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Two Competitions among Poets of Different Generations in Medieval Germany and Japan

— *Fürstenlob* and *Jidaifudō utaawase* —

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Key Words

Wartburgkrieg, Fürstenlob, Jidaifudō utaawase, text flow

Abstract

The German *Fürstenlob* (*Praise of Princes*) and the Japanese *Jidaifudō utaawase* were both written in the 13th century, with the idea of pitting poets from different eras against each other in a poetry contest. On the Japanese side, the author was Retired Emperor Gotoba, who was exiled to the Islands of Oki after the Jōkyū Rebellion, while the author on the German side is unknown. Other works based on the same concept can be found in Japan, but are unknown in Germany. For this reason, German Studies research lacks inspiration. We have therefore attempted to provide an overview of the conditions under which the anthology *Jidaifudō utaawase* was written and the conditions that may have motivated the Emperor to compose it, and to examine the similarities and differences in the circumstances under which the *Fürstenlob* was written.

The phenomenon that the text changes in the process of manuscript transmission can be observed in both cultures, have led us to present some research results from Japanese literary studies that can serve as a reference point for the study of German literature.

1. Topic introduction

From the late 13th to the 15th century, a collection of *Spruchdichtung* was compiled which is known today as the *Wartburgkrieg* or *Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg* (*Wartburg Contest*).¹ Here, several stories revolve around the court of Landgraf Hermann von Thüringen in verse form, including a story of *Fürstenlob* (*Praise of Princes*),² which was

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¹ Jan Hallmann: Studien zum mittelhochdeutschen ›Wartburgkrieg‹. Literaturgeschichtliche Stellung – Überlieferung – Rezeptionsgeschichte. Mit einer Edition der ›Wartburgkrieg‹-Texte. Berlin / Boston: de Gruyter 2015, 515-553.

² Cf. Horst Brunner: Von den Anfängen bis Frauenlob. In: Sangspruch / Spruchsang. Ein Handbuch. Hrsg. von DOI : 10.14943/b.edu.144.135

probably written around the middle of the 13th century and in which the poet Heinrich von Ofterdingen proclaims to other poets that the generosity of the Herzog von Österreich surpasses the virtues of other princes. Three poets, namely Walther von der Vogelweide, Tugendhafter Schreiber (Virtuous Scribe) and Biterolf, appear and sing – now with Heinrich – a song in honor of one of the three princes, namely Herzog von Österreich, Landgraf Hermann von Thüringen and Graf von Henneberg. Occasionally they criticise each other's songs. Judging by the play, Reinmar von Zweter and Wolfram von Eschenbach appear and pronounce that Landgraf Hermann von Thüringen is the best prince. But what is the idea behind the concept of pitting poets from different eras against each other in a singing competition?

Such a structure is not only found in the *Wartburgkrieg*. It can also be found in the old Japanese collection *Jidaifudō utaawase* (Matched Poems from Different Eras, around 1235). In this anthology, 100 poets are compiled with three songs. In the following section, we will first give an overview of the *Wartburgkrieg* and discuss the *utaawase*, the Japanese equivalent of the singers' contest, before discussing the characteristics of an *Shinkokin wakashū*, the anthology compiled at the beginning of the 13th century at the behest of the Retired Tennō Gotoba (後鳥羽上皇 1180-1239), which is closely related to the *Jidaifudō utaawase*. The *Jidaifudō utaawase* depicts a singing contest conceived by Gotoba on his desk between various poets from different periods, who confront each other in thought. This is a competition about old Japanese songs. Reflections on what Gotoba wanted to show with his song contest could perhaps inspire a discourse about the European counterpart. Finally, the points that can be compared between East and West are discussed.

2. *Der Wartburgkrieg*

In the *Wartburgkrieg*, Henrich initially challenges all poets living in his presence to a competition. He appoints Reinmar von Zweter and Wolfram von Eschenbach as judges. He also asks Landgraf Hermann von Thüringen to make them swear to be impartial judges. At the beginning of the dispute, Walther von der Vogelweide expresses his dislike of the Herzog von Österreich and praises Hermann. The Tugendhafter Schreiber agrees with Walther. In contrast, Biterolf praises the Graf von Henneberg and not the host Hermann or the Herzog von Österreich.³ The judges Reinmar and Wolfram criticise Henrich's slanderous song, which can be seen as impolite, and award victory to Landgraf Hermann von Thüringen. However, Henrich does not accept this judgement and violently insults the two judges and his opponents. After Walther's further criticism of Henrich, he plans to go to Hungary to bring

Dorothea Klein, Jens Haustein und Horst Brunner. In Verbindung mit Holger Runow. Berlin / Boston: de Gruyter 2019. 457-485, 475.

³ We will regard this part, which is considered a later insertion (Hallmann (fn. 1), 203), as an integral part of the whole *Wartburgkrieg* in order to develop the discussion.

Klingsor to a different judgement. The story ends when the Gräfin authorises this.

The verse form is as follows:

Daz erste singen hie nu *tut* / Heinrich von Ofterdingen in des edelen vürsten *don* / von
Düringenlant, der teilt uns e sin *gut* / und wir im gotes *lon*. / Der meister get in kreizes *zil*.
/ kegen alle singer, die nu leben, er of geworfen *hat*. / benennet ir sin wenich oder *vil*, /
recht als ein kemphe her *stat*. / Nu høeret, wie er des kempfes kan kegen alle meister
phlegen: / des vürsten tugent uz Æsterrich will er of die wage *legen*, / ab sie irgen sin, die
wider *wegen* / mit drier vürsten milte, die høesten, die sie vinden *megen*. / haben sie alle nu
so hohen *pris* / an tugenden *leben*, / in diebes *wis* / wil her sich hiute des gevangen *geben*.
(1st stanza, italics by T. T.)

Heinrich von Ofterdingen is the first to sing here, in the manner of the noble lord from Thüringen. He has always distributed his possessions to us, and we provide him with God's reward. The master now steps into the ring. He has rebelled against all the singers who are now alive, and he calls upon them, regardless of whether they are few or many. He stands ready like a duelist. Hear now how he can take on all masters in battle. He wants to put the excellence of the Austrian lord on the scales to find out whether they can outweigh him with the generosity of the three highest lords that they can muster. If they are to be praised just as highly in their way of life, then he will give himself up like a criminal today.⁴

The rhyme type looks like this:

abababcdedefefghgh

As mentioned earlier, this part of the *Wartburgkrieg*, the text of which is passed on differently depending on the manuscript, is said to have been written around the middle of the 13th century. Walter von der Vogelweide and Wolfram von Eschenbach, both active around 1200–20, and Reinmar von Zweter, also 1225?–1245?⁵, are set in the same theater. It is doubtful that the poets would all have sung at the same time. It would be more reasonable to assume that they were only put together later.⁶ Furthermore, the description *kegen alle singer, die nu leben* ('against all poets living now')⁷ cannot be based on facts. Even if it were true that the six poets were in the same place at the same time, which can no longer be proven, the lifetime of Hermann von Thüringen (1155?–1217) does not coincide with that of

⁴ Hallmann (fn. 1), 516; The English translation is based on a modern German translation of: *Das Streitgedicht im Mittelalter*. Hrsg. von Jörg O. Fichte, Peter Stotz, Sebastian Neumeister, Roger Friedlein, Franziska Wenzel und Holger Runow. Stuttgart: S. Hirzel 2019, 338–369, 341, 343.

