay 199. Of Yakamori himself nothing is known; he was employed doubtless in the suite of the embassy. I take waga se in the text to be a title of address, 'my brother', not my husband. Yakamori died suddenly of the pest in Iki island, and was buried there. Iki lies between Hizen and Tsushima, and was a place of call for ships going to China or Korea.
- ² To fail in respect to the mat of an absent member of a household was a serious offence in ancient Japan, causing disaster to the absent person. See K. p. 300: 'respect my mat while I am absent.'
- ³ In Iki. Shiraki in Kara was regarded as a frontier land of Tsukushi, the extreme west of Japan, and as a part of the Mikado's realm.

In Book XIX is a short lay beginning Kushi wo mizhi—'Nor comb is used, nor house swept out, for the lord thereof hath departed on a grass-pillow journey, wherefore his folk would ensure him safe return.' On this Sengaku says: 'After the master of a household had left on a journey, it was the custom not to sweep the house-place for three days, and not to use a comb for the hair.' In the Go Kansho (Chinese Hist. of the After Han) it is said: 'When the Japanese go on a journey they choose a man whom they tabu in their interest. He must abstain from flesh, and remain continent until the return of the traveller. In the event of a safe return he is rewarded, otherwise he may be slain, for he must have broken his tabu.'

In 758 the very ships bearing embassies to Korea or China—two are named, the Harima and Hayatori—were raised to the junior rank of the lower fifth order to ensure safety. I owe this reference to Mr. Minakata.

201

Their humble hope was their lord's weal might endure while heaven and earth last. but far their lord hath wandered from pleasant homeland across the tossing waters, and days and months pass until the wild geese under the skies scream loudly 1what time his mother who nursed him. and wife left desolate, their long robes all bedrenched with dews of morning, their hanging sleeves, too, moist with mists of evening, along the ways fare, watching for his home-coming safe after weary wayfare__ whom still they yearn to alas! men still

must fill the world with weeping, nor wife nor mother scarce hope again to see him. ah! far from homeland beyond the furthest clouds a hut reed-roofed on autumn moor o'erstrewn with hagi-blossoms his only lodging giveth, on some hill-side where chill the dew and rime fall their lord his lodging findeth-Fair wife and children, how longingly they wait for father, husband! whom yon far island hideth from loving eyes for ever-On that lone hill-side with leaves of autumn ruddy

for ay he resteth

a fate how piteous theirs!2

see,

¹ Autumn-time.

² An elegy on the death—as yet unknown to his family of a member of the mission mentioned under lay 197. Of the

author nothing is known beyond the name of Fujiwi no Murazhi Ko Oyu. *Oyu* seems to be a title of address—Elder or Venerable; *Ko* perhaps is an additional honour-word.

202

The dread way perilous
of the great god of the sea
with pain and travail
towards the West he
wended,
and sick inquired
if Kara-wards unscath'd
he might fare further—
the lord of the fisherfolk there
wise answer sought he

by trial of deer's shoulderblade
in fire-flame cast—
how vain the dream, was
answer,
the path how empty,²
on further course to venture,
from Iki westwards venture!

¹ The subject of the lay is, perhaps, Yakamori, a member of the embassy mentioned in lay 197. He died in Yuki (Iki); during his sickness he is represented as having sought the aid of divination. The authorship is attributed to one Musaba, who flourished in Hôji (757-65). A quibble may be hidden in 'Kara', China or Korea, whose homophon (kara) means bitterness, misery.

² Literally, 'a mere dream', 'a road in the air'.

BOOK XVI, PART I

203

The 16th Book opens with a curious preface, followed by two tanka. The preface is as follows:—

There was formerly a damsel called Sakura no Ko (Lady Cherryblossom), who was wooed by two gentles. These young nobles were deadly rivals, each anxious to challenge the other even to death. The damsel was much affected at this state of things, and said: 'From ancient times to this

day it has never been heard or seen that a maid should follow two men to their homes. There is, therefore, nothing left me but the necessity of dying to avoid the interruption of tranquillity by the rival claims of these two gentlemen.'

Then she entered a grove and hanged herself upon a tree; whereupon the rival suitors, distracted with grief, composed the following tanka:—

Haru saraba kazashi ni semu to aga mohishi sakura no hana ha chiri nikeru ka mo. When Spring appeared
I thought with spray of
cherry
my head to deck;
but the cherry-spray
beloved,
alas, hath faded, fallen!

Imo ga na ni kakaseru sakura hana sakaba, tsune ni ya kohimu iya toshi no ha ni. The vernal blossom,
the spray her name that
beareth,
each year in bloom,
renew'd each year in beauty
flower, face, I hoped to gaze
on.

Both the above turn upon the lady's name, Sakura—Cherry-blossom. There follow three other short lays (tanka), preceded by a story of three men who loved one maid, named Kadzura no Ko—to her destruction, for to save trouble she drowned herself. Thereupon each of the lovers composed a tanka, and may have been happy ever afterwards.

The present lay is likewise prefaced by an illustrative story in Chinese (highly amusing, but most seriously intended), of which a somewhat condensed translation follows:—

'Long ago there lived an ancient named Takatori. One spring he climbed a hill to look at the country. There he suddenly came upon a bevy of nine damsels engaged in making broth. They were peerless in their many charms, and in their flower-like forms unparalleled. The damsels saw him, and, calling to him, said, laughing:

'Come here, old grandfather, and blow up the fire for us

under the pot!'

The old man nodded assent, and went up to them; whereupon the damsels began to smile and push about alluringly, crying:

'Who has called such an old fellow as this?'

Then Takatori cried:

'You do not know that it is a holy man you have called to you: the way you behave to him is altogether wrong. But I will make atonement for you by composing a lay.' So he indited the following lay and its hanka.

The Kogi learnedly comments upon the name Takatori,—should it be so written, or thus—Taketori? The conclusion is that Takatori as a name is better, and Taketori preferable rather as the designation of a bamboo-gatherer.

In a further long note the Kogi explains the subject of the lay. The damsels are called senjo-semi-celestial or fairy-like beings-more literally, mountain-recluse-women; but there is nothing to show that they are such. The lay is characterized as tedious and inferior to the lay of Uráshima (lay 105), which is of older date, as well as to the lays of Hitómaro and Akáhito, and as showing little of the true spirit of the divine age. It is, in fact, of Chinese origin, and in it the ancient warns the damsels and the world generally to profit by his example. He, too, has been young and handsome, well dressed, courted by society, and admired by women; but now he is old and ugly-just as those who now laugh at him will in their turn become, and be scorned by the young gallants of the Court as they scorn him.1

While yet my mother, whonurs'd me still a babe, my cherish'd form in shoulder-girdle carried, while still an infant I crawled upon the mats,

fine yufu mantle
of red-sewn plainstuff
wearing,
when grown to childhood
fine frock of spotted hempcloth

with sleeves fine-furnish'dthe little maids would seek me of equal summers, their jetty tresses hanging upon their shoulders, by pretty comb confined, and elder damsels with locks uplifted bound in girlish knot, their tresses loosely over their shoulders flowing like little girls, would seek me in robes arrayed with spreading purple patterns, and mantles dyed alder-dye of with true Wori in Suminoye, and girdles of fine brocade true Koma hand-work entwin'd with threads of scarlet woundroundandround, and frocks worn manifolddamsels, spinsters, of hempen yarn, and eke young wealthy maidens wearers of silken fabrics,

in smooth and shining grass-cloth and over-vestments ofhempen fine-stuff wovenof village mayors daughters the even woo'd I, such was my fortune, and fine footgear they gave me of pattern'd stuff and parti-colour'd too, and boots to wear well-sewn and jetty black, the long rains even fending, of Asuka's famous fashionthus stocking'd, booted, I paced about the garden, and maidens under their mother's eye heard whispers of my youth and bloom, and fine things they, too, gave me, fine blue silk girdles to make my vestment gay, and narrow girdles of outland Kara fashionas slim I was then as any wasp that soareth

fair maids arrayed

on tiled roof lofty of sea-god's fane to perch him, so dressed I finely, bright mirror 'fore me, and eke behind me hanging, that on my beauty I might the better feast mewhat time spring suns shone, along the moorside wandering, the very pheasants their notes of admiration seem'd to utter, in time of autumn, when up the hillslopes clomb I. the very clouds seem'd to swim in admiration, and thence returning to sunbright City-Royal, the fine court ladies,

and eke the young court gallants, with admiration turn'd back to gaze, and ask, who might I be ?-'twas so in long past dayswhat a handsome fellow! the pretty maidens whisper'dwith scornful look to-day they point their finger at me and ask. why, who is this, who passeth, ugly wretch he! so was it too in days long past and gone that men of wisdom to after generations held up as mirror the story of the grandsire and the car the

brought back 2!

¹ There are many difficulties in this curious lay, of which various solutions have been offered. On the whole I have followed the Kogi in my version, which, however, in the details of dress in particular, is to some extent conjectural.

² The story alluded to is that of Genkoku or Yuen Kuh. His grandfather being old and useless, his parents resolved to get rid of him. Yuen Kuh remonstrated, but was finally compelled to construct a chair or car of some kind and to carry away the grandfather and abandon him in a waste place. Yuen Khu

brought back the chair and was reproached by his father, who said, 'Why bring back that useless thing.' But Yuen Khu answered, 'Not so useless, I thought I might not have time to make another when you are old enough to abandon like grandfather, so I brought it back with me for future use. The father was greatly struck by this answer, and hurrying to the waste place brought back the old man and tended him carefully ever after. (Pishi, Yuen Kien Luihan 1703, cclxxi, fol. 13 b, cited by Minakata Kumagusu, N. and Q. Aug. 8, 1903.)

There are two envoys on the disadvantages of growing old, white hairs and loss of beauty, and nine short lays addressed by the nine damsels to the Ancient. The justice of his rebuke is acknowledged, a rebuke none had made before, without yea or nay they submit to his reproof, in death or in life they will keep it in mind, they require no further argument, they do not need to arrive at the full bloom of their beauty to understand the justice of his remarks, they would be, as it were, tinctured with new moral life, they bow before his wisdom as the grass bends to the breeze.

204

[A Wife's] Love for her Husband.

No word there cometh
by flow'r-spray bearing
runner
from him, my lord,
my ruddy comely lord—
and I sick-hearted
must bide in lonely sorrow,
to the gods all-mighty
let none my woe impute,
nor call the wise-men,
nor trial of burning bladebone
let them essay,
it is my love that paineth,

'tis plain to all,
in all my bones that
acheth,
and heart and bowels
with cruel tortures wringeth—
now death is near,
swift death upon me lieth,
was it my husband
at last who cometh, called
me,
or did I hear
my mother's voice who
nursed me?

on all the cross-ways
the evining oracle who
asketh,
or the seer's art trieth,
for that upon me cometh,
death cometh imminent.

Ah, what availeth
ordiviner's crackled bladebone
or evening oracle—
'tis for a glance of him
I love my soul doth
hunger!

¹ The lay represents the distress of a dying wife who would fain see her long-absent husband ere death fell upon her. It is not the act of the gods but her love that is killing her. The relatives of a sick person consulted the road-oracle and the diviner on behalf of the moribund, and as they stood by the pillow sought to revive the sufferer by words of affection.

BOOK XVI, PART II

205

A Fair One's Complaint.

My food I swallow
but it hath no savour for
me,
I wander idly
but peace to me none
cometh,

and naught can cure me save full oblivion of my ruddy lord and lover!

¹ Attributed to a mistress of Sawi no Ohokimi whose guard at the Palace kept him from her side. One night, thus deserted, she dreamed he was with her, but suddenly awaking and finding herself alone, exhaled her disappointment in tears and the above lay. Sawi (a descendant in the sixth generation of the Mikado Bidatsu (572–85) was moved by her grief and procured relief from the Court office which interfered with his duty as a lover.

206

My heart as pure as are the waters bubbling —refreshing waters—

from Oshitaru's moor.

-fair Oshitaru-1 as pure in love of thee, where never sound comes 2

of the evil world I'd meet thee.

where never sound comes

O well it were I met thee, and with thee, dear,

I would my bead-lace thridden

with many a white pearl against thy hat rushwoven.

I would exchange,

the bead-lace round my neck worn

against the hat thou wearest.

² That is, of men's ill-natured talk.

207

A Noto Lay.

To muddy bottom of steep Kumaki's 1 pool hath dropp'd the fellow will float thee up again his fine Korean axe—

why blubber, blubber! dost think thy tears thy fine Korean axe!

¹ In Noto—a peninsula on the NW. coast of the main island, south of the island of Sado.

208

In steep Kumaki's dram-shop yonder hear I a poor fellow soundly rated,

I'll try to win him peace there, yon poor fellow soundly rated.1

¹ Such appears to be the meaning of this effusion, probably given as an example of the Noto style.

¹ The m. k. is umasakewo, sweet rice-sake, applied to Oshitaru because of the homophon taru, to drop, as the sake does from one tub into another in the course of production.

209

On Tsukuwe's island
where Káshima's peak upriseth
shells of shitatami
I gather and bear away,
the shells break open
and scoop the pulp thereout,
in running water
the flesh I wash and scour,

with bitter salt I pound and pound it up—

in vessel place I
the savoury mess and offer,
on standing table
my lady mother offer,
and she the dainty
will to my father offer,
my lady mother offer.

¹ There is a word-play of no interest. Noto is the Jutland of Japan. Its name is (said to be) derived from the Ainu nottu, a peninsula. The province is the rainiest in Japan. (Chamberlain and Mason's Guide, 5th ed., p. 404.) The conclusion of the uta is conjecturally rendered. Shitatami are a species of clam.

210

The Hart's Lament.

Her well-belov'd one,
her dear lord and spouse,
long years together
in wedded weal had spent
when forthright fared he
to Kara land to hunt there
the royal tiger,
the king of beasts to hunt
there,
to take him living,
take many a tiger living,
and skins good store

for mats good store to win him, skins piled on skins1so piled the ridges of Héguri's lofty hill arewhere in the month 2. and in the month of growing 3, folk go to gather royal fresh for use simples—

and there beneath, twain ichihi4 trees I stood, upon the cadence of that far distant hill, where thickly rank'd the tall-trunked hi trees cluster, there bows full many bore on their backs the archers. there arrows many, grooved whistling arrows bore they, and while I watched there beneath those clustering trees the deer watchinglo! came a hart and stood there his eyes all tearful, and spoke to me and said he— 'now must I die, vet dead shall service render. the Sovran's canopy 5 my horns shall ornament, my ears due vessel provide for royal ink,

my very eyes shall serve as glitt'ring mirrors 6, my hoofs shall furnish bow-ends for right good bows, its hair my body to make the royal brushes7, my skin, too, purvey for royal case fine leather, his cooks shall mincemeat of all my flesh provide, and of my liver like mincemeat shall prepare, tripes too I furnish with salt well mixed for savour, and so my course run when all of me is spent in service loyal, eightfold cherry an blossom. sevenfold cherry a blossom. due meed of praise shall mine be. shall mine due meed of praise be.'8

¹ Up to this point we have an introduction—a sort of prolonged m. k.—to the piling of the folds or ridges of Héguri. Even dead, cries the hart, I continue my loyal service as every part of me is turned to royal use. In N. I. 291 is the story of

a man who passed a night on the moor of Toga between two deer, male and female. The male related a dream in which he saw his body whitened as by a mist. His mate explained to him that this meant that he would be shot, and his body smeared with white salt.

- ² The fourth month.
- 3 The fifth month.
- ⁴ I cannot discover what tree is meant—perhaps Chamae-cyparis.

⁵ The point above the spread was of horn, probably sculp-

tured.

- ⁶ The reference seems to be to the brightness and largeness of the eyes.
 - ⁷ Pen-brushes.
- ⁸ It is hard to die, but in rendering such service to the Sovran the hart will be worthy of the praise awarded to manywhorled cherry-blossoms, which, regarded as a rarity, were hailed as auspicious omens.

211

The Crab's Elegy.

By wave-worn Nan'ha
in Woye's creek my home
I had me builded,
and lived a life secluded
among the reeds—
when royal order called
me,
but why I know not,
'tis not that I am clever,
or sing divinely,
that I am call'd, belike,
or flute or harp
play pleasingly, belike,
whate'er the reason

due service I must render, and so to Ásuka ¹ this very day must go, Ókina ² passing

—though on my legs I cannot.

stand e'en a moment and so the moor of Tsuku ³ reach

—though builder none I—

and the middle eastern gate approach at last

the royal will there waitingso must huge horses foot-fetter bearand halter. and bulls be led by cords rove through their muzzles, and the elms innum'rous upon the far hills growing with hi trees studded their countless branches lose. and all their vigour be reft of, in the sun dried4___

so in you mortar from stamm'ring Kara ⁵ brought, there in the court-place
is store of salt well
pounded,
salt fine, first-dripped
from my own Woye pans
by wave-worn Nániha—

next are the potters
bidden
fresh jars to furnish,
and fresh-made jars are
furnished
upon the morrow,
and I am salted, pickled
up to my eyes,
and so my service rendering
my meed of praise I earn
me ⁶.

¹ There is a play on Asuka (asu = morrow), of which the value is given in the word 'very' of the next line.

² Okina is here a place-name: oki means to stand erect which the crab cannot do.

³ Tsukunu, in the text, is the moor (nu or no) of Tsuku, but tsuku = construct, build.

4 i. e. exposed to dry in the sun.

⁵ On the same principle that the Russians call the Germans niemetsu.

⁶ Even the crab (like stag, horse, bull, elm tree, &c.) renders his due service (as food) to the Mikado (see K. App. XLII, where the crab is mentioned as part of the feast), and finds his reward in the fulfilment of that duty. This lay and the preceding one skilfully combine devotion to the Mikado with a touch of Buddhist respect for life, and, perhaps, some sense of humour. I add here the translation of a tanka, unconnected with the pre-

sent lay, but exemplary in its way as dealing with one of the Three Startling Things:—

To meet a wandering green-greyish ghost of mortal in the darkness of a rainy night 'tis fearsome, past all forgetting fearsome.

The other two 'startling' things are the sudden rustling of quail, roused on a rainy night when cutting chigaya or tsubana (Imperata arundinacea) on the little moor of Sasara, and the meeting far inland a governor's yellow painted house-boat moving as though on a sea-way. (The latter, perhaps, implies a reference to some occasion of such a boat being conveyed over land.)

BOOK XVII, PART I

The 17th Book opens with ten lays by retainers of the Dazaisui (Commandant of the Tsukushi garrison) on his departure for City-Royal in 2 Tempyô (730) to receive his investiture as a Dainagon.

Then comes a short lay by Yakamochi, dated 10 Tempyô (738), motived by the contemplation of the Milky Way (River of Heaven) on Tanabata night (7th of 7th moon). 'This night will the Weaving Woman (or, it may be, the Herdman) cross the River of Heaven in a frail bark while the clouds drift across the mirror-bright expanse of the moonlit sky—[but the clouds hide the view, and also the Weaving Woman's beauty].'

Next are given six short lays, also by Yakamochi, on the beauty of Plum-blossoms, composed by order of the Sovran on the 9th of the 11th moon of 12 Tempyô (Dec. 3, 740).

These are followed by Lay 212, made in praise of the new City-Royal of Kuni on the Plain of Mika. The date is the second moon of 13 Tempyô (Feb.-March, 741). The author is the Chief of the Stables (Uma no Tsukasa no Kami), Sakahi-be no Sukune Oyamaro, of whom nothing is known, beyond his lengthy name.

212

In Yamashiro
now standeth City-Royal,
where in the springtime
the land is whelmed in
blossom,
and in the autumn
in glow of ruddy leaf'ry,
where round about
flow'th Idzumi's river girdling,

the upper waters
o'erpassed by bridges
hanging,
the lower waters
o'erpassed by bridges
floating,
O long attend there,
for a thousand thousand
years,
the servants of the Sovran.¹

¹ In many of the lays in this and the following books some abbreviation has been thought advisable, chiefly by omission or shortening of repetitions and common forms of expression.

A number of tanka follow, succeeded by others introduced by a Chinese preface, stating the occasion of their composition, which is worth translating.

'In the new year's month of 18 Tempyô (747) a heavy fall of snow occurred at the Palace, covering the ground to the depth of several inches. The Sadaijin Tachibana Kyô got together the Dainagon Fujihara no Toyonari and all the magnates and pages of the Court, and, leading them to the Royal apartments, caused the snow to be swept up. Afterwards a banquet was given in the Great Hall, to which the Daijin, the Sangi, and the magnates were invited, and also a banquet was given in the smaller South Hall, to which the Kyô and lords were invited, and each guest was commanded by the Mikado to compose a stanza in commemoration of the event. The first of these, by the Sadaijin Tachibana, was to the following effect:—

Dread Lord and Sovran until my head is white as new-fall'n snow to serve thee ever truly shall be my grace and joy.'

213

Elegy by Yakamochi on the Death of a Younger Brother.¹

My Lord and Sovran
laid his commands upon
me
on distant frontier
his royal peace to guard
him,
and with me went'st
thou
to climb the pass of Nara,
—green-oaked Nara—
reaching Idzumi's clear
waters
where our horses
we stayed awhile and
parted—

'Bide thee brother,'
I said, 'in health and happiness
till my home-coming,'
and from that day of parting
the ways I wended
till many a hill and river
us twain divided—

so passed the time too tardy, and I yearned for him,

runner from City-Royal, and happy tidings hoped I he brought to cheer me. alas, what word he bringeth. -or vain was it, or false the word he brought memy noble brother, my lord, my brother, how how hath it happed thus. thou leav'st me-was thy

when came a sceptred

about the homeplace
when hagi blooms are
blowing
in the garden breezes
of autumn, when the
reed-haulms
are heaviest laden,
O nevermore thou'lt wander
in morning hour,
in evening hour no more

time come-

no more thou'lt wander, alas, o'er Saho's tree-tops thy funeral fumes in wreathing coils are floating—
oh, sad the tale he bringeth!

¹ The date is Sept. 18, 746. In N. II. 423 we read of the cremation of the Queen-Regnant Jitô in 694, the earliest instance of that practice recorded in the Chronicles.

214

A Lay by Yakamochi on the occasion of a sudden illness threatening death.¹

In leal obeisance to my dread Lord and Sovran. across the mountains with hi trees thickly wooded to heaven-distant frontier-land I wendedand scarce recovered from the pains of toilsome travel, in mortal fashion ere many months were gone to sudden ill I yielded, and lay helpless on bed of sicknessand as the days in misery pass slowly by I think of her who nurs'd me.

my lady mother, how to and fro she tosseth like ship at sea, rack'd with sore anxiety lest nevermore she may behold her son, and lone and desolate my lady wife, too, see I in doorway watching from morning until even, her sleeves reversed 2, and ordering the alcove as night descendeth, and all the dark hours thorough for her husband yearning, her jetty tresses scattered around her flung dishevell'd-

part me from both boys and girls, I see City-Royalthem, I see them wandering consumed my heart is, and all the while still I perish fill'd with longweeping, ings, my days allotted while yet no word sorrow bring, unsceptred may runner holpen carry, along the far ways I weep, a warrior weep I.

¹ Written by Yakamochi on the 20th of the 2nd month of 19 Tempyô (April 5, 747) (in Etchiu), probably at the Government *tachi* or Residence. Keichiu points out that the opening of the lay resembles that of Okura's elegy on the death of his wife. See lay 61.

² Watching for his return, her sleeves still folded back as in sleep. Some commentators (but wrongly) pretend that there is an allusion to a common belief that on rolling back the sleeves desired visions may be obtained in dreams. She tends his mat, too, in accordance with ancient custom.

There are two envoys, one comparing life to the blossom that withers and is blown away, the other lamenting the absence of the wife who is far away at the mansion in City-Royal.

215

On the 29th of the 2nd moon of 20 Tempyô (April 2, 748), Ohotomo no Sukune Yakamochi, Governor of Etchiu, presents to the Secretary of Echizen, Ohotomo no Sukune Ikenushi two short lays of complaint. Yakamochi is confined to his house by sickness, and with the lays sends the subjoined letter written in pure Chinese. This is the beginning of a correspondence of which portions may be given, illustrative of the quaintnesses of old-time Chinese in the hands of old-time Japanese. They are, if not the oldest, among the oldest, examples extant of familiar Chinese correspondence in ancient Japan. It must be remembered that no syllabary had yet been invented, and written

documents were necessarily composed in Chinese: the style, as far as I can judge, is by no means of inferior quality. The text, however, is corrupt and obscure.

'Falling unexpectedly ill, and with the process of time my malady becoming more tedious, although by prayer to all the gods I obtain some relief, yet weak am I and emaciated, and all the strength is gone from my flaccid sinews, so that I am not yet in a condition to return thanks [for recovery] and depend more and more upon your affection. Now on these spring mornings are the gardens at this season full of the perfume and abundance of the new blossoms, and on these spring evenings the nightingale fills the groves with his music, and 'tis the season to rejoice with harp and wine. But I cannot bear even the motion of a litter, much less the labour of leaning upon a staff, and must remain lonely within my curtain-screen [sick-room]. All I can do is to venture to offer you some petty verses which I fear will unloose somewhat your jaws [make you smile, i.e. ridicule them]:-

All in blossom
are the cherry trees of
springtime,
oh, would the power
were mine a spray to gather
wherewith my head to
deck me!

The nightingale sings amid the spring-time blossoms and scattereth them—oh, when shall we together gather garlands on the hill-sides!

Ikenushi's answer, dated April 4, 748:-

'You have deigned to afford me the unexpected pleasure [unexpected=undeserved] of your fragrant writing. Your cultivation of letters is like that of a garden above the clouds. And you present me with two Japanese lays—verily a brocade upon the forest of literature. I chant them, I sing them, and so remove melancholy from my soul. The mornings of spring are full of the harmony of Nature—verily they are pleasant! On spring evenings the landscape giveth just the delight you so well portray. How dazzling, dazzling are the pink hues of the peach blossoms! How the butterflies frolic and dance among them! And the

green willows how they sway, sway! Lovely is the note of the nightingale hidden among the recesses of its foliage. Ah, delightful! Friendship, limpid as water itself, brings us near together. Knowing each other's thoughts, we need not measure our words. [We can speak without restraint.] How fine! Men of taste understand How gladsome! each other without words. We are parted, like two orchids at a distance from each other [what the two plants are is not to be made out]. Wine and song we do not require. But should we not enjoy the charms of Nature? things that have form [birds] and things that have colour [flowers] would put us to shame [for they enjoy their world]. Such a mood I do not admire, and not liking to be silent, I have, so to speak, put this rough Wistaria cloth on your brocade and present these verses to you as matters perhaps for talk and laughter. [The foregoing is completely Chinese in tone as in language.]

From 'mid these hillslopes
a cherry flow'r spray send I,
at least to gladden
thy eyes I send the blossoms,
that less the time be irksome.

Yon nightingale
he cometh singing, rending,
the Kerria blossoms—
alas, ere thou hast touched
them,
the Kerria blooms will
scatter!

Yakamochi's answer to Ikenushi (April 5, 748), with one

long lay and three short lays:-

'Your generosity deigns to favour my mean self; your unlimited grace extends itself to my poor wit; I sink under the burden of your offering [of two lays]; no words can convey my gratitude. I must confess that in my young days I did not tread the halls of learning; the scrawl [sea-weed] of my perverse [ill-written] letter shows a lack of all grace; I never, in my student days, passed the gate of the Mountain and Persimmon [mountain (yama) denotes Yamabe no Akahito, Persimmon (kaki) Kakinomoto no Hitómaro, accepted as facile principes among the poets of the Manyôshiu], so that, in resorting to poetic expression, I am lost in a tangled thicket of words. You

deign to say you have put your rough Wistaria stuff on my fine brocade, but what I am sending you is but a pebble to your pearl. But I have a bad, vulgar turn of mind; I cannot keep silent, but must send some columns of words [I cannot keep my hands off versifying]. I shall only make you laugh; but here are my lines:—

Yakamochi to Ikenushi.

In dread obeisance to our high Lord and Sovran, to distant Koshi o'er many a mountain-pass I fared, the frontier in watchand ward to keep, when suddenly —this world of men is ever a world of change tho warrior leal I be on couch of sickness I lie for days agone and still I lie there in pain and sadness, and know not any ease of mind or body—

o'er many a wooded hill with hi trees studded length'ning spearways where never is any runner of welcome words

have brought me hither, to carry interchange, DICKINS. II

and all my span of days is full of misery, nor help for me is any, remote, secluded, I can but muse and wail, nor any solace my heavy heart here findethnow fair spring-time

doth show its cherryblossom, and I would gather the sprays with happy comrade to deck our heads, and now the nightingale, too. fills all the moorside with crowded song which I

alas, may hear not!and girls in merry bevies wild herbs to gather roam o'er the heaths and

hillsides. their red skirts drenching

in the fragrant rains of spring, are sweet to me who read in them your love, is hid from me, the while the pleasant season the pleasant season and long for you all vanish—

your lines, my friend, are sweet to me who read in them your love, the livelong night I sleep and long for you all day! 1'

There are three tanka.

In the first Yakamochi expresses his longing to view the spring blossoms with Ikenushi.

In the second he desires to enjoy the beauty of the Yamabuki (Kerria japonica), and hear the song of the

nightingale.

In the third he regrets that he is still too weak to go out with his friend and enjoy the flush of flowers on the hillsides; but his friend is none the less the lord of his heart, despite his feebleness.

BOOK XVII, PART II

There follows a heptasyllabic Chinese ode on Country Rambles. The date is 3rd of 3rd month (April 6, 748). Ikenushi accompanies his poem with

the following Chinese preface:-

'Festal is the third day of the third month. 'Tis late spring, and fair to see is the landscape. One's face glows in the reflected colour of the peach-blossoms. Pink indeed is their hue; with the green of the willow contrasts the tint of the fresh moss. Hand in hand we gaze upon the distant view of river waters, and lagoons, and banks. In search of wine we come to a country inn, and, with music to help us attain a pleasant mood; the fragrance of friendship brings souls together. But, alas! to-day one thing lacks in the joyance [the presence of Yakamochi]. Your starry virtue is not with us! And in this void must I hammer out my rhymes alone, or refrain from conveying to you the pleasure

¹ The last portion of the text is a little obscure.

of my ramble. So I try my brush and send you the four-rhymed verses herewith.'

[The above letter, like the others written in Chinese, is wholly Chinese in thought, form, and diction, imitative of the Chinese style, and full of allusions to the classics.]

[Among the difficulties Ikenushi complains of are even the rhymes and tones, which are quite unknown both to Japanese and Japano-Chinese verse.]

Ikenushi's Chinese verses may be thus rendered:-

Delightful are these latter days of spring and worthy of all praise.

The clear air, the luminous sheen, invite a ramble; the willow-planted dikes look upon the waters and lend beauty and variety to the scene;

the valley of peach-trees, haunt of fairies, cometh down to the sea, whereto floateth the bark of the immortals;

the cloud-chased cup, aromatic with cassia, is filled with the three pure wines; 'tis winged, and as it flieth round urgeth men to pour out their soul in the nine sorts of verse;

drink freely, till our mere selves be forgotten; drink freely, till the spirit of the wine possesses us and no part escapes its power.

The above poem is dated the 4th day of the 3rd month (April 7,748). An answer from Yakamochi has been lost—as well, it would seem, as some further correspondence between the two friends on the 5th of April, 748. Ikenushi sends a Japanese Lay with two envoys to Yakamochi, accompanied with a preface in Chinese:—

'Yesterday I opened out to you my scanty thought, to-day I weary your eyes and ears. Again have you honoured me with an epistle [lost], and now, against all rules—I am worthy of death, fully worthy of death, I say it most respectfully—I submit to you [a Japanese Lay and two envoys thereto]. Not unnoticing the inferior and insignificant, you favour me with your excellent words, sending me verses bright as a halo, fine as the virtue of the stars.

Your genius is transcendent, your wisdom is like that of the ancients who took pleasure in running waters; your benevolence that of the sages who delighted in the hills [i. e. your love of Nature]. You are like a gem full of dazzle and colour; like Han, who was a lake of wisdom; like Riku, a sea of learning (see Giles's Chin. Biogr. Dict., Nos. 1402, 1613). Self-set within the Palace of Poesy and Literature, your mind travelleth swiftly towards matters that are not ordinary, yet setteth forth your feelings in common modes. While walking seven paces you compose a chapter, and within one sheet you can include a crowd of essays. Excellent are you in dispersing the gloom of a sad heart; the piled-up sorrows of lovers you would remove with ease! Your verses surpass even those of Yámabe (Akáhito) Kakinomoto (Hitómaro). In its very details your style is as delicate as the strokes of an engraving of a dragon [oryou use the brush and the ocean of ink with a delicacy such as would suffice to draw the fine lines of a picture of a dragon. The ocean of ink implies the amount of literary labour.] Faultless, indeed, are you in your compositions. Now I recognize my good fortune [in receiving your verses], and humbly venture to add some in reply, by me, Ikenushi.'

216

In dread obeisance,
to heaven-distant marchland
hast thou journey'd,
wild hill and waste affronting,
a liegeman true,
what cause of grief then
hast thou?
shall royal runners
from City-Royal cease?
confined thou liest,

'tis true, on bed of sickness,
alone, my brother,
and full of woesome
thoughts,
but such the way is
and, folk say, ever hath
been,
of this world of meanness—
but hark! what say our
neighbours

may cheer thee, friend,
how all about the hillsides
the sprays of cherry
are heavy with snowy
blossom
midwhich the warblers
make their unceasing
music,
while girls in bevies
roam o'er the hills and
moors
to pluck the violets,

their white sleeves daintily folded,
their smocks of scarlet above the wet grass lifted, and wait you brother in heartfelt sympathy—so I bid thee be cheerful, and this remember, thou surely yet shalt share in the revels of the springtime!

Lit. 'face bird,' i. e. beautiful bird (or kahoyo-dori), applied to hawfinch, kingfisher, pheasant, &c. The m. k. are mostly neglected in this version. There are two envoys, with the first of which a branch of Kerria appears to have been sent, Ikenushi declares that as he watches the blossoms of the Kerria unfold greater groweth his affection for his friend; in the second he regrets that he can do so little to aid or soothe him—he is, as it were, outside the pale of power to do so.

There follows 'A Chinese poem with two envoys,' by Yakamochi in answer to Ikenushi, with a Chinese letter dated the 5th of the 3rd month (April 8, 748). The letter is subjoined:—

'Last night' your messenger came, to my delight, bringing with him your ode on a ramble to see the cherry-blooms in late spring.

This morning 2, by another messenger, I receive your invitation to a country ramble. A glance at your graceful composition 3 has chased away my gloom. Twice I have recited your lines, and my melancholy is gone. Without this help from you my heart could not have been soothed, I trow. Of himself your humble servant can do nothing

in the way of verse making; his dull soul hath, alas! no sparkle in it. If I hold the paper until the brush rots, or sit opposite the ink-stone until I forget thirst 4, I can compose nothing of any value. It is said that style is natural and cannot be acquired; so how can I hope to find proper words and hammer out fitting rhymes? However, even village children know the saying of the ancients 5: "It cannot be that a man has any power and does not use it, that he has any speech, and does not answer". Hence I put together my poor lines and respectfully submit them to your ridicule. But for me to attempt to write anything comparable in diction or rhyme with your graceful productions is as if I were to seek to impose a common pebble upon you as a rare gem. No minstrel in truth am I; rather my puny efforts resemble the scribblings of little children. My humble attempt is presented in a postscript to these:—

Lovely is the land and delightful in the waning spring; at this festal time the wind, as it listeth, sweepeth lightly by; the swallows come with clay in bill, glad to build their homes under the eaves;

the wild geese fly away, with reeds 6 in bill, afar off to mid-ocean:

you tell me you chant new songs with old friends; after due purification you drink, passing the cup floating in the clear stream:

oh! gladly would I join in this feast and flow, but alas! I know so deep hath disease gnawed me, I may not shuffle to your revel.' [The text is certainly corrupt, and the translation therefore in some measure conjectural.]

- ¹ The 4th of the 3rd month (April 7).
- ² The 5th of the 3rd month (April 8). One interchange of correspondence is missing.
- ³ Lit. 'easy, graceful as [the movements of] floating sea-weed (or river-weed).'
 - ⁴ That is, he is so slow in composition.
- ⁵ From the Book of Odes, of which Mo (Mao) is the reputed editor (second century B.C.).

two envoys. In the first Yakamochi thanks Ikenushi for sending him a spray of Kerria, which adds to his pleasure in hearing of the blossoming bush. This is an old lay found in the Tenth Book and adopted by Yakamochi, akihagi (bushclover of autumn) being replaced by yamabuki (Kerria of spring). Yakamochi—and most of the poets of the time probably—often enough saved themselves trouble after this fashion. In the second envoy Yakamochi hopes Ikenushi will not love him less without, than he, Yakamochi, loves his friend within the fence—to see even in a dream only would be a joy.

217

Vakamochi to his Wife.1

Together dwelt we, my lady wife and I, and ever more loving we grew in years together: and as we gazed on earliest flowers spring-time in soul and body she seemed to grow more lovely with their new beauty, my winsome one far from mewhen in obeisance to my dread Lord and Sovran the passes shaggy with thickly clustered hi trees. the wild waste moorlands

to frontier heaven-distant, on royal service I crossed and parted from thee__ and since that parting have come and gone months many, and spring's fair blossoms have shown and passed and perished, and thou, sweet wife, not once my eyes hast gladdened, and sore my sorrow beyond what words can tell is. my sleeves of finestuff2 each night have I rolled back,

not one forgetting, to see thee in my dreamings; but I would see thee, in very self would see thee, the while my misery a thousandfold increaseth, I would so distant thou wert not from me, dear. and I would seek thee and make thine arm my pillow, and so embracing livelong night be with thee, but far the spear-ways, too far the spear-ways are alas, dividing, as though by barrier-gate, thyself from me, dear, yet howsoever be it a happier time shall a happier time be ours, when cuckoo cometh

in his own blithe month singing,

—O would 'twere here—when all the hills are blooming

with whitening harebush 3,

around me gazing gladly,
o'er Ômi's waters,
the track to City-Royal,
—well-founded Nara—
to our own homeplace,
dear,

like nuye bird,
to ease its grief impatient,
I shall be hastening
as filled with love and

longing, to see thee standing in our own doorway

our own d listening

to the evening oracle 4, the road still watching for me

who spurn the ways to meet thee!

¹ Dated 20th of the 3rd month, 20 Tempyô (April 21, 748). The translation is slightly abbreviated.

² If you turn back your sleeve at night, you may see the one you love best in a dream—is a Japanese belief.

³ Deutzia scabra—a common hedge bush in Japan.

⁴ Listening to scraps of passing talk as presaging future events. There are four envoys echoing various sentiments in the lay.

218

A Lay by Yakamochi in Praise of Mount Futakami in Etchiu.¹

High-peaked Futakami2 Imidzu's river girdleth, when spring-time blossoms in all their wealth are blooming, when autumn leafery on all the hillsides gloweth. at either season delightful 'tis to view, for gods fit dwelling, most excellent the mountain and fair to gaze on twin-peaked is Futakami!-

where the wooded cadence upon the champaign falleth. Shibutani riseth. the lofty headland where in the calm of morning the white waves beat the shore-sand. in the calm of evening flowing tide surgethan endless joy from ancient days these haththis fair scene been. and often as men view it more lovely still they hold it!

- ¹ On the last day of the 3rd month (May 1, 748), Yaka-mochi composed this lay to relieve his mind oppressed by his long illness. It is preceded by two short lays in which the poet complains that he has not yet heard the voice of the cuckoo, owing perhaps to the rarity of orange-bushes in Etchiu.
- ² There is here an untranslatable m. k. in the text—tama-kushige, 'fine comb-casket,' applied to Futa (futa = lid) of Futa Kami, Twain Gods or Twain Heights. Shibutani is one of the hills of the group ending in a sea-cliff. There are two envoys, one praising the surf-beaten strand of Shibutani, the other expressing the poet's delight that the time for hearing the voice of the cuckoo has come.

On the 16th of the hare-bush month (May 18, 748) Yakamochi, in a short lay, expresses his delight at hearing

the cuckoo (hototogisu) crying during the night.

At a banquet offered to Yakamochi at the Residence of the Chief Secretary, Hada no Imiki Yachishima, on the occasion of an official journey to the City-Royal from his government, two short lays are chanted.

In the first the guest is assured by the host that he will be remembered as long and as often as the waves roll in from the ocean upon the shores of the Bay of Nago.

In the second Yakamochi declares that he wishes his friend were a jewel he could wear on his arm, and thus never be parted from him.

Then follows a long lay.

219

A Lay made by Yakamochi on the occasion of a Water-party on the Fuse Lagoon in Etchiu.¹

Comrades, brothers, to-day we'll take our pleasure, and ride together to see the white waves surging upon the pebbles 'neath Shibutani's headland. and further faring beyond far Matsudaye, Unahi's river reach, where we'll watch together the cormorants tossing upon the heaving waters,

a scene too pleasant to weary our eyes everforthwith on Fuse our boat we'll launch and oar us midmost the waters, and as we row, enjoying the varied beauty of shore and lake and hill. the whirr of wild-duck we'll hearken in the air, upon the tree-tops we'll mark the vernal blossoms and vow more fair a scene man nowhere seeth than nigh Futakami—
whose clinging ivy
no crueller wer't to strip
from
its mother-rock
than us to part from scenes
so fair as these:

here, friends, we'll come
together
while the years us hold
here,
and take our pleasure here
amid these hills and
waters!

¹ May 26, 748. Yakamochi appears to have recovered. The lay seems to be addressed to Ikenushi. It is full of m. k. conceits and m. k. prefatial introductions to names, words, or syllables, of which only a partial imitation is possible.

220

A Lay by Ikenushi in answer to the last.1

The clust'ring flowers
of fuji now be scattered,
but harebush-blossoms
in all the hedges show,
along the moorsides,
along the mountain slopes
with hi trees shaggy
the cuckoo's note resoundeth—

my heart it yieldeth
to these gay influences;
so, friend, I pray thee,
—I love thee well thou
knowest—
with me together
ride forth to see the land
and watch the shorebirds,

where Imidzu's flow waters with the sea-flood mingling, upon the salty marshes their food a-picking while shines the morning sun. and watch the turning of the flowing tide that riseth, to the sea-fowl listening who call their mates the while. from scene so pleasant to Shibutani fare we, where roll the white waves

upon the pebbles flinging sea-tresses precious whereof good store we'll gather for weaving chaplets upon fair Fuse's waters: ourskiff next launch we, the stout oars let us man. with bright sleeves flutt'ring row forth amid the waters towards Wofu's headland with fallen blossoms shining, where the reed-ducks gather upon the shore-sands under, on!

across the ripples we'll row, and still unsated. or standing, sitting, the beauty of the scene own, or be it autumn when all the hills are glowing, or spring-time be it when all the hills are shiningas thou may'st will it, my friend, our pleasure take we. and feast our eyes on the scene so fair before us might we for ever gaze

A short lay by Yakamochi follows, presented at an entertainment given by Ikenushi at his residence on the day mentioned in the argument of the last lay (May 28, 748), expressing regret at his approaching departure, which would entail an absence of many days.

Four furu uta (old lays—i. e. made previously to and not expressly for the occasion, and more or less appropriate

-slightly adapted, probably) succeed.

In the second, Suke Uchino Kura no Imiki Nahamaro expresses his regret that his friend will be in City-Royal during the pleasant 5th month, when the cuckoo's voice is heard in the land, which they will not enjoy the music of together.

The third is Yakamochi's answer bidding his friends comfort themselves with threading chaplets of orange-

¹ The date is given as 26th of the 4th month (May 28, 748).

fruits (small oranges are meant), which belong also to the 5th month.

In the fourth, Ishikaha no Asomi Mitohoshi complains that [in the northern clime of Etchiu] one may have to wait a month or more for the orange-fruit to be fit for threading into chaplets, therefore he will take the flowers also and inweave them with such of the golden fruits as he may find full enough among them.

To these Yakamochi answers that his departure is close at hand, and during the interval it were well they saw as much of each other as possible, that their friendship may be the more lasting afterwards (May 28, 748).

221

In Praise of Mount Tachi in Arakaha.1

In Koshi country, the heaven-distant landits very name doth tell of its remotenessthe hills are many, and countless are the rivers, but 'tis on Tachi, on Tachi's hill engirdled by Nihi's waters, the god his seat hath chosen, where summer-through lieth fair snow upon the peak-

where Katakahi ² with clear flow encircleth the lofty steeps,

where every morn and even the coiling mists rise, so in men thoughts of wonder rise at the scene, and as the years their course run, and folk fare thither and o'er the scene their eyes send, for a myriad years of Tachi shall they speak still to men who never have yet beheld its beauty, and so its story its name and fame shall men hear with joy and admiration.

¹ Tateyama (Tachi) in Etchiu, some 9,500 feet high. The date of the lay (by Yakamochi) is May 29, 748. The two envoys are partial echoes. A most interesting account by Mr. R. Atkinson of Tateyama and its adjoining peaks (Yatsugatake, 'Eight- or Many-peaked Range'), will be found in the T. A. S. J., vol. viii, 1879.

² The Katakahi river.

222

Answer-Lay by Ikenushi in Praise of Mount Tachi.1

Eastward towereth it towards where the bright sun riseth, 2 Tachi, high hill, in majesty divine, the white cloud-masses it pierceth into heaven, nor difference knoweth of winter or of summer, for bright snow ever its lofty peak enshroudeth, and so the mountain hath from the world's beginning to men revealed its craggy loneliness, its dread and awfulness. increasing ever the wonder of its beauty, its peak sublime,

its valleys deep and sombre, its roar and murmur of clear coursing waters, where with the sun's rise creep wreathing coils of mist. and with the sunset long lines of cloud float hoveringmy heart like drifting cloud, too, sways hither thither, my wonder faileth not as coiling mists fail, the murmur of the waters is ever clear for years a myriad may heard that limpid music.

¹ The date of the lay is May 30, 748.

² This seems to be the real value of the passage asahisashi so-gahi ni miyuru, though the m. k. asahisashi is so used as to indicate the back (so) being turned eastwards.

³ From this point the similies are difficult to manage, but the version is believed to be fairly correct.

⁴ The poet's heart yields to the beauty of the scene, which cannot be forgotten: the murmur (oto) of the river shall carry the clear fame of Tachi to remote generations of men.

223

Yakamochi to Ikenushi.1

The solemn larch trees 2 that cluster on Futakami 3 whose leafery ever, whose tall trunks ay endureso maythy years, friend, green endure and vigorous, with whom each morning have I exchanged fair greeting, and every evening have wandered hand in hand locked by Imidzu's waters, and when the winds were blowing from Eastland boisterwatched with thee in the haven the white waves leaping,

and heard the shore-fowl calling across the sea-sands, and reed-reapers their skiffs 4 oar o'er the waters, and in the scene delightful have shared thy pleasurebut now amid our joyance in leal obeisance to our dread Lord and Sovran for City-Royal I set me forth on service and part from thee, friend, for I must wend me, faring along the spear-ways, and climb the passes where the clouds hang hovering,

and tread the craggy the month when cuckoosteeps bird
and fare far from thee—singeth blithely,
the while what weary for then might fragrant
days posy 5
I must endure, be made for me
and as these things I by day by night to feast
ponder on,
I would it were who fare, alas! without
thee.

- ¹ The lay is one of regret by Yakamochi at his approaching departure from Etchiu in obedience to a summons from City-Royal. The date is given as the 30th of the 4th month of 20 Tempyô (May 31, 748).
 - ² Abies tsuga.
- ³ Here occurs a punning m. k. turning upon the real meaning of Futa—futa = two.
- ⁴ This appears to be the meaning, or at least a possible meaning of the text.
- of small aromatic bags bound up ball-wise with artificial flowers and decked with pendants or tassels of coloured silks. It was hung on pillows, or over screens, or in the neighbourhood of the women's apartments in the Palace, to ward off all sorts of evil influences. Kusudama is a contraction of Kusuri dama—i. e. medicinal ball. Perhaps it was a sort of aromatic prophylactic or antiseptic device. An illustration is given in the Kotoba no Inzumi, sub voce.

The Kusudama was used on the 5th day of the 5th month (one of the Five Sekku or great Festivals—7th of the 1st month injitsu; 3rd of 3rd month, jôki; 5th of 5th month, tango; 7th of 7th month, tanabata; and 9th of 9th month, chôyô, Brinkley), and part of Yakamochi's complaint is that he has to leave before the month when the cuckoo sings—the 5th month—on the 5th day of which the Kusudama would be available to protect him on his journey.

Answer-Lay by Ikenushi.¹

Remote as heaven from well-laid City-Royal the land it lieth, vet while we communed brother all thought of sorrow each chased far from the other now thou, obeisant to our dread Lord and Sovran, on thy high office must fare to City-Royal, the gaiters donning of young reeds made, wherewith do wayfarers fend them against rough paths and weather, at day-break hour when flights on flights of birds do allwhere hurtle departest thou and leavest behind in sorrow, who pine for thee, my brother, far from me faring, for full of woe am I,

and full of sorrow, such grief I cannot bear, and as my eyes do wander o'er all the land I hear the note resounding of cuckoo plaining mid the harebush 2 flower'd hills, and like the mists in gloomy coils arising my mind unsure is as forth I sally in silent awe and prayerful upon Tonami³ right offerings to make and pray for thee, friend, my comely lord, that thee attend good fortune in all thy wayfarings, and when the months shall come and the wild pink's flow'r shall bloom in fullest beauty, its season knowing, I may on thy face gaze, brother, and, brother, thou mine gaze.4

¹ Addressed to Yakamochi by Ikenushi in answer to lay 223 with two tanka on the 2nd of the 5th month (June 2, 748). DICKINS, II

- ² Deutzia scabra.
- ³ Tonami is in Etchiu.
- ⁴ At the time of the flowering of the wild pink he hopes to welcome his friend back to Koshi. Of the two envoys one is worth translating:—

My lord, my brother,
whom I with all my heart love
each morn yon pink
I watch, in hope awaiting
the flower that it prom'seth.

225

A Lay of Rejoicing by Yakamochi, on being assured in a Dream of the finding of a favourite Hawk which had strayed.¹

Remote as heaven the land of snowy Koshi, the furthest frontier (as well its name doth tell us 2) of our Sovran's realm. where the mountains tower. where the streams are bright and sparkling, and vast the moors are. and thick the jungle groweth, and trouts the beck fill, when summer's glory's highest, where the cormorant keepers

(those island birds) the waters of the running river do oar their skiffs against, their brazier-flaming decoy flares lifting high, when rimy, dewy autumn-time had come, and moors and valleys with flights of wild-fowl echoed, my men I gathered, and many a hawk they brought there, but my swart falcon, with outspread gable tail 3 and pretty silvered bells upon his legs, or morning birds

hundreds started, by missed he? or evening birds hundreds started, missed he? his bird missed nevereasy to fly, and sure to wrist to come, beside him bird 'twere hard to find were worthy of any place, for peerless my bird I boasted, and in my pride I laugh'd, proud of my falcon-

what time that dolt and dotard—
nought said he to me—
on a rainy day and cloudy
my birdie taketh
to fly upon his quarry,
nor aught he said
but that a hawking went
he—4

so Mishima's moor
Futakami's hill affronting
he let him fly from,
and soaring mid the
clouds
was lost my birdie,
to win him back I knew
not,
nor how discover

where e'er his flight had
ta'en him,
each day more burning
the grief grew in my
heart,
and deeper sighed I,
and pondered long if
might I
by nets of fowler
on this side spread and
that
of the mountain slopes,
and watchers posted nigh,
yet win my birdie—

so placed I nets and men, and shining mirror and bands of cloth took with me, and hung before the altar of the god, his help invoking—

and there I prayed, when
lo!
to me a virgin
came in a vision, saying—
'the bird thou lovest,
thy noble falcon o'er
Matsudaye's strand
hath hied him in his
flight,
past Himi's bay,
where herring-fish abound,
round Tako's island

to wheel him, hunting
ever,
and nigh Furuye,
where thick the reedducks gather,
fore-yester-day
and yesterday he was,
two days but wait thou

and he may come to thee, at most days seven, so grieve not, gentle Sir'—
thus spake she softly, that virgin in my dream, [and dream and sorrow vanished].

¹ In a Chinese note appended to this curious lay, probably by Yakamochi himself, we read:—

'In the canton of Furuye in the county of Imidzu [in Yaka-mochi's government of Koshi], a three years old hawk was caught, extremely fine in form and feather, and a capital striker of pheasants.

On a certain occasion, a man acting as falconer, named Yamada no Fumihito Kimimaro, made trial of the bird and lost him. It was contrary to his orders to fly the hawk on the moorland. The bird soared up into the sky and was lost in the clouds. The man tried to get him back with a tainted rat as lure, but to no avail. A new device was then tried, fowlers' nets being spread in different places and closely watched, but again without result. Meanwhile prayers were offered up [by Yakamochi himself?] in the shrine of the deity of that place in the hope of being heard. There appeared in a vision to the suppliant a beautiful damsel, who said, "Sir, do not let your distress overcome you, you shall ere long regain your truant bird." Whereupon he awoke and was glad, and to dispel his annoyance and express his gratitude, composed the above lay on the 26th day of the 9th month.'

There are four envoys, but they are not more than echoes of the principal lay.

² Koshi, the name of Yakamochi's province (or rather of a more extensive tract of country), is said to have reference to the crossing (koshi) of the hilly country between it and Nara (City-Royal).

³ Or 'roof-shaped'. There were thirteen kinds of tail among hawks. 'Roof-shaped' probably means wedge or fan-shaped.

⁴ This seems to be the sense of the text—the old hawker merely said he was going to hawk, but not that he was taking his master's favourite bird.

BOOK XVIII, PART I

226

In praise of the Cuckoo.1

Midmost the land the sun-descended Sovran divine in majesty high throned in power ruleth, countless the hills are the spacious realm engirdle, and the myriad birds, there come singing in the spring-time, 'mongst them and glorious the cuckoo bird he singeth. when the harebush blossoms do all the wide land whiten. singing loudly until the sweet-flag flowers

are bound in posies,²
from dawn until the even
and all the night thro'
his note is heard and
moveth
the hearts of all men,
the hearts of all men
moveth
and never a time is
the wondrous bird men
hail not
his long-drawn note
a-listening.

Yet rogue he is, too,
yon cuckoo bird, a rogue,
for everywhere
the orange blooms he
rendeth,
with all his might while
singing.

¹ Composed by Yakamochi while lying alone 'within the screen'. The date is May 31, 749.

² On the 5th of the 5th month, one of the Go Sekku (Five Chief Feasts). Conf. lay 223, notes.

By Yakamochi, congratulating the Sovran on his Rescript celebrating a fortunate find of gold in Michinoku.¹

Age after age hath vanished since from heaven on the Reedy Moorland, on the Land of Rich grain ears in godlike majesty to rule the land descended the primal Sovran,2 whom generations followed of sun-descended Sovrans in long lineage to bear sway o'er all the land's four faces, where broad the rivers. and fertile are the uplands, where bounteous tribute and treasure inexhaustible are ever offered, yet maugre all this wealth our mighty Sovran, his people's aid inviting, himself well-purposed to achieve a task auspicious,3 in his great heart good store of gold desired, and sorely sorrowed

for that such store still
fail'd him—

what time in cock-crow
Eastland,
in Michinoku,
on Woda's hill, came
tidings
how gold there lay,

heart
was cleared of grief,
and divinely he bethought
him,—
'the gods of Heaven,

and thus the Sovran's

and the gods of Earth
have holpen,
and all the spirits
of My great ancestors,
that such a fortune,
unknown to former ages,
My age befalleth,

token that all the land
shall henceforth flourish'—

then all his loyal lieges, in suite of service from ancient men to maidens,

to heart's desire in gracious-wise endow'd wherefore did men their Sovran bless and honour 4and I, Ohotomo, great gladness in my heart knew 4our far-off ancestor, primal, divine, Takamimúsubi's prog'ny, the Grand Commander⁵ (such name and title bore he) his Sovran served, we too, SO serve Sovran, serve him at sea, our sodden corpses leaving to the salt sea leaving, our Sovran serve by land, our corpses leaving amid the wild-waste bushes, rejoiced to die in our dread Sovran's cause, ne'er looking back from the border of the battle.

for such our boast is! that name heroic, famous, we still do bear from ancient days to these days, adown the ages, Ohotomo and Saheki 6, son from father th' ancestral fame receiving, unflecked transmitting, in duty to our Sovran achieved and loyal, in hand strong bow of whitewood, sword borne on thigh, stand we on guard at dawn. on guard at even the Royal Palace guarding of our dread Sovran than we could men be truer?7 our duty ever in loyalty achieving, rejoice we ever,

our Sovran's hest obey-

to be his faithful servants.

ing,

¹ Date June 13, 749. In the 2nd month of the 1st year of Tempyô Shôhô (749) gold was first brought to the capital from Michinoku (the north-eastern half of the main island oppo-

site Koshi on the west), whereupon due offerings and thanks were presented at all the shrines in the five home provinces and the seven circuits by special command of the Mikado (Shomu, 724-48 or '49). The amount of gold was nine hundred ryô. In the 4th month the Mikado went in state to the temple of Todai, and stood before the Hall of the Rusana Buddha (Dainichi Nyorai Tathagata), and ordered the Sadaijin Tachibana no Sukune Moroye (a supposed compiler of the Manyôshiu) to speak before the Buddha, and these were his words:—

'My Sovran Lord biddeth me speak these words before the Rusana Buddha. In this great Realm of Yamato from the beginnings of Heaven and Earth (i. e. from their separation) hath gold been received from men and lands, but a lack of gold being anticipated, it hath been heard from the Warden of Michinoku in the Eastland, Kudara no Ohokimi, that gold existeth in that land in the county of Woda, which welcome tidings was received with great joy and gratitude for the bounty of the Buddha, wherefore in the name of all the servants of His Majesty, from the highest to the lowest, I have received His Majesty's commands humbly to make reverent acknowledgement before the Rusana Buddha.'

A rescript of similar tenor was addressed to the nobles and vassals of the kingdom, and the lay of Yakamochi was largely founded upon the language of this rescript, ending with a glorification of his own clan (Ohotomo), and lastly of himself. An extract from it is subjoined:—

'For the purpose of making an image of the Rusana Buddha the gods of heaven and the gods of earth have been reverently adored (different ideographs represent the two orders of gods) and the souls of the Sovrans in their succession have been invoked, and it is the Royal Will that the efforts of all the people be enlisted, that so calamities may be averted and damages be warded off, and the happiness of the people risk no peril, but gold is lacking and the Royal Heart is grieved,' &c.

- ² Ninigi no mikoto.
- 3 What the 'task auspicious' was, is stated in note 1.
- 4 Yakamochi here alludes to the favour bestowed upon himself by the Mikado, who had raised him from the lower division of the lower-fifth rank to the lower division of the upper-fifth rank.

⁵ Ôtomo (Ohotomo) or Grand Guard. The divine ancestor of the clan was Ama no Oshi-hi no Mikoto (N. I. 86), one of the eight deities proceeding from two of the original three gods of Japanese mythology (F. — Synopsis der Göttergenealogie in *Nihongi*).

⁶ Of the Saheki-be (or guild) the ancestors were *yemishi* or aborigines—possibly the word is Ainu (N. I. 212). The Saheki were made Chiefs of the Right Guard when the Ôtomo were placed in command of the Left Guard in the time of the Mikado Yuryaku (457–79).

⁷ A plagiarism from lay 67.

There are three envoys, echoes of the principal lay. From a note appended (by Yakamochi?) to the last of these, we learn the date of the lays to be the 12th of the 5th month of 1 Tempyô Kempô Shôhô—June 2, 749. The lay, the text of which is not free from obscurities and difficulties, is in effect an impassioned presentment of the antiquity and divinity of the Ohotomo house, connected with the discovery of gold by the bounty of the Sovran bestowed upon that occasion, in which Yakamochi, a member, real or pretended, of the Ohotomo house, participated. In the eighth century the predominance of the Fujihara clan was assured, but no clan could show so high an origin as that claimed by the Ohotomo and Saheki families. The first half of the lay is an exordium to the name Ohotomo, the rest is a panegyric of the clan.

BOOK XVIII, PART II

228

A Lay [by Yakamochi?] in anticipation of a Royal Progress to the Summer Palace at Yoshinu.¹

Thy sun-descended ancestor², most dread, enthroned, o'er all Yamato with power divine who ruled first deigned to choose in Yoshinu his palace, and oft hast thou³, Sire, Yoshinu's palace honoured, and may thy lieges, in his degree and name while flow the streams each serve thee there

and rivers while tower the hills and mountains.

¹ The date is May 4, 749.

² The Mikado Ôjin (270-310). In the fifteenth year of his reign (288), in winter, he visited the Palace at Yóshinu, where the Kunisuhito (or Kudzu)—local chieftains—offered him sake These folk lived on berries and boiled frogs. From this time they often came to court, bringing presents of chestnuts, mushrooms, and trout. (N. I. 264.)

3 The Mikado Shômu.

There are two envoys—mere echoes. (The constant change of residence by the early mikados was due to tabu of their predecessor's palace through death. Hence this lay indirectly wishes long life to the reigning sovran.)

229

By Yakamochi in praise of awabi pearls which he would send to his wife at City-Royal.

mid ocean's awful waste row forth and dive for fine white pearls of a.wa.bi2___ O would that hundreds were mine of shining pearls, pearls, pearls five hundred! to send to City-Royal for thee, left desolate my lady-wife, beloved-

Susu's 1 fishers

alas! still parted our sleeves are, dear, and still our couch is lonely, for elsewhere now thou sleepest,3 and still neglectest to bind thy morning tresses, the days ay counting that pass since we were parted pearls would I send thee

in trust thou might'st some solace find in entwining the gift with orange blossoms,

and sweet-flag flowers
this pleasant fifth-moon
month
while cuckoo still is singing.

¹ Susu is in Noto. The date of the lay is June 5, 749.

² Venus's ear (Haliotis), in which pearl-like concretions are not uncommon; or from which pearly jewels were made.

³ When the husband was away the conjugal alcove was deserted, and the desolate wife forbore to dress her hair.

In (N. I. 323) the following story is told:—

'In the autumn of 425 the Mikado Ingyô hunted in the island of Awaji. Deer, monkeys, and wild boar filled the mountains and valleys like dust-clouds, springing up like flames of fire, and dispersing like flies. Yet not a single beast was caught. Izanagi (the island-god), on being appealed to, said, "I intended no beast should be caught. Find a pearl which exists at the bottom of the sea of Akashi and offer it to me, then ye shall catch all the beasts."... But for a long time no one could reach the bottom of that sea. At last a fisherman named Osashi got to the bottom and reported that he had found there a huge sea-ear (awabi) in a shining place. He was sent down again and came up with the sea-ear in his arms, but died as soon as he emerged above the waves. Then the sea-ear was split open and a great pearl was found in its belly, in size like a peach.'

There are four envoys, each a partial echo.

230

A Remonstrance addressed to the Secretary Wohari no Woguhi.¹

Since Ohonamúji ² and Súkunabikóna the world did fashion have men of every age as law accepted of this fleeting world of
ours
the tie so tender
that bindeth child and
parent,

the bond uniteth to husband, wife and children—

in this fair season when chisa 3 herb full flowereth thy wife so comely between her smiles and tears will morn and even her sad complaint deliver-'are all my days to be thus void of joyance?' the gods she asketh, the gods of earth and heaven. for time as happy as days of blossomy spring she hoped, but farther such happy time recedeth, so saith thy wife,

for word from thee still waiting, deserted, desolate, the while that Sáburu, that girl who hither, thither. like foam that drifteth upon Imidzu swollen by snow late melted under the warm south wind. loosely drifteth, that girl, that Sáburu, bindeth. as with a bond to her she bindeth thee, like niho wild-fowl, with her paired, forth thou wanderest towards depths as deep as Nago's flood allured beyond all help thou seemest.

¹ Wohari no Woguhi. Nothing more is known than that he was 'fumihito' (registrar or secretary) to the government of Etchiu. The lay is preceded by a few short sentences in Chinese, declaratory of marital rights and duties, followed by the comments of the author of the Kogi. The substance of the whole is subjoined:—

There are seven valid reasons for a letter of divorce—barrenness (the wife having attained the age of fifty without children), adultery, disobedience to husband's parents, loquacity, theft, jealousy, incurable disease. As a preliminary, the wife's relatives must be notified, otherwise the husband is liable to banishment for a year and a half.

There are three pleas in bar. 1. Good behaviour of the wife during the last illness of her husband's parents. 2. Rise in rank of the wife after marriage. 3. Absence of any home to which the wife can be sent. See an excellent paper by Mr. Küchler on Marriage in Japan (T. A. S. J. 13). How far in early Japan this Chinese marriage code was adopted or enforced it is not easy to say.

In 7 Wado (715) a rescript ordered instances of filial piety and conjugal good behaviour to be posted on gates of towns and villages.

The beginnings of law and the foundations of duty lie in the observance of the precepts of the ancients. The righteousness of the husband is nothing less than the continuance of natural feeling—a treasure for the whole household—how, then, should it be possible to abandon old customs and adopt new ones (abandon what is familiar and adopt what is strange). In illustration of what is said above, the following pieces have been composed, so that men may repent being led away to neglect the morality of the sages of old.

The lay is by Yakamochi, and is dated 15th of 5th month (June 5, 749).

² Ohonamúji is one of the progeny of Susanowo. Sukunabikona is one of the eight gods proceeding from Takamimusubi and Kamumusubi, two of the three primal gods of Japanese mythology.

'Ohonamúji and Súkunabikóna, with united strength and one heart, constructed the sub-celestial world . . . the people enjoy [the means the gods invented for their comfort and protection] universally until the present day.' N. I. 54 sqq. See also K. 67, n. 18, and Aston, Shintô.

The text here is obscure, also at the close of the lay, of which the rendering is conjectural. There are four envoys, of which the last is satirical. It describes the arrival of the deserted wife at her husband's residence, where the girl Sáburu (an *ukareme*, floating girl or courtesan) is entertained on a 'swift' horse (that is, on a government horse), yet without bells (which government horses carried to give notice to the post-relays, so that fresh horses might be in readiness), thus causing a great excitement in the village where Woguhi's infatuation was, of course, well known.