⁵ Martin Schubert: Reinmar von Zweter. In: *Sangspruch / Spruchsang* (fn. 2). 357–367, 357.

⁶ Burghart Wachinger: 'Der Wartburgkrieg'. In: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*. Hrsg. von Burghart Wachinger et al. Band 10. 2., völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage. Berlin / New York: de Gruyter 1999. 740–766, 745, 746.

⁷ Hallmann (fn. 1), 516; *Das Streitgedicht im Mittelalter* (fn. 4), 341.

Reinmar as a poet. People were well aware of this at the time the *Fürstenlob* was written. So why was such a structure chosen?

3. Background and genesis of the work to be compared

Pre-modern Japanese court society was heavily influenced by China. The legal system, landlordship, the military system and the ranks were adopted from Chinese institutions. As the written administration was conducted in ancient Chinese, knowledge and skills in Chinese writing were essential for the nobility. It was not intended to entrust the reading and writing of administrative documents to retainers, and men were expected to be familiar with Chinese poetry and to be able to write their own poems in order to rise in ranks.⁸

In courtly culture, however, the *waka* songs developed from old traditions, which usually consist of 31 Japanese characters (about 31 syllables as 5-7-5-7-7), became increasingly important. These songs were not only used to express various emotions in daily life, but also served as a means of communication in the aristocratic society. The most obvious use is *waka* as a love letter. Otherwise, various thoughts of daily life, for example about the changing seasons or farewells, were woven into a poem. Sometimes the intentions of other people were asked in the form of a poem. In such cases, the answer was also written in the same way. Originally, these poems were probably personal messages, but it is assumed that several people showed their poems to each other and evaluated each other. *Waka* poetry, which has been passed on in large numbers by both men and women, can be regarded as a centerpiece of Japanese courtly culture.

In *waka* poetry, it was also important to allude to and understand the Chinese classics. One of the most important requirements for a poet was a good knowledge of ancient and older Japanese poetry. This was considered essential for the nobility. There was a poetic technique called *hiki-uta* (引歌), in which parts of well-known poems were quoted. Without knowledge of the original poem, it was impossible to understand the author's intention. Knowledge of the *Kokin wakashū* (古今和歌集 905) in particular was considered indispensable.

After all, *waka* poems were not only used in private correspondence, but *utaawase*, singing competitions, were also organised. At celebrations, *byōbu-e* (屏風絵), foldable screens with pictures to which the *waka* songs were attached, were given as gifts. The earliest record of singing competitions dates to 885. The poets were divided into two groups (left

⁸ Those who rose to a high position despite their lack of knowledge of Chinese poetry and literature were both scrutinised with curiosity and condemned. Minamoto no Akimasa (源顕雅 1074-1136) was criticised for being 'the first kugyō [Senior Second Rank] who could not write Chinese poetry'. See Minamoto no Akikane: Kojidan. Edited and translated by Itō Tamami. Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō 2021 (vol. 1) (源顕兼 (編)『古事談(上)』伊藤玉美 (校訂・訳) 筑摩書房 2021), 396-397). This criticism was at the same time a reflection of the perception that people could rise successfully if they had the support of influential people.

and right) and competed against each other with their poems on themes such as the Four Seasons, Love and Felicitations.

4. The Court society, poetry contests and the situation surrounding people

The themes of the *waka* singing competitions were as varied as those of the *waka* poems that were assigned before the poems were written. In a competition, the poems had to address the same topic, otherwise comparisons would be difficult, although it is known that in older *utaawase* documents songs with different content were occasionally placed next to each other without prior titling.⁹ The participants, who had received the themes in advance, had to prepare their poems carefully by referring to beautiful poems from the past. They wrote these poems on paper and submitted them to the competition. In competitions, poets usually did not recite their poems themselves, but a *kōji* (講師), a reciter with a beautiful voice, took on the role of reciting. Of course, the recital was held with the paper in view. Although *waka* poetry is an orally performed art form, it also had a strong aspect of written culture. The paper on which *waka* poems were written (*kaishi* 懷紙) was sometimes extravagant in terms of color and quality.

Unlike many poets in medieval Europe, Japanese *waka* colleagues were not lower-ranking artists, but members of the court society,¹⁰ and *waka* poetry was a central part of the culture of the male and female court nobility. The poets and the people involved in the *waka* competitions, as well as the songs composed during them, had more or less political significance because the people, events and works were always associated with political power. At that time, emperors and court nobles often organised a poetry competition. In the Heian period (794-1185), more than 400 competitions took place. Through organising these costly events, the high-ranking nobility wanted to and were able to strengthen their political authority. The competitions were therefore no longer just rituals, and the poetry contests or confrontations that took place in the presence of a high-ranking authority figure sometimes turned into fierce battles. As this was a courtly event, there were supporters in addition to the poets or their representatives who faced each other on the left and right. The events included court ladies, who acted as supporters and sang each song with their male

⁹ Yoshikai Naoto (ed.): *Sanjūrokkasen (36 Great Singers)*. Tōkyō: KADOKAWA 2021 (吉海直人(編) : 三十六歌仙. 東京 : KADOKAWA 2021), 197.

¹⁰ In those days of a highly hierarchical society, non-aristocrats were generally not allowed to enter the Imperial Palace (Dairi 内裏), so the arts performed in the popular arena were different from the songs of the poetry competition. There may have been people like Walter von der Vogelweide who performed their art 'at court and on the street' (*ze hove und an der strāzen.*) in Japanese society at the same time, but such artists would not have been invited to the poetry competition. See Walther von der Vogelweide: *Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche*. Ins Neuhochdeutsche übersetzt von Thomas Bein. Berlin / Boston: de Gruyter 2023, 283.

companions from their respective camp to show its value. Not only the organisers, poets and supporters attracted attention at the poetry competitions. The splendid costumes and fragrances, the music played by the musicians and the appearance and behavior of the dancers were equally important parts of the *utaawase* event. *Utaawase* should be seen as a spatial art form that brought together the best of the aesthetic sensibilities of dynastic culture.¹¹

Let us now look at two examples of the poems actually recited that were composed at a poetry contest (known as *Tentoku yo nen dairi utaawase* [天徳四年内裏歌合] because it was held in the 4th year of the Tentoku period) organised by Tennō Murakami on the 30th day of the 3rd month of 960.¹² The following two poems were competing each other.