By Yakamochi in praise of the Orange tree.1

With reverence I dare my verse indite in a day long past when ruled you ancient Sovran, did Tázhima Mori² pass o'er to the Land Eternal and the eight [flagg'd] spears 3 thence brought he to our land men say, and likewise of the tree that never fadeth the fruit fine fragrant to wide Yamato brought heand in his wisdom ancient Sovran that planted throughout the land 4 the tree that never fadeth, which with the springtime abundant shoots displayeth, and with the lush month,5 when flieth cuckoo singing,

first blossoms showeth, fair gifts wherewith may maidens their bright sleeves deck. or the fragrant flowers resting may on the bush wilt until the fruits shall ripen all fit for threading 6 for armlets fair in damsels, one tireth never to see upon their arms when autumn cometh and chill rains fall in showers, and when the hillslopes with ruddy treetops glow and all their leaves lose, the orange bush displayeth its fruit full ripen'd in all its golden glory, when fair snow falleth and all the land is wintry, though hoar-frostshoweth the leaves nor wilt nor wither,

their green tint ever most excellent
keep, and flourish ever, the orange-bush, ay
so hath it been famous
from the days of the gods for ruddy fruit, flower
till these 7— fragrant!

- ¹ Dated June 14, 749. The orange-bush is praised for its beauty in spring and summer and autumn and winter. The flowers are fragrant gifts for maids when plucked, when left on the tree they wilt, but then the fruit comes ready for armlets; a small-fruited variety of the Citrus no doubt is meant.
- ² In (N. I. 259) we read that in the year 61, in the reign of the Mikado Suinin (B. C. 29-A. D. 70), Tazhima Mori was sent to the Eternal Land (China) to get the fragrant fruit that grows [ripens?] out of season, the tachibana. Tazhima is said to have been a descendant of a king of Silla (in Korea). An older name than tachibana for the orange is given by Mr. Chamberlain (K. 198)—sagari-ki, which might mean 'hanging-tree', referring perhaps to the manner in which the fruit hangs upon the branches. More probably tachi is tsuchi (common in godnames), a laudatory prefix. One of the shisei (Four Families) derived its name from the orange-bush. By the 'Land Eternal' Korea may be meant, or more probably China. In the former case the orange would have been introduced from China through Korea.
- s The real meaning of the expression is unknown, but see K. 198. Possibly some reference is intended to the fact that the character hoko forms part of the character tachibana. The Kogi seems to differentiate a spray with the leaves on from one with the leaves off and bearing the fruit only, the latter being called the hoko spray, from some fancied resemblance between a spear with its broad head and the bare branch tipped with fruit.
- 'The anxiety of the Mikado was to provide a fresh source of food. In a Nihongi lay (N. I. 259) the abundance of orange-trees seems to be referred to—'Its branches beneath, men had all plundered; its branches above, birds perching had withered.' See also K. 248.

⁵ Satsuki, lush, i. e. 5th month.

⁶ The fruits were comparatively small.

 7 An exaggeration of course—from the reign of Suinin; vide supra.

232

By Yakamochi on a Pink he had planted in his garden.¹

Tofurthest march-land, obeisant to my Sovran, on royal service have I the wild hills crossed. to snowy Koshi, and now for five long vears on fine-sleev'd arm 2 I may not sleep, nor know companion'd slumber, with still unloosed girdle3 on lone bed tossingmy heart to comfort somewhat a wild pink brought I to plant my garden midmost. and from the moorside

a summer lily brought I
to flower beside it,
and so as lover-flowers
to bloom together,
and day by day I watch
them
our bond recalling—
did I not so seek solace,
my sorrow soft'ning,
so far from thee I could
not
one little day bide here.

The fair pink flow'r each time I look upon it I think of thee, dear, and in its beauty vision the sweetness of thy smile!

¹ Dated July 16, 749.

² This seems to be the meaning—his own (or his wife's) arm.

³ The sign of fidelity. The m. k. are not fully rendered.

A Lay, made by Yakamochi upon the Return of a Friend.¹

To City-Royal, achieved thy loyal service, thy count to render spear-ways the thou wendedst, o'er craggy steeps and many a moorland waste, and now a year gone to us, my lord, returnestmany the days were thy presence cheer'd us not, and all unquiet my anxious heart to solace. in cuckoo month when lush is all the greenery, with sweet-flag flowers willow-sprays and garlands I wove to deck me,

and drank my fill of sake, but 'twas in vain, my grief for thee deeprooted as rush of Nago, where scream the wildfowl ever while roars Imidzu snow-swollen down the vale. would not be eased, and now thy duty ended, so long awaited, at last thou comest to us with thy fair smilings like moorland lily's smilings, and from this day forth mirror-bright my would on thee unchanged by days dwell gladly!

¹ In 20 Tempyô (748) Kume no Ason Hironaha went officially to City-Royal where he remained some time, and returned to Etchiu on the 27th of the intercalary fifth month of the succeeding year (July 19, 749), on which occasion Yakamochi entertained him at the Hall of Wardens (in the prefecture of Etchiu), and presented the above congratulatory lay with two hanka.

There are two envoys—the first is, 'How glad I am to see thee again as I saw thee last autumn, thou who art newly come from City-Royal'; the second is, 'Now thou greetest again mine eyes, I know that despite the time of absence I have never ceased to long for thee.'

234

By Yakamochi on seeing a cloud on the mountain-top promising rain in a time of drought ¹.

Wherever under the lofty skies men own our Sovran's sway, horse - hoof wherever trampleth, or ship is anchor'd, the chiefest of the tributes, the myriad tributes from ancient days till these the land hath given, doth lie a-perishing for days on days no rain from heaven hath fallen, and uplands, lowlands, with every morning show but crops a-wilting,

(most sad it is to see)
for water crying
like child for milk of
mother—

I search the heavens
the skies for rain beseeching,
and on the hill-top
above the clustering hi
trees
a drifting cloud
espy, that hither spreadeth,
a white cloud shining
towards the sea-god's

fane, oh, God, give rain, beseech thee!

¹ A drought began on June 26, 749, which threatened the ruin of the rice crop. On the evening of July 8, Yakamochi discerned the first signs of coming rain.

There is one envoy, a partial echo.

By Yakamochi on Tanabata night.

From time remotest of that great primal goddess in heaven who shineth hath Heaven's river parted those lovers twainacross the waters sighing, while vainly longing her fluttering sleeves she waveth with longings vain she waveth, for there no ferry across the waters beareth, were but a bridge there full swiftly would he seek her. and hand hand holding

the lovers twain, embracing and love devising, their weary hearts would comfort, but how so be it, until autumnal days glow must wait the damsel with him to have sweet converse—

a mere mortal this wondrous theme remembering, with each revolving

membering,
with each revolving
year that each year followeth
as in high heaven
I contemplate the River
will I renew the story.

BOOK XIX 1, PART I

236

A Lay by Yakamochi in praise of his white-mottled Hawk.²

O'er many a hill-pass
with hi trees thickly
wooded
to far-off Koshi³
I came through change of
years
to bide here lonely,

but as in City-Royal
so in these wilds
our Sovran Lord he
ruleth—
still sad my heart is 4,

nor may I here devise with kin, nor glance of

kin my eyes may gladden, my life is weary, my soul is filled with sorrow, wherefore some solace I thought to find ahawking so towards Ihase where now the hagi 5 bloometh this ruddy autumn, I ride and rein there. the while the moor my men do beat for wildfowl,

and as I hear the tinkling of my hawk's bells, his silvery bells, around the welkin gaze I with joy reviving, and chased is all annoy by that sweet music and in thy sleepingchamber 6, twin-pillowed chamber, a perch I put together, and feed him there, my bonnie dappled falcon I feed, my dappled falcon!

- ¹ In this and the following Book the lays are often difficult to make out in detail.
 - ² The date is April 18, 750.

³ The m. k. is, 'separated by many a steep'.

⁴ As he is everywhere under the aegis of his Sovran, he ought to be equally happy everywhere—still he longs for companionship and consoles himself with hawking.

⁵ Lespedeza.

⁶ His wife's (whom he has now left at City-Royal).

237

On the Pleasures of Cormorant-fishing.1

Now new year coming spring showeth all its blossom, and the wild-wood hills resound with streamy roar of Sákita's river ²

alive with darting troutlets, where the isle-bird ³ keepers decoy flares in their prows oar o'er the waters their cormorants a-ply- the parting gift thou ing, and so the vestment thou gav'st me, dear, at parting of deep-dyed * scarlet,

gav'st me, lo, all its border is wet with river water. as I watch the cormorants fishing!5

- ¹ The date of this lay, probably by Yakamochi, seems to be the 8th of the third month (April 19), 750.
 - ² Sakita is a river in Etchiu.
 - ³ The cormorants are called isle-birds.
- ⁴ Literally, 'eight (many) liquor-dyed '-brushed many times with the dye-brush (dyeing is not done by dipping in Japan).
- ⁵ There are two envoys—the first dwells on the joy of watching the reflection of the scarlet garment she has given him in the bright waters of the river; the second, on the pleasure of watching the crowd of cormorants diving after trout in the stream.

238

On the Impermanence of this World.¹

Since the beginning of earth was and of heaven, it hath been ever to mankind plain and certain that this our world is a world impermanent as on the heavens thou gazest shalt thou note there the moon now waxing

the moon now waning ever. the wooded hill-slopes all gay in spring with blossom. when cometh autumn with dew and rimy chillness. thou'lt see aglow with ruddy fallen leafageand so it is, too,

with men-folk, poor mortals,
the cheek soon loseth
the comely tints of youthhood,
and jetty tresses
their pardanth black for
grey change,
the smile of morning at e'en is turn'd to tears,
like wind that bloweth
and no man ever seëth,
like water flowing
delayeth ne'er an instant,
all passeth, changeth—
the fleeting show lamenting
I cannot stay my tears.

¹ By Yakamochi, April 20, 750. The note of the lay is entirely Buddhist.

239

In Emulation of Ancestors.1

Our fathers ever
to fathers' duty faithful,
our mothers ever
to mothers' duty faithful,
the days before them
with anxious care consider,
that their sons, true
liegemen,
no empty service rendering,
stout bow in hand,
bow of white-wood,
may well-proved archers
bear them,

as skilful marksmen a thousand yards shoot true, or, trusty blade upon strong thigh wellgirded, the wild-wood hills cross, the ridged hills, achieving with heart ay constant their duty bravely, and name behind them leaving for after times to honour!

¹ The date seems to be the 9th of the 3rd month (April 20) of 750. The lay is after the manner of Omi Okura, but the author seems to be Yakamochi. The curious m. k. in the text applied to 'father' and to 'mother' are explained in the notes to the text.

Cuckoo-bird and Blossoms.1

The myriad flowers, they lend their various beauty to every season, to every year-time give appropriate music, the birds of bush and forest. and eye and ear of man alike are charmed by song of bird and form and hue of flower. but mid the rivalry, while sad I feel and weary, for all is fleeting, bird's music, flower's beauty 2, hare-month cometh3 and lush the bushes show, e'en night-imprison'd the bird he singeth ever 4, who, as our fathers have handed down to us

from time remotest, belike the offspring true of nightingale is 5 he singeth, singeth till what time the girls weave 6 sweet-flag and orange chaplets, from redd'ning daybreak till all the day is over, above the hill-tops in endless ridges rising 7, the wild-wood hilltops, he flieth singing ever, the black night thorough until the bird affronteth the moon of morning, flying hither, flying thither 8, he singeth ever, and who shall ever tire of that resounding music?

¹ By Yakamochi. Dated the 15th of the third month (May 1) 750.

² The text is here obscure: I have given what I believe to be the implied meaning—a Buddhist interpolated reflection on the misery of the world.

- ³ The month of the *u* bush (Deutzia scabra)—the fourth month.
- ⁴ The hototogisu (Cuculus poliocephalus) sings by night as well as by day, especially on moonlight nights.
- ⁵ In a tanka of the ninth Book (111) this belief is referred to. 'Among the children of the nightingale (uguhisu) is the cuckoo (hototogisu) solitary of his kind, his note resembleth not that of his father nor that of his mother.'
 - ⁶ In early autumn.
 - ⁷ So may be rendered yatsu wo.
- ⁸ Of the hototogisu Blakiston and Prayer (T. A. S. J.), say this cuckoo 'is smaller [than the common cuckoo], its note is exactly ho-tuk-tuk, very rapid in flight and restless, and very active on moonlight nights.' I may perhaps here cite a verse of Logan's 'Address to the Cuckoo', to show that West and East are not altogether divided in their poetic thought:—

Sweet bird thy bower is ever green,
Thy sky is ever clear;
There is no sorrow in thy song,
Nor winter in thy year.

241

Lines from a Daughter to her Mother.1

As orange-flower
in cuckoo-month that
bloometh
sweet is my mother
to me herloving daughter,
but morn and even
these many days I may
not
her one word hear,
for heaven-distant bide I
in far-off marchland
and gaze indifferently

upon the clouds
that on the wooded hills
lie,
for woesome seemeth
to me the world, full woesome,
to me with sorrow
and longing heavyhearted—
till on thy face
I look, to me more precious

than pearl that fisher in Nago's waters findeth, as oak and pine tree

their verdure keep, my mother, keep halesome for me, mother!

¹ By Yakamochi, at his wife's request, dated May 5, 750.

242

A Lay by Yakamochi addressed to Ikenushi lamenting their separation in the cuckoo season.¹

My friend, my brother, wont were we, hand in hand, as broke the morning to view the hills together, as fell the ev'ning to watch the skies together, ah! pleasant was it with thee the gladd'ning hills. the endless ridges see wreath'd in coils of mist, the valley bottoms red with camellia gloriesnow you blithe season is past of bright springdays, and cuckoo cometh to fill the air with music, alone to hear him the heart with sadness filleth!

for far art thou friend, thou art far removed from me, and still I love thee and fain I would the bird flew o'er high Tonami and every morning sang thee, amid the pine trees, his song so joyous sang thee, and every ev'ning beneath the moon still sang thee, till yon time cometh when maidens sweet-flag flow'rs inweave for garlands 2, sang thee the night through sleepless 3 nor gave thee surcease any!

¹ Dated May 13, 750. Ikenushi, who had been with his friend in Etchiu, has gone to Echizen—more to the west and perhaps colder, hence the cuckoo would appear there later.

² Early autumn.

³ In sympathy with Yakamochi's own feelings. This lay may be compared with lay 226.

243

In Praise of the Cuckoo-Bird.1

When cometh summer upon the heels of spring, and hills and valleys with cuckoo's note are echoing, the livelong night through the air with music filling, how sweet to listen to the cuckoo's earliest note,

and listen, listening
until the time shall come
when sweet-flag flowers
the girls with orange
blossoms
for wreaths inweave,
for all the time he singeth
through all the land still
echoing
the music's joy increaseth.

¹ By Yakamochi. Dated May 15, 750.

244

In Praise of the Yamabuki Bush.1

With love of thee, dear,
my very being is filled,
and now spring yieldeth
more full of love it groweth—
upon the blossoms

of the wild-wood yamabuki, on gathered spray or on the bush unbroken to feast my eyes, and so my sorrowing spirit to comfort somewhat, I take the bush and
plant it
within my garden,
sweet bush of hill and
valley,
and every morning

ing,
still more, my dear,
still more I think of thee,
and yearn for thee still
more!

¹ The date may be that of the last lay. The yamabuki is the well-known Kerria Japonica. The idea of the lay seems to be, that though the poet tries to console himself for the absence of his wife with the beauty and fragrance of the Kerria, the very means he employs deepen his longings for her presence.

245

A Water-party on Lake Fuse.1

Come friends 2 dispel we what gloomy thoughts 3 oppress us, our hearts unburden on Fuse's waters oaring past Wofu's bay, where Taruhime's headland mid coiling mists shows festoons of fuji 4 flowers, and where far under in waves white-crested endless the clear flood breaketh

so endless may our love be—

yet shall the pleasure
of this one day content
us?
still many a year
when Spring is rich with
blossom,
with glory Autumn,
we still will ride these
waters
on Fuse's beauties feasting.

- ¹ By Yakamochi. Fuse is in Imidzu in Etchiu. The lay is dated May 16, 750.
 - ² Or 'friend'.
 - 3 More literally, 'crowded as shadow-deep foliage.'
- ⁴ The Wistaria. The lay is slightly abbreviated by shortening of common forms.

With a Present of Cormorants 1.

From City-Royal
remote all places one are,
and as the years pass
the pains of life sum up
away from homeland,
wherefore, to ease thy
sorrow—
of firstling cuckoo
the song let thy heart
gladden,
and with the fifth month
let chaplets fair be
woven
of orange and sweet-flag
flowers—

and, friend, I bid thee
thy lusty fellows summon,
pole up the Shíkura ²
and nets in the deep pools
cast thou,
while with these cormorants
in the swifter stream thou
fishest,
for so, dear comrade,
shall fly the months and
days by
and the hours ne'er hang
heavy.

There are two envoys—the latter one hopes that Ikenushi may catch good store of finny trout with the cormorants sent him, and that he will not fail to present some to the donor.

247

Cuckoo and the Fuji flowers.1

In little hand held all in the morning's radiance by some fair damsel with cheek of peachy hue and willow-branch eyebrows
that arch with every smiling the casket is,

¹ By Yakamochi to Ikenushi. Dated May 18, 750.

² A river in Echizen.

her shining mirror holdeth
the closed lid under—
and 'tis on Lidlord' mountain,
the twain-peaked hill,
or mid the shadows
of deep green valleys
echoeth
the note of cuckoo,
or nigh the dim moorside
the moonbeams under

he darteth hither, thither amid the clust'ring festoons of fuji flowers, with quick wings scatt'ring abroad the purple blossoms whereof I gather a bloomy spray, and set it in my sleeve set it, and if it staineth let it my shining sleeve with purple!

¹ By Yakamochi. Dated May 19, 750. Fuji is Wistaria.

² The first eleven lines of the text lead through the hue of the peach flower and the grace of the willow-branch (Chinese ideas) to the beauty of the damsel, who at her morning toilet holds her mirror, of whose case the lid (*futa*) is implied in the name of the hill Futakami (Twin Peaks or Twin Gods). The wordfancy is untranslatable, and an imitation is all that is attempted of the original. The envoy is no more than an echo.

248

A Lay of Jealousy of the Cuckoo's early song in a neighbour's garden.¹

Within thy borders
a hollow dell there is
behind mine lieth,
where mid the alder
bushes
every morning
the cuckoo singeth
blithely,
and every evening

mid the fuji flowers singeth—

but in my garden,
though orange blossom
showeth
nor yet is withered,
still cometh not the
cuckoo

his lay to sing me,
my fate bewail I will
not²,
yet why, I ask me,
why doth cuckoo yonder
tell you
the tale he will not tell
me?

¹ By Yakamochi. Dated June 2, 750. He envies the good fortune of his neighbour and friend, the Hangwan (literally 'judicial officer'), Kume no Asomi Hironaha.

² For the cuckoo is hardly due, even although already he is

singing in the neighbouring garden.

249

Why singeth not Cuckoo.1

Though nigh the valleys, for him the valleys, though nigh the wild-woods are, ing, no cuckoo singeth, I go forth every morning to listen for him,

¹ By Hironaha (248). Dated June 3, 750. The envoy inquireth why the cuckoo cometh not to pipe amid the wild-woods, for long since hath the fuji bush flowered.

BOOK XIX, PART II

250

A hapless Maiden.1

A wondrous story of Chinu one, the other of ancient days men tell, how twain young galhow them of Unahi scion, in deadly quarrel joined them

about a damsel
whom either wooed to
wife,
oh! sad the story
to hear, is the story—

fair as spring blossoms, as autumn glory fine
was she to look at,
a very pearl of maidens,
and in the flower
the very flower of youth,
yet
these gallants' case
bewailing, far from home
she
seawards went she,
where flowing tide and
ebbing
the fine sea tresses

roll in both morn and even, and frail as these her life too scanty was, her little day away like dew and rime passed—

ere death a nook she chose
her
where shall her tomb
be,
and that to future ages
her woe be known
her fine comb ² there she
planted,
and as the years passed
a leafy box-bush grew

her grave-mound overshadowing!

there

- ¹ By Yakamochi, after older lays. Dated the 6th of the fifth month (June 15) 750. The subject of the lay is the story variously told by Tanobe no Sakimaro and Takahashi no Muraji Mushimaro in the ninth book (see lays 122, 124, and 125). It was rather the girl's distraction of necessary choice than her preference for one of her two suitors that is here viewed as having driven her to suicide. The version is slightly abbreviated.
- ² When Izanagi fled from the Eight Ugly Females of Yomi he threw down his many-toothed comb, so tabuing the spot—which forthwith became changed into bamboo-shoots. See Mr. Aston's Nihongi (I. 25), where Lang's Custom and Myth is quoted, pp. 88, 92, 'A common incident is the throwing behind of a comb, which turns into a thicket'; cf. also Campbell's Tales of the West Highlands. The first comb, no doubt, was in its way as great a discovery or invention as the first wheel, and was honoured accordingly.

An Elegy.1

Since earth and heaven long long ago were parted ay faithful service to their dread Lord have render'd his lieges render'd, of whom myself obeisant from City-Royal beyond the hills and rivers have journey'd hither to rule far Koshi's marchlandthough friendly greetings may clouds and winds bear 'tween us for many a day I have not seen thyself, for love of whom my heart is ever panting, and now a runner along the spear-ways cometh, cometh bearing to me these fateful tidings 'Him whom thou lovest, Sir,

a desolating woe for the world is ever of grief and misery full, the flowers that blow soon wither and wilt and fall. and all our life is but a fleeting show thy friend's good mother who nursed him he bewaileth. at unawares her life-thread hath been sunder'd, and she hath perished, whom all men loved to look on 2. like morning mist from our world hath she vanished,

all prostrate lying

like helpless sea-tress

wave-tossed

for life is like a river,

its flow nought stop-

upon the shore,

peth'.-

him hath befallen

or false these tidings be
or vain I know not
as startling sound they
to me
as twang of bow-string
touched far-off in the
night-time 3
by archer's finger,
and as I listen sadly

I cannot stop my tears!

So hath been ever this fleeting world of ours, as all men know— wherefore let heart not fail and sorrow be borne bravely.

¹ By Yakamochi. Dated July 6, 750. The subject is the death of the mother of Toyonari, eldest son of Mukomaro, a scion of the Minami house (one of the Four Great Families) of the Fujihara clan. Parts of the lay seem almost 'common form'.

² See the text; lit. 'of seeing whom one was never tired.'

³ The curious prefatial simile in the text is here somewhat amplified; it is applied as a verbal decoration to *oto*, literally 'sound', secondarily 'tidings', 'word'.

252

A Lay of Complaint from City-Royal.1

To me more precious
than fairest pearl that
lieth
in casket treasured
of the great god of the
sea
art thou my daughter,
but the way of the world
obeying,
thy husband following
to distant march-land
farest thou—

from me to part thee more cruel 'tis than ivy to strip from treetrunk—

thy face to look on,
with its pretty pencill'd
eyebrows
like sea-waves 2 arching
great ships a-tossing,
oh, I would ever

but 'tis a hope too but may not on that face empty,gaze, for so I love thee and I grow older daily!

¹ To Sakanohe no Oho Iratsume, the wife of Yakamochi, from her mother Sakanohe no Iratsume. The Oho Iratsume had gone down to Etchiu in the spring. The date is the autumn of 750 (Oct. 8).

² Drawn on the foreheads of the nobles and ladies of the Court after the eyebrows had been shaved off.

253

An Elegy on the Death of a Mistress.¹

Of earth and heaven the gods for sure exist not 2so fair my mistress away from me is taken, sweet Narihata. lady of the sounding loom (as thunder sounding, the voice of the gods in heaven)3with whom life's ways,

her hand in mine, to wander I hoped my lot were,

but so 'twas not to be.

fate hath us parted, and now no help I find me forlorn and lonely-

upon my shoulders cast I bands sacrificial

and to the high gods offered

fine hempen cloth-stuffs, and earnestly I prayed them

to spare my mistress, but ne'er again about me her sleeve shall wind. the coils of fume e'en now are wreathing o'er her pyre!

- ¹ Authorship unknown. In a footnote the subject of the lay is said to be an ukareme ('light woman') of Etchiu, named Kamafunari.
- ² For though he had sorely besought their aid his love died. The rendering is an attempt to give the value of the m. k. epithetical of nari (thunder).

³ Part of the name Narihata and also of the name Kamafunari. The hanka is worth giving:—

utsutsu ni to omohiteshi ka mo ime nomi ni tamoto makinu to mireba subenashi.

I thought I held her close in a fond embrace alas, 'twas not so— 'twas but a dream delusive and the embrace was empty.

254

A Lay addressed to Hironari on his Departure for China.¹

From City-Royal,
Nara's well-founded city
in wide Yamato
whose hills shine under
heaven,
to wave-beat Naniha
my lord he goeth down,
from Suminoye
to fare across the seaplain,
to the distant Westland²
his Sovran's will to carry—
with awe and reverence
the Presence of the high
god

of Suminoye 3
upon the prow I pray for,
upon the stern
like Presence do I pray
for,
that all the headlands
my lord may round in
safety,
by storms unharassed,
unvexed by gales or seas,
all prosperously
the Westland shores attaining
may soon his homeland
gladden.

¹ In 734 Taijhi no Mabito Hironari (compare various lays in fifth, eighth, and ninth books) was sent as an envoy to China. The author of the lay does not appear to be certainly known, but in a doubtful postnote the lay, together with its envoy and six short lays precedent, is stated to have been preserved (tsutahe-yomeru) by a second secretary of the Koshi province, named Takayasu no Kurahito Kanemaro.

² China.

³ Protector of sailors and travellers by sea. The fore Pre-

sence would be propitiative, the after one protective. I am not quite certain that *images*—perhaps only symbols—are intended. Before Buddhism, images seem to have been unknown.

255

A Lay made on the way up to City-Royal, by Royal Command, to be chanted at a State Banquet.¹

From that far time when on our land descended clouds of from the heaven in fam'd celestial rockboat,2 well-oared at prow, well-oared at stem, belike, the swift god Nigi, and had wide vision of all the lands below thenceforth fair cleans'd and under ordered sway brought age after age, in sequence still unbroken each sun-successor hath ruled the land and now our gracious Sovran to rule his people cometh, to rule his servants with gentle sway and ordered, nor doth his favour

all prosperous
a time unknown of old
report his lieges—
so on the rolls may ever
the scribes the story
of royal hands enfolded
in happy peace tell,
of the wide land allwhere
tranquil,
while earth and heaven
while sun and moon endure,
for a myriad ages
under a sway unbroken—

his people leave ungraced,

our Lord and Sovran,
in peace and power who
ruleth,
this time of Autumn
the land bedecked with
blossoms
he seeth rejoicing,
and so this day
with noble feast regaleth
and sake flowing freely.

¹ Date and authorship are not stated.

² The 'rock-boat' in which Nigi-hayahi voyaged down from

heaven to a land 'suitable for the extension of the Heavenly Task, so that its glory should fill the universe . . . doubtless the centre of the world', i. e. Japan. See N. I. 110.

BOOK XIX, PART III

256

A Royal Lay (or Lay composed by Royal Order) on the occasion of the Departure of a Mission to China¹, to be chanted at a Banquet to be given to the Mission at Naniha.

Land of Yamato
shining the bright sky
under!
o'er thy seas faring
'tis but a landward journey,
in thy ships sleeping
'tis but an alcove's rest,
so blest the land is,
the god-protected land
is! 2—

may these four ³ ships
fare
fare forth in equal company, ⁴
their passage over
oar swiftly back to homeland,
then once more will We
a royal banquet hold
and pledge the festive
cup! ⁵

¹ The Mikado (Queen-Regnant) is Kôken (749-70), but the honour was conferred upon the mission at the instance of Shômu (abdicated 748). The chief of the mission was a member of the Fujihara clan, the Asomi Kiyokaha. Date and authorship are unknown. I have ventured to use the personal pronoun in the invocation to Yamato, though personification is unknown in Japanese literature, or nearly so.

² So favoured and well-ordered that travel is no hardship.

³ One for the envoy, one for his associates, one for their suite, and one for their secretaries, &c.

⁴ That the vessels might not be separated from each other during the voyage.

ihahite matamu.

Yotsu fune for safe return
haya kaheri-koto of these four ships to homeland,
shiraga tsuke white paper amulets
mo no suso ni upon my robe's hem fastening,

the great gods will I pray.

'White paper offerings' (shiraga=shira-kami) seems the best explanation. These, like the more modern gohei, represented the offerings of white cloth made to the gods from very early times. Shiraga is by some commentators taken to signify white (i. e. bright) tresses. But we find the expression in a tanka in the third book by Sakanohe: 'yama no | sakaki no yeda ni | shiraga tsuku | yufu . . .', 'on the branches of the wild Cleyera I will hang shiraga with yufu . . .', where shiraga clearly refers to offerings of paper attached to a spray of the paper mulberry.

257

On the occasion of the Promulgation of a Rescript.1

As long as larches,
as larches on the wildwood hills
succeed each other,
as long as pine-trunk
lasteth,
from well-laid Nara
may our divine Lord rule,
o'er all the land
in peace and power rule,
who now high banquet
to all his lieges offereth
who in their companies

come wearing wreaths
inwoven
with shining treasure
from orange-bush gathered growing
on Shimayama 2,
with girdles loosened
come they
and happy faces
for years a thousand
to wish their Lord good
fortune,
a scene right fair to gaze
on!

¹ By Yakamochi. The date is about 752.

² Described as a knoll upon an island in a pond within the 'Forbidden Precinct'—the Royal Palace.

BOOK XX, PART I

On the Departure of a Sakimori ordered on Frontier Service.¹

The land of Tsukushi,
where long ago strange
fires
gleamed on the waters²,
our Sovran's farthest
camp is
the realm defending
against the foe defending—

many the lands are
to our dread Lord obeisant
and many their men be,
but cock-crow Eastland
the bravest war-men furnisheth
to fight ay ready
nor ever a glance behind
cast,
in battle fierce
in storm and stress of
combat
their guerdon earning—

so at his Sovran's bidding,
his mother who nursed
him
his young wife's arms he
leaveth
and home forsaketh,

the days and months of absence in sadness counting, and so to Naniha fareth, where ay the marshreeds their plumy blossoms scatter, there tall ship lieth in the haven's calm of morning, there set the oars are and mann'd by sturdy rowers to their oars bending till nigh the stout oars snap, and forth he fareth the rising tide affronting, the billows riding upon the track to Westlandoh, may he safely and swiftly reach his goal, his Sovran's bidding in loyal hero-wise fulfil, and fin'lly his duty all accomplished, unscath'd, a welcome again find in his homelandso prayeth she, setting by her couch full jars of sake her shining sleeves ay turning diligently,³ her jetty tresses about her pillow flinging,⁴ as slow the days sum and in her love she waiteth, his fair young wife ⁵ she waiteth!

- ¹ Eight short lays, composed on the departure of a masurawo (or a number of masurawo) to join the Tsukushi garrison as a sakimori or frontier soldier, were presented by the Kotori (Buryôshi or Military Commissioner) of Sagami, on March 25, 755. The Kotori (kototori) was a member of the Fujihara clan, the Asomi Sukunamaro. Of the eight lays three were approved. The next day Yakamochi (Hyôbushô suke), then a high official in the War Department, composed the present long lay which may be either generalized or taken as relating to an unnamed individual, as is often the case in the Manyôshiu.
 - ² Shiranu-hi, unknown flares. See lay 61.
- ³ Reversal of garments was supposed to bring out happy visions. See also lay 61.
- ⁴ Wives, when their lords were absent, remained secluded and neglected their person.
- ⁵ Or wives, if the subject of the lay be taken as collective, and the word in the text (tsumara) literally rendered.

[Near my residence, Wakayama, is the shrine of a Buddhist saint, Myôdô. When I was a boy folk prayed, putting on their garments reversed—an easy thing with Japanese dress—and slept in the shrine, with the happy result of beholding in their dreams the person they desired to see. In mediaeval days in Europe the *chevalier* would leave his worn shirt with his *dame de cœur*, who slept in it with the hope of dreaming of her absent lover. The reversal of the Japanese garment would turn out the inherent soul, who then appeared in the dream. Note from Mr. Minakata.]

259

In Praise of Nániha.1

From time remotest at wave-worn Nániha have ruled our Sovrans² as long tradition telleth,

and now Her Majesty ³
(I speak with awe and reverence)
as spring-time cometh

with all its swaying greenery and wealth of blossom the glory of the hill-sides, and sparkling rivers the glory of the champaign, upon the world so beautiful and blooming with pleasure gazeth her royal heart refreshingto Nániha tribute-bearing come barges in the calm of morning, from every land they come within our borders the Sovran's sway obeying, the water-ways throng

they,4

and in the calm of evening with tide a-flowing men down the waters pole them and by the sea-marge where scream the whirling wild-fowl 'tis good to gaze on the broad plain of the sea-flood and the white waves breaking and the fisher boats atossing upon the waters, for royal fare purveying spacious the scene is, and rich in all abundance, and well decreed 'twas in the foretime of the world 5 there should be stablish'd Nániha!6

² The allusion is to Nintoku (278-99). Nániha is first mentioned in the *Nihongi* under B.c. 633. He is said to have

¹ Yakamochi, then Assistant Councillor of the War Department, was sent to Naniha in the spring of 755 to prepare for the advent of the Court in the following year. In anticipation of this removal nineteen lays were composed [by various hands?] and apparently submitted to the Queen-Regnant Kôken by the Kotori of Kadzusa Namuda no Murazhi Samimaro on the 9th of the 2nd month of 7 Tempyo Shôhô (March 27, 755). Of these thirteen were approved, and among them the present long lay and its two envoys (of no importance). The date is 13th of 2nd month (April 1, 755).

improved the Ozaka river for navigation chiefly by regulating its affluents. See N. I. 281.