Mibu no Tadami (壬生忠見¹³) (left)

恋すてふわが名はまだき立ちにけり人知れずこそ思ひ初めしか

Koi su chō / waga na wa madaki / tachinikeri / hito shirezu koso / omoisomeshika

I had hoped to keep secret / feelings that had begun to stir / within my heart, / but already rumours are rife / that I am in love with you.

Taira no Kanemori (平兼盛) (right) won (勝)

忍ぶれど色に出でにけりわが恋は物や思ふと人の問ふまで

Shinoburedo / iro ni idenikeri / waga koi wa / mono ya omou to / hito no tou made

Though I try to keep it secret, / my deep love shows / in the blush on my face. / Others keep asking me - / 'Who are you thinking of?'¹⁴

To this day, both poems are regarded as outstanding. However, when the Minister of the Left, Fujiwara no Saneyori (藤原実頼 900-970), who was entrusted with the task of refereeing, was confronted with both poems, he was perplexed. Although his background and

¹¹ Watanabe Yasuaki: *Waka towa nani ka. (What is the Waka?)* Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten 2009 (渡部泰明: 和歌とは何か. 東京: 岩波書店 2009), 160-164.

¹² In Japan, the lunar calendar was in use until November 1872 so that the day of the event was on the 28th of the fourth month of the same year according to the Julian calendar. In this article, the dates are presented in the lunar calendar.

¹³ As a general rule, the Japanese names of persons in this paper are given in the kun'yomi (meaning reading) rather than the on'yomi (Sino-Japanese) reading. The names are also reproduced with the family name in front of the given name, as is customary.

¹⁴ These poems are quoted in the *Hyakunin isshu*, so we indicate their English translations: *One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each. A Treasury of Classical Japanese Verse. Translated with Commentary by Peter MacMillan.* London: Penguin 2018, 48-49, 230-231. Cf. the citations from: *Shūi wakashū.* Edited with Commentary by Komachiya Teruhiko. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten 1990 (拾遺和歌集. 小町谷照彦 (校注) 東京: 岩波書店 1990), 185 (no. 621, 622).

status were sufficient to act as judge of the contest presided over by the Tennō, Saneyori apparently declared that he was too weak to judge the contest of the two poems. Tennō Murakami (村上天皇 926–967) would not tolerate such hesitation and urged him to make a firm decision. Worried, Sadayori handed the decision over to Minamoto no Takaakira (源高明 914–983), who was standing by, but he did not dare to answer. Takaakira was too afraid to answer. The supporters on both sides continued to sing the songs from their respective camps to show that they had won. Saneyori, who stood there dumbfounded and confused, asked the Tennō for his opinion. But the Tennō remained silent. However, he quietly hummed the song from the right side. When Takaakira whispered to Saneyori that the Tennō's thoughts seemed to be on the right side, Saneyori was finally able to declare victory for the right side.¹⁵

This example shows that the judges were under great tension. Incidentally, these two poems also appear side by side in two later anthologies, namely in the *Shūi wakashū* (1005–07) and in the *Hyakunin isshu* (百人一首 first half of the 13th century).

In this case, the winner was determined by force, but if the decision was considered a 'draw' due to unavoidable difficulties, the entry was labelled *ji* (持). It also seems to have been important to indicate the basis for the decision in a poetry contest. Records of such procedures have been preserved. In the *Ropyakuban utaawase* (六百番歌合 *Poetry Contest in Six Hundred Rounds* 1193)¹⁶ organised by Major Counselor Fujiwara no Yoshitsune (藤原良経 1169–1206), all 600 rounds (i.e. 1,200 poems) were judged by Fujiwara no Toshinari (藤原俊成 1114–1204). In addition, the basis for the decision, which was based on on-site discussions of the *waka* poems on the left and right sides, was also recorded. In *waka* poetry competitions, the quality of the *waka* poem performed decided the outcome of the competition, so the judge was a person of some standing and was considered an authority in the world of *waka* poetry. Toshinari commented on a poem by Fujiwara no Takanobu (藤原隆信 1142–1205), his stepson, with the words: 'It is regrettable if someone composes a *waka* song and does not know his way around the *Tale of Genji*' – a statement still known today.¹⁷

¹⁵ Watanabe (fn. 11), 164.

¹⁶ *Ropyakuban utaawase*. Edited with a Commentary by Kubota Jun and Yamaguchi Akiho. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten 1998 (六百番歌合. 久保田淳・山口明穂 (校注) 東京: 岩波書店 1998); Thomas E. McAuley: *The Poetry Contest in Six Hundred Rounds* (2 vol). A Translation and Commentary. Leiden: Brill 2019. (For this article we could not refer to McAuley's monumental book.)

¹⁷ *Ropyakuban utaawase* (fn. 16), 187. Incidentally, the opponent against whom Takanobu lost by decision was the organiser of this competition, Fujiwara no Yoshitsune. Takanobu fought Yoshitsune twelve times, but apart from two draws, he lost all the other ten fights. In his seventeen bouts against Fujiwara no Sadaie (Takanobu's half-brother), Takanobu won three times, lost eight times and drew six times. In the fifteen bouts against Kenshō, who represented the Rokujō family, Takanobu won eight times, lost four times and drew three times. The judge Fujiwara no Toshinari allowed the organiser and Minister of the Left, Fujiwara no Yoshitsune, to win multiple times and instead put up with his family member Takanobu. The fact that

Such judgements require the ability to convince as many people as possible. This is probably the reason why a whole range of *waka* poetry theories have been developed over time, including studies on the ways of *waka* poetry, the interpretation of old poems and the history and traditions of *waka* poetry.

From the Heian period (794–1185) onwards, there were families of poets who had the honor of accompanying the tennōs, the abdicated tennōs and court nobles in learning *waka* poetry. Fujiwara no Sadaie (藤原定家 1162–1241) is regarded as a representative of such existences. Several *waka* families emerged or split off into new families and competed for the position of the *waka* master. Representatives were the Rokujō family (六条家), from which Fujiwara no Akisuke (藤原顕輔 1090–1155), the compiler of the sixth imperial anthology *Shika wakashū*, descended, and the Mikohidari family (御子左家), from which Fujiwara no Toshinari, cited above, the compiler of the seventh imperial anthology *Senzai wakashū*, came. Toshinari's son Sadaie and his grandson Tameie (為家 1198–1275) from the Mikohidari family were appointed as compilers for the imperial anthologies. Sadaie became one of the compilers of the *Shinkokin wakashū* (新古今和歌集 1205) and also single-handedly compiled the *Shinchokusen wakashū* (新勅撰和歌集 1235). His son Tameie was the sole compiler of the *Shokugosen wakashū* (続後撰和歌集 1251) and was also one of the compilers of the *Shokukokin wakashū* (続古今和歌集 1265). The Rokujō family died out in the 14th century, but the Mikohidari family, which had become an authority, later split into several branches, one of which, the Reizei family, survives to this day.