- ³ Kôken (?)
- ⁴ Hori-ye, channels appertaining to improvements mentioned in note 2.
 - ⁵ That is, under Nintoku.
- ⁶ The translation is slightly abbreviated. The title might more literally be rendered 'Thoughts'.

260 1

Of Ashigara ²
the lofty pass I climb,
nor cast a glance back,
for nought deterreth
me,
not Fuha's ³ pass
which yet brave men do
dread,
towards Tsukushi's
cape

I haste, and there will
halt me,
and pray the gods
preserve my homefolk
ever,
as they for me
the gods' grace will invoke
that home once more
me gladden.4

- ¹ By Shidzuribe no Karamaro (of whom nothing is known). Shidzuribe (originally guild of Shidzu clothiers) is here a mere name. On royal service he cares nothing for the dangers of the road. This lay is written in the Eastland dialect, on which account the Kogi expresses satisfaction that it was not among the six rejected lays mentioned under 259. There is no dai or argument prefixed to this lay.
 - ² Ashigara is the well-known pass in the Hákone district.
- ³ Fuha was in the neighbourhood of Ashigara, but cannot be exactly located.
- ⁴ The epithets and epithetical phrases of the text are only partially rendered, and the conclusion is far from clear.

BOOK XX, PART II 261

The Lament of a Sakimori dispatched to Tsukushi on Frontier Service.¹

In dread obeisance to my high Lord and Sovran from wife I part me, though bitter be the parting my hero-heart is stirred to loyal service in trim of wayfarer upon the threshold stand I and she who nursed me would comfort me, my mother who nursed me would comfort me. my sweet young wife a space too detaineth me, oh ever for thy safety shall I be praying, home come thou soon' she sayeth, with her fine sleeve from her eyes the tears wiping-

in choking accents speak awhile, then forth I go, but hard the parting is (though easy birds' early flights are) oft looking back, the way still longer seemeth, the hills still higher I climb till I reach Nániha where ever surging amid the reeds the waves are, and there ship take I, westwards in the morning o'er calm seas oaring amid the rising mists and plaining wild-fowl, I muse upon my home, and weep and sob

until the very arrows

are on my back resounding.

¹ By Yakamochi, dated April 7, 755. The lay represents the feelings of an officer (sakimori) summoned to serve in the garrison at Dazaifu in the extreme west (Tsukushi).

The translation is somewhat abbreviated through curtailment of common-form details. The lay is a curious proof of the unwillingness of the valorous masurawo of the eighth century to leave the pleasures of the capital and the delights of home.

262

Another Lament of a Sakimori ordered on Frontier Service.¹

In dread obeisance
to my high Lord and
Sovran
on frontier service
must I to furthest Westland
from home and kin
fare—

sad is my lady-mother,
her robe's hem lifting
her son she stroketh
fondly,
my lord my father
he standeth by, and trickling
I see the tears
adown his hoary beard
fall,
'like as the deer
no son but thee have I,
my only son,
for him to leave us', crieth
he,
'for long long years

'for long long years
never to see each other,
my heart it breaketh,'
so with sad interchange
of sorrow part we—

the while my wife and children

crowd trembling round
me,
and sad their lamentation
as spring-birds plaining,
their shining sleeves the
tears

of grief bedrenching as their hands I hold, and find so so hard the parting—

fain would they stay me but my dread Lord commandeth,

I must obey him, and forth upon the spearways

my feet do bear me, o'er the hills and mountains

the track I follow, and times a thousand thousand

towards homeland turn me,

and as I fare still farther my pain increaseth,

and heavier grief oppresseth

my mind and spirit—

I am but man and mortal,

the term unknowing of my days by the gods appointed, and o'er sea faring across the fearful waters. still shipway making around the capes and islands. on voyage perilous thus as I wander forth, the god implore I, high god of Suminoye, in weal and health keep

my dear father ever. my dear mother in happiness keep ever till I return and once more see the homeplacewith morn my bark is launched on Nániha's waters. the set of oars are mann'd and forth I fare,

so tell, friend, tell the

homefolk.

¹ By Yakamochi, dated April 9, 755. The lay, with its four envoys, are four selected out of twelve presented by the Vice-Warden of the garrison of Kôzuke an Ohofumihito of the junior sixth rank, Kôzukenuno Kimi Suruga, of whom we have nothing beyond a bare mention in the Zokki under date 2 Shôhô (751). It will be noticed that the parents are considered before wife and children. There are four envoys, of which I give three:

(1) 'Oh, could I but send a token to my homefolk by the clouds that are ever passing to and fro in the sky!'

(2) 'I pick up pearl-shells to send home, though the waves breaking on the strand ever drench me with their brine' (i. e. his sleeves are wet with tears as he thinks of home).

(3) 'When my bark is safely beached under the protection of some island, would I could let my homefolk know of me, but alas I can but long for home nor send there any tidings of me.'

BOOK XX, PART III

263

Laus Gentis Ohotomo.1

In that far foretime when oped bright Hea- on Takachiho's peak, ven's door.

and He descended and god-like Sovrans o'er all these broad lands ruled—

in the forefront set He, great Ohokume set He, and bow of wax-tree3 in his great hands He put, and store of arrows in mighty hand Hegrasped (such as the gods use in chasing of the deer), and full-fraught quiver his shoulders charged He, o'er hills and rivers o'er craggy steeps the hero forced his way and all the land oped, its mighty gods appeased, its men rebellious compelled to due obeisance, was the realm cleansed. so was leal service rendered-

in after time
stout - pillared palace
reared
anigh Unebi
midmost Yamato's land,
full-eared Yamato,
on Kashi's wooded plain,
Iharebiko 4,

and the royal line from age to age enduring the land still ruleth in straight descent from Heaven. to whom ay loyal and pure of heart and faithful have the descendants of that ancestral Sire, to son from father, from son to son again, leal service given, by their dread Lord's side fighting, in uttermost loyalty, their Sire's service rendering, and who that lealty gave handed down the story, and who that story hear still their mirror make it-

a name so pure
let those who bear it
honour,
nor any stain
to rest upon it suffer,
ye scions of Ohotomo
live rich in noble service
right well to that proud
name answer!

- ¹ By Yakamochi, July 19, 756, who in this his last choka may be vindicating the honour of the great Ohotomo clan, to which he belongs, from the aspersions of Afumi no Mabito Mibune, who had insulted a member of the clan, the Warden of Idzumo, Ohotomo no Kojihi. They had both been placed under arrest for some breach of Court duty, and took the opportunity to quarrel with each other, but what about, even the circumstantial Zokki does not inform us.
- ² Ama no Oshihi, the ancestor of the Ohotomo family, who on the rock-door of Heaven being opened by Hikoho no Ninigi thrust asunder the many-piled clouds and descended upon Mt. Takachiho in Hiuga, taking with him Ohokume (Great Troop) the ancestor of the Kume-be. See N. I. 87. Ama no Oshihi = 'celestial pusher-out of the sun'; the legend is, in truth, founded on the name. Or Ohokume may simply be 'the host'. The adoption of this meaning would entail corresponding changes in the translation, without however altering its spirit or tenor. I use 'He' as referring to the god, and 'he' to Ohokume.
- ³ Rhus succedanea, vegetable wax-bush. But the tree or shrub cannot be absolutely identified.
 - 4 Jimmu.
- ⁵ Grand Guard, hereditary defenders of the Royal Palace and Person.

There are two envoys asserting the faithful service of the Ohotomo family from its founder forth.

264

Final Envoy.1

'Tis New Year's Day may blessings shower that ushereth in fair countless spring— as the snowflakes now upon our Dawnland a-falling!

¹ By Yakamochi, dated New Year's Day (Feb. 2), 759. The last lay of the *Manyôshiu*.

End of the Long Lays of the 'Manyôshiu'.

A Lay from the *Kojiki*.¹ Princess Suseri to Yachihoko no Kami.

Divine Augustness ten thousand spears who leadest, of our great land who art the Lord and Master. a man thou art, Lord, and hast on every headland of every island, thou hast on every headland o'er each strand towereth. a wife thou hast, as tender as fresh spring herbs are, but I am but a woman no man but thee, Lord, but thee none spouse may call;

my Lord embrace me, within the pictured curtain in softness, fineness; of warm couch-coverlet the softness under, of white-cloth coverlet the rustlings under, my bosom, soft as snow, as snow just melting, caress with arms as white as bleachen bark cord, caress me, and embrace thy fine arms round me thy limbs with mine entwiningand you, you servants, my lord bring richest sake.

¹ K. App. VI.

A Lay from the *Nihongi*.¹ Prince Magari to Princess Kásuga.

In Yashima
no wife to love I found me,
in Kasuga,
of blossomy spring-time
minding,
I heard there dwelt
a maiden passing fair
whose door I opened,

that fair maid's door I
opened,
and there I entered,
and foot to foot
and head to head embraced her,
my arms embracing
her, her arms embracing

me, we lay there,
and so we slumbered
sweetly
till that the cock crew,
and from the moorland
border

the pheasant screamed and dawn of day announced, sweet, ere half my tale, my tale of love was told thee ².

¹ Nihongi, Ihida's edition, sub. ann. 513.

O Cressida! but that the busy day,
waked by the lark, hath roused the ribald crows,
and dreaming night will hide our joys no longer,
I would not from thee.

Compare lay 178, note 1.

SOME MEDIAEVAL SHORT LAYS

The tanka of the Kokinshiu (10th century) and Hiyakunin Isshiu (13th century) may be described as miniature sonnets, consisting of a tercet and a couplet, forming together a quintain. The tercet, more or less rigorously, is a proem or introduction or statement; the couplet a conclusion, moral, answer, echo, summary or exposition—itself often again suggestive—of what the tercet suggests.

Tanka (Short Lays) from the Kokinshiu 1.

Т

Of City-Royal,
of Nara City-Royal
alas! remaineth
nought but the note of
cuckoo
who still his song there
singeth.

 \mathbf{II}

Upon high Tátsuta, the nightingale he waileth amid the mists of early spring-time, when the blasts the blossoms scatter.

¹ See supra, Preface to the Kokinshiu.

DICKINS II

III

While still the snow lies
the days of spring are
shining,
and now are melting
the nightingale's frome
tears
in liquid notes of music.

τv

All overwhelming
is the wealth of cherry
blossoms
that hideth from me,
the heart of spring that
hideth—
I see but cherry blossom.

V

The cherry blossoms
are like this world too
fleeting,
scarce had I seen them
in all their glory blowing,
when 'fore the springwinds fell they.

VI

Those leaves in autumn
by windy tempests
driven!
more evanescent
the days of mortal man are
who in this fleet world
bideth.

VII

The blasts that scatter
the flowers of the spring,
where dwell they?
who knoweth where
let him their lair reveal
me
and I will go and curse
them.

VIII

The showers of springtime
are showers of tears of sorrow
that spring - flowers
fall—

is there a man who weeps not

the falling blossoms watching!

IX

The mists of spring-

time
the wild-geese see, yet
hasten
to wing their way
hence—
to their own home, though
flow'rless,
'tis that they love to hie

them.

Tanka from the Hiyakunin Isshiu.

 \mathbf{X}

The hoar frosts whit'n-

the Magpies' Bridge I gaze on

now tell me darkness is nigh to shining daybreak—

is it the lover-stars' bridge?

XI

In this fair spring-time to gather sallets for thee I wandered forth—see, see, upon my vestment white snow is fallen, fallen.

XII

All o'er the forecourt
the wind the blossoms
scatters—
if not of winter,
the snows of passing years
there
that snowy flower-fall
seemeth.

XIII

As deep my misery
as Nániwa's waters are,
whose deepest depths
by bamboo perch are
marked

that soundeth not my sorrow.

XIV

Thine arm as pillow
were 't but for a springdream's space
I dare not take me,
alas, I dare not! ever
my name on men's lips
would be.

xv

How bright the moonbeams
shine thro' the rifts the
clouds show,
the clouds of autumn
across the heavens driven
by the winds blow 'neath
the sky.

XVI

The thatch is ragged
my watcher's hut that
roofeth
in the autumn ricefields,
the dew that falleth
drencheth,
my garment's sleeve it
drencheth.

XVII

Now spring is ending and summer time is coming,

O heavenly Kagu—
thy slopes are bright
with vestments
there set i' th' sun to
whiten.

XVIII

O mountain pheasant long are the feathers trail'st thou on the wooded hill-side— as long the nights seem to me on lonely couch sleep seeking.

XIX

On Tago's strand
I wend me forth and gaze
on
the peak of Fuji—
and the firstling snows of
autumn
I see on Fuji sparkling.

$\mathbf{X}\mathbf{X}$

Deep mid the mountains
through the ruddy spoil
of autumn

his way he maketh—
the stag whose belling
tells me
what time it is of sadness!

XXI

I search high heaven,
and now above Mikasa
in the land of Kásuga
I know the moon is shining,
yon moon I see now

rising,
[in a far-off land now rising].

XXII

The tint of flower,
alas, how soon it fadeth!
how soon, too, beauty
the rain and storm of
time,
as pass the years by,
wither.

XXIII

From high Tsukubane rise Mina's roaring waters in wide Hitachi, in pools not deeper gathering than is my love for thee, dear!

Hokku.

Hokku or haikai are half-stanzas (tanka) the initial tercet of a complete quintain, consisting of seventeen syllables arranged in three lines, the terminal couplet being omitted, and, in substance, left to the intelligence of the reader. They suggest rather than state a thought or fancy, and often require a world of explanation to be intelligible. They are titles of unwritten poems, rather than themselves poems. But, when understood, they are found to contain, or at least to suggest, an incredible amount of meaning within the narrowest compass of language. The subjoined texts are taken verbatim from Professor Chamberlain's admirable paper on 'Bashô and the Japanese Poetical Epigram', T.A.S.J., xxx. pt. ii, and the translations are based on those there given. The examples chosen are such as seem to require the least explanation—most of them need none.

XXIV

Naga-naga to kawa hito suji ya yuki no hara.

XXV

Hito ha chiru totsu hito ha chiru kaze no ue.

XXVI

Magusa ou hito no shiori no natsu no hana. In long, long line the river's flow traileth o'er the moorland

(i. e. making the desolation more visible.)

snow.

A single leaf that flutters down,

just a leaf the wind hath blown.

Bundle on his shoulder bearing,

thro' the summer tall grass faring

yonder peasant with his load marketh me the hidden road.

XXVII

Samukereba nerarezu neneba nao samushi.

XXVIII

Yo ni furu wa sara ni shigure no yodori kana.

XXIX

Hana ni asobu abu na kiu so tomo suzume.

XXX

Kare eda ni karasu no tomarikeri aki no kure.

XXXI

Tsuyu no yo no tsuyu no yo nagara sarinagara.

IIXXX

Natsu-gusa ya tsuwa-mono-domo no yume no ato.

XXXIII

Yo no akete hana ni hiraku ya Jôdomon. Shivering I cannot sleep, sleepless warm I cannot keep.

Like a shelter from a shower is this world of half an hour.

Sparrow, sparrow, spare the bees busy with the flowers, please.

Rooks in row, on a branch all dead, autumn come and summer fled.

(A picture of desolation.)

Just a dewdrop, nothing more
yet a world ours is, if poor.
(i. e. poor as it is, it is yet something, this world of ours.)

Nought but summer grasses

tall
fallen warriors' dreams recall.
(The vanity of glory.)

Opening like the morning flower wide the gates of Paradise tower.

XXXIV

Oranda no moji ga yokotari ama tsu kari.

XXXV

Yuki no asa ni no ji ni no ji no geta no ato.

XXXVI

Ik-ka mina tsue ni shiraga no haka-mairi.

XXXVII

Meigetsu ni hana ka to miete wata-batake.

XXXVIII

Yasu-yasu to idete izayou tsuki no kumo.

On the vault of heaven their flight

Dutch-wise do the wildgeese write.

(i. e. the string of wild-geese against the sky look like the cross-writing of the Dutch.)

Twos and twos across the snow

showwhere early clogs do go.
(i. e. the marks like the
Chinese characters for
two, two, left in the
snow by the two crosspieces of the clogs.)

All the housefolk at the graves

white-haired leaning on their staves.

(Their turn is near.)

Groves of cherry blossom seeming

field with fleecy cotton teeming.

Softly, softly, falters through yonder clouds the moon's white hue.

XXXIX

Nagaki hi wo saezuri-taramu hibari kana.

XL

Mizu-abura nakute neru yo ya mado no tsuki.

XLI

Shiri-bito ni awaji awaji to hana-mi kana.

XLII

Nuke-gara ni narabite shinuru Aki no semi.

XLIII

Nani tori no kono ato naku zo hototogisu.

XLIV

Hana no yume kikitaki chô ni koe mo nashi. All the day through sings the lark,

singing still when day is dark.

Lampless on my couch reclining,

is not the moon for me still shining?

Friends, away; keep, friends, away;

while I gaze on the flowers gay.

(Let me have undisturbed enjoyment.)

Cicada by its shedden shell dead in autumn-time—ah, well!

(Death and emptiness—the sadness of autumn.)

When away, what bird will sing,

cuckoo, tell me, what will sing?

(In praise of the cuckoo.)

I wish the butterfly would tell

what dream of flowers it dreams so well.

XLV

Hyaku nari ya tsuru hito-suji no kokoro yori.

Many tendrils bind one vine, many wills one heart incline.

XLVI

Osoki hi no tsumorite tôki mukashi.

Oh, the past of distant days, slowly summing tale of days!

XLVII

Uguisu no koe tôki hi mo kure ni keri. O'er the spring's sweet day and long, closed the nightingale's far song.

XLVIII

Sumidare ya aru yo hisoka ni matsu no tsuki. Mid summer-night showers through the pines furtively the moon it shines.

XLIX

Ama tsutau hoshi no hikari ya naku chidori. The stars that wend the skies along-shed their light on a seagull's wing.

(So even the poet may hope.)

 \mathbf{L}

Koi-shinaba waga tsuka de nake hototogisu.

If I die, fly, cuckoo, fly, fly to sing my tomb anigh.

THE STORY OF THE OLD BAMBOO WICKER-WORKER

INTRODUCTION

THE Taketori Monogatari is not merely a romance, nor is it simply a tale or märchen. It is a novel, the earliest work of fiction in Japanese or in any Ural-Altaic tongue, a novel, too, with a distinct Buddhist purpose, written in a romantic strain and embellished with wonder-stories. The principal personage of the novel is not the 'taketori', the bamboo-hewer and wicker-worker, the story is not told by him, nor is it, strictly speaking, of him; the personage of the story is its heroine, Kaguyahime, the Lady of Light, and the object of it is the Buddhist one, with a Taouist tinge, of showing how a fault may be expiated by resistance to temptation. The Moon-maiden, exiled on earth from her bright home-for the shadow of a thought of love 'tis hinted-by her shrewdness and steadfastness in meeting the importunities and resisting the advances of mortal lovers, including the Mikado himself, yet without harshness, in other words by her native wit and womanly σωφροσύνη, redeems her fault, and, cleansed from the stain attaching even to a blameless sojourn in the lower world, is ready, when the appointed time comes, for the company of angels who descend on a cloud to escort her through the sky to her homeland, the moon.

The maiden is revealed to the Wicker-worker in the hollow of a bamboo, and brought up by him and his good wife with the aid of gold found night after night in the bamboos he gathers and splits for his trade. The fame of her beauty is noised through the land, and she is sought in marriage by a number of noble suitors, five of whom, by a process of natural selection, prove themselves worthier, or rather, less unworthy, than the rest, and are told that he amongst them who shall bring the maiden the rarest and costliest treasure shall win her hand. Two of them offer

counterfeits, one of which is detected by the maiden herself, while the other is revealed through the unjust action of the suitor. The third suitor endeavours to accomplish the task by the lavish expenditure of money, but is defrauded by his agent; the fourth is honest but stupid ¹; and the fifth, through ignorance of the Way of Buddha, commits an impious action, and retires from the world in disgrace.

So far Kaguya has undergone her proof with compara-But now the Mikado himself seeks her; she tive ease. must avoid his importunity, yet without failing in her duty as a loyal dweller in his land. The story is extremely well told, one is almost tempted to believe that the Quests are later additions. The maiden never fails for a moment either in Buddhist rectitude or in earthly loyalty, and well earns the pardon of her offence. During her abode on earth she has learnt the virtue of filial piety-a Confucianist touch—and it is with increasing grief that in the last year of her stay in this lower world she watches, month after month, the waxing and waning of the moon, for she knows that when the mid eighth moon shall come and the orb shall be at its fullest, she must leave her earthly home and again become a denizen of Moonland. At the moment of quitting her foster-parents the sight of their misery almost overcomes her, but a celestial Robe of Feathers is cast over her shoulders, and all remembrance of earthly things is taken away from her. She leaves a letter of adieu for the Wicker-worker, and of humble farewell and loyal excuse with a bamboo-bottle of Elixir for the Mikado, who had sent a host of men-at-arms to protect her, but in vain, against the Moon-folk. But the Mikado will not touch the Elixir-what is long life to him without the radiant maiden, of whose beauty he alone among mortals outside the Wicker-worker's home, has been favoured with a glimpse. He orders a company of men-at-arms to carry the Elixir to the highest peak of the 'mountain which soars nearest to heaven'-to Fujisan, where it is to be burnt with fire. The Elixir is borne there accordingly,

¹ But see note to the Fourth Task.

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and burnt as commanded, and 'men say that the smoke of that burning still drifteth among the clouds of heaven'.

Japanese literature begins with the Kojiki or Record of Ancient Matters, which appeared in A.D. 712. During the eighth and ninth centuries various works were produced, none of which, if we except the Anthology, have any claim to admiration on literary grounds. But in the next century the Japanese mind seems to have taken a fresh flight, or rather to have awakened to a consciousness of its powers, and the remarkable series of monogatari or romances, of which the Tale of Taketori is at once the earliest example and the type, gave a lustre hitherto unknown to the prose literature of Japan.

Among these early romances, unsurpassed, probably unequalled, in literary quality, by the later fiction of Japan, the Genji Monogatari holds the chief place in the estimation of most modern native critics, who scarcely condescend to notice the Wicker-worker's simple and tender story, to the charm of which, however, the Shintô writers of the eighteenth century were fully alive. To European readers, however, the record of Genji's love-adventures soon becomes wearisome, despite the clever dialogues upon the virtues and failings of women, regarded as ministers to men's sensuous or aesthetic pleasures, that relieve the monotony of the narrative-dialogues, by the way, that wear a strangely modern air, and might, with a few necessary changes, be transported bodily into a drawing-room novel of nineteenthcentury London, if we may trust Mr. (now Baron) Suyematsu's partial translation.

In the sense in which Shakespeare is said to have had little invention, the nameless author of the *Taketori* lacked originality. Most of the materials of his story are drawn from Chinese or Sinico-Indian sources. It could hardly have been otherwise, for even as early as the tenth century the legends and traditions of his country had been either replaced by Chinese myths or recast in a Chinese mould, and, excepting in the rituals of Shintô, and some of the songs quoted in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* or collected in the Anthology, all vestiges of the unwritten literature of

primitive Japan seem to have been lost. But the art and grace of the story of the Lady Kaguya are native, its unstrained pathos, its natural sweetness, are its own, and in simple charm and purity of thought and language it has no rival in the fiction either of the Middle Kingdom or of the Dragon-Fly Land. The tags of word-plays that close the tale of each Quest answer simply to the 'whereby you may see' of the Hundred Merry Tales, while the story of the Fifth Quest, despite its air of farce, is redeemed by its illustration of a world-wide piece of folk-lore. Perhaps. indeed, the Moon-maiden's story stood originally alone, the work of some pious but not too orthodox Buddhist, not disdainful of Confucianism, who shaped a Taouist legend into an allegory exemplifying the great doctrine of inqua, or Cause and Effect, in the maiden's recovery of her celestial home through subdual of the very feeling the indulgence of which had led her to exile, despite the circumstance that a Mikado sought to inspire, and a father to foster, the tender sentiment. In such a story the narratives of the Quests may have been afterwards interpolated, partly to display more fully the maiden's constancy and purity, partly by way of gentle satire upon the taste for loveadventures which all the early romances show to have characterized the comparatively peaceful ages, when neither Hei nor Gen had yet raised the stormy din of factious arms.

To render literally an Oriental text involves the effacement of whatever charm the original may possess. I have therefore sought to give an English dress to the ideas, rather than to the mere language of the teller of this old-world story. But I have desired, at the same time, to preserve in the version as much as possible of the spirit, as distinct from the structure, of the unsinicized tongue of early Japan; and with this object have reproduced, to some extent, the loosely composite paragraph and sentence characteristic of Japanese prose, and abhorred of Chinese writers, who delight in a terse and antithetic, but bald and artificial style, that too commonly sacrifices wit to an obscure brevity, and loses all

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naturalness in the strain after mere symmetry of literary form. I have endeavoured, also, to retain the impersonality which so markedly differentiates Turanian I from Arvan speech; but I have usually found this possible only so far as it resulted from avoidance of metaphorical forms of expression. Of the numerous word-plays that decorate the text I have not attempted any explanation unless needed to give some definite meaning to the passages where they occur. The 'honorifics' in Japanese have often little more than a pronominal value, and I have not been careful to translate them when not used to emphasize respect. The word 'mi' is the honorific commonly employed in the text in relation to the Mikado, and is usually rendered 'imperial' or 'august', expressions to which I have preferred the simpler 'royal'. In his preface, Tanaka Daishiu (the Sinico-Japanese pronunciation of the characters with which his name Ohohide is written) says that if you read the Taketori over lightly, it will seem quite easy to understand; but if you want to 'taste' it, you will find it no easy matter thoroughly to comprehend the story, not only because the style is antique and concise, but because by dint of frequent copying the text is not unfrequently corrupt. I have experienced to the full the justice of these remarks, and am less certain now of the accuracy of many passages in my translation than I was at the beginning of my task; it was only after prolonged study of the text that I found I did not always fully 'taste' it.

The date of the *Taketori* is usually placed between the nengo Daidô (A.D. 806-10) and Yengi (A.D. 901-23). Motowori inclines to a date later even than Yengi. But in *Gengi Monogatari* the illustrations to the then existing MSS. of *Taketori* are said to be the work of Kose no Ahimi (Sôken)²,

¹ On this peculiar feature of Turanian languages the reader is referred to some excellent observations by Mr. Lowell in his Chosön, or Land of Morning Calm (Korea). Mr. Aston, too, has some admirable remarks on the subject in a paper on the Korean and Japanese languages, which will be found in the J. R. A. S., vol xi. pt. ii.

² Ahimi and Sôken are one and the same person. In Ander-

the writing being that of Kwanshi. But this declaration is not regarded as authoritative—Gengi Monogatari being merely fiction. In the Kakaisho 河 海 坎 Kose no Kanaoka and Kose no Ahimi are said to be the same person, but in the Kômeiroku, 高 名 森, Ahimi (Sôken) is said to have been his son, and Kanaoka to have flourished under Nimmyô (latter two-thirds of ninth century). About Kwanshi nothing certain is known. He is said to have been born in A.D. 877, and thus would be thirteen when Kanaoka died (A.D. 898). This would fairly agree with Sôken being the son of Kanaoka, and would go to corroborate the ascription of the Taketori to the early part of the tenth century, but somewhat earlier than the date mentioned by Motowori.

The authorship of the *Taketori*, which is far from being a mere compilation, is sometimes given to Minamoto Jun (or Shitagafu), who is also credited with having had a hand in preparing a commentary on the *Manyôshiu* under Imperial order published in 5 Tenryaku (A.D. 952). But Minamoto Jun is also said to have written the *Utsubo Monogatari* and the *Ochikubo Monogatari*, the style of both which romances is quite different from that of the *Taketori*. The final result of Japanese learning on the subject of date and authorship is that the *Taketori* was written about the beginning of the tenth century—a hundred years later than the establishment of the Court at Kiyôto—and that it is more likely that Sôken (or Ahimi), the son of the celebrated painter Kose no Kanaoka, was the author than Minamoto Shitagafu, if either of them were.

Of the monogatari—thing-tellings—stories, or narratives, or miscellanies, which are considered classical, twenty-seven (inclusive of the *Taketori*) are mentioned, with brief but accurate analyses, in the *Gunsho ichiran* ('Complete View

son's Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum (1886) they are wrongly referred to as separate individuals.

¹ He is the author of the famous Wamyô ruijiushô, a sort of encyclopaedia of ancient 'Things Japanese'.

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of the Host of Writings'), by Ozaki Masayoshi (died 1828). the preface to which is dated 1801. Those which are nearly contemporaneous with the Taketori, or which seem to have been composed within a century or a century and a half of its date, are the Ise Monogatari or 'Tales of Ise' (tenth century), fanciful love adventures of a courtier named Narihira; Utsubo Monogatari (utsubo = hollow place. or quiver), a collection of tales of which the first is the best known; Ochikubo Monogatari ('cellar story', tenth century); Yamato Monogatari (Yamato tales, tenth century); the famous Genji Monogatari by the Fujihara princess, Murasaki no Shikibu, in fifty-four books (eleventh century): Sumiyoshi Monogatari, a 'step-mother story' of doubtful date and authenticity 1; Tsutsumi Chiunagon Monogatari (story by the Chiunagon or Councillor who lived by the Dike [of the Kamo river, Kyôto], tenth century); and the curious Torikahebaya, 'would I could change them'the story of a father who has two children—a son who is feminine in his ways, and a daughter who is masculine in her's-and does not know how to educate them 2.

The postscript to Daishiu's Commentary, a good instance of old Japanese work of this kind, is to the following effect:—

In preparing the commentary, Daishiu has consulted many books, noting omissions and faults, explaining doubts and difficulties, either with the help of the works of other scholars or by his own scholarship only, trusting to careful investigation and exercising sound judgement, leaving scarcely any point unnoticed. To those who are not fully acquainted with the *monogatari* the present volumes will facilitate the path to an elegant knowledge of its beauties, and serve as a help to polite learning. In these respects their value is very great. The author showed me the draft of his commentary and I gave him also some help.

¹ Excellently translated by Mr. Parlett, T. A. S. J., vol. xxix.

² Further details on the *Monogatari* will be found in Dr. Aston's *Hist. of Jap. Lit.*, 1899, and in Dr. Florenz's *Geschichte*, 1905.

As to the past as delineated in the *Monogatari* I can only refer the reader to the learning of the author, which is sufficiently attested in the commentary and prolegomena, nor need I add anything more.

By the retired Suzuki Akira (Motowori Ohohira), a man of Owari, pupil of Motowori Norinaga, known as Suzuya no Ô, he died, aged 74, in 8 Tempo (1838).

This postscript is dated 1823 (?).

On the last page of the last volume the 'block-store' is mentioned, Paulownia Garden in Owari, and the date of publication is given as 2 Tempo (1831):—

From the Jimmei-jisho (Dict. of Japanese Nat. Biogr., 1886), I summarize the following account of the Commentator:—Tanaka Daishiu (Ohohide) was a wagakusha (scholar in native learning). He was known as Getsuman (Moon's fullness), also as Jinya ô (the Venerable of the Bean-moor). Born in Hida, he became a pupil of the celebrated Motowori. He was a fine musician and took pupils, teaching them to play on the flute, the flat-harp, and the five-stringed lute. He died, aged 72, in 1853. His edition of the Taketori in six volumes, one introductory and five of text and commentary, was his magnum opus, but he was the author of other works, among which his edition of the Tosa Nikki deserves mention.

THE STORY OF THE OLD BAMBOO WICKER-WORKER 1

BOOK I

THE COMING 2 OF THE LADY OF LIGHT 3

Kaguyahime no ohitachi.

It is now a long time since there lived a man who was known as Taketori no Okina, the old bamboogatherer. He went among the hills and wastes and gathered bamboos, and used them for ten thousand purposes. Now the name folk called him by was

¹ Lit. bamboo-gatherer, taketori, but a basket-maker or wicker-worker who gathers his own material is meant. The story is commonly referred to under the title Taketori Monogatari, but the full title is Taketori no Okina no monogatari, the Story of the Old Man the Bamboo-Gatherer. The old man who is the hero of the two hundred and third naga-uta of the Manyô-shiu is called Takatori no Okina. The form Takatori probably signifies a real proper name, taketori merely a worker in bamboo.

Taketori, the good-wife, and Kaguya are, of course, purely fictitious personages; the five suitors may, very possibly, have been intended as humorous caricatures of Court personages of the day. The last three of them, indeed, are said to have been historic persons.

- ² Literally, 'the growing-up.'
- * Kaguya is always written ** ** Illumer of Darkness. But originally the name probably meant the *hi me* (sunbright, or royal lady, at first a daughter of the Mikado, later a maid of the royal blood, finally—as here—part of a name) of Kagu or Kago, possibly the hill Kaguyama—Deer Hill, the subject of an oft-quoted stanza, said to have been composed by

Sanugi no Miyatsuko Maro¹. Among the bamboos he was gathering on a certain day there was one of which the stem shone brightly. The old man was astonished and went up to it and looked at it and saw that the brightness came from the inside. So he looked again and beheld a being of great beauty but only a span high. Then he said [to himself]:—

'Early and late do I work daily among these bamboos where I find this child. Surely I may

claim her for my own.'