However, if someone put forward a theory, there were also theories that disproved it. In addition, there were probably many cases in which the loser could never be persuaded. Kenshō (顕昭 1130?–1209?), a member of the Rokujō family and participant in this competition, composed the *Ropyyakuban chinjō* (六百番陳狀), appeal against Toshinari's judgements, and presented a series of refutations in which he attempted to refute many of Toshinari's arguments.¹⁸

In this context, we would like to draw attention to Kamo no Chōmei (鴨長明 1155?–1216), whose poem was selected for inclusion in the imperial anthology *Senzai wakashū*. It was a great honor for all members of the court society to have their poems included in the imperial *waka* anthology. Chōmei wrote about his joy in the *Mumyōshō* (無名抄):

One of my poems is included in *Senzaishū* [*Senzai wakashū*]. I expressed my joy thus: 'I do not come from a family with literary tradition and my powers of expression are not outstanding. Furthermore, the trend of our times does not permit that I be recognized as a man of taste. Under these circumstances, to have even one poem accepted is a great honor.'¹⁹

Takanobu did not completely defeat Kenshō, a rival of the Mikohidari family, could be seen as a consideration to avoid giving the impression of pure malice.

¹⁸ Ropyyakuban utaawase (fn. 16), 427–483.

¹⁹ The Mumyōshō. Translated by Hilda Katō. In: *Monumenta Nipponica* 23-3/4 (1968) 351–430, 363; Kamo no

Chōmei was then soon appointed by Retired Emperor Gotoba as a *yoriudo* (寄人 officer) in the *Wakadokoro* (和歌所 Poetry Bureau), which was to serve as a pre-selection of the poems to be included. But there must have been many people who did not approve of his appointment. Although Chōmei was mentioned favorably by Minamoto no Ienaga (源家長 1170?-1234) in his *Minamoto no Ienaga Diary* (源家長日記),²⁰ Fujiwara no Sadaie had an indifferent opinion of him, writing: ‘Despite the position of Junior Fifth Rank, he is vulgar’²¹ (五位 (Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade) と雖も、其の身凡卑: *Meigetsuki* [明月記], entry of the 16th day of the third month 1201)²². The aforementioned Fujiwara no Yoshitsune revealed at a poetry competition that he did not want to be in such a company of lower persons, that it was unprecedented, but that he had no choice because it was an imperial order from Gotoba (*Meigetsuki*, entry of the 26th day of the fifth month 1202). These statements clearly show how strong the sense of status and discrimination was.

If there are chosen poets, Chōmei knows that there are also those who were not chosen. He could well imagine that those who were not selected for the competition, as well as those poets who were selected but judged as ‘losers’, were dissatisfied. There were also those who disagreed with the referee’s judgement, even with the *wakas* of others. From Chōmei’s description, it can be seen that such people criticised and complained about the selection results. Chōmei quotes his late music teacher Chikushū (筑洲), Nakahara no Ariyasu (中原有安?-?), who praised him.

‘(…) In this collection [*Senzai wakashū*] there are many cases of people without any particular merit having ten, seven, eight, four, five poems included. I can imagine how you might resent seeing them, but that you should even be able to take pleasure from this is much to your credit. If you respect the discipline you must first of all beautify your heart. No one is like this nowadays. People don’t know their own limitations, they are conceited, make a lot of fuss, harbor anger and often make mistakes. Mark my words.’²³

Chōmei: Mummyōshō. Translated into Modern Japanese with commentary by Kubota Jun. Tōkyō: KADOKAWA 2013 (鴨長明『無名抄』久保田淳 (訳注) 東京: KADOKAWA 2013), 190.

²⁰ Ishida Yoshisada and Satsukawa Shūji: Commentary to Minamoto no Ienaga Diary (Minamoto no Ienaga Nikki zen chūkai). Tōkyō: Yūseidō 1968 (石田吉貞・佐津川修二: 源家長日記全註解. 東京: 有精堂 1968), 104–114.

²¹ Some scholars interpret this expression as being synonymous with *jigenin*, which means that ‘a person who is not allowed to enter the palace’. However, since people of the Fifth Rank were principally not allowed to enter the Palace at all, we would like to draw attention here to the inverse conjunction (*toiedomo* と雖も) and interpret Sadaie’s attitude as looking down on Chōmei.

²² The quotations from the *Meigetsuki* here and in the following are based on: Kundoku Meigetsuki. Translated into classical Japanese by Imagawa Fumio. Tōkyō: Kawade Shobō Shinsha 1977–79 (訓読明月記. 今川文雄 (訳) 東京: 河出書房新社 1977–79).

²³ The Mummyōshō, (fn. 19), 363. Kubota ((fn. 19), 143) assumes: ‘specially when an imperial anthology is

There are many people whose poems have been adopted because of their high status or connections to influential people, even though they have no talent for poetry. With this argument, Ariyasu has probably encouraged Chōmei that he is rightly recognised despite his low status because he has talent and writes excellent poetry.

If someone were a judge in a poetry competition and the author of the poem to be judged had a high status, he had to think carefully about whether to judge the poem as 'lost'. Especially when it came to the Jōkō Gotoba, the judges must have been very nervous. Fujiwara no Sadaie wrote in his diary *Meigetsuki* about his experience that he could not help but feel such anxiety:

御製伺ひ知らざるの間、歌毎に怖畏す。

Since I did not know which songs were composed by the Retired Emperor Gotoba, I was haunted by fear while I considered the judgement of every song at this song contest.