Then he took her in his hands and carried her home, and gave her to his wife to be nurtured. Beyond all description was the beauty of the babe, but of so tender a growth was she that she was put into a hand-basket to be brought up.

the Empress Jitô (A.D. 690-6) on beholding the mountain bathed in a flood of summer sunlight [some say moonlight]

Haru sugite
natsu ki ni kerashi
shirotahe no
koromo hosu tefu
Ama no Kagu yama.

Now spring is ending and summer-time is coming O heavenly Kagu thy slopes are bright with vestments there set i' th' sun to whiten.

In this verse, one of the *Hiyaku Nin Itsushiu* ('A Century of Poems by a Century of Poets', thirteenth century), the writer suggests, doubtless, the heavenly counterpart of the Deer Hill which rises above the ancient City-Royal, Nara. Mount Kagu is mentioned both in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*. Or, lastly, Kaguya may denote the moon, the orb of night.

¹ Or Saruki or Sadaki. Sanuki or Sanugi is the northeastern province of Iyo or Shikoku, now the *Ken* (prefecture) of Kagawa. Miyatsuko (conf. *Manyôshiu*, Introduction, § x) is here merely part of the whole proper name. Of *maro*, the personal name, the meaning or value is not certainly known. Saito Hikomaro in his *Kata-hisashi* says 'maro was originally a humility-name of the first person, afterwards one of intimacy, and lastly of esteem'. It seems to have been a

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The ancient continued to gather bamboos, and after finding the child he went on gathering them, and as he split them, night after night he came upon a bamboo in whose hollow he found gold. So in time he became a man of great substance.

The child was carefully nurtured and grew apace, so that after only three months she had attained her full stature. Then her foster-parents thought it was time to put her hair up 1, and her hair was put up and she began to wear a maid's kirtle. But she was not brought outside the curtain 2, her parents doted upon her and tended her most affectionately, so that her beauty of face and form was without peer in the world, and in the house there was not a dark corner,

common name in the Nara period, and this perhaps throws back the authorship of *Taketori* nearer to the Daido (806-10) than Yengi period (901-23).

¹ Anciently the hair of both sexes was allowed to fall in long tresses behind either shoulder. At the age of thirteen or fourteen these were 'lifted' and fastened in a sort of knot on the crown or side of the head. The custom is alluded to in a tanka of the Anthology (Book XVI, Part I):—

Tachibana no tera no nagaya ni waga ineshi unahi bakari ha kami agetsuramu ka. Whom I my love made within the long-roof'd chambers of the Flower-Shower temple—
a tender maiden left I,

her locks she will be lifting?

The long-roofed chambers are the guest-rooms of the *tera* or convent. The name 'flower-shower' is more apt than orange-bush, though so written, if the story be accepted as given in the Kogi, that the *tera* was so named in honour of a miraculous shower of lotus-flowers marking the completion of a pious task, the exposition of a Buddhist sûtra (*shômôkei*?).

² The curtain before the *toko* or bed-place; in other words, she remained within her foster-mother's care, unbetrothed.

COMING OF THE LADY OF LIGHT 325

for her radiance filled the home. Never was the ancient ill or vexed that a sight of the child did not cure him and comfort his trouble.

For a long time the ancient went on gathering bamboos, and became a man of very great substance.

When the child was quite grown up, Imbe no Akita of Mimuroto² was asked to give her a

¹ The brightness that illumined the hollow of the bamboo proceeded from the maid.

² Here Imube (Imbe) no Akita is probably a mere name. Imube anciently was the guild, union, or artificial clan of shintô shrine ritual servants. Originally the imu hito (abstainer) was a person vicariously under tabu, to whose default was attributed the ills of his principal (Conf. N. I. 42). In the Nihongi we read that the old name kitashi for salt was tabu, because the Queen-Consort's father had died through an intrigue of a man named Kitashi. There were imu kotoba such as kami-naga, long hair (Buddhist monk), somegami, dyed paper (a sûtra), kusabiraku, a sort of fungus (flesh), ase, sweat (blood). At the date of the Taketori the imube system had not been supplanted 陰陽道. In the Anthoby the later magic, onyôdô. logy, Mimuro and Mimoro occur as names of hills; a hill named Mimuroto and two places named Mimoro are also mentioned. It may mean the place of three muro or shrines, or underground dwellings. In the Manyôshiu, Book II, Part I, will be found a tanka:-

Tamakushige
Mimuro no yama no
sanekadzura
sanezuba tsuhi ni
arikatemashi mo.

The application of the m. k. tamakushige to mi is untranslatable; so is the word-play in lines three and four. The first two lines are also prefatial to sanekadzura—thus the word-jugglery becomes complicated. The whole is said to express reluctance to leave one's mistress before dawn, despite the danger of quitting her in daylight—'tis intolerable that I should not continue to remain with her.'

name, and he named her Nayotake no Kaguyahime—the Lady of Light, the Bending Bamboo. And a great feast was held and the guests enjoyed themselves in ten thousand ways. Dames and gentles came without distinction, and noble was the revelry.¹

¹ The manifestation of Kaguyahime is connected with various Buddhist stories, several of which are given by Daishiu. In a little-known sûtra, Kwô-dai-hô-rokaku-zenjiu himitsu darani (Vipula-mahāmani-vimāna-supratūshtita guhya-dhāranī-sūtra, see Bunyiu's Catalogue of the Tripitaka), the 'Sûtra of the Dharani (charms or magic formulas) of the Pavilion of Boundless Treasure', we read: 'The Bosatsu (Bodhisattva=candidate for Buddhaship, Eit. 26) Kongâshiu, Vadjrapāni or Diamond club-holder (Eit. 159), and Makasatsu (Makâbōdhi?) said to Shaka Muni (Sakyamuni)—

"Tell us, your Holiness (seson), what is the reason and source of all the nyorai (Tathagata, perfect Buddhas, Eit. 141) in this temple (Hōrokaku)?"

Shaka answered—

"Looking far down the vista of kalpas (a kalpa is the lifeperiod of a physical universe) we see that in this world (Djambu dvīpa, the triangular inhabited world, being one of the four continents of the universe) the masses of men needed not to plant the grains, for these grew of themselves, destroyed not each other, and accumulated no wealth, but they knew not Buddha. In that land rose a high mountain, the Precious Mountain (Ratnaghiri in Behar, Eit. 103), anigh which dwelt three Sennin (Richis, or Immortals through asceticism, Eit. 103), who were perfect in the ways of Buddha, so that they saw the dêva of the pure dwelling (heaven), and imparted the highest wisdom (sanîadhi) to men. . . . After a time these three holy men were absorbed into the earth, and there grew there three bamboos with roots of the seven treasures, and stem and leaves of gold, and the branches tipped with pearls, fragrant and pure beyond compare. . . . After ten months each stem opened of itself and disclosed in its hollow a male child of great beauty. Each boy sat at the foot of his bamboo, and after seven days attained perfect intelligence, showing the thirty-two beauties

and eighty excellencies (of a Buddha), together with absolute composure, whereupon each bamboo became changed into a tall and beautiful storied pavilion."

Another legend is as follows:-

'In the garden of the King of Rayarei (?) grew a flourishing Dai-tree (Âmra, mango-tree?). In that land dwelt a Koji (upâ-saka, Buddhist layman), who was a bonshi (a brahmatchâri, ascetic brahman), wealthy and of eminent wisdom, and so esteemed of the king that he made him a chief minister. The king gave him an âmra fruit to eat, which the bonshi found so good he desired to have a tree of that kind. His wish was granted, but the fruit was found bitter, but became sweet when the tree was manured with milk and butter. Then a branch shot up from a swelling and produced a crown of leaves with a pool of water in the centre amid the blossoms, midmost which the bonshi found a beautiful girl-child, whom he took and reared. Her name was Daijo, the Âmra Maid (see the Âmradarika-sûtra).

When she was fifteen the fame of her beauty was noised abroad, and seven kings wooed her.

The bonshi thereupon placed the girl in a tower, and said to the king—

"The maid is no child of mine, I found her in a Dai-blossom, whether of celestial origin or born of an evil demon I know not. If I give her to one of you I shall incur the wrath of the rest, so ye must settle the matter among yourselves."

This they could not do, but one of them, King Heisa (Bimbisara—a King of Magadha, who gave a park to Shaka, and was murdered by his son Adjatas'atru, B.C. 551), mounted the tower and remained the night there.

In due time the girl bore a man-child of extreme beauty, who held in his hand a pin and a medicine bag, and became a famous physician (Eit. Djaraka).'

There are variants of the above stories, and other similar ones cited by Daishiu.

In the Kojiki (K. 258) we find the curious story of Ama no Hiboko (Celestial Sun Spear), and the woman who, under the influence of the sun's rays, gave birth to a red jewel which became a beautiful girl, who finally married Ama no Hiboko. See also the Red Arrow story (K. 146). Both these are phallic stories, as are, apparently, so many in the Kojiki.

BOOK II

THE WOOING OF THE MAID

Tsumadohi

The gentles of that time, of high and low degree, distracted by the fame of the loveliness of Kaguyahime, were at their wits' end how to win her or even gain a glimpse of her. They wandered there about the house-fence and lingered near the door, but found it vain to attempt to get so much as a glance at her. So they could not sleep at night, and they went out in the black darkness and made holes in the fence, and peeped through here and there until they became nearly mad. Whereby you may see how men came to say of folk a-wooing that they 'went a-creeping by night'.

Beside themselves at this failure [or treated as if they were not there at all and of no account] they wandered about the fence still, but nothing ever saw they, and though they made to speak to the house-

folk no answer ever won they.

They never left the neighbourhood, and while dark grew light and light grew dark many of them

thronged the purlieus.

Then, after a time, the duller folk thought it was useless to wander longer thereabout, and they departed and came no more. But others are more to be mentioned, for their passion diminished not, and five these were, who came daily and nightly, and their longing to gain the maid ceased not.

Their names and styles were these. One was the miko Ishidzukuri, another the miko Kuramochi,

¹ Yobahi (wooing)—yo hahi = night-creep—is really only a lengthened form of yobu, call.

a third the Sadaijin Abe no Miushi, a fourth the Dainagon Ohotomo no Miyuki, and the last was the Chiunagon Isonokami no Marotada.¹

Now among the multitude of women if men hear of one even a little more lovely than the rest they are consumed with desire to behold her, and so it was that these five lords, in their passion to gaze upon the beauty of Kaguyahime, would touch no food, but inflamed by a continual longing went to where she dwelt, and loitered and wandered about the house, yet all to no purpose, and wrote letters to her but got no answer, and addressed moving verses to her whereto she deigned not to reply.

All their labour was profitless they deemed, yet still they pressed their suit, unheeding alike the snows and frosts of winter and the thunderous heats of summer.²

At last they summoned the ancient, and bowing them before him and rubbing their hands like suppliants begged him to give his daughter to one of them, but he said:—

'No child of my blood is the maid, and indeed she may not be constrained by me.'

¹ These names will be explained later on.

² Minadzuki—the 6th month, part of July and August under the old calendar. The name—a contraction of kaminashi tsuki—signifies 'godless month', because during the month all the myriads of gods were believed to be absent from the world, holding council in the bed of the River of Heaven (the Milky Way or at Kidzuki in Idzumo; confer Aston, Shintō) to determine the fortunes of men during the ensuing year. The legend, if not of Chinese origin, is more or less sinicized, and embodies perhaps some memory of the time when the ancestors of the Chinese dwelt about the sources of the Yellow River, the river which they supposed to be the continuation on earth of the celestial stream. Another possible derivation would be kaminaridzuki, 'thunder-month'.

And so the months and the days passed by.1

At last the suitors returned to their homes. They were full of grief, they offered up prayers to the gods and petitions to the Buddha (or holy men) and so sought to win ease of their woe, but no ease could they win. Then again they bethought them, Could the maid for ever refuse to mate with a man? and again they pressed their suit, and again sought her dwelling and let it be seen more clearly than ever, by their continuing to haunt the place, how bent they were upon winning the maid.

The ancient saw this, and said to Kaguyahime :-

'My child, my Buddha, thou camest to us after a miraculous fashion, but from babe to maidhood have I bred thee, and that in no unfatherly way, wherefore I pray thee listen to what the old man would say.'

Kaguyahime answered:-

'I know not if I came to you, father, after a miraculous fashion that I should not listen to whatever you may deign to say to me, but this I know that ye

are my dear parents.'

'Oh, daughter,' cried the ancient, 'what delightful words you speak. But I am over three score years and ten, and know not whether I shall outlive this day or its morrow. 'Tis the way of this world of ours that the maid should meet the youth and the youth the maid, for so indeed shall thereafter the home increase, and how might the fashion of the world be other.'

But Kaguyahime answered:—

'Why should I do so?'

'Because miraculous as your coming to us was,'

^{1 &}quot;Ότε δη μηνές τε καὶ ημέραι έξετελεθντο, Odys. 14. 293.

said the ancient, 'in form and manner you are a woman and well might you remain as you are as long as my days endure. But for years and months have these lords sought you, wherefore I pray you to consider their petition and give yourself to one of them.'

'But I am not fair to look upon,' cried the maiden, 'and, unknowing the truth of their love, were I to give myself to one of fickle heart should I not bitterly repent me of it later. Good gentlemen they be doubtless, but ill it were methinks to mate with any of them without proof of his sincerity.'

The ancient replied :-

'The same anxiety is mine, daughter, but tell me with what manner of man would you care to mate; not ungentle lords have they surely shown themselves, in like measure, to be.'

'Just to discover the depths of their passion,' said the maid, 'is no great thing to desire. They have all shown like devotion, and I would somehow find out which among them are the more and which the less excellent. So tell these five lords, father, that I will follow him amongst them who shall prove the truth of his love by bringing me the most precious thing in the world.'

'Tis well,' replied the old man.

As the day darkened the suitors assembled as usual 1, one playing on the flute, another reciting

¹ The rivalry of suitors is a common story-motive all the world over. In the Buddhist tale of the Âmra Maid (p. 327, n. 1) a company of royal wooers is brought upon the scene. In the *Manyôshiu* are several instances of the rivalry; among the most interesting of which are the lays numbered 5 in the first book, and 122 and 125 (and the story from the Yamato

verses, a third singing ditties, while the remaining pair whistled with their lips or clattered with their fans, and so was music made, when the ancient came out to them and said:—

'I have told my daughter how very grateful we should be to your lordships for thus honouring my poor dwelling these months and years, and I added that I knew not whether I should overlive the day or its morrow, and begged her to consider your suit and make answer to it, to which she replied that she knew not how true your love for her might be,—such was her explanation,—and which was the more and which the less true lover she knew not, and to discover this she promised to follow him who should bring her the most precious thing in the world, and, so prove his love. This was the determination she had come to, and it seemed good and such as your lordships would not be displeased with.'

'It is good,' they answered, whereupon the ancient went in to Kaguyahime and told her what the lords had said.

Then Kaguyahime announced her will to the ancient as follows:—

'Tell the miko Ishidzukuri to bring me from India the holy stone bowl of the Buddha; the miko Kuramochi to break off and bring me a spray of the tree that hath roots of silver and trunk of gold and

Tales appended thereto) in the ninth book. Another curious example is the confused but interesting story of the White Hare of Inaba told in the *Kojiki* (K. p. 68), where as many as eighty (i. e. all the) deities wished to marry the Princess of Yakami in Inaba and made Ohonamuchi carry their bag as their attendant when journeying there, but despite all their wooing the lady said, 'I will not listen to your words. I mean to marry the bag-bearer'.

beareth jewels as fruits, and groweth in the isle of Hôrai midmost the Eastern Sea; the next one to bring me from Morokoshi a fur robe made of the pelt of the salamander; the Dainagon Ohotomo to present me with the five-coloured jewel that lieth in the head of the dragon; and tell the Chiunagon Iso that from him I require a birth-easing shell brought by the swallow across the seas.' 1

'These be tasks hard indeed,' cried the ancient, 'such treasures are not to be found in our land.'

But the maiden answered:-

'Why so hard?'

And, whatever he might think to say, the ancient had to go out and tell the lords what her will was.

They heard him and answered :-

'The lady deigns simply to say straightway that we should do well to depart hence.' So they dedeparted sorrowfully.

¹ The last three of the suitors may have been real personages. If so, the fact would go to prove that the story was composed in the eighth or ninth century.

BOOK III

THE FIRST TASK

THE QUEST OF THE HOLY STONE BOWL OF BUDDHA ¹

Hotoke no mi ishi no hachi

More than life itself did the miko ² Ishidzukuri ³ desire to gaze upon the beauty of Kaguyahime, yet as he bethought him how hard a task it were to win a thing that was to be found only in India, being a man of crafty mind, and reflecting too how vain it were to fare hundreds of thousands of leagues upon the chance

- ¹ Daishiu expends a good deal of Buddhist learning upon the Stone Bowl, most of which is but of little interest. A Buddhist monk, following the example of the Buddha himself, always received alms in a bowl or dish, never otherwise. In the *Ujishui* (eleventh century) of Minamoto no Takakuni, in ch. clxix, will be found the curious story of the monk Jakusho. He was present with a number of Chinese monks at an imperial banquet (in China) who all made their bowls fly about in the air to receive food. He could not do so, and sought to excuse himself by saying that such was not the custom in Japan. Nevertheless he implored the Buddhist saints and the Shintô gods not to let a Japanese monk be put to shame. His prayer was heard, his bowl flew faster than any and came back to him filled with food.
- ² The 'miko' were originally 'princes of the nearest kinship' to the Sovran; the 'kimi' were more remotely related to him (Asakawa, p. 67). In later times the title became part of a name merely.
- ³ The miko, who as such would need no *kabane*, may have been named after his nurse, a common practice in ancient Japan, who, in that case, will have belonged to the family (originally *be* or *tomo* or artificial clan) having the *kabane* or style of stone-workers (makers of stone coffins). The fraud of the miko is, perhaps, suggested in the name.

of discovering a bowl that was the only one in that vast land, he let it be known to the ancient's household that he had that day started upon the quest, and after three years had passed presented himself at the maiden's abode, bearing a bowl which he had discovered standing on an altar to Bindzuru¹, in a temple among the hills of Tohochi in Yamato. The

¹ Bindzuru is Pindola, one of the sixteen Rakan or Arhats (Eitel, 12) who remain in this world to keep perfect the faith of the Buddha.

In the Butsuzô dzui (illustrated account of Buddhist images) he is the first mentioned, under the name Hatsuratasha (Bhâdravaja-an early disciple), and is represented as an old man seated by the edge of a precipice overlooking the sea, and holding in his right hand a fly-flapper of feathers (to keep the flies off the Buddha), and in the left palm-leaves with sacred texts written on them. There exist traditions relative to this saint which convert him into a sort of Wandering Jew. He offended Shaka and was condemned to live for ever, thus losing his chance through successive deaths and rebirths of attaining Nirvana. Another (Chinese) legend relates that he was buried as a slave, and on the grave being reopened was found to be alive. Yuming (first century A.D.) says 'this slave is always wandering, where he is now no one knows, he never stays in one place; I have myself never seen him'. See some interesting notes by my friend Minakata Kumagusu in N. & Q., Aug. 12 and 26, 1899, and April 28, 1900; also in Nature, 1895, 'The Story of the Wandering Jew.'

The saint is always treated as apart from all others, and his image placed on a rock outside the *tera* or monastery. He is known as the Helper and those who are afflicted in any part stroke the same part on his image and recover. Hence his images are usually much worn down. They are painted red, and it may be that Bindzuru is not merely a corruption of Pindola but a humorous rendering of *beni-zuru*, rubbed with red, i. e. red-stained.

According to a Chinese work (commentary on the Water Classic, Suikyô, written about A.D. 500) Varuna, the Indian Neptune, may be represented by Bindzuru.

bowl was black with the soot of lamps, but the miko had wrapped it in a covering of brocade and attached the bowl to a spray of artificial blossoms ¹. On being shown the bowl Kaguyahime could not hide her astonishment, but as she looked closer she saw a scroll lying therein, which she took and opened, and read this stanza:—

O'er seas and mountains
well-nigh my life hath failed me
in quest obedient—
'tis tears of blood hath cost me'
the bowl I bring you, lady.

Again the maiden regarded the bowl, to see if it shone with any light³, but not so much as the gleam of a firefly could she perceive. So she gave back the bowl with this stanza:—

A sparkle scanty as morning dew-drop showeth here vainly seek I but to the Hill of Darkness ⁴ thy Quest, belike, hath ta'en thee!

The mike, on the bowl being returned to him, cast it away, and wrote a stanza in reply:—

¹ It was a pretty custom in old Japan to accompany a gift with a spray of wild plum, or peach or cherry, in flower. To this day a present to a *geisha* is called *hana*, flower. See *sub voce* 'tamadzusa' (List m. k., vol. texts).

² The last two lines of the text—ishi no hachi no | namida nagare ha—may be read ishi no ha chi..., i.e. 'this stone [bowl] has run with tears of blood.'

³ Daishiu tells us that a true Buddha Bowl is of an azure colour and gives out light. So *s'arira*, or relics of a cremated saint, are often supposed to emit flashes of light.

⁴ Ogura, in the district where the Bowl had been found. Ogura probably means Little Grange, but by a word-play is Thy beauty, lady, a hill of shining light is,¹ hath dimm'd its sparkle let bowl and honour go, if but I still may woo thee!

But Kaguyahime deigned not to make any answer. Nor would she listen to anything that the mike got to be said to her, and so, at last, wearied of importunity, he departed. Whereby you may see how men came to say of a man who doeth that which bringeth him to shame, 'he hath thrown away his bowl'².

here taken as 'lesser darkness', 'obscurity'. In two tanka of the Anthology the hill is mentioned:—

As even falleth
upon the hill of Ogura
the stag's shrill cry
this night is all unheard,
in sleep, belike, he resteth.

On Ohoi's waters
the fisher-barks are showing
their shining flares—
wherein the hill of Ogura
a name is, nothing more.

¹ Shirayama, opposite in situation as in (borrowed) meaning to Ogurayama. Originally, probably, it was Shiroyama or Castle Hill. The intrinsic brilliance of the Bowl is obscured by the radiance of Kaguyahime's beauty; as the stars are made invisible by moonlight, says Daishiu.

² Hachi, bowl, is written with the syllabic characters of haji, shame, the chi being 'nigoried' into ji.

BOOK IV

THE SECOND TASK

The Quest of the Jewelled Spray of Mount Hôrai¹

Hôrai no tama no yeda.

As the miko Kuramochi was a man clever in expedients he let it be known at Court that he was going to take the baths in Tsukushi and so took leave, but to the household of Kaguyahime he intimated that he was starting on the Quest of the Jewelled Spray and therefore went down to Nániha

- ¹ Hôrai, in Chinese Phenglai, is one of the Three Isles of the Genii which were supposed to exist in the ocean east of China. A legend, probably of a Taouist cast, relates that Süfuh or Hsüfuh (Japanese-Jofuku) or Süshe, a magician of Tshi (Shantung), was sent during the reign of Hsihwang, the founder of the Chinese Empire, with a band of youths and maidens in search of these Blessed Isles, where grows the magic che plant, and wells forth the fount of sweet wine which bestows immortality upon the drinker. It is upon the seeds of the che and upon the gems that bestrew the island-meads that the genii subsist. With the islands is connected the name of the mystic Sungwuki (fourth century B.C.), who is said to have conducted a previous expedition there. Taouist story identifies him with the genie who dwells in the moon, gettchiu no sennin. Perhaps Ratnaghiri was the original of Mt. Hôrai—possibly Fujiyama. See Mayers' Chinese Reader's Manual, Nos. 641-47; also Book I, note 8, ante.
- ² The name is written Kurumamochi, 'keepers of the royal carriages' (kuruma). Possibly, guardians of the royal granaries (kura). If Kuramochi was a real personage, his name, like that of Ishidzukuri must have been taken from the kabane of his nurse's family.
- ³ Kiushiu, or the west part of Kiushiu, the Isle of the Nine Territories. One may render it Westland.

⁴ By the river Yodogawa.

with all his people. Then he declared that he desired to travel quite privately, and took few folk with him, only his body-servants, and all the rest of those who had accompanied him went back to City-Royal. Lastly, he made as though he had gone on the Quest, but after three days he secretly took boat and returned also to City-Royal. There all arrangements had been made beforehand, and the master craftsman, Uchimaro, with his assistants, six men in all, had been impressed and lodged in a place difficult of access and surrounded by a triple-fence. The miko shut himself up with the craftsmen, and used the revenues of sixteen villages 1, whereof he was lord, to provide for the making of the spray. The spray was made exactly as Kaguyahime had described that of Hôrai. With great cleverness the mike succeeded in conveying the spray secretly to Nániha. There he took boat and returned to City-Royal and sent word thereof to his mansion and appeared in the guise of a wayworn and wearied traveller. Many [of his people] went to meet him, and they put the spray into a Chinese coffer and covered the coffer with a [silken] cloth and bore it with them. 'An unheardof wonder' they shouted, 'the miko Kuramochi hath gotten the Udonge 2 flower and bringeth it to City-Royal.' Now Kaguyahime heard of this thing and her heart wellnigh broke as she thought to herself that she would, perforce, have to yield herself to the miko.

¹ The text here is very obscure, probably corrupt. I have done my best with it.

² The Udumbara, or Ficus glomerata. The flowers, which almost require a botanist to detect them, as in all figs—'flower-less fruit' as the Chinese commonly call them to this day—are fabled to appear but once in a thousand years.

In due course a knocking was heard at the gate of the maiden's abode, and it was announced that the miko Kuramochi had arrived.

'I have come in my wayfarer's garb,' he declared, adding:—

'At the risk of my life have I won this spray. I beg that it may be presented to Kaguyahime.'

The ancient thereupon took the jewelled spray and carried it within.

A scroll was attached to the spray whereon a quintain was written:—

Though vainly risk'd I
my very life risk'd vainly
this jewelled Spray
on Hôrai's tree unplucked
how could I leave and see thee.

While Kaguyahime was wondering at these lines the ancient entered her chamber hastily, and said:—

'The mike hath brought you the spray you commanded of him, 'tis just such as you described, failing in no particular, and whatever you do you cannot say this or that [you must make up your mind to accept him]. He has come in his wayfarer's dress without even resting at his own mansion, and delay you must not, daughter, to accept his suit.'

Kaguyahime answered nothing, but sat there with her chin on her hand, sad and sorrowful.

Thinking that no opposition would now be made, the miko began to mount the steps that led to the porch-floor. The ancient, who thought the miko's request reasonable, said to Kaguyahime:—

'Never in this land hath such a jewelled spray as this been seen. How can you now refuse to see him, daughter; moreover, 'tis a goodly man.' The maiden answered:-

'It was a great grief to me to seem to refuse so obstinately to listen to what my father said, wherefore I spoke of getting for me some precious thing that were difficult to win, but I am disappointed not a little that it has been gotten so easily.'

For a space the ancient was silent, arranging the chamber the while. Then he [went out and] said to the mike:—

'Your servant would fain know what manner of place it may be where groweth this tree-how wonderful a thing it is, and lovely and pleasant to behold!' And the mike answered: 'The year before yester-year, on the tenth of the second month (kisaragi), we took ship at Naniwa and fared out into the open sea, not knowing what track to follow: but I thought to myself, What were the profit of life, if I might not attain the desire of my heart? So pressed we onwards, blown whither the wind listed. If we perished even, what mattered it; while we lived we would make what way we could over the sea-plain, and perchance thus might we somehow reach the mountain men called Hôrai. So resolved, we fared further and further over the heaving waters, until far behind us lay the shores of our own land. And as we wandered thus afar, now deep in the trough of the sea-we saw its very bottom belike; now blown by the gale, we came upon strange lands, where creatures like demons fell upon us and were like to have slain us; now, knowing neither whence we had come nor whither we tended, we were almost swallowed up by the sea; now, failing of food we were driven to live upon roots; now, again, indescribably terrible beings came forth and

would have devoured us; or we had to sustain our bodies by eating of the spoil of the sea. Beneath strange skies were we, and no human creature was there to give us succour; to many diseases fell we prey as we drifted along knowing not whitherwards, and so tossed we over the sea-plain, letting our ship drift before the wind for five hundred days. about the hour of the dragon, four hours ere noon, saw we a high hill looming faintly over the unknown watery waste. Long we gazed at it, and marvelled at the majesty of the mountain rising out of the sea. Lofty it was and fair of form, and doubting not it was the mountain we were seeking, our hearts were filled with awe. We plied the oar, and coasted it for two days or three, and then we saw a woman, arrayed like an angel, come forth out of the hills, bearing a silver vessel, which she filled with water at a fount. So we landed and accosted her, saying: "How call men this mountain?" and she said, "'Tis Mount Hôrai," whereat our hearts were filled with jov. "And you who tell us this, who then are you?" we inquired. "Myname is Hôkanruri 1," she answered, and thereupon suddenly was lost among the foot-hills. On scanning the mountain we saw no man could climb its slopes, so steep were they, and we wandered about the foot thereof, where grew trees bearing blooms the world cannot show the like of. we found a stream flowing down from the mountain, the waters whereof were rainbow-hued, yellow as gold, white as silver, blue as precious ruri; and the stream was spanned by bridges built up of divers gems, and by it grew trees laden with dazzling jewels,

¹ Hokanruri, a Buddist compound = treasure-crowned ruri stone.

and from one of these I broke off the spray which I make bold now to offer to the Lady Kaguya. An evil deed, I fear me, but how could I do otherwise than achieve the task laid upon me? Delightful beyond all words is yonder mountain, in all the world there existeth not its like. After I had broken off the branch, my heart failed within me and I hasted on board, and we sped before a fair wind and after some four hundred days we came to Naniwa, whence but yesterday, so great, belike, was my desire, I set out for City-Royal, and now have I hasted here without even changing my wayfarer's vestments, all soddened with sea-water though they be.'

The miko's story moved the ancient to tears as he listened, and he made a quintain:—

For years and years
bamboos in this world of darkness,
mid wastes and mountains
have I long hewed, but never
so sad a time-joint known.

When the mike heard these lines he said, 'Now is the bitterness of delorous days gone, now do I know peace in my heart.' And he made a quintain in answer:—

My sleeves with tears wet this day are dried, this day still'd lie all my fears low a thousand thousand sorrows behind me fade forgotten.

Just at this moment a company of men entered the fore-court. Six men filed in, and one at their head

¹ The internode (*fushi*) of a bamboo, by a word-play, suggests a passage in life.

bore a bamboo in the split end whereof was held a scroll. He said:—

'Ayabe no Uchimaro, takumi (architect, or designer, or foreman) of the tsukumodokoro (construction) office says: We have broken our hearts with labour and for over a thousand days have exhausted our strength in making a jewelled spray as commanded, but no wage has been bestowed upon us and we desire to receive it for the support of our families.'

He then presented the scroll.

The ancient, Taketori no Okina, doubted what these words might mean. But the mike became as one beside himself and looked as if his very liver had perished within him.

When Kaguyahime heard of these things she commanded that the scroll should be accepted, where-upon it was received and opened and read. And on it was written what follows:—

'His lordship the mike shut himself up in the same place with a number of mean craftsmen for more than a thousand days and caused a fine jewelled spray to be made, promising that he would confer promotion.¹ We have heard that the Lady Kaguyahime is about to espouse his lordship and that the spray was her great desire, therefore we have come to this mansion thinking that here we should receive our due.'

On hearing of this request the Lady's face which had been clouded with anxiety broke into a smile, and she called for the ancient and said to him:—

'So you thought this a true Jewelled Spray of Hôrai—wretched counterfeit as it is, take it and return it to its forger.'

The ancient answered:-

¹ This appears to be the meaning of the text.

QUEST OF THE JEWELLED SPRAY 345

'As we have just heard that it is certainly false, of course it must be returned,' nodding his head in assent as he spoke.

Then Kaguyahime, the load now lifted from her heart, composed this quintain:—

The tale I hearkened, or true or false I wondered, mere words it was,¹ as false as are the jewels this sorry spray adorn.

And with it was the jewelled spray delivered to the miko.

The ancient, remembering what he had said about the spray, closed his eyes and could not utter a word.

The mike stood there awhile, half inclined to go, half to stay. At last, as day was darkening, he slunk off and disappeared.

Then Kaguyahime summoned the craftsmen who had caused this trouble, and said:—

'I am much pleased with you men,' commanding that they should be liberally paid. They were greatly delighted, and went away, saying that they knew they would be thus treated.²

But the miko Kuramochi caused the craftsmen to be punished, and beaten on their return until the blood flowed. The wage they had received from

² The craftsmen only knew that the spray was destined for Kaguyahime—that it was a fraud on the part of the miko

they were unaware.