(Entry of the 30th day of the ninth month 1200)

However, Fujiwara no Sadaie was apparently a strong-willed person by nature, and in 1185 (at the age of 23) he punched Minamoto no Masayuki (源雅行 1168-?) in the face at the palace and was placed under house arrest. In his diary, he often scolded people of high rank with harsh words. Later, he also criticised the Abdicated Tennō Gotoba, which naturally angered him when he heard about it from hearsay. As already mentioned, Sadaie became one of the compilers of the *Shinkokin wakashū* and compiled the *Shinchokusen wakashū* on his own. However, although he considered himself as an unwavering authority in the world of poetry, he did not succeed in transferring his career as a poet to the world of politics. His promotion did not go as Sadaie wished and was delayed in his own eyes. On the 22nd day of the second month of 1202, he was visiting Fujiwara no Kaneko (藤原兼子 1155-1229, the wet nurse of Gotoba), then a powerful and influential woman, when he heard that she was ill. Sadaie flattered Kaneko and asked her to intercede on his behalf. On the 22nd day of the seventh month of the same year, Sadaie visited Kaneko again and showed her his letter of request for his promotion after he had gone to Minamoto no Michichika (源通親 1149-1202: husband of Fujiwara no Noriko (藤原範子 1152?-1200), sister of Fujiwara no Kaneko and also nurse of Gotoba) with the same purpose. Michichika was the Minister of the Center and also one of the *yoriudo* (officers) in the *Wakadokoro*. Despite his efforts to win her over, Sadaie was disappointed. His diary, *Meigetsuki*, reads as follows:

十八日より発り心地、重悩と云々。仍て、追従のために向ふ所なり。

She became ill on the eighteenth and they say, her symptoms are severe. Therefore, I paid a visit to her residence to flatter her. (Entry of the 22th day of the second month 1202)

compiled, writings and private anthologies are also circulated to slander them.'

又仮名状を以て、三品局に示す。(…)只富有の者、官を買ふのみ。

Also, in a letter, I indicated (my wish) to Fujiwara no Kaneko. (...) Only those with wealth can buy government posts. (Entry of the 22th day of the seventh month 1202)

This time his wish came true after fourteen years of waiting, although his wish never ceased. The *Meigetsuki* tells the story of Sadaie's struggle to fulfil his wish for promotion.²⁴

5. The Retired Emperor Gotoba and the *Shinkokin wakashū*

The *Shinkokin wakashū* is usually dated to 1205, although the date of its composition varies depending on when it is considered to have been completed. Like most of the imperial *waka* anthologies that preceded it, it consists of 20 volumes, each dealing with a different topic. The compilers were Minamoto no Michitomo, Fujiwara no Ariie, Fujiwara no Sadaie, Fujiwara no Ietaka, Fujiwara no Masatsune and Jakuren. In contrast to the earlier imperial anthologies, Gotoba himself made the final selection. It is a valuable collection of poetry as it contains many excellent poems and had a great influence on later anthologies. However, it is also significant in that its creation process can be largely traced, as there are many related documents, such as the diaries of noblemen.

The tennō 天皇 (including jōkō 上皇, retired tennō, and hōō 法皇, cloistered tennō) often commissioned the compilation of an authentic anthology of *waka* poems. The first anthology was the *Kokin wakashū* (古今和歌集) in 905, commissioned by Tennō Daigo (醍醐天皇). By 1439, when the *Shinshokukokin wakashū* (新続古今和歌集) was the last collection to be compiled, a total of 21 imperial *waka* anthologies had been completed. The first eight of these *waka* anthologies, usually referred to as *Hachidai shū* (八代集), are considered the most important. The anthologies following the oldest *Kokin wakashū* are named as follows, indicating the year of their creation and the person who commissioned them: *Gosen wakashū* (後撰和歌集 955-57, Tennō Murakami 村上天皇), *Shūi wakashū* (拾遺和歌集 1005-07, Hōō Kazan 花山法皇), *Goshūi wakashū* (後拾遺和歌集 1087, Tennō Shirakawa 白河天皇), *Kin'yō wakashū* (金葉和歌集 1124-27, Hōō Shirakawa 白河法皇), *Shika wakashū* (詞花和歌集 1151, Jōkō Sutoku 崇徳上皇), *Senzai wakashū* (千載和歌集 1187, Hōō Goshirakawa 後白河法皇) and *Shinkokin wakashū* (新古今和歌集 1205, Jōkō Gotoba 後鳥羽上皇). Not all tennō attempted to compile *waka* anthologies, but there are several tennō who attempted to do so but failed to realise it. The project of compiling *waka* anthologies was of great importance to the rulers

²⁴ Murai Yasuhiko: Fujiwara no Sadaie no Meigetsuki no sekai. (The World of Fujiwara no Sadaie's Meigetsuki). Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten 2020 (村井康彦：藤原定家『明月記』の世界。東京：岩波書店 2020), 119. Some of the letters (a mōshibumi petition and a draft) that Sadaie wrote to influential personalities in the hope of promotion have been preserved and can be viewed at the following URL: <https://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/212419> (March 31, 2024); <https://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/167925> (March 31, 2024)

because they wanted to demonstrate their great interest in culture and their political authority at the center of the court society.²⁵

Jōkō Gotoba was a man who had diverse interests. His *waka* poetry developed rapidly under the guidance of Fujiwara no Toshinari and his son Sadaie, whom we have already mentioned several times, and brought Gotoba to the level of a master. Gotoba's poetry circles also flourished as he organised several poetry competitions. The Jōkō was also interested in *kemari* (蹴鞠 a classical kind of football), the martial arts, water sports and the *yūsoku* (有職), ancient customs and traditions of high estates. As such, it was only natural that he would attempt to compile a new collection of *waka* poems to tie in with the earlier imperial anthologies. At this time, political power had just passed from the court nobility to the *samurai*, so Gotoba and the court nobles were suffering from feelings of loss of political power. With the sign for 'new', Gotoba probably wished for a revival of the *Kokin wakashū*, the sacred text of *waka* poetry, and the era in which it was created. The founding of *Wakadokoro* (和歌所), described below, with the significance of the Poetry Bureau, also followed the example of *Kokin wakashū* and its successor *Gosen wakashū*. During this period, Gotoba greatly appreciated the novelty of Fujiwara no Sadaie's poetry style. It was Sadaie who suggested adding the word *shin* (新 'new') to the title of the anthology commissioned by Gotoba and calling it *Shinkokin wakashū*. Sadaie's unconventional stance will also have been favorably received by Gotoba.

The *Shinkokin wakashū* was created in an extremely complex and lengthy process. It was revised so often that there was probably no 'single original'. The process can be divided into several phases.