¹ In the text there is a play upon ha, 'leaf' or 'leaves', fancifully used by Tsurayuki in his preface to the Kokinshiu, of which a translation follows this section of the present work, to signify 'words' or 'language', hoto no ha.

the Lady Kaguyahime profited them nothing, they were despoiled of the whole of it, and so fled away

and disappeared. 1

This shame was the greatest that ever fell upon the mike during the whole of his life. It was not only that he did not win the Lady, but he felt that men looked down upon him, and he sought a retreat amid the depths of the hills. The retainers and servants of the Court divided themselves into bands and sought for the mike in all directions, but whether he were dead or not they could not discover. He concealed himself so well, even from his body-servants, that for years nothing was seen of him.

Whereby it may be understood how men came to say 'tamazakaru' ² of one parted from his wits, like the miko Kuramochi.

BOOK V

THE THIRD TASK

THE QUEST OF THE ROBE OF SALAMANDER FUR

Hinedzumi no kahagoromo

THE Udaijin Abe no Miushi³ was a lord of great wealth and ample household. In that year [of the

- ¹ To complain, with whatever justice, of the act of a superior was a crime in old Japan. Conf. Viscount Hayashi's remarkable book, *For His People*.
- ² By word-play tama-zakaru may mean 'precious' or 'gemblossom', in allusion to the tama no ycda (Jewelled Spray), or 'parted from one's wits'.
- ³ Or Sadaizhin Abe no Murazhi. Daizhin or Oho-omi is Great Minister, Sadaizhin, Left or Superior, Udaizhin, Right or

wooing] he wrote a letter to one Wôkei who had come by ship from the land of Morokoshi, wherein he required him to buy for the Udaijin a Robe of Salamander Fur, and among his housefolk he chose a trusty retainer named Onono Fusamori and charged him with the letter.

One bore the letter accordingly to Wôkei and gave it to him, together with gold. Wôkei read the letter and answered:—

'The Robe of Salamander Fur is not to be found in my country. I have heard of, but never yet seen such a thing. If it exists anywhere in the world I will do my best to bring it to this country. It will, however, be a hard job. Still, to India, by some chance, such a robe may have been brought, and it may be possible to procure it through the great merchants 4 who trade there. If not, your retainer can bring back the gold you have sent.'

Inferior Great Minister; Murazhi is a kabane. Omi and murazhi were the higher, tomo no miyatsuko and kuni no miyatsuko were the lower ranks of high officials—the former, ministers or councillors, the latter, administrators. This is, of course, only a general description (see Asakawa, 67–70, &c.). Abe no Miushi is said to have been a real personage. In the Zoku Nihongi, under third year of Mommu, we read of the death of Abe no Asomi Miushi. Then the Sadaizhin was Tajiki no Shima no kami. Mura = district, zhi is the zhi or shi of aruzhi = nushi, master?

- ¹ Wôkei is a purely Chinese name.
- ² Morokoshi is an old Japanese name for China, of uncertain derivation.
- ³ Lit. 'of fire-rat,'-hi-nezumi. Daishiu gives no information concerning this fur. Perhaps the reference is to the asbestoscloth mentioned in Yule's *Marco Polo*, as a product of the country lying on the northern frontages of China.
 - ³ Chiyauzhiya (chôja), a Buddhist term. A mother, telling

After a time the ship came back ¹ from Morokoshi. When the Udaijin heard that Ono, his retainer, was ready to start for City-Royal he took a swift horse and caused it to be sent in haste to meet him, so that he was able to reach the capital, riding from Tsukushi, in only seven days.

He brought with him a letter from Wôkei, which the Udaijin unrolled and read as follows:—

'After much labour and sending a man in quest of the Robe have I succeeded in procuring the same. Now, as of old, it has been no easy thing to find a salamander fur. But a good time ago a learned sage came to this land from India, bringing one with him. I heard that it was kept at a temple among the western hills [of China], and after great difficulty, and with the help of the officials of that land, I was able to buy the Robe. The money you sent was not enough to pay the price, so after consultation with the authorities and with your · messenger I added money of my own and bought the Robe. So that now you ought to send me fifty gold ryô. I beg that the money be sent me by return of the ship [to China], if not the money, that the Robe be given as a pledge therefor.'

'What does this mean!' said the Udaijin to himself, 'the money is but a small matter, it shall be sent at once, I am very glad Wôkei has sent the Robe.'

Then he turned his face towards the land of Morokoshi and bowed him humbly.

her son to follow the founder of the Han dynasty ('Liu Pang', Mayers' *Manual*, No. 414), called the latter *chôja*, as having the honesty and sagacity of a merchant prince.

¹ Perhaps to Hakata in Chikuzen, a favourite resort of Chinese traders in early times.

On looking at the casket containing the Robe this was seen to be curiously wrought with flat inlaid work of different kinds of fine ruri¹. The Robe itself was of a violet colour, the tips of the hairs of the fur iridescent with gold, truly a precious treasure it appeared to be and without its like in the whole world. Even its fire-proof quality paled before its rare beauty.

''Tis a splendid gift' cried the Udaijin, 'surely

Kaguyahime will admire the Robe!'

So saying, he cried 'ana kashiko!' (how fine?) He put the Robe back into the casket which he fastened to a blossomy spray, and after carefully powdering his face and dressing himself elegantly set out for the ancient's home, where he deemed he must certainly be allowed to remain, wherefore he attached a scroll to the spray, on which was written this quintain:—

Of this Fur Robe
in quenchless flame of passion
the sleeves are dry—
and thou to-day mayest, Lady,
look on the Fur Robe famous!

The Chinese preferred jade to jewels, and the Japanese preferred wavy agate and cornelian. Of the gems prized in the West very few are found in the Far East, nor do the Chinese or Japanese know how to cut them. Daishiu says the ruri was a gem of which ten kinds were found in the Ta Tshin land, by some supposed to be the Roman Empire, by others the countries lying south and west of China—Syria? Persia? Perhaps varieties of turquoise or lapis lazuli are covered by the name. Ruri has also been identified with the emerald, and Dr. Williams, in his Chinese Dictionary, says it is the Sanskrit vaidurya, one of the sapta ratna or seven treasures of Buddhism (Eitel, sub voce), which seems to be lapis lazuli, or possibly clear green jade. Lastly, coloured glass or enamel may be intended.

When the Udaijin reached the gate of the fore-court, the ancient came out and took the Robe and carried it within to show to Kaguyahime, who, after looking at it, said:—

'It seems a beautiful fur, indeed, but no one knoweth for certain whether it be a true salamander fur or not.'

The ancient answered:

'Looking at the matter this way or that way, we must first of all invite this lord to enter; the fur hath all the look of being an incomparable treasure, therefore receive it, daughter, nor, I pray thee, trouble men-folk so.'

He then asked the Udaijin to enter, and ancient and dame now deemed she must accept him.

For long had the ancient bewailed her unmarried state, and desired to give her to some man worthy of her, but she had continually refused, yet it was unreasonable to force her will.¹

'If this Robe on being cast into the flames should not be consumed,' she exclaimed, 'then, methinks, will it be proved to be of true salamander fur, and if it be an incomparable treasure, as is said, it may well be put to the test of fire, and so you may tell this lord.'

The ancient agreed, and went out to tell the Udaijin what she said.

But Abe no Miushi answered:

'What doubt can there be about the Robe, which was not to be found even in Morokoshi and cost such

¹ Daishiu reflects on the contrast between the timidity of Abe and the boldness of Kuramochi. It will be observed that the Wicker-worker pleads for each suitor in turn, in his anxiety to see Kaguyahime married,

a world of labour to discover? Nevertheless, since the Lady so willeth, let it be put to the test of fire.'

Then the Robe was cast into the flames and was burnt up in a trice. So was it shown to be nothing more than a counterfeit.

When the Udaijin saw that the Robe perished in the fire, his face turned grey as a withered leaf. Kaguyahime uttered an exclamation of delight, 'ana ureshi!' [how delightful!], and composed a quintain in answer to the one offered by the Udaijin, which was placed in the casket returned to that lord, empty of its Robe.

Hadst thou but known
that any flame would burn it
nor leave a vestige—
afar from love's fires would'st thou
yon Robe have better guarded.¹

Whereupon the Udaijin departed.

After these things when men inquired whether Abe the Otodo² had gotten the Robe of Salamander Fur and so won the Lady, they were told that the Robe had been cast into fire and there perished, wherefore the Udaijin had not won the Lady. When men heard this tale they cried 'Ha, abenashi!', whereby you may know how men came first to speak of an adventure that faileth as 'abenashi'³.

¹ Alluding to the Daijin's stanza, in which he pretends that the flame of his passion has dried his tear-drenched sleeve.

² Otodo is oho omi, great minister.

³ Abenashi, 'not-Abe', or 'Abe is nought', involves a word-play—Abe nashi = ahenashi = togenashi, unsuccessful.

BOOK VI

THE FOURTH TASK

THE QUEST OF THE JEWEL IN THE DRAGON'S HEAD

Tatsu no kubi no tama

THE Dainagon Ohotomo no Miyuki ¹ called together the men of his household and said to them:—

'In the head of the Dragon there lieth a jewel sparkling with the five colours,² and to him who winneth me that jewel shall nothing be refused that he may desire.'

His men listened respectfully to their lord's words and answered:—

'Our lord's words are most gracious, but to win

¹ Said to have been a real personage. The Nagon, we read in the Wamiôsho of Minamoto Shitagafu, were ohohi monomafusu hito—chief speakers, i.e. Royal Councillors (N. II. 347, n.) The Ohotomo, 'Great Clan' or 'Great Guards', were of higher lineage than the Mikado himself, for their ancestor was Ama no Oshihi, a brother of the ancestor of Izanagi and Izanami, and a grandson of the Great Mid-sky Master, according to the earliest version of the Sun Legend. There was an Ohotomo no Miyuki who flourished in the early part of the eighth century and is identified with the Ohotomo no Kiyofu mentioned frequently in the Anthology (q. v.).

The three great clans were, on the accession of Jimmu, (1) Mononobe, or soldier-caste, who guarded the interior of the palace. Their ancestor was Umashimade no mikoto. (2) Ohotomobe, or great guards, whose ancestor was Michi no Omi no mikoto. (3) Kumebe, or army caste, whose ancestor was Ohokume no mikoto. The clans (2) and (3) guarded the exterior of the palace. The power of all these clans was overthrown by the Fujihara family in the seventh century.

² More literally, 'with the splendour of the five colours'.

yonder jewel were no light task, belike. How may one draw forth a jewel from the very head of the Dragon'.

Whereupon the Dainagon exclaimed:-

'As your lord's men you must accomplish whatever he bids you do, even at the risk of your lives. What I desire is not something not to be found in this land of ours, nor is it something to be sought in India or China. The Dragon is a creature that climbs the hills out of our own seas and descends into the sea from our own hills 1; why, therefore, should ye shirk the task as no light one?'

To which his retainers replied:—

'After what our lord says there is no help for it, hard though the task be. We must not refuse to do his bidding, and therefore will we undertake the Quest.'

The Dainagon smiled approvingly, and added:-

'How should you oppose your lord's will and cast a slur upon his name, seeing that ye are his men.'

Then he set about making ready to take the jewel in the Dragon's head. To provide food for his men he used all that he had in his mansion, silk cloths

¹ The Chinese belief was that a kind of hornless dragon in climbing the hills crumbled them into dust. This was an explanation of landslips and earthquakes. On descending into the sea he caused waterspouts, to this day known in Japan as tatsu no maki, 'dragon-whirls.' The 'New Cut', imagire, which was the result of an earthquake in 1499, and connected Hamana no Mizu-umi (near Hamamatsu) with the sea, was attributed to the action of a peculiar dragon called hora, but hora is a gigantic whelk, and as my friend, Mr. Minakata, suggests, the story may be due to the exposure of fossil-shells as a result of the earthquake.

and floss and coin ¹. And he said: 'Until they return I will live under *tabu*, but let them not return without having won the Jewel.'

His men were so told, and they listened and departed. 'We must not return without the Jewel, he saith,' they cried among themselves, and they wandered aimlessly wherever their feet bare them, railing at their lord's whimsy, and, at last, after dividing among them what their lord had provided for the Quest, they separated, some going to stay in their own homes, some wherever they listed.

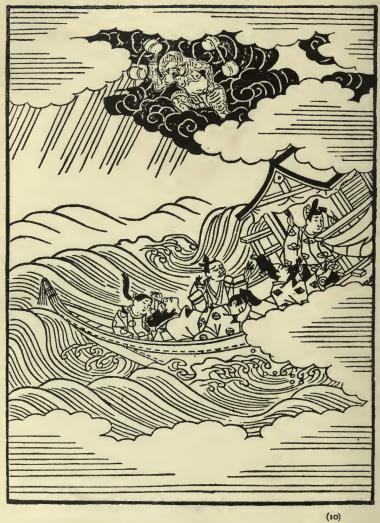
Now they railed at the Dainagon because he had commanded them a foolish thing, which neither father on his children nor lord on his men ought to impose.

Meanwhile the Dainagon bethought him that no ordinary lodging would be meet to receive the Lady Kaguya, wherefore he caused a beautiful pavilion to be erected, well lacquered within and adorned with designs in gold, silver, and coloured enamel, even the roof was thatched with parti-coloured silks ², and the chambers were furnished in a manner words cannot describe; in every room were patterned tapestries whereon were painted many fair pictures.

All his women, too, he dismissed, for he felt assured

¹ Silk cloth was used as a sort of currency in archaic Japan. In the *Konjaku Monogatari* (a collection of Japanese, Chinese, and Indian stories, in sixty volumes, by Minamoto no Takakuni, d. 1077), we read of a servant selling his master's widow for silk stuffs.

² Or decorated with bands of silk. A hyperbolical expression, reminding one of the 'tiled with lapis-lazuli (ruri)', found as descriptive of a lordly mansion, even in a sober history like the Continuation of the Nihongi [Zoku Nihongi]. See also 'Streets paved with Jewels' in the Hôjôki (Journal Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1905).



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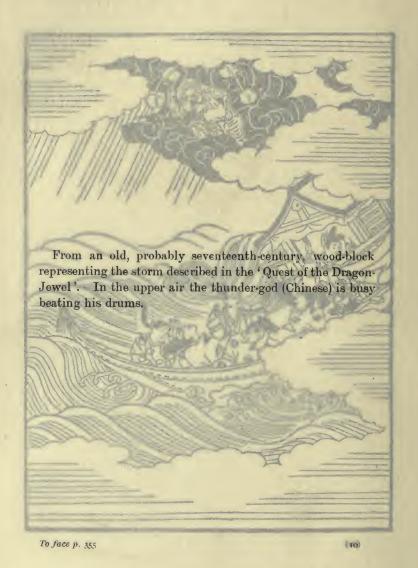
From an old, probably seventeenth century, wood-lines repese ting the to make will din the Quest of the Dragon Jewel "... In the upper air the thunder god (Chinese) is busy beating his drums

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of winning the Lady, and the days and the night he passed alone.

Day and night, too, he awaited the return of the men he had sent upon the Quest, but years [or, a year] passed and he got no word of them. At last he felt wearied at heart, and taking but two of his servants with him, very privily he went down the river to Naniha, and there made inquiry:—

'Hath any one heard whether the Dainagon's men have gotten the Jewel they took ship to win?'

But the fisher-folk only laughed and answered:

'What strange talk is this? No ship hath gone forth upon such an errand.'

'Cowardly folk these sailors are, to be sure!' cried the Dainagon. 'Of bold deeds they know nothing. I myself will bend the bow, and let fly the shaft, and slay the dragon, if dragon I meet, and so win the Jewel that lieth in his head, nor will I longer wait for those laggard fellows of mine.'

So ship he took and sculled forth over the sea in this direction and in that, and so was he oared far beyond distant Tsukushi.

Then, somehow or other, a great wind blew, and the air grew dark and the ship drave. The ship drave midmost the ocean, one knew not where, the wind whirled, and the waves rose and towered over the boat and were like to swamp it, and the [thunder-] god roared 1 as he would strike the ship, and the

¹ The illustration, a common one in Japanese representations of the thunder-god, is of Chinese origin. It was believed that the stroke of the god's hammer caused the 'clap', the vibration of the drums the 'roar', and the simultaneous combination of both, the 'bolt' which slew men. There is some truth of observation here, for the simultaneity mentioned would involve proximity of the electric discharge.

Dainagon was sick with fear, and cried out 'What will become of me, never have I been in such dreadful peril'.

The steersman heard him and said :-

'Times and again have I oared among these waters, but so fearful a storm as this never have I seen. If the ship founder not, we shall be struck by the thunderbolts of the god, if by good hap and the god's grace we escape those perils we shall be driven far south amid barbarian seas. Woe worth the day I took service under so ill-advised a lord; I never thought to die such a death as this!'

He burst into tears as he spoke, but the Dainagon reproved him, saying:—

'When on shipboard one leans upon the steersman as upon a great hill. What mean these helpless words thou speakest?'

A fit of sickness interrupted the Dainagon, and the steersman answered:—

'No god am I, what can I do. The winds blow and the waves roar, and the [thunder-] god, too, will hurl his thunderbolts upon us, belike, because you are seeking to slay the dragon—for, be sure, the storm is the dragon's work, and well it were that no time be lost in making supplication to the god.'

'Thou sayest well,' cried the Dainagon. 'Hearken my prayer, O god of seafolk, in my folly and frowardness have I sought to slay the Dragon, but now, I vow, no single hair of him will I dare to ruffle.'

So the Dainagon prayed somewhile, weeping and calling upon the god a thousand times, when, suddenly—was it not in answer to his prayer!—the thunder began to die down, and the gloom to lift, but still a mighty wind blew.

'Tis the work of the Dragon, for certain,' cried the steersman, 'the wind that bloweth is a fair wind, 'tis no foul wind, it bloweth us to our own land.'

But the Dainagon heard him not, he lay senseless in the bottom of the boat.

For three or four days the ship drave before the wind 1 and when land was made it was seen to be the beach of Akashi 2 in Harima. But the Dainagon thought it was some coast in the far southern sea, and, gasping for breath, lay motionless in the bottom of the boat, and still lay there helpless when the governor of the province, to whom the shipfolk had sent word of their lord's case, came to condole with him.

They spread mats for him under the pine-trees that fringed the shore, and laid him upon them. When he saw that it was to no southern sea coast he had come, but to a strand of his own country, he struggled to his feet, looking like one heavy with rheum, his belly greatly swollen, and his eyes resembling a pair of sloes stuck in on either side of his face.

A four-hand litter was then provided, in which the Dainagon was borne, as gently as might be, to his own mansion. Somehow the men whom he had ordered upon the Quest heard of their lord's return, and came to the mansion and said:—

'We did not win the Jewel in the Dragon's head, as we were commanded, and we ought not to dare to present ourselves at our lord's mansion, but now our lord knoweth how terrible the task was imposed upon

¹ Sailing boats were unknown in Japan at this date and long afterwards. Even in China they seem to be no older than about the eleventh century.

² Akashi may mean 'to grow, or be clear as dawn'. But it is written Aka-ishi, 'bright stone' = white shingle perhaps.

us and we venture to pray that no decree of expulsion be pronounced against us.'

The Dainagon got up and went out to them and deigned to say these words:—

'Tis well that ye have not won the Jewel. Yonder Dragon, for certain, is a thunder-god; in trying to win the Jewel has risk been caused to men's lives; had the dragon been killed I were lost myself, therefore well it was it was not gotten. Yonder Kaguya lady is a great schemer. She purposeth to cheat men to their death; go not nigh her, nor linger about her abode.'

The Dainagon then took what was left of his substance and divided it among the men—who had not won the Jewel.

His ladies, whom he had discarded, when they heard of all these things laughed till their sides ached, and the crows carried away the silken thatch of the pavilion built for Kaguyahime to line their nests with.

There were men who inquired whether the Dainagon had won the Jewel and they were told:—

'Nay, he hath not won the Jewel, but he hath gotten a pair of sloes in his head for eyes.'

'Ana tahegata!' they cried, whereby you may know how men came to say 'Ana tahegata' of a luckless venture.

¹ Ana is interjectional, tahegata, intolerable.

BOOK VII

THE FIFTH TASK

THE QUEST OF THE SWALLOW-SHELL THAT EASETH BIRTH

Tsubakurame no koyasugai

THE story of this Quest is but poor fooling, nor does it illustrate any trait of early Japanese life. motive, however, belongs to the folklore of the world, Western as well as Eastern, and a brief summary

therefore may be given.

The Chiunagon Marotada has to present the Lady with a cowry shell (koyasugai) brought by a swallow (tsubakurame) — probably the Hirundo gutturalis, which according to Messrs. Blakiston and Pryer nests always in a house, where often a shelf is provided for its accommodation. He has recourse to his retainers, who devise various schemes, more or less trivial or ridiculous, in pursuance of one of which the Chiunagon endeavours to catch a swallow sitting upon its nest in the act of wagging its tail. Thus far he is successful, but only to be rewarded by a ball of dung, which he grasps firmly in his hand, believing that he has obtained the much desired prize. In being lowered too hastily from his post of observation, to which he has been raised in a sort of basket attached to a rope, he meets with a mishap and falls upon a rice caldron, from which his retainers drag him still grasping his supposed prize—the nature of which he then, to his stupefaction, discovers.

The result was a broken limb and a bed of sickness. Kaguyahime had pity on him—the only one of the five suitors who excited any emotion in her moonland

bosom—and sent him a stanza of which, with its answer, paraphrases are subjoined from the pen of Mr. Minakata:—

Though by mine eyes long time unseen, memory preserves thee, fresh and green, as pine-tree shadowing Suminoye's shore, why have not yet the waves brought from the ocean caves the shell which I desire than rubies more?

The Chiunagon's reply was thus conceived:-

Thy words of light
as jewels bright
welcome as were the longed-for shell—
oh, might that shell a vessel prove
to lift me up to heights of love,
from the sea of grief wherein I dwell!

And more than death itself he dreaded men's knowledge of his discomfiture.

Whereby, concludes the story of the Quest, it may be known how the world first came to use the phrase 'kahi (kai) ari!' 'he has got his shell'.'

¹ The fondness of the swallow for human habitations, the very exact dates of her annual visits and departures, and the singular affection of pairing couples shown to each other and their offspring, were doubtless interesting subjects of man's contemplation at a very early stage of his history. Hence it is not surprising that swallow-stories should be common in the East as in the West, nor that generally the bird should be regarded with favour and hailed as a harbinger of prosperity, though Horace, indeed, calls her

infelix avis et Cecropiae domus aeternum opprobrium.

The name of the common papaveraceous herb Chelidonium (majus) is a record of the common belief that swallows first used the juices of that plant to cure disease in their nestlings' eyes, and so taught the value of the remedy to men—a belief

not prevalent in the East. In Longfellow's 'Evangeline' it is a stone they use for that purpose:—

Oft in the barns they climbed to the populous nests on the rafters, Seeking with eager eyes that wondrous stone which the swallow

Brings from the shore of the sea to restore the sight of its fledglings:

Lucky was he who found that stone in the nest of the swallow!

In his Ornithologia, Aldrovandi cites a description of the swallow-stone by Pliny, and a more detailed one from Anselme Boece de Boodt. The stone is found in the nest, and is a remedy for many diseases. According to C. Leonard it facilitates both conception and birth. A Japanese writer of the eighteenth century, Kinouchi Shigeakira, mentions four 'swallow-stones'; one the stone-swallow, which is a fossil brachiopod resembling a swallow with outspread wings; a second, a flaky mica-schist which is blown about by the wind so as to resemble a swallow in flight; a third, which is a cowry shell, as mentioned in the Fifth Quest; and a fourth, a stone found in the province of Hien (written with the character [hien] meaning 'swallow'). The birth-easing qualities of the swallow-shell, are, no doubt, derived from the medical doctrine of 'sympathy', common in all lands and ages, and curiously exemplified in the present day by the system of homoeopathy, a doctrine which caused aids and remedies to be discovered in things which had some resemblance, material or other, to what was sought to be aided or remedied. Cowries, too, served as currency in ancient China, and many characters relating to wealth or money contain the element 貝 (representing a tortoise shell with the legs protruding), such as 貢 tribute, 賣 sell, 寶 treasure.

[I owe this note to the kindness of Mr. Minakata, who has prepared an exhaustive account of the swallow-stone and shell myth, which I trust may be published.] The Japanese name for the swallow is tsubame (also tsubakura, tsubakurame), etymologically connected, no doubt, with tsubasa, wing, itself related to tobu, fly (comp. toki, time, and tsuki, moon). The swallow is not mentioned in the Manyôshiu, nor is the bird, I think, a subject of Japanese poetry. Kahi-ari may be rendered 'well done!'

BOOK VIII

THE ROYAL HUNT

Mikari no Miyuki

Now the Mikado, hearing of the incomparable loveliness of Kaguyahime said to the *naishi* ¹ Nakatomi no Fusako:—

'Yonder Kaguyahime who hath brought to nought so many men, for that she will mate with none of them, go thou and see what manner of woman she may be.'

Fusako heard respectfully and went. When she arrived at the ancient's dwelling she was most courteously received and invited to enter, and said to the dame:—

'His majesty has commanded me to see Kaguyahime, the fame of whose great beauty has reached him.'

The dame went, accordingly, to the Lady's chamber and bade her meet the royal messenger. But Kaguyahime said:—

'I am not beautiful at all, why should she see me.'

'How can you say such a thing'! replied the dame, ''tis a lady sent from the Court, you cannot treat her in this unseemly manner.'

'I will not heed the Mikado's message,' replied

the Lady.

And she maintained her refusal to be seen of the Lady Fusako. Though living with her foster-parents as if she were their child, they never sought to

¹ Naishi, a sort of ladies-in-waiting or women attendants upon the Mikado. The Nakatomi were originally the 'vicars of the Mikado' (Aston's $Shint\hat{o}$).

constrain her, and always treated her with great respect and consideration.

The dame went back to the naishi Fusako, and said:—

'Unfortunately, the girl is very young and obstinately refuses to be seen of you.'

'But how can I return without seeing her?' cried the lady, 'His Majesty specially enjoined me to see the maiden; who can think of any subject of the Sovran of this realm not obeying his commands! She must not conduct herself so foolishly.'

Her reproachful words were repeated to Kaguyahime, but all the more would she not listen to them.

'If I am to suffer death for disobedience to the commands of the Sovran, then let me be put to death.'

So the *naishi* returned to City-Royal and reported these things. The Mikado heard and exclaimed:—

'This girl is bent upon men's destruction!' and thought to leave things so, but again bethinking himself, resolved that Kaguyahime's devices 1 should not be further successful, and commanded that the old Wicker-worker should himself be ordered to present himself at Court.

The ancient, accordingly, went up to City-Royal and the Mikado directed that he should be told 2:—

'Thou hast a daughter, one Kaguyahime, let her be brought hither. We had heard of her beauty of face and form and sent one of our ladies to see her, but she refused to be seen. How can she, indeed, display such impropriety!

The ancient answered humbly:—

1 Those she had used to get rid of the suitors.

² The conversations with the Mikado were held by intermediary of the naishi.

'It is a great grief to your servant that this girl doth so resolutely refuse to serve your Majesty, but I will return and inform her of your Majesty's will.'

'Doth not this girl owe obedience to the ancient who hath brought her up!' exclaimed the Mikado, when the Wicker-worker's words were repeated to him; 'let him bring her to Court and shall not a cap of rank be bestowed upon him!'

The ancient, gladdened by this promise, returned to his house and spoke to Kaguyahime, saying:—

'Thus and thus hath the Mikado commanded, and now surely thou wilt obey.'

But Kaguyahime still refused, exclaiming:-

'If I be compelled so to serve His Majesty I shall surely disappear, and your cap of rank will just mean my death.'

'Nay, thou shalt not be constrained,' cried the ancient, 'of what profit were a cap of rank to me if I lost my daughter, yet tell me, why dost thou so dislike to serve His Majesty, that such service would cause thy death?'

'My words are no empty words, father,' replied Kaguyahime, 'try me and you will see that they are true. Have I not already made nought of the hopes of many noble wooers, and to yield me this day to what the Mikado demandeth would give rein to the tongues of slanderers.'

The ancient answered:

'For the things of this world I care neither this nor that, but thy dear life, daughter, is precious to me above everything, and straightway will I go up to City-Royal and say that thou canst not by any means serve His Majesty.'

Then he went up to City-Royal and declared :-

'According to His Majesty's command I have respectfully sought to bring my daughter to Court, but she will not consent to serve His Majesty, and saith she must surely die if she be forced to become one of his ladies. The girl is not of the blood of Miyatsuko Maro—long ago he found her among the hills—neither is she in feeling like to the dwellers in this world.'

The Mikado's command was:-

'The house of Miyatsuko Maro stands at the foot of the hills. Let a Royal Hunt be ordered and I may, perchance, get a glimpse of the maiden.'

The ancient on hearing this exclaimed:-

'Tis a most excellent device. His Majesty may see her if the Hunt be ordered without any notice thereof, for so she may be approached unawares.'

A day was then fixed, but without warning, and in the course of the Hunt the Mikado entered the ancient's dwelling, and as he looked he saw that it was filled with light in the midst whereof stood a lovely being.

'Tis she,' he cried, and approached her, but she fled. He laid his hand upon her sleeve, but she covered her face. Howbeit the Mikado got a first glimpse of her and saw that she was beautiful beyond compare.

'Nay you must not go,' he cried, attempting to lead her away, but Kaguyahime exclaimed:—

'Were I a born denizen of this land well would I serve your Majesty, but even your Majesty has no power to lead me away.'

The Mikado, however, despite her words, again tried to lead her away and caused his litter to be brought nearer, when, in a trice she vanished into

thin air. Disappointed and vexed, the Mikado now understood that the Lady was no common mortal.

'I pray you, Lady,' he said, 'take again your former shape, I will not seek to lead you away. Once more let me look on your form and I will depart.'

Then Kaguyahime resumed her shape, and the Mikado could not contain his delight and felt most grateful to the ancient, whose device 1 had enabled him to gaze upon such loveliness. Meanwhile the Wicker-worker entertained right nobly the whole of the royal retinue.

Deep was the Mikado's disappointment that he must leave Kaguyahime behind; it seemed as if he left his very soul at the ancient's house as he entered his litter and made ready to go back to City-Royal. He composed a stanza which was given to her:—

Alone returning
to City-Royal sadly
my soul is weary—
I still look back and long for
cruel Kaguyahime.

And this was her answer:—

For many a year
'neath humble roof o'ergrown
with rough-coiled hop-vine
my home hath been, and wherefore
should I for palace change it.

When the Mikado read these lines he was more than ever desirous of remaining, and lost all sense of the need of returning until his servants reminded him that he could not linger there till dawn broke, whereupon he was borne away.

On looking at the women who ordinarily served

¹ The keeping of the day of the Royal Hunt secret.

him the Mikado saw that they could not be put by the side of Kaguyahime. Such was her loveliness that none could compare with her, with her only could his heart concern itself, and he passed the days and the nights alone nor visited the ladies of his Court, at which they were much displeased.

He deigned to write letters to Kaguyahime which he caused to be conveyed to her, and to these she composed replies, and so, forgetting all distinctions of rank, they corresponded with each other, and exchanged verses in which the blossoms of spring and the glories of autumn were employed as metaphors.¹

BOOK IX

THE CELESTIAL ROBE OF FEATHERS

Ama no hagoromo

After this manner the Mikado and Kaguyahime comforted their great hearts for the space of three years, when from the beginning of spring the maiden was observed to watch the fair rising of the moon and to fall sadder than was her wont. Her women chid her, saying, 'Thus to gaze on the face of the moon breedeth sorrow.' ² But despite their chidings the maid went on watching the moon privily, and her tears flowed abundantly.

When the moon was at its full in the seventh month 3 still sadder grew her countenance, and the

- ¹ The text might possibly mean, 'verses attached to spring blossoms and autumn sprays.'
 - With how sad steps, O moon, thou climbst the sky, How silently, and with how wan a face.

(Sir Philip Sidney.)

³ Parts of July and August.

women who served her sought the old Wicker-worker

and told him, saying :-

'Kaguyahime ever watcheth the moon in sadness, but this latter time more sadly than is her wont, and some sorrow 1 seemeth to lie heavy on her, wherefore we pray you to look well to her.'

The ancient heard and went to the maiden and said

to her :-

'What aileth thee, child, that after this sad fashion thou gazest upon the moon's orb, thy life is not miserable here?'

'As I gaze upon the moon,' murmured the Lady, 'my heart faileth me because of the wretchedness of this world; what other grief were mine?'

Again the ancient went to her chamber and saw that her misery was greater than ever, wherefore he cried:—

'My Buddha, my Buddha², what is thy trouble, what grieveth thee?'

'Nought grieveth me,' she answered, 'but my heart faileth me.'

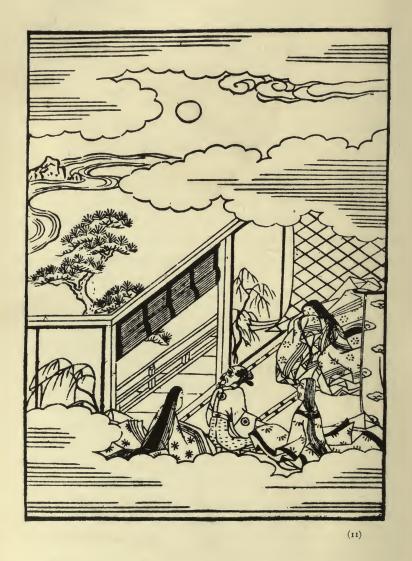
'Gaze not so on the moon,' said the ancient, 'it is such watching of the orb that bringeth thee this sadness.'

'How may I cease to look upon the moon!' said the Lady; and more and more, as the moon rose, she went out to gaze upon the orb, and deeper and deeper grew her sadness. But on moonless nights her sorrow departed from her. As the moon waxed, times and again she lamented and wept. As those who served her watched her, they felt assured she nursed some secret grief, and whispered that it was so among them-

¹ The approach of the time of her return to Moonland.

² A term of endearment.





solves, but what was the tage of guess, and once her pairwes to the course and the more share at the weight will make sarries, and to a length to a result to a term. The saw to a stage that a term of the course them there are a saw to a stage that a saw to a stage the course of the

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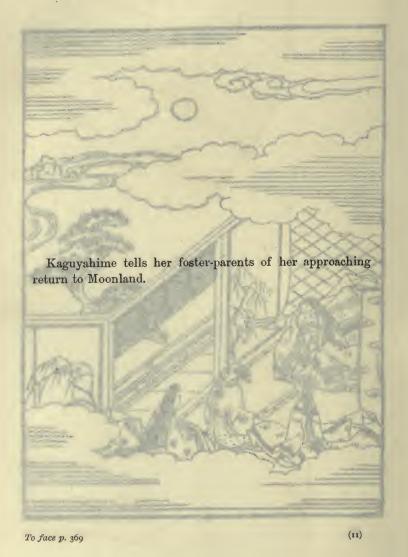
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"When thing is this then retrest me?" arised the surrount, "Bid I not find then in the hollow of a temples, and did we not rear these from the time when then went to all the rape seed notif the stature on like any own to be in the line who would not an of any own that I all the excitors who would not an of any own that I all the excitors who would not an of any own that I all the excitors and homeometrical.

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⁴ AVIan pastoned by the amount



selves, but what was the reason of her woe none could guess, not even her parents. When the eighth month came and the moon shone at its fullest, Kaguyahime wept still more sorely, and as she wept sought no longer to conceal her tears. When her foster-parents saw her state they very earnestly besought her to tell them the cause of her grief.

So, at last, weeping bitterly, Kaguyahime said: 'Times and again¹ have I thought to confess to you why I am troubled, but I knew how I should distract your heart with grief, and so have I kept silent till now when I must tell you why I have gone forth so often to gaze upon the moon's face. I am no creature of this world, my true home is City-Royal in Moonland. Long ago it was decreed that I should descend upon this earth for a space, but now draweth nigh the time when I must return. As yonder orb shall wax to its fullest, a company of beings shall come down from the sky to bear me away, nor can I avoid my doom; and so you know why, since the first days of spring, day by day have I become more sorrowful and sad.'

'What thing is this thou tellest me?' cried the ancient. 'Did I not find thee in the hollow of a bamboo, and did we not rear thee from the time when thou wert small as a rape-seed until thy stature was like my own. What folk be these who would rob me of my own child? I will die ere they take thee,' he added, bursting into tears and lamentations.

'Moonland folk are my true father and mother,' exclaimed Kaguyahime. 'For a while only descended I on this earth, but now have I dwelt with you many a year. I have no memory of my father and

¹ When questioned by the ancient.

mother who dwell up yonder, and so long have I lived under your fostering care that I care but little for the glories of Moonland, and should know nothing but misery in leaving you. But, alas, I may not follow my own heart in this matter, and cannot avoid the parting.' 1

The ancient and his good-wife and Kaguyahime then wept together. Her women, too, who had served her all these years, and thus had come to love her as they watched her growing in goodness and grace, could not bear the idea of her departure, and gasped with grief, so as not to care even to swallow a single cup of warm water, and shed tears in company with her parents.

The Mikado, hearing of these things, sent a messenger to the Wicker-worker's house to make inquiry. The ancient came out to meet the royal messenger, and wept without end. So utter was his sorrow his beard had gone grey, his limbs bent under him, his eyes were dim and bleared. He was but fifty years old, but the depth of his grief had made him seem to turn suddenly into an old man.

The royal envoy delivered his message, and said: 'His Majesty would know if it be true that some great grief hath come upon your house?'

The ancient, amid his tears, answered:-

'When this moon shall be at its fullest, a company of folk will come down from Moonland's City-Royal, to carry away our daughter. We are humbly grateful to His Majesty for his inquiry, and would pray that a company of armed men may be sent on the night of the full moon to take captive these Moonfolk, should they dare to make this raid.'

¹ The text of this passage is defective.

The messenger returned to City-Royal and related all that he had heard, whereupon the Mikado exclaimed:—

'But a glimpse had I of the Lady, yet never will her image fade from my memory; how great then must be the grief of losing her to those who, morning and evening, are accustomed to see her!'

So when the day of full moon came, the captains of the guards were commanded, and the general Takano no Ohokuni was sent with two thousand armed men, chosen from the six regiments of Royal Guards, to defend the Wicker-worker's dwelling.

The armed men marched down accordingly, and a thousand men were posted on the earthern ramparts, and another thousand on the roofs, and to all these were joined the house-folk who were very many, so that there was not a crevice left unguarded. On his back bore every man his bow and arrow-ful quiver, while within the treasure-chamber assembled the women to protect the maiden. There the goodwife held Kaguyahime in a firm embrace, the door of the chamber was fastened, and the ancient stood on guard hard by the entrance.

These preparations being made, the ancient cried: 'With ward such as this, shall we yield even to skyfolk!'

He then called to the men on the roofs, and shouted: 'If ye see anything no bigger than a drop of dew fall through the air, shoot and kill.'

'Should so much as a single bat,' was the reply, 'but come near our defence, we will slay it on the spot and expose the carcase.' 1

¹ As the heads of executed criminals were.

The ancient was well pleased on hearing these bold words, but Kaguyahime said:—

'Strict may your ward be and brave your defence, but ye cannot prevail against these Moonland folk. Your artillery will not touch them, your bolts and bars will start at their approach, fight ye ever so stoutly; of no avail against them will your utmost prowess be,'

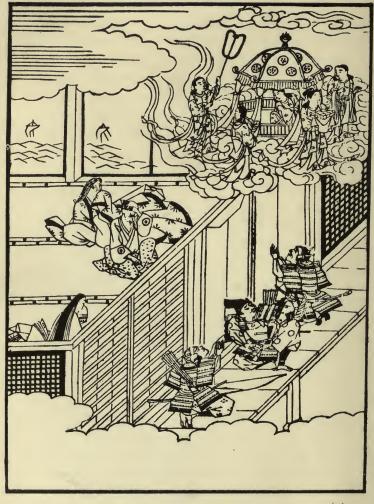
But the ancient retorted:-

'My nails shall become as talons to claw out the eyes of those who come to take you. I will seize them by 'the hair of their heads, and whirl them round and dash them to the ground. I will tear their clothes off their backs and put them to shame before the eyes of the royal troops.'

'Nay, father,' cried Kaguyahime, 'shout not so loudly, it were not seemly that the armed men on the roofs should hear such words. Alas I must leave you, as if I had lost all memory of the affection shown to me while I dwelt with you; I must soon depart from you, for that it was decreed that my doom was to be one of no long exile. Even a little gratitude for all your goodness to me I cannot show, and great is my grief now that the hour of quitting you is at hand: for months and months have I known 'twas so ordered, and I prayed my parents above for yet this year with you but it could not be, and so I must suffer this sorrow, and you, my parents, will be distracted with grief for me, and the misery of knowing this is intolerable. These Moonland folk are of that fine essence that they know nor old age nor any sorrow. With them must I fare, yet fain would I remain, for, alas, I shall not be with you to watch over you as ye grow old and feeble.1'

¹ This speech is slightly simplified,





THE CELEPITAL BOLD

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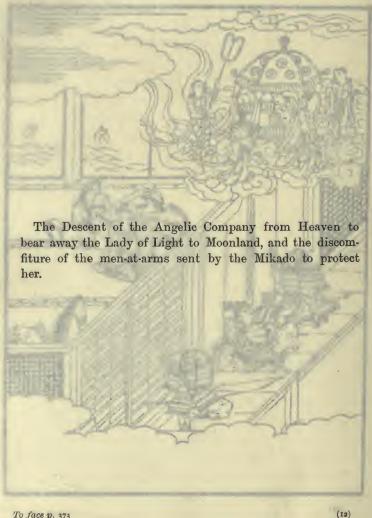
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And the angel and :-



As she spoke, Kaguyahime fell to weeping.

The ancient's heart, too, was wrung with grief, and sore with misery he exclaimed:—

'Hold, daughter, glorious beings though these

folk be, they shall not harm thee.'

Now the night was far gone and the middle hour of the rat [midnight] was come, when a flood of light, brighter than the sun at noon, fell upon the house, a glory tenfold that of the full moon, revealing the tiniest hair-pore on a man's skin. And through the shining air descended a company of beings borne on a cloud, and they stood ranked on the cloud as it hovered some little distance above the gateway.

The armed men, posted within and without the dwelling, when they saw this prodigy, were struck with fear and lost all stomach for fighting, nevertheless with a great effort they made to fix shaft and bend bow, but the strength was gone from their arms and their bodies were bent and paralysed; and though some among them there were of a yet bolder spirit, who with a supreme determination let fly their arrows, all astray went the shafts, and so their valour was of no avail, and the defenders could only gaze at each other foolishly.

In raiment of peerless splendour were the beings arrayed who stood upon that cloud, surrounding a flying car, over which was held a canopy of gauze, and midmost the company was an angel of royal bearing, who turned him towards the ancient's abode, and cried out:—

'Come forth, Miyatsuko Maro!' whereupon the ancient, of late so bold, staggered forth like a drunken man and fell prostrate on his face.

And the angel said :-

'Thou art but a simple fellow, yet some slight merit of works hast thou shown in thy life, and some guerdon was therefore bestowed on thee, and gold given thee year after year, so that from a poor man thou becamest a rich one. To expiate a fault was Kaguyahime doomed to bide a while in thy wretched home, but now hath the term of her exile come, wherefore vain are thy lamentations. I bid thee deliver the maiden to those who come to carry her back to her own land.'

'Tis strange that my lord speaketh of Kaguyahime,' answered the ancient, 'as one who hath been cared for by us for a while only, seeing that the maid hath bided under our roof these twenty years or more. Perchance my lord speaketh of another maid of that name who dwelleth elsewhere; she who liveth here is ill at ease, and may not leave her chamber.'

No answer was vouchsafed, but nearer floated the car borne on the cloud that hovered a little above the roofs.

'Iza! Kaguyahime,' commanded the angel, 'how long wouldest thou tarry in this filthy place?'

In a trice, the doors of the treasure-chamber flew open, and the lattices likewise, untouched by any hand, and Kaguyahime came forth from the arms of the good-wife, nor could she be held back; and the woman lifted up her face and wept sorely.

The ancient fell grovelling on the ground in his despair, and Kaguyahime drew near to him, saying:—

'My fate constrains me, father, 'tis not my will, now must I mount to yonder Moonland; follow me, father, with your eyes.'

But he answered: 'Why should I miserably follow thee with my eyes? Let me be dealt with as thou wilt; let me be abandoned, and go thou with this company of Moon-folk.' And he remained on the

ground, weeping bitterly.

'My father is beside himself with grief, he cannot hear,' murmured the Lady of Light; 'I will leave a writing for him, and at times when he shall yearn for me he shall take it out and read it, and so find some solace.' Then, shedding tears, she took paper and wrote these words:—

'Had I been a dweller born in this land I should not have caused this sorrow, nor thought of passing beyond the bounds of earth, as now I must, contrary to all my desire. And I doff my mantle and ask my parents to look upon it at times as a memorial of me, and when the moon is at its full I would they gazed upon the orb, and from the skies, where now I must soar out of their sight again, shall my longing travel down to them.'

Now the angels had brought with them a coffer in which lay a Robe of Feathers. The coffer also contained a joint of bamboo, filled with the Elixir of Life. One of the angels took the joint and offered the Elixir to Kaguyahime. 'Take some,' he said, 'it will clear away the impurities contracted in this filthy world.' So she took a little, and made to hide some in her mantle, but the angel stayed her, and taking out the Robe of Feathers made to throw it over her shoulders. Kaguyahime prevented him, saying:—

'Wait yet a little, for those who don that Robe are changed in nature, and something more would I write down ere I depart,' and again she began to write.

Thereupon the angel grew impatient, exclaiming: 'Too much you delay, longer we may not tarry.'

'You speak in ignorance [of my earthly life],' answered Kaguyahime, as very calmly she finished her writing, and with dignified composure delivered the scroll into the hands of the royal officer.

[What she wrote was as follows:]

'Though your Majesty has deigned to send a host of armed men to prevent the Moonland folk from carrying me away with them, such a thing could not be. They have come to bear me with them, and, alas! I must go. I could not serve your Majesty, and deep was my sorrow, which your Majesty could not know the motive of, so that my refusal must have continued to be regarded as rudeness and disloyalty—

now is the moment, the Heavenly Robe of Feathers fate bids me don and as I pass from earth, Sire, a sad farewell I offer.'

Then, putting the bamboo-jar containing the Elixir, with the scroll, Kaguyahime committed both to the chief royal officer by the hands of the angel. As the royal officer received them, suddenly the Robe of Feathers was thrown over the Lady, and in a moment all thought and feeling for the old Wicker-worker disappeared, for those who don that Robe know sorrow no more; and she entered the car, and escorted by the company of angels mounted to the skies.

After her departure, the ancient and his dame shed tears of blood and could not be comforted. They read the words she had written for them, but of what avail was it to partake of the Elixir, for life had become a misery to them; for whose sake, to what end, should they prolong their days? therefore

they would not take of it, but still lay prostrate with grief, nor could they rise to their feet.

The royal officers marched back to City-Royal with their host, and reported in detail how they were unable to prevent the Moonland folk from carrying away with them the Lady Kaguyahime.

The Mikado received the letter she had written, together with the bamboo-jar of Elixir, and was much affected as he read the missive, so that he could neither eat nor take any diversion.

He summoned his ministers and his lords, and inquired of them which mountain towered nearest to heaven.

One answered:-

'There is a mountain in the land of Suruga, not remote from City-Royal, whereof the peak is nighest heaven.'

His Majesty on hearing this composed a quintain—

Ne'er more to see her,

on a sea of tears drifting 1

my life is borne—

what profiteth this Elixir,
the span of sad days length'ning,

Then he delivered the letter and the bamboo-jar to one of his attendant ladies. And he commanded that Tsuki no Iwagasa² should be summoned, and that he should be directed to ascend the peak of that mountain in the land of Suruga. Also he explained what was to be done when the peak was gained, and it was that the scroll and the jar should be there burnt with fire.

¹ A word-play in the text involves the double meaning of 'ne'ermore' and 'sea of tears'.

² The name, one meaning of which may be 'The Moon's Rocky Canopy,' is not without significance.

Tsuki no Iwagasa, accordingly, took with him a company of armed men, and they clomb the mountain as bidden. And the name of that mountain is Fuji; from its peak, men say, from that day to this the smoke of that burning drifteth amid the clouds of heaven.

End of the Story of the Old Wicker-worker.

THE PREFACE TO THE KOKINSHIU, OR GARNER OF JAPANESE VERSE OLD AND NEW

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY KANEKO GENSHIN 1

This Anthology is a classic universally known. Prefixed to it is a preface in Japanese. A Chinese preface is added as a postscript. The Japanese preface is in kana, by Tsurayuki himself. The Chinese preface is in mana, Chinese script, and is the work of Ki no Yoshimochi, a relative of Tsurayuki. Of both these prefaces the diction and phrasing are admirable, plan and treatment alike excellent. Which of the two served as a model to the other we do not certainly know. But there seems no reason to suppose that Tsurayuki should have needed any assistance

¹ Kaneko Genshin. He is the author of the edition of the preface used in the preparation of this translation. The full title of the work is *Kokin Wakashiu Hyôshaku*,—hyôshaku signifies 'commentary'.

The edition is the second, published in 35 Meiji (1903) in five volumes of about 170 pages each, well printed on both sides of the paper. The price is yen 4.10 = about 8s. Of the older editions, the best known is Motowori's *Tohokagami*, Distant (i. e. Imperfect) Reflection of the Kokin.

in composing a preface. The kana preface may have been required in view of the popularity of the work. It must be remembered, too, that Tsurayuki was specially interested in the promotion of native literature, as his preface shows. The kana (syllabic script), then, was probably the original, the mana founded upon it. In the oldest MSS. of the Anthology neither preface is to be found; such would not have been fitting in a work to be presented to the Sovereign. Both were added, no doubt, after the presentation had taken place.

TSURAYUKI'S PREFACE TO THE KOKINSHIU

OUR native poetry 2 springs from the heart 3 of man as its seed, producing the countless leaves of language.4 Multitudinous are the affairs of men in this world, what their minds think, what their eyes see, what their ears hear they must find words to express. Listening to the nightingale 5 singing amid

¹ Of Ki no Tsurayuki we know little more than that he was a court noble and died in A.D. 946. The preface was written in or about 922. In addition to the *Kokin* Anthology, Ki no Tsurayuki composed the curious Journal known as *Tosa Nikki*, relating the incidents of his return to Kyôto after four years' service in the province of Tosa (Shikoku).

² i. e. Japanese poetry (*uta*) as distinguished from Chinese poetry (*shi*). Poetry voices the thoughts and feelings of men.

³ Literally 'heart,' kokoro, intellect and feeling. Or 'makes the heart of man its subject'. It must here be stated that to give full value to all parts of the text would entail much paraphrasing, owing to the differences in diction and thought, and in the connotation of words, natural where clime and time are so far removed.

⁴ koto no ha, 'leaves of speech.' This fanciful comparison of words to leaves, based on the likeness of the expression kotoba to koto [no] ha (ba is ha with the voicing mark), seems due to Tsurayuki.

⁵ uguhisu, Cettia cantans.

380 THE PREFACE OF KI NO TSURAYUKI

the blossoms of Spring,¹ or to the murmur of frogs among the marshes in Autumn,² we know that every living thing that liveth hath its part in the mingled music of Nature. Our poetry, with effortless ease,³ moveth heaven and earth, draweth sympathy from invisible demons and deities, softens the relations between men and women, and refresheth the heart of the warrior; from the time of the manifestation of heaven and earth it hath its origin, but its transmission to our day began in relation to sunbright heaven with the work of Shitateruhime and in relation to the earth, mother of metals, with that of Susanowo no Mikoto.⁶

- ¹ The blossoms of the wild cherry (Prunus cerasus) are meant.
- ² Thus all organic life, all living nature, is included.
- ³ In the Book of Odes (Shih King) are the following lines:
 - to move the heavens and the earth,
 - to touch the hearts of demons and spirits,
 - is not that the self-office of song!
- 4 hisakatano, see List m. k. (vol. texts).
- ⁵ The Under-Shine Goddess—so beautiful that her charms shone under her vestments. This at least is the usual explanation. Perhaps it was nothing more than a sun-name. She is also known as Takahime (Lofty Princess). Her progenitor was Ohokuninushi, Lord of the Great Land, and she married the wicked God Amewakahiko, Young Celestial Prince. She was the granddaughter of Susanowo, born of Izanagi and Izanami, who were descended from Amanotokotachi the last of the second generation from Amanominakanushi, Lord of the Centre of Heaven—himself an earlier Sun God. See the myths in the Kojiki and Nihongi and in Dr. Aston's Shintô.
 - ⁶ Here in all the texts is interpolated:—
- ['In the days of the swift-thousand-brandishing gods (chihaya-buru, see List m. k.) the metre of verse was not established, the language was rudimentary and hard to understand. It was when the human age dawned, from the days of Susanowo, that the stanza of thirty-one syllables was invented.']

TO THE GARNER OF JAPANESE VERSE 381

Thus the heart of man came to find expression in the various modes of speech for its joy in the beauty of flowers, its wonder at the song of birds, its tender welcome of the spring mists, its mournful sympathy with the evanescence of the morning dew. As step by step from the first movement of the foot distant journeys are achieved in the course of time, as grain by grain high mountains are piled up from the mere dust 1 at their base until their peaks are lost in the drifting clouds of heaven, so hath the verse of our land, little by little, become rich and abundant. The quintain opening with the line Naniha tsu 2 is the first example of poetry composed by royal command. In the stanza beginning with Asaka yama 3 we have an instance of a maid's banter; these two

¹ A favourite simile, possibly of Chinese origin.

Naniha tsu saku ya kono hana fuyukomori ima wo harube to saku ya kono hana. In Naniha, lo!
now blow the plum-tree's blossoms,
for winter-prison'd
Spring that 'scapeth showeth,
this spring-time's blossoms
showeth.

Ascribed to (or to the command of) Öjin—the legendary introducer of letters into Japan in A.D. 285.

This is a sohe uta—innuendo song—said to have been addressed to the Mikado Nintoku (313–99), who for three years refused to accept the cession of the throne offered by the Prince Imperial on the death of the Mikado Ôjin. The poet points to the blossoms of spring, and thinks that it is time the winter of discontent of the followers of Nintoku gave way to a spring-time of court-life.

Asaka yama
kage sahe miyuru
yama no wi
asaki hokoro wo
aqaʻmohanaku ni!

What heart as shallow as Shallow-Hill's clear fountain in the sunlight sparkling, what heart of man, so shallow, can me inspire with love, Sir!

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pieces are the father and mother of our poetry ¹ and still guide the earliest steps of the young student of verse.

Now Japanese poetry may be arranged under six categories, just as of Chinese poetry there are six categories.² The categories are these:—sohe, or satirical or innuendo verse; kazohe, or descriptive pieces; nazorahe, figurative pieces; tatohe, allusive songs; tagadoto, lyrical poems; and ihahi, congratulatory odes.³

In these days men are lost in sensuality, their aim

There is a word-play on the resemblance between Asaka and asaki, shallow. The first tercet is a preface to asaki. The quintain is found in the sixteenth volume of the Manyôshiu. The story there given is, that a high official sent down to Michinoku found the affairs of the province in disorder, and at a banquet sat moody and silent until a waiting-maid (who had come from City-Royal) dispelled his vexation by reciting the stanza. Asaka, it should be added, is a hill in Michinoku. Upon the lay a story is founded—given in the Yamato Tales in which a toneri (court-page) runs off with a nobleman's daughter destined for the Mikado. He keeps her in the wild country round Asaka-yama for a considerable time, until one day catching the reflection of her face in the waters of the fountain she is horrified at the changes time has made. Finally, made desperate at the loss of her charms she slays herself, being sure that no man will care longer to look upon her.

- ¹ Naniha tsu and Asaka yama represent the extremes of authorship.
- ² Perhaps the three Divisions and three Styles of the Book of Odes are intended. The six are—Ballads, Eulogies, Homage Songs, Allusive, Metaphorical, and Descriptive Songs (Mayers' *Chinese Reader's Manual*). I owe this suggestion to the kindness of Professor Giles.
- ³ Exact equivalents of the names of these categories can scarcely be given. *Kazohe uta* are plain songs without metaphor or simile.

is mere decoration, therefore their verse is vain and trivial.¹ In those circles where luxury only is cultivated, true poetry as is hidden from knowledge as a log of fossil wood buried deep in the ground ²; in more elegant coteries verse is known, indeed, but is little better than the bloom of the so-called flower-reed that never produceth an ear of grain.³

When we remember how poetry arose we see that such ought not to be its condition.

In ancient days the mikados themselves, on blossomy spring mornings and moonlit autumn nights, called together their courtiers, and bade them compose verses on various subjects. Some would celebrate their wanderings in difficult places after the blossomy sprays of Spring, others their unguided rambles in the darkness of night to gaze upon the orb of the rising moon of Autumn. These productions the Sovran would himself examine, and determine which were excellent and which were poor.

Nor were such the only themes. The tiny pebble 4

- ¹ I take the language of the text here as purely critical and translate accordingly. In the text there is a correspondence between *iro*, colour, love, and *hana*, flower, decoration, impermanence.
- ² The whole of this passage is not easy to render. Its meaning, however, must be pretty near to that given. The 'buried log' may refer to fossilized wood, such as is found in Sendai, and made into ornaments.
- ³ Miscanthus sinensis, its florescence produces no appreciable fruit.
 - Waga kimi ha
 chi yo ni mashimase
 sazare ishi no
 ihaho to narite
 koke no musu made!

Oh, may our Sovran
for a thousand years hold sway,
till tiny pebble
to boulder groweth green
with the moss of countless
ages.

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and the vast mass of Tsukuba's hill were used as similes wherewith to honour the Sovran; when the heart was overflowing with the happiness of existence and the pleasure of life, when love of one's fellowmen could be compared with the eternal fumes of Fuji², when the murmur of the cicada recalled sadly the memory of an absent friend³, the pines of Takasago and Suminoye⁴ the pleasures of life-long wedded love, Wotoko's hill⁵ the vigour of past manhood, and when in the ominameshi⁶ flower was seen the symbol of the briefness of the season of girlish bloom, it was in verse they found relief.

1 Tsukubane no
kono mo kano mo ni
kage ha aredo
kimi ga mi kage ni
masu kage ha nashi!

On Tsukuba's hill two peaks broad shadows cast, 'tis so, yet ever is my Lord's protective shadow than any shadow ampler!

'Shadow' is equivalent to grace or favour. The word in the text, kage, means both light and shadow, the double effect of light. O kage ni is a common modern phrase—with your good favour, &c. Tsukuba's double peak is a prominent feature of the Yedo (Tôkyô) landscape, and divides with Fujiyama the admiration of poets, and ukiyo, artists. Dr. Aston has given translations of the above quintains in his valuable History of Japanese Literature.

- ² See the close of the story of the Old Wicker-worker, ante.
- ³ For an 'autumn' stanza of the *Kokin* the song of the cicada is mentioned combined with the pine tree matsu = matsu, hope for, expect, and the Davallia fern, shinobu = shinobu (vb.), support patiently. Such were some of the humours of old Japan.
- See the No play of Takasago, post.
- ⁵ Wotoko yama, a hill in Yamashiro; wotoko means 'man', 'manhood.'
- ⁶ Ominameshi (or ominaheshi)—ladies' food—a valerian (Patrinia scabiosaefolia). It is one of the seven [salad] herbs of Autumn. Womina means 'woman,' 'lady.' Otokoheshi is P. villosa. The flower names recall womanhood (omina) and manhood (otoko).

Again to verse were they moved when they saw the ground white with snowy showers of fallen cherry blossoms on spring mornings; or heard on autumn evenings the rustle of falling leaves; or year after year gazed upon the mirror's reflection of the doleful ravages of time, shown by grey hairs and wavy wrinkles; or trembled as they watched the passing dewdrop quivering on the beaded grass, or the river's flow flecked with perishing bubbles—symbols of their own fleeting lives; or noted the leaves in all their glory to-day perishing on the morrow, or what one had admired yesterday regarded with indifference to-day.

Then, too, their subjects might be the sound of the waves beating on the base of the pine-hills 1, the solitary drawer of water at the fount in midmoorland 2, the contemplation of the fall of the hagileaf in Autumn 3, the count of the times the woodcock preens his feathers in the red dawn 4, the comparison of man's existence to a kure 5 bamboo-

¹ The sadness of the longings of one's heart (for the absent one) is likened to the sound of the beating of the surf at the foot of the pine-crowned hills.

2 'Though the water of the fountain in the shallow well on the moor may be tepid (through shallowness and exposure to sun, and therefore unpleasant to drink), yet 'tis a source known of old, and he who knoweth my heart, will he not come to draw water of refreshment thence, as those who remember the source still use it?'

³ 'Alas! the *hagi* (bush-clover) loseth its leaf; 'tis the time of the belling of the stag who calls his mate.'

4 'I wonder whether he will fail his tryst as often as the snipe flappeth his wings in the red dawn.' In this and the preceding notes the references to pieces in the *Kokinshiu* are explained.

⁵ Kure-take was a 'darkling or clouded?' bamboo introduced, perhaps, from Wu (China); by word-play, 'sombre passage in life.'

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joint floating down a river, the flood of Yóshino as symbol of man's varied fortunes in the world ¹, dismay at tidings of the disappearance of Fuji's fumes or of the mending of Nagara's bridge—in regard to all these subjects the making of verses composed their minds.²

Thus from antiquity was poetry cultivated, but it was in the Nara period ³ that the art flourished. Of that age Kakinomoto no Hitómaro ⁴ was the very prince of poets ⁵. Then appeared Yamabe no Akáhito, and of the two it were hard to say which was the greater, which the lesser genius. In addition to these great poets, a number of men of talent distinguished themselves in the succeeding ages; the line was maintained, and did not come to an end.

Long before the present compilation was made, the

¹ The river of Yoshino which, now rapid, now slow, traverses the hilly tract of Imose yama—imo se, lit., sister and brother, means also husband and wife.

² Verse-making consoled them in view of the utmost vicissitudes of the world. That Fuji should cease its fuming, or the strong Bridge of Nagara (naga = long, long-lasting) fail, was incredible.

³ Interpolation. [In that rich time will the true heart of poetry have been first attained.]

⁴ Interpolation. [Of the rank of 'great lord' (ohokimi), more exactly shôsammi, i. e. upper-third rank.]

the Nara Sovran and Hitómaro may be given. The former saw the tracery of a rich brocade formed by the dead leaves of the maple floating down the Tatsuta river (a common theme of Japanese poet and artist), the latter compared the fallen blossoms of the cherry that whitened the hills of Yoshinu to the snows of winter. (According to Kaneko this observation is founded on impossible history.)

Anthology known as the Manyôshiu¹ appeared. Since that time more than ten reigns, more than a hundred years, have passed. At the present day in City-Royal² those who are versed in the learning of antiquity or sympathize with the spirit of its verse are very few—they may be counted by twos and threes.³ Nevertheless, there exist some poets still; here and there men of merit are to be found, with many who do not get beyond mediocrity.

I cannot, of course, here speak of men of rank and office, but among others who have produced verse some may be mentioned.

There is, first of all, Sôjô Henjo, whose manner is successful, but his work is deficient in truth, like the picture of a beautiful woman, which excites emotion, but to no avail. Then we have Arihara Narihira, very full of feeling but poor in diction; his poetry reminds one of a faded flower that yet preserves some of its perfume. Bunya no Yasuhide, on the other hand, is an artist in words; with him form is better than substance. He is like a pedlar dressed up in fine silks. The priest of Mt. Uji, Kisen, is obscure, and his beginnings and tendings do not chime ⁴ [his verses lead up to no climax]; he is like an autumnal moon, bright at even, dim at dawn ⁵.

¹ The various meanings of the title Manyô are explained in the Introduction to the *Manyôshiu*, § II.

² Heian—the City of Peace, Kyôto.

³ Six poets are presently named.

⁴ As previously explained, the Japanese language, especially by its order of words and parts of a clause or sentence, lends itself to the expression of more or fewer climaxes leading up to a grand climax.

⁵ Interpolation. [Too little of his verse is extant to allow of a complete judgement of it.]

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As to Ononokomachi¹, she has pathos but lacks power, like a fair but feeble woman 2. Ohotomo no Kuronushi, lastly, has a pretty turn for verse, but his form is poor; he is like a faggot-bearing boor resting under a blossomy cherry-tree.

Besides the above, many other versifiers are more or less known, the list of their names, indeed, would be as endless as a coil of kazura 3 on a moorside; they are as multitudinous as the leaves of a forest of thick-foliaged trees, but they intend poetry rather

than accomplish it.

Now in this His Majesty's gracious reign, when already ninefold had become the return of the four seasons, and the waves of His universal benevolence rippled beyond the Eight Islands4, while the protective shadow of His broad and large favour had grown more spacious than that cast by vast Tsukubane's hill, amid the myriad cares of government He, our Sovran, yet found leisure, nor neglected the multitude of matters. Therefore He forgot not antiquity, nor willed that the great past should be clean lost, but desired that the memory thereof should be handed on to future generations. And so it came about that on the eighteenth

¹ Interpolation. Of the old school of the Princess Sotohori (consort of the Mikado Inkyô (412-53) who wrote many verses on her husband's infidelity).] Wononokomachi was a beauty of the ninth century, celebrated for her poetic powers and the miserable old age to which her pride conducted her. In point of diction, Mabuchi, the greatest scholar of modern Japan, places her above all other female writers of verse. See Chamberlain's Classical Poetry of the Japanese.

² Interpolation. [A woman—and her verse is what might be expected of her sex.]

³ A species of ground-creeper resembling a wild vine.

⁴ The Eight, i. e. All the Islands = Japan.

day of the fourth month of the fifth year of Yengi, (May 25, A.D. 905) He charged the Dainaiki 1, Ki no Tomonori, and the Privy Secretary, Ki no Tsurayuki [with others], to make a selection of ancient poems not contained in the Anthology 2 with permission to add to these a few of their own composition. Some thousand poems were accordingly arranged in twenty books 3, to which we have given the title Kokinwakashiu—a Garner or Anthology of Japanese Verse, Old and New. Various are the themes dealt with; from the gathering of plum-blossoms in early Spring for chaplets, and the Summer song of the cuckoo 4, and the plucking of the ruddy sprays of Autumn, to the contemplation of Winter's snow; the crane and the tortoise, as presages of long reign to His Majesty and long life to his subjects; the bush-clover and summer herbs, symbols of spousal love⁵; Afusaka (Ôzaka)⁶ hill, where the prayers of travellers to and from the Capital are offered to the god of Támuke; lastly, divers themes not drawn from the four seasons of Spring and Summer and Autumn and Winter.