(1) Phase 1 (selection and nomination of poems)

In the seventh month of 1201, the Poetry Bureau *Wakadokoro* was founded with the eleven *yoritudo*, who served as the pre-selection committee for the poems to be recorded. The members were all nobles of the court: The Minister of the Left Fujiwara no Yoshitsune (左大臣藤原良経 1169–1206), the Minister of the Center Minamoto no Michichika (内大臣源通親 1149–1202), Jien (慈円 1155–1225), Fujiwara no Toshinari (藤原俊成), Minamoto no Michitomo (源通具 1171–1227), Fujiwara no Ariie (藤原有家 1155–1216), Fujiwara no Sadaie (藤原定家), Fujiwara no Ietaka (藤原家隆 1158–1237), Fujiwara no Masatsune (藤原雅経 1170–1221), Minamoto no Tomochika (源具親 ?-?) and Jakuren (寂蓮 1139–1202). Later, Fujiwara no Takanobu (藤原隆信), Kamo no Chōmei (鴨長明) and Fujiwara no Hideyoshi (藤原秀能 1184–1240) were added to the list. (Chōmei and Hideyoshi belonged to the *jige*

²⁵ However, the *tennō* (and *jōkō* and *hōō*), who ordered the selection of poems, were not always masters of poetry themselves. Cf. Yoshino Tomomi: Gotoba-in and his time. Tōkyō: Kasama shoin 2015 (吉野朋美: 後鳥羽院とその時代. 東京: 笠間書院 2015), 6. In addition to these anthologies, private poetry collections were also compiled from poems by individuals or families. In the case of politicians, the poetry collections may have served to showcase the high level of their education and sophistication.

category, where one was not allowed to enter the Imperial Palace).²⁶ The task of the *yoriuodo* was to select outstanding *waka* poems from a large number of works. Minamoto no Ienaga (源家長) was appointed *kaikō* (開闔), who was responsible for managing the records and drafts. On the 3rd day of the eleventh month of the same year, six colleagues from the fourteen *yoriuodo* – Minamoto no Michitomo, Fujiwara no Ariie, Fujiwara no Sadaie, Fujiwara no Ietaka, Fujiwara no Masatsune and Jakuren – were appointed as compilers and commissioned to work on compiling the final poems for the imperial selection. (Jakuren died in the following year and was removed from the list.) The first period lasted until around the 20th day of the fourth month of 1203, when the compilers submitted their poems for selection.²⁷

(2) Phase 2 (elaboration by Gotoba)

The poems, which had previously been selected and recommended by the compilers, were carefully selected by Gotoba himself three more times over the course of about a year.

(3) Phase 3 (classification)

On the 22nd day of the seventh month of 1204, Jōkō Gotoba ordered the compilers to categorise the poems he had selected and to arrange them within these categories. The categories of the *Shinkokin wakashū* are almost identical to those of preceding imperial *waka* anthologies: The Four Seasons, Congratulations, Lamentations, Farewell, Travel, Love, Miscellaneous Poems, Shintō Poems and Poems on Buddhist Teachings.²⁸ Work on the *Shinkokin wakashū* lasted more than seven months and was completed on the sixth day of

²⁶ The appointment of Kamo no Chōmei and Fujiwara no Hideyoshi as *yoriuodo*, made possible by Gotoba's recognition, was groundbreaking. At that time, those who were allowed to enter the Imperial Palace were called *tenjōbito*, while, as above mentioned, those who were not were called *jige[nin]*. In those days, when the status system was strictly regulated, it was considered significant whether someone was allowed to ascend to the *Seiryōden*, the tennō's daily living quarters. The *jigenin* were not allowed to sit directly together with the *tenjōbito* in the place on public occasions. Gotoba renovated the *Wakadokoro* in his palace to provide access to the *jigenin*. Chōmei appears in the *Meigetsuki* on the 30th day of the twelfth month of the intercalary year 1200 with 13 months, where the author says: 'A straw mat is laid out with stone paving at the bottom of the garden, and Kamo no Chōmei arrives alone.' (東の砌りの下に帖を敷きて、鴨長明一人参着す).

²⁷ There are manuscripts from this period that were designed for the selection of fourteen poems by Fujiwara no Sadaie. Cf. Terashima Tsuneyo: Draft for Selection of Poems to Shinkokinwakashū. In: Research and Study Report (National Institute of Japanese Literature) 33 (2013) (寺島常世：国文学研究資料館蔵「新古今和歌集撰歌草稿」について、『国文学研究資料館調査研究報告』33 (2013)), 105-115.

²⁸ *Shinkokin wakashū*. Edited by Tanaka Yutaka and Akase Shingo. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten 1992 (新古今和歌集. 田中裕・赤瀬信吾 (校注) 東京：岩波書店 1992). Here and in the following we quote the English translation of the categories and poems in the *Shinkokin wakashū* according to: *Shinkokinshū*. New Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern. 2 Vols. Translated and introduced by Laurel Rasplica Rodd. Leiden: Brill 2015.

the third month in 1205, and this phase ended on the 26th day of the same month with the closing banquet (*kyōen* 竟宴).

(4) Phase 4 (*kiritsugi* – deletions and additions)

The fourth phase began on the 28th day of the third month of 1205, two days after the festival. *Kiritsugi* refers to the cutting of paper to remove a poem and the joining of paper to add a poem. These terms describe the work that was done on long and rolled paper. This period can be divided into two locations Kyōto and Oki. In Kyōto, this subperiod lasted until the 26th day of the twelfth month of 1216, when Minamoto no Ienaga, the administrator of the *Wakadokoro*, Poetry Bureau, made a copy of the completed anthology to serve as a testimony for the *Wakadokoro*. Later, in the seventh month of 1221, Jōkō Gotoba failed in an attempt to overthrow the Kamakura shogunate and was exiled to the Islands of Oki. During the Oki-*Kiritsugi* period, Gotoba worked on the *Shinkokin wakashū* again on the island for 18 years and deleted around 380 poems.

It is assumed that the remaining manuscripts of the *Shinkokin wakashū* originate from one or more manuscripts that transmit the text copied in the third phase. Nevertheless, the number of poems varies according to manuscript. (In the edition on which this work is based, the number of poems is given as 1978). We therefore have the text that can be traced back to one cut of a long process of deletions and additions.

The first special feature of this *waka* anthology is, as already mentioned, that the process of its creation is known in detail. Secondly, Gotoba's involvement in its creation is significant. Gotoba not only ordered the compilation of the *waka* anthology, but also personally considered the collection of poems after the compilers had finalised their selection. The diary of Fujiwara no Sadaie shows that Gotoba himself had a seat in *Wakadokoro* (*Meigetsuki*, entry of the 27th day of the seventh month 1201). Although it is not known what kind of work the Abdicated Tennō did in the *Wakadokoro*, he was undoubtedly actively involved in the management of the organisation. At the same time, it should be noted that Jōkō's confidence in *waka* poetry grew.²⁹ In addition to the *Shinkokin wakashū*, the Retired Emperor Gotoba also organised various events related to *waka* poetry.

²⁹ Initially, Gotoba was under the care of Fujiwara no Toshinari and his son Sadaie at *Waka*, who was impressed by Gotoba's rapid progress, but the relationship between Gotoba and Sadaie soon became unstable. There were already signs of this when the *Shinkokin wakashū* was in its 3rd phase (classification). Gotoba read through all the poems beforehand and marked those that were to be selected. Sadaie and other compilers categorised the poems selected by Gotoba. Minamoto no Ienaga, the administrator of the *waka* office, probably reported regularly to Jōkō. Sadaie wrote in his diary that Ienaga slandered him and told Gotoba that he scolded the poems that Gotoba had selected and marked. Sadaie said that only he knew whether a poem was good or bad (*Meigetsuki*, entry of the 22nd day of the eighth month 1204). Although Gotoba and Sadaie still respected each other, their disagreements about poetry grew. In the second month of 1220, shortly before the Jōkyū Rebellion, Sadaie, who was politically closer to the shogunate, was finally placed under house arrest by Gotoba.

Between 1201 and 1203, Gotoba challenged 30 important poets of his time. Each was expected to compose 100 poems – a total of 3,000 pieces – and to combine them in 1,500 rounds. This event is known today as the *Sengohyakuban utaawase* (*Poetry Contest in Fifteen Hundred Rounds*). Ninety poems from the competition were included in the *Shinkokin wakashū* anthology. The *Sengohyakuban utaawase* poetry competition thus far surpassed the *Roppyakuban utaawase* (*Poetry Contest in Six Hundred Rounds*) organised by the Minister of the Left Fujiwara no Yoshitsune, from which 34 poems were selected for the same *Waka* anthology. This was precisely Gotoba's aim. His strong self-confidence belies the strong political will underlying his attempts to overthrow the Kamakura shogunate and thus regain the power he had lost. The anthology *Shinkokin wakashū*, which took many years, considerable expense and the mobilisation of large numbers of people to produce, became a means of demonstrating Jōkō Gotoba's high education, political power and exuberant self-confidence.

As in other imperial *waka* anthologies, the arrangement of the poems in the individual categories of the *Shinkokin wakashū* is by no means arranged in order of poet status. There are categories that begin with a poem composed by a tennō, but this is rather coincidental. It does not seem to have been the intention to arrange the poems in order of status.

Here we quote a poem by Izumi Shikibu (和泉式部 978?-?) from the *Shinkokin wakashū*. Although it is not representative of this anthology, it is relevant to theme of our article.

返事せぬ女のもとにつかはさんとて、人のよませ待ければ、二月許によみ侍ける

Composed in the Second Month on behalf of a man whose beloved did not reply to his missives

1023 跡をだに草のはつかに見てしかな結ぶばかりのほどならずとも 和泉式部

atowo dani / kusa no hatsuka ni / miteshigana / musubu bakari no / hodo narazu tomo

if only I could / see traces of your writing – / even ones as scant / as these blades of grass

though they / not serve to bind you to me

Izumi Shikibu

The poem by Izumi Shikibu, a well-known female poet, was actually written on behalf of a man. Such examples are sometimes found in the other imperial anthologies, too. In other words, the act of substitute writing was not unethical. There is no need to ask the question: If a love letter addressed to someone himself turned out to be the invention of a third person, would he sober up, or would the principal have to keep asking for invention in order to maintain the love filled with invention? It was shameful, however, to send someone a badly composed poem. It is likely that people who were unfamiliar with or did not know *waka* poetry would often ask someone who knew it well to write a poem on their behalf. There is another poem in the *Shinkokin wakashū* that Izumi Shikibu wrote for a man.

頼めて侍ける女の、のちに返事をだにせず待ければ、かのをここに代りて

Written for a man who had exchanged promises with a woman who now failed even to answer his messages

1344 いま来んといふことの葉もかれゆくによなよな露のなににをくらん 和泉式部
 ima kon to / ifu koto no ha mo / kareyuku ni / yo na yo na tsuyu no / nani ni oku ran
 soon I'll come to you - / your words are leaves that wither / away as you grow / more
 distant why do these dew / drops settle night after night Izumi Shikibu

As a poet, Izumi Shikibu was often asked to compose poems on behalf of others (daisaku 代作). Of her poems that remain to today, 21 are daisaku compositions, 15 of these for men.³⁰ One of these poems was composed for her lover Prince Atsumichi (敦道親王 981-1007), the fourth prince of Tennō Reizei (冷泉天皇 950-1011), when he asked her to compose a poem on his behalf for another love who was travelling. Shikibu was confused and saddened by this request.

惜しまるる涙に影はとまらなむ心も知らず秋は行くとも 和泉式部
 Oshimaruru / Namida ni kage wa / Tomaranan / Kokoro mo shirazu / Aki wa yuku tomo
 Pray leave behind at least your image, / Mirrored in my regretful tears, / Though, wearied
 of my love, / You go away with dying autumn, / Ignorant of my heart.³¹ Izumi Shikibu

³⁰ Morita Kaneyoshi: The Poems of Izumi Shikibu as Substitute Writer. Studies in Japanese Literature (Japanese Literary Society of Baiko Jo Gakuin College) 26 (1980) (森田兼吉: 和泉式部の代作歌. 梅光女学院大学日本文学会『日本文学研究』26 (1980)) 23-34, 26.

³¹ The Izumi Shikibu Diary. A Romance of the Heian Court. Translated with an Introduction by Edwin A. Cranston. Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard University Press 1969, 161. Izumi Shikibu married Tachibana no Michisada (橘道貞 ?-1016) before 999 and had a daughter, but later became a mistress of Prince Tametaka (為尊親王 977-1002), the third prince of Tennō Reizei. Shortly after his death, she was courted by his younger brother Shinnō Atsumichi. The prince's regular wife moved out of the residence and the prince invited Shikibu to live there with him. This event apparently caused a scandal. Murasaki Shikibu (紫式部 before 978?-after 1014?) criticised Izumi Shikibu in her *Murasaki Shikibu Nikki* (completed 1010?): 'Now someone who did carry on a fascinating correspondence was Izumi Shikibu. She does have a rather unsavoury side to her character (…).' In: The Diary of Lady Murasaki. Translated and introduced by Richard Bowring. London: Penguin 2005, 53. The *Shinkokin wakashū* contains two poems, one sent by Akazome Emon, a female poet active in the same period as Izumi Shikibu, who was concerned about her situation, and a reply by Shikibu.

和泉式部、道貞に忘られてのち、ほどなく敦道親王かよふと聞きて、つかはしける
 Sent upon learning that Izumi Shikibu, who had been abandoned by Michisada, was soon being visited by
 Prince Atsumichi

1820 うつろはでしばし信太の森を見よかへりもぞする葛の裏風 赤染衛門
 utsurohade / shibashi shinoda no / mori wo miyo / kaheri mo zo suru / kuzu no urakaze
 be patient a while / stand steadfast in Shinoda / grove and watch you'll see / there are those that do turn
 back / arrowroot leaves in the wind Akazome Emon
 返し Reply

We would like to explore the theme of the work of substitute writing. Akazome Emon (赤染衛門 956?-after 1041), wife of the scholar Ōe no Masahira (大江匡衡 952-1012), wrote a love poem on behalf of her sister. According to the preface to this poem in the *Goshūi wakashū* (no. 680), Fujiwara no Michitaka (藤原道隆 953-995) visited her as his love. He once arranged to meet her, but left her waiting in vain. The following song was written afterwards:

やすらひはで寝なましものを小夜更けてかたぶくまでの月を見しかな
 Yasurawade / nenamashi mono o / sayo fukete / katabuku made no / tsuki o mishi kana
 I should have gone to sleep / but, thinking you would come, / I watched the moon /
 throughout the night / till it sank before the dawn.³²

If there was no explicit declaration of authorship, it would be assumed today that all these songs were composed by someone other than the actual author. However, in pre-modern society, where the concept of copyright did not exist, a different ethic of substitution prevailed than today. It is possible that some of the remaining poems bearing the author's name were actually written by someone else.

6. The *Jidaifudō utaawase*

The exile to the Oki Islands, where Gotoba had only a handful of followers, must have caused him a feeling of loneliness that was incomparable to his time as Jōkō in Kyōto. The following poem is known as an expression of Gotoba's thoughts after his exile.

我こそは新島守よ隠岐の海荒き波風心して吹け³³
 Ware koso wa / niijimamori yo / oki no umi no / araki namikaze / kokoro shite fuke
 I am / the new keeper of this island, / rough waves and winds / of the Oki Sea, / blow with care.

1821 秋風はすごく吹けども葛の葉のうらみ顔には見えじとぞ思ふ 和泉式部
 aki kaze ha / sugoku fuku to mo / kuzu no ha no / uramigaho ni ha / mieji to zo omofu
 though winds of autumn / satiety blow fiercely / on the arrowroot / I'll never show on my face / the
 resentment underneath Izumi Shikibu
 Izumi Shikibu's reply expresses her gratitude to Akazome Emon for her concern and her own strong
 determination.

³² Text and translation: One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each (fn. 14), 71, 234.

³³ Gotoba-in entō hyaku shū (International Research Center for Japanese Studies) (『後鳥羽院遠島百首』国際日本文化研究センター), No. 97. URL: https://lapis.nichibun.ac.jp/waka/waka_i057.html (March 31, 2024). For an interpretation of the poem, see Yoshino Tomomi: Gotoba-in. Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin 2012 (吉野朋美: 後鳥羽院. 東京: 笠間書院 2012), 90-93.

Jōkō Gotoba lived a quiet life with only a few servants and devoted himself to *waka* poetry, probably to distract himself from his boredom. As previously mentioned, he revised the already completed *Shinkokin wakashū*, changed the poems again and compiled a series of *waka* anthologies. One of these was the anthology *Jidai fuō utaawase* (時代不同歌合 *Matched Poems from Different Eras*, around 1235).

Jidai fuō utaawase is a collection of poems personally compiled by Jōkō Gotoba (1180–1239). It is structured in the form of a competition of poets of different eras, especially from the *Kokin wakashū* (古今和歌集 905) to the *Shinkokin wakashū* (新古今和歌集 1205, also selected by Gotoba). Gotoba divided the poets into the left and right camps and had them compete with each other in poetry. In other words, it is a complete fiction. Roughly speaking, it looks like this: On the left side were 50 poets from the older three *waka* anthologies *Kokin wakashū*, *Gosen wakashū* (後撰和歌集 955–57) and *Shūi wakashū* (拾遺和歌集 1005–07). The other side shows the more recent five collections of poems *Goshūi wakashū* (後拾遺和歌集 1087), *Kin'yō wakashū* (金葉和歌集 1124–27), *Shika wakashū* (詞花和歌集 1151), *Senzai wakashū* (千載和歌集 1187) and *Shinkokin wakashū*, also with 50 poets. All singers have three poems each, so that the entire anthology comprises 300 songs. That is, the competition is held 150 times if Gotoba has each poet compete three times against his opponent. From another perspective, a poet had to have three outstanding poems to be selected.³⁴ A third of all songs were taken from the *Shinkokin wakashū*, but no judgement was made.

It is believed that Gotoba wanted to enjoy the 300-year history of *waka* poetry with the eight imperial anthologies in the form of a poetry competition.³⁵ There are several precursors to this unrealistic format of pitting poets from different eras against each other on a table, such as the *Jūgoban utaawase* (十五番歌合 *Poetry Contest in Fifteen Rounds*) and *Sanjūnin sen* (三十人撰 *Thirty Selected Singers*). Both of them are said to have been initiated by Fujiwara no Kintō (藤原公任 966–1041), a well-known noble poet. Since six poems by this poet were included in the *Shinkokin wakashū*, it is difficult to imagine that Gotoba did not know the forms of the *Jūgoban utaawase* and the *Sanjūnin sen*. However, Gotoba's *waka* master, Fujiwara no Toshinari, apparently did not appreciate Kintō,³⁶ so it is possible that Gotoba, who was influenced by Toshinari, conceptually rejected Kintō's originality. The *Jidai fuō utaawase* does not contain any poems by Kintō.³⁷

Having been heavily involved in the last collection from conception to compilation, Gotoba wanted to do the same for the upcoming anthologies, albeit on a lesser scale. Of course, there

³⁴ Higuchi Yoshimaro: *Dynastic Poets 10: Gotoba-in*. Tōkyō: Shūeisha 1985 (樋口芳麻呂: 王朝の歌人10 後鳥羽院. 東京: 集英社 1985), 233.

³⁵ Cf. Kubota Jun: Retired Emperor Go-toba's *Jidai fuō utaawase* and Fujiwara no Teika's *Hyakunin shūka*. In: *Transactions of the Japan Academy* 76 (1) (2021) (久保田淳: 後鳥羽院の『時代不同歌合』と藤原定家の『百人秀歌』. 『日本學士院紀要』 76 (1) (2021)) 1–19, 9. Cf. also Higuchi (fn. 34), 219–226.

³⁶ Yoshikai (fn. 9), 200–201.

³⁷ Kubota also wonders why the songs of Kintō are missing from the *Jidai fuō utaawase*. See Kubota (fn. 35), 14.

was no *Wakadokoro* on the Oki Islands, so he had to do almost all the work himself. Perhaps this is why he was able to assert his ideas without having to consider possible opposing opinions.

Gotoba's *Jidaifudō utaawase* was probably a scroll with portraits of the poets from the outset.³⁸