So is our task ended, and an Anthology compiled plentiful as the floods fed by the unfailing waters of the hills, rich in examples as the seashore in grains of sand; may its reception meet with none of the

¹ Chief Secretary.

² Seven of the *uta* in the *Kokin* are also found in the *Manyôshiu*.

³ In imitation of the Anthology, which is in twenty books. ⁴ In Japanese, the 'hototogisu', the 'hototo'-cryer, Cuculus poliocephalus. See lay 141.

⁵ At the time of the fall of the hagi (Lespedeza) the stag

bells to call his mate.

⁶ A pass near City-Royal where it was customary to take leave of officials, accompanied so far on their way to their

obstructions that bar the stream of Asuka¹, and the joys it shall afford accumulate, as dust and pebbles gather together to form a high mountain, into a boulder of delight².

Lastly, as to our own style, any charm it may possess is but as the passing perfume of a spring blossom, and to claim for our work the durability of an autumnal night 3 would expose us to criticism as to form, while as to substance we are filled with shame; yet, whether like a drifting cloud we move or rest, whether like a belling stag 2 we stand up or lie down [i.e. always], we rejoice to have been born in an age when such a task as that we have sought to achieve has been imposed upon us by royal command.

Hitomaro has passed away—but shall the poetic art stand still? ⁴ Things change with change of times, joys and sorrows come and go—but shall not the letter of these poems be preserved? For ever the willows shoot forth their thready branches, the leaves of the pine-tree never fail, the coils of the creepers wander endlessly over the moorsides, the sea-fowl cease not

posts. In the *Hiyakunin Isshiu* ('A Century of Stanzas by a Century of Poets') is a verse descriptive of it as a place of meeting and parting of friends and strangers.

¹ A river in Yamato, the bed of which is continually changing.

² Common similes found in the Manyôshiu.

³ Here I follow what appears to be the sense of the parallel passage in the Chinese preface.

⁴ The conclusion of the preface is conceived after a fashion supposed to be proper for such compositions—a jumble of similes, metaphors, allusions, euphemisms, and Chinese ideas, intended and read rather as decorative matter than for any definite meaning it may contain, which it is far from easy to gather with accuracy from the loose and unarticulated construction. The whole text of the preface is more or less corrupt and correspondingly difficult to render accurately.

to imprint their tracts upon the sands of the shore; and for ever, we trust, shall men, taking pleasure in the form and profiting by the content of these poems, revere the verse of ancient days as the moon in high heaven, and applaud the age which saw the production of this Anthology ¹.

End of the Preface to the Kokinshiu

THE NÔ, OR MIME, OF TAKASAGO OR AHIOHI

INTRODUCTION

THE term 'Nô' is the Japanese sound of the Chinese character fle (nêng), which signifies 'ability'. It does not appear to be used in the Japanese sense in Chinese literature. In pure Japanese it is read 'yoku', well, excellent, efficacious, able. Captain Brinkley, in his monumental work on Japan¹, translates Nô as 'accomplishment'. It

¹ See the third volume. An interesting translation is given of one of the No no utahi, intituled Ataka (see Yôkyoku Tsûge, vol. iii, p. 68). In Prof. Chamberlain's Classical Poetry of the Japanese an account of the No will be found, and spirited versions of four of them; 'The Robe of Feathers' (Hagoromo), 'The Death-Stone' (Sesshi seki), 'Life is a Dream' (Kantan) and Nakamitsu. Dr. Aston has described the Nô dramas in his History of Japanese Literature (1899) and translated part of Takasago. Perhaps the most interesting account of these dramas, after that of Captain Brinkley, is the one given by Mr. Mitford (now Lord Redesdale) in his delightful Tales of Old Japan, where (p. 108 sqq., edition of 1901) he describes the performance of four No before the Duke of Edinburgh at the Yashiki of the Prince of Kishiu (in 1869) in Yedo, and summarizes the utahi or libretto of each of them -one was 'The Robe of Feathers' mentioned above. No no utahi, intituled Urashima, founded on the well-known story of the 'Fisher-boy of Mizunoye' (Tsûge, vol. viii) is a good

is, however, sufficiently well rendered by 'play' or 'drama'. The expression mime is descriptive. In the Kotoba no Izumi, it is explained as derived from the Sarugake (sort of comic dance), combined with yôkyoku (song), a combination completed under the Ashikaga shôgunate by Kwan-ami and his son Se-ami, whence the school of Nô-wrights known as Kwanse or Kwanze. It is essentially an entertainment composed of music, posture and gesture, dancing, singing or chanting, reciting and dialogue. The vocal portion, or 'libretto', is the utahi, strictly song as distinct from dialogue, &c., and it is of the utahi of the Nô of Takasago that a translation is offered in the following pages.

In the Encyclopaedia Wakan Sansaizuwe¹, vol. xvii, a clue is given to the origin of the Nô and their utahi, in the articles Heike-gatari (reciters of the fortunes of the Hei family), Jôruri ('pure emerald singers' ²—i. e. of emotional

instance of the Buddhist treatment, in mediaeval times, of ancient traditions. (Cf. Lay of Urashima, ante p. 136.)

The edition of the Nô no utahi I have used is the well-known Yôkyoku Tsûge (Mediaeval Dramatic Poems, with notes) in eight volumes. It is good, but insufficient, and leaves many difficulties unsolved.

- ¹ Japanese and Chinese Illustrated Encyclopaedia of the Three Powers (Heaven, Earth, and Man), published in 105 volumes in the first decade of the eighteenth century. It is founded upon the Chinese Book of Nature, and presents a wonderfully complete picture of Japanese life and thought in the middle Tokugawa period. It would be well worth complete translation.
- ² Jôrurihime was the name of a mistress of the favourite hero Yoshitsune, brother of Yoritomo, founder of the hereditary Shôgunate (about 1180). But, for analogous reasons, the same designation may have been given to the lay and the particular form of half prose, half poetic drama-story known as *Jôruri*. Captain Brinkley points out that the loves of Jôrurihime were first sung by a lady of the Court of Nobunaga—or his successor Hideyoshi, the Taikô. These compositions, therefore, were posterior to the original Nô libretti, none of which are later

themes), and Dengaku (country music-i.e. of priestly or priest-like mimics). Of each of these types of artist a quaint woodcut is given, and a most interesting account of them and their functions will be found in Captain Brinkley's great work already mentioned 1. Earlier than the Nô performances, which were mainly Buddhist in character, were the Kagura², or Shintô mimic representations of the enticement, by dance and song, of the Sun-goddess from the cave into which, offended by the action of her brother. who threw the hide of a horse flaved backwards over her as she worked at her loom, she had retreated, and so cast the world into darkness.3 It was, speaking broadly, of the amalgamation by Buddhist priests of these newer and older forms (Heike-gatari and Dengaku) that the Nô drama was born-one of the many important results of the partial confiscation for its own purposes by Buddhism of the inchoate naturalistic religion, and of the history and tradition of ancient Japan and, less often, of China. It was, however, not directly from the Dengaku performances, but from the 'monkey-mimes' (Sarugaku) which replaced them at the Kyôto Court, that the Nô was immediately derived.4 The dancer and reciter now became an actor, with stage, greenroom, and scenery. The following brief account of the Nô as represented under the Ashikaga shôgunate-for, as already mentioned, it was at the Court of this dynasty of Shôguns (1338-1565) that they attained

than the sixteenth century. Ruri in Chinese seems to designate the lapis-lazuli, rather than the emerald—or possibly the turquoise. It is not a Chinese word—it may be of Persian or Indian origin.

¹ Vol. iii, p. 18.

² kami kura, divine seat or stage; the Shintô shrines were the abodes, or rather places of manifestation, of the gods.

³ Also of the story of the two brother deities, hunter and fisherman—a very important tradition of historical value—well told by Dr. Aston in his chapter on the Nô (*Hist. Jap. Lit.*), more fully in the Kojiki and Nihongi, and in Dr. Aston's recently published *Shintô*. Cf. Introduction, § X.

Brinkley, op. cit. vol. iii, p. 26.

their full development—is based upon extracts kindly made for me by my friend Mr. Minakata from Mr. Taguchi's excellent work *Nihon Shakwai Jii* (Dictionary of [Old] Japanese Societies and Guilds, 2nd ed. 1901, vol. i, p. 270 sqq., and vol. ii, p. 1163 sqq.).

Yûki Jibu Kiyotsugu (1355-1406) was the founder of the present Nô. His son Yûki Yajiro Motokiyo (1373-1455) greatly developed the music, which was further improved by the latter's nephew, who founded the Kwanze schoolone of the five za (seats) or schools, of which the others were known as Hôshô, Komparu, Kongô, and Kita, names in part of a personal, in part of a Buddhist signification. In a complete Nô there are six actors (occasionally more): (1) shite (act-hand = actor) principal actor, hero (taya) or protagonist; (2) his tsure, or companion or assistant; (3) waki (side-actor), a sort of deuteragonist—his part fulfilled the 'other side', so to speak, of the story, but his name merely implied subordination; (4) his tsure; (5) kokata, child-part often, introduced merely to add pathos or interest to the play; (6) ahi (interlude-actor), who came on either to fill the stage during a temporary retirement of shite or waki (to change masks or costumes), or to act as a foil to either or both of them. There might also be a second shite or hero, known then as ato shite (after-actor) as the God of Suminoye in Takasago. There were also two sorts of tsure; tomo, companion, and tachishiu, attendant.

The utahi, or libretto, was mainly the work of Buddhist priests, and often largely consisted of passages plagiarized from the works of the poets, as well as from other sources, including Chinese philosophical treatises. The schools were rather musical and histrionic than literary. Originally, perhaps, the *shite* and waki were the only two actors. A distinct chorus does not appear to have then existed, but the actors, all or some of them, chanting or reciting together, took its place; at a later period some of the musicians (utakigata) may have assisted, or possibly shrine attendants may have done so. Mr. Chamberlain represents the chorus as a separate element, squatting to the right of the audience. There was an $\partial \rho \chi \acute{\eta} \sigma \tau \rho a$ and $\pi \rho \sigma \sigma \kappa \acute{\eta} \nu \iota \sigma \nu$ —a raised and roofed

stage some eighteen feet square, with a σκηνή consisting of greenroom and anteroom connected with the δρχήστρα by a bridge or gallery. The spectators sat, or rather squatted or stood, round three sides of a rectangle, under a sort of wooden portico. Between this and the δρχήστρα was an open space or pit. The music was a discord of drums, tambourines, and flutes. Masks were used 1, but not apparently, by the waki. Though Buddhist in character, the Nô were performed originally before Shintô miya or They were always more or less didactic-the precept being often partly Shintoist, partly Buddhist, partly Confucianist. Thus in the Takasago we find reverence for the god, honour to the Mikado, and the Confucianist virtue of wedded love inculcated. The Old Japanese were born Shintoists, died Buddhists, and lived, more or less, as Confucianists. There seems to have been no scenery, but in remembrance, perhaps, of the Takasago, which may have been the earliest of those now extant, three small pine-trees were placed, one on each of the three open sides of the δρχήστρα, and a pine-tree was represented upon a curtain behind the προσκήνιον². Dr. Aston condemns the free use of word-plays and pivot-words-words used in two senses, one corresponding to what precedes and one to what follows. I have dealt with this matter in the Introduction to the Manyôshiu. The word-plays are most frequent in the michiyuki (descriptions of journeys, recited by the protagonist or one of the actors or chorus), and bring in, often dexterously and gracefully enough, qualities of beauty or singularity, or associations 3, historical or other, involved in or suggested by the names of the places traversed. They resembled the kaidô-kudari (goings down of officials from the capital by the sea-roads) of later

¹ Singularly like those used by Greek actors.

² See Chamberlain's Classical Poetry of the Japanese.

³ See Introduction to this volume, section xi. Word-plays are not over common in the *Takasago*; sometimes I have tried to incorporate their value in the translation, more often this has not proved possible.

times, composed in debased naga-uta style. There is a well-known example in the Taiheiki, and a fairly good one will be found in the Bridal Journey, described in the jôruri known as Chiushingura, of which a translation ('The Loyal League') was published many years ago by the present writer.

In the Yôkyoku Tsûge (Explanation of Songs) are collected 262 No no utahi. The subjects are myths, legends, stories, traditions, personages historical or other, doctrines, usages, Buddhist and Chinese themes. Notwithstanding much repetition, plagiarism, conventionalism, disconnectedness, lack of dramatic power, of humour or wit, and superabundance of verbal conceit, many of the utahi are charming productions in their way, less stilted in diction than similar Chinese literary pieces, and distinguished by a certain quaintness and simplicity—the very conventionalisms are artless,—old-worldness and naïve didacticism, that are very attractive. Among them Takasago is, perhaps, the freshest in tone and the least artificial in diction and phrasing. But the 'Robe of Feathers' (Hagoromo), admirably translated by Professor Chamberlain in his Classical Poetry of the Japanese, displays, I think, more delicate fancy and exquisiteness and grace of language than any other among these mediaeval dramas.

Though the themes of the *utahi* are sometimes drawn, as already mentioned, from Chinese sources, the *utahi* owe nothing elsewise to Chinese literature. They are not influenced by the Chinese drama of the Sung period, and the more developed drama of later dynasties had not been produced when the Kwanze playwrights began their labours.

In the *Tsûge* we find an elaborate introduction to the work, of which a summary is added:—Song and dance arose out of the need of expression of human feelings of joy and grief, one's own or others. Our primitive ancestors found this expression in hand-clapping, or singing with branches of trees in their hands, accompanied by simple forms of music. In time these modes became more refined and various, and about the end of the Nara period verse was used at the Court for temple and ritual purposes, and was

improved by the application of Chinese and Korean methods. In these early days such simple lines as the following satisfied the people:—

'Delightful'tis to watch the gaieties of the Court on winter nights when the snow collects on the bamboo branches—'

'O'er Hôrai's peak have flown a thousand years, a thousand autumns have come and gone, a myriad years have passed—'

'There in the pine-groves still build the cranes their nests—'

'There disport them the tortoises about the high rocks.'
[The 'simplicity' lies in the absence of verbal embellishments—word-jugglery and pillow-words.]

But men ever desire change. In the Ashikaga period dance and song were allied; blind men had previously sung or chanted the fortunes of the Taira house to the accompaniment of the lute; various forms of the dance were introduced, and ultimately the sarugaku comedy was invented out of increased sympathy with popular feelings and manners.

These plays, intended to please the gods, delighted the vulgar; the character of the okina (ancient) represented Daijingu (the Sun-goddess), the thousand years' dance the god Koin (Togakushi, Tajikara), the white-haired Sambansô (Sambasō) the Bright Deity of Sumiyoshi. Then came the Nô, due to the talent of Kwan-ami and his son Se-ami, the themes of which were of every kind, distributed in three categories; greater and greater became the influence of Buddhism, and the rude age was softened, ghost and spirit Nô were in favour, and a fourth category of subjects, more religious, popular, and human, came into vogue. The great Hideyoshi delighted in Nô, and caused several new ones to be composed. Under the Tokugawa government Nô were fashionable, and even the military class, who could not, without shame, even enter a theatre, took part in these performances, which were specially celebrated at the installation of a Kubosama (Shôgun).

It is sometimes said that the utahi are more or less

untranslatable. This does not appear to me to be the case. If the irregularities of syntax are neglected, the allusions understood, and the values of the word-jugglery allowed for, the texts, so far as they are not corrupt, are not particularly difficult to understand. But to convey to a Western reader, without illegitimate and destructive paraphrase, their full meaning, apparent enough to an educated Japanese, is, of course, impossible.

The Persons of the Drama are:-

The *shite*, or protagonist, an Ancient, being the Manifestation or Presence of the Spirit of the Pine-tree of Sumiyoshi (or Suminoye) in Settsu.

The tsure, or companion of the Ancient, being a Dame, the Manifestation or Presence of the Spirit of the Pinetree of Takasago in Hárima.

The ato shite, or deuteragonist—the part being taken by the shite—the Manifestation or Presence of the God (representing the three gods) of Sumiyoshi.

The waki, or side-actor (tritagonist), being Tomonari, the Warden of the Shintô shrine of Aso in Higo (south-west of Kiushiu).

The scene of the Prologue is the shore near Aso; of the first Act the scene is the strand of Takasago, of the second Act the scene is the strand of Sumiyoshi. (On the stage there is no differentiation of scene.)

The chorus would, originally at least, consist of the actors. At a later period more or fewer of the musicians and songmen (utahigata) took choral parts. It does not seem that there was any special chorus. It has, however, been supposed that the waki was accompanied by two hafuri (shrine-servants), who acted as chorus.

The performance began with the entry, from behind, of the *shite* and his *tsure* and the *waki*, who—in later times perhaps some of the musicians—would chant the opening quatrain. Upon the stage a Pine-tree was originally placed, afterwards represented by a picture on a curtain of the Tree under which the Spirits of the Trees of Takasago and Sumiyoshi were depicted, holding rakes in their hands and sweeping up the fallen needles.

The dancing or posturing would be part of the duty of the actors, not of the chorus, the functions of which only distantly resemble those of the chorus in the Greek Drama.

TAKASAGO

Nô no utahi Takasago.

PROLOGUE

Scene.—The Seashore near Aso in Higo.
Chorus.
Tomonari.

Chorus. In traveller's trim

now first he fareth forth,

and far the way is,

and many the days before him.

Tomonari. I who speak, Sirs, am Warden of the shrine of Aso in the land of Higo within the isle of the Nine Territories 1, and Tomonari is my name. Never yet have I beheld City-Royal, and so am I minded to go up to the Capital; and for that so good an occasion may not be mine again, I would fain turn aside a space by the way and gaze upon the strand of Takasago in the land of Hárima.

Chorus (describing the journey).

In trim of traveller
this day to start he mindeth
for City-Royal,
for distant City-Royal—
across the surf he
upon the shipway oareth,

¹ The province of Kiushiu.

gentle the skies are,
the spring-winds softly blowing—
what tale of days shall
his bark in the cloudy distance
sail o'er the sea-plain
till Hárima he reacheth,
and Takasago
at last his keel receiveth,
his keel receiveth!

ACT I

Scene.—The Strand of Takasago overshadowed by an ancient gnarled and wide-branched Pine-tree.

Tomonari. The Ancient of Suminoye.
The Dame of Takasago.

Ancient and Dame together.

In the Pine-tree
of Takasago murmureth
the gentle spring-wind,
across the darkening air
the deep tones wafting
of the bell of old Onöe ²—

¹ On the north shore of the Inland Sea, west of Kobe.

² In Murakami's Harima Meisho-zuwe (Illustrated Description of the Province of Harima, 1863), vol. iii, Onöe (wo no uhe) is described as a pine-grove in Osada, where the shrines of two deities Sumiyoshi Myōjin (Illustrious God), and Ohara Dai myōjin (Great Illustrious God) exist. Finally there were three gods of Sumiyoshi, of the upper (or nearer?) middle (remote?) and bottom (furthest?) waters. When Jingu, the Queen-Regnant (A.D. 201-69), had completed her conquest of Korea, she built here the Sumiyoshi shrine and called the place Takasago (High Dune). Changes in the coastline occurred, and Takasago (which was a little port) disappeared, while Old Takasago became Onöe. [Possibly the twain trees originally grow near

Dame. Mid the rocks mist-hidden the roar of the surf resoundeth;

Ancient and Dame.

or ebb or flood be
the cadenced music telleth.

Ancient. Whom may I friend hail
if mine own ancient comrade
I may not call thee,
O Tree of Takasago!
with whom sweet converse
to hold of long past years
beneath the snows
of many a winter white hid—
for wont I have been

these shrines, and of their proximity the memory was preserved in the story, when Sumiyoshi in Tsu came into existence.] The *Kokin* preface (in this volume) mentions the *ahiohi no matsu*, and a writer, Minamoto no Toshifuri(?), of the eleventh century, landed at Takasago, and finding the tree destroyed, composed a verse. These are the earliest notice of the Twain Trees in Japanese literature.

There are two sayings about the pine-tree which are worth giving. One is Matsu to ifu ji wo sakashima yomeba tsuma to naru no de ureshikaro; if you read the syllabic characters of matsu (matsu, pine) backwards you have tsu ma (tsuma) 'spouse', which is, more japonico, a pleasant conceit. The other turns upon an analysis of the character \(\frac{1}{12} \) (pine-tree); matsu to ifu ji wo wakachite yomeba kimi to boku to no futari-zure, if you dissect the character for pine-tree you have \(\frac{1}{12} \) boku, 'tree,' and \(\frac{1}{12} \) kimi, 'you.' Boku is also the pronunciation of \(\frac{1}{12} \) 'I myself', so that the saying means that the analysis of the character gives the pair of ego and tu. The one saying involves the notion of spousal love, the other that of friendship.

In Titsingh's Japan will be found an illustration of Takasago no ura.

DICKINS II

or night or morn, or sleeping
on my rude pallet ¹,
like hoary crane's nest whiten'd
with morning moonshine,
or spring-time's rimy sparkle
like moonshine gleaming,
or waking with the daybreak,
in the murmurous music
the winds make in thy leafery
to find new gladness—
so communing with my own heart
my night thoughts give me,
in utterance give me solace.

Ancient and Dame.

What ask the winds
what ask they of the Pine-tree?
the falling leaves
blown by the shore winds down
upon our garments?
they give the answer, give they 3,
the leaves low-fallen
we sweep and heap
beneath the Pine-tree's shadow;
'tis Takasago

¹ He compares his couch with the crane's nest, usually figured as built amid the Takasago pine branches. The crane, like the tree, was a symbol of longevity—the tortoise also; Pine, Crane, and Tortoise (long haired) with the Ancient Pair are commonly represented together.

² There is here an allusion to a dress of the colour of autumn leafery, but the leaves themselves are also regarded as a sort of vestment.

³ An allusion to the phrase koto no ha ('leaves of speech,' see Kokin preface, ante) for kotoba.

'tis the Tree of yore Onöe's 1
doth bide for ever
the waves of Time affronting—
so gather we
the leaves low fallen gather,
while ever the Pine-tree
shall ever live its life days,
and Takasago
its fame preserve for ever,
its fame for ever!

Tomonari. Ah, I looked to meet some villagefolk here, and now come forth an Ancient and his Dame. Good people, I would ask a thing of you.

Ancient. Is it to me you speak, Sir, what would

you know?

Tomonari. Tell me, which among these trees I see is the Pine of Takasago?

Ancient. The Tree it is, Sir, under whose shadow we sweep and heap the fallen leaves.

Tomonari. The Pine of Takasago and the Pine of Suminoye, aioi no matsu, the Wedded Pines, the poets name them, the Pines that grow old together; yet wide apart lie the strands of Suminoye and Takasago, how, then, may these Trees be called the Wedded Pines!

Ancient. 'Tis so, Sir, as you are pleased to say. In the foreword of 'Songs, Old and New' is it not written that the story of the Trees of Takasago and Suminoye witnesseth of spousal love? I, this Ancient, am of Sumiyoshi in the land of Tsu, this Dame is native-born, read you us the riddle, if you may, Sir.

¹ A somewhat bold attempt to represent the word-play in the text.

Tomonari. A miracle 'tis, good sooth! a wedded pair I behold you dwelling here together, yet hill and sea and moorland wide lie between Suminoye and Takasago; I cannot read the riddle.

Dame. Not well considered, Sir, would I say your words are, for though thousands of leagues of land and water part them, yet between wedded folk whose thoughts and feelings ay commingle never long is affection's path.

Ancient. Yet again bethink you, Sir-

Ancient and Dame. Things unquick are the Trees of Takasago and Sumiyoshi, yet men well call them the Wedded Pines. But we who speak have sense and feeling, to this year for many a year hath the Ancient of Sumiyoshi and the Dame of Takasago known spousal union, years many as the Tree hath endured time have they been a Wedded Pair, aioi no fûfu, who grow old together!

Tomonari. Ah! fair are your words and pleasant; but tell me, tell me, bides there not in these parts some memory of the ancient story of the Wedded

Pines which grow old together!

Ancient. The sages of old time have told us that the Wedded Trees were sign and presage of a happy age.

Dame. The story of Takasago is as old as the 'Garner of Ancient Verse' that goeth back to the elder time.

Ancient. And Sumiyoshi² betokeneth the joy of living in this happy Yengi³ age.

¹ The Manyôshiu.

² Sumiyoshi = 'where (or when) 'tis good to dwell (exist).'

³ Yengi means 'prolong-joy', it is the name of a year-period (A.D. 901-22).

Dame. The Pine-tree telleth us of the countless leaves of speech—

Ancient. Now, as of yore, the tree flourisheth, ever green—

Ancient and Dame. And ever doth its unceasing

greenery adorn the age-

Tomonari. Now do I understand and thank you well, good folk; of doubt my mind is clear as a cloudless sky in Spring ¹.

Ancient. How soft you light that falleth on the

western sea!

Tomonari. There lieth Suminoye—
Ancient. On Takasago's shore we stand.
Tomonari. The Pines their greenery blend—
Ancient. O time of Spring!
Tomonari. How balmy 'tis!

Chorus 2.

In waveless peace
the four seas lap our shores,
the gentle tide winds
no murmur mid the woods wake,
Oh, fair the age is!
fair yonder Pine-trees' spousal,
äiöino
äiöinomatsu,

whose happy augury
men note with awe and wonder,
while vainly seek they
meet words their thanks to utter,

¹ There is a word-play here on *haru*, which means Spring, and also to clear up (as weather).

² These lines are sung at weddings as an epithalamium. At such ceremonies, in various ways, the story of the Twain Trees is represented.

in such an age that they do live rejoicing in their Lord's abundant bounty.

Tomonari. Ah tell me, tell me all the happy

story of the Pine of Takasago!

Chorus. Well! no souls have traes and herbs, men say, yet never miss they their appointed times of flower and fruit, they love the warm light of Spring, and first those flowers blow whose buds look to the midday—

Ancient. Yea! and this Pine-tree ever flourisheth, showing bloom and leaf, all heedless of change of

season.

Chorus. Aye! through Spring and Summer and Autumn and Winter, under deepest snow, and for a thousand years it bideth green, yea for ten flowercycles of a thousand years its hue endureth.¹

Ancient. Such virtue hath the Pine-tree.

Chorus. The pearly dew-drops that hang on its leaves—leaves of speech belike—do cleanse the heart of man.

Ancient. All living things that live-

Chorus. Under the protecting shadow of our wide-isled 2 land do they not flourish?

A member of the chorus here recites the kuse³ or

² Written 'spread out islands'—a name for Japan. Possibly

an ancient capital is intended.

¹ This passage is poetized prose. There exists a stanza on the pine-blossom that shows only once in a millennium. The floral organs of the pine were, of course, not understood in Old Japan.

³ Or possibly the *shite* only. The speech is called *kuse*, which may be rendered as 'chief argument', or 'inner meaning', or 'precept' of the piece.

precept of the piece. Aye! and as Chônô hath it, all things, or quick or unquick, are revealed in song; herbs and trees and soil and sand, the whispers of the wind, the babble of the brooks-all contain the soul of poetry. The sway of the woods in Spring under the eastern breezes, the chirrup of the cicada among the dews that moisten the unsunn'd foliages in Autumn, are they not forms or models of our native verse? In the universe of things that grow, doth not the Pinetree surpass all the world of trees; bright as a full bevy of court nobles 2, the green leafery defieth a thousand autumns unshowing any change of hue-well worthy, belike, the Pine-tree is of the badge of rank bestowed upon it by China's Sovran Shikwo! In barbarian lands, within our own borders, by all the peoples of earth, is not the Pine-tree held blessed?

Ancient. Hark! I hear the solemn tone of Onöe's bell by Takasago.

Chorus. Though with the daydawn the hoar-frost shineth chilly the Pine-tree ever unchang'd its leafery showeth, in the deep green shadow or morn or evening the fallen leaves we sweep, yet ever fall they,

¹ A poet who flourished in the reign of the first Ichijô (987-1101).

² A play on the character for pine ★ which may be dissected into 八十 (80 = many), ♠, nobles or princes.

³ Shi Hwangti, the Chinese Emperor, B. C. 259-210, who bestowed rank upon a Pine-tree that gave him shelter from a shower of rain.

for true it is that never
yon leafery perisheth,
and ages long endureth
the Pine-tree's greenery
as wild moor-creeper endless,
among the trees
that keep their freshness ever
deathless the fame is
of the Pine of Takasago
for ay a symbol,
äiöinomatsu,
and sign of wedded jovance.

Chorus.¹ Well have ye told the ancient story of the Pine-trees whose everlasting bloom hath earned such fame, but, Sir and Dame, tell me how ye be called.

Ancient and Dame. Why should we not tell them, we are the spirits of the Pine-trees of Takasago and Suminoye that grow old together. As a wedded pair do we present ourselves.

Chorus. Now are manifest the wedded spirits. O wonder! such then is the mystery of the Pine-trees that o'ershadow these famous strands.²

Ancient and Dame. Though plants and trees be things unquick—

Chorus. In this auspicious age—
Ancient and Dame. Or trees or herbs—

Chorus. In this our land our mighty Sovran ruleth beneath his sway 'tis good to live's for ever,

¹ Or perhaps one or more of the musicians or song-men (utahi gata).

² i. e. Takasago and Suminoye.

³ See note 2, p. 404.

and Sumiyoshi where fair it is to dwell our wanderer fain would seek, and humbly there the god awaitwherefore 'tis now he climbeth on fisher's bark anigh the sea-marge floateth, and forth he fareth by favouring breezes wafted, across the waters the evening waters fareth. Tomonari. From Takasago on fisher's bark I climb and sail away far o'er the waves of ocean as the pale moon riseth, under Awaji's shadow I cleave the waters 'yond roaring Naruwo faring, till Sumiyoshi I reach, fair Sumiyoshi!

ACT II

Scene—The Strand of Sumiyoshi in Settsu.

THE GOD OF SUMIYOSHI.

CHORUS.

God of Sumiyoshi (entering) ¹
Long 'tis since saw I
the Princess Pine that groweth

¹ What the god chants here is said to have been of his own composition. There is considerable doubt as to the personages of the remaining dialogue. I take the view that they are the god and the chorus—the god, as ato-shite, being represented by the shite with changed dress and mask.

by Sumiyoshi
nor knoweth, belike, the Sovran
how many an age through
my grace on him hath rested;
and now for generations
as palace-fence enduring,
to cheer my heart
be the sacred mime enacted,
wherefore the night drums
bring, and beat out their music,
ye servants of the shrine.

Chorus. From the western sea from where the waves are breaking upon Aoki 1—

God of Sumiyoshi.

cometh the holy Presence, in this fair spring-tide when the Tree Divine full flourisheth, and still the snows lie lightly on As'kagata 2—

Chorus. where men do gather on the strand rich seaweed harvest—

God of Sumiyoshi.

at foot of the ancient Pine-tree I will recline me—

Chorus.

with a thousand years' green leafery his 3 hands full filled be—

¹ The god came originally from Aokigahara (see Zoku Kokin, a continuation of 'Songs Old and New').

² Asakayama is in Settsu. Another hill, so named, is in Michinoku. See note 3, p. 381.

³ Or 'my'. The vagueness is characteristic of Japanese

God of Sumiyoshi.

and spray of plum-tree gathered my head adorning—

Chorus.

like latest snows of winter the blossoms deck him.

Chorus. To the god of Sumiyoshi, since clear the moon shineth, let us offer thanks and praise, and for many an age adore his Presence that deigneth to take pleasure in this fair abode.

God of Sumiyoshi.

The virgin voices,
how clear is their music
beneath the Pine-tree
of bright-shored Suminoye,
as featly dance they
to the air of the 'Blue Sea Wave'
by the blue sea where
the shadow is reflected
of the Princess Pine-tree.

Chorus.

The way of god and Sovran towards City-Royal will now be straightway wended ² this fair spring season—

God of Sumiyoshi.

'Tis the Dance of 'Joyeuse Rentrée'

Chorus. for years ten thousand

poetry, and often, as here, is not without effect as broadening the field of suggestion.

¹ The meaning of this passage is not quite clear.

God of Sumiyoshi.
in ritual vestments

Chorus. let arms extended
all ill fend from the land,
and arms fair-folded
embrace all happiness,
and make the folk glad
with the 'Joy of a Thousand Autumns',
long life give all men
with the 'Joy of a Myriad Years'—
äiöinomatsu
among the Wedded Pine-trees
growing old together
may gentle winds for ever
wake music ever haunting
and ever the world enchanting!

¹ The last three lines are a slightly paraphrased rendering of the text. 'Blue Sea Wave', 'Joyeuse Rentrée', 'Joy of a Thousand Autumns', and 'Joy of a Myriad Years', are all titles of Chinese musical pieces.

End of the Mime of Takasago.

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Italic type denotes place-names, roman personal names; italic figures denote the number of the lay, roman the page, and roman

numerals the page of the Introduction.

Pronounce vowels as in German, but 'u' as in English 'put', never as in 'cut', 'flute,' or 'union'; at end of words, and after dentals and sibilants, 'u' is very short. The consonants are sounded as in English, aspiration well observed. Every letter is pronounced, there are no diphthongs. Every syllable is open. There is little accent (as in French), and that on the penultimate unless otherwise marked. See also Introduction, volume of texts.

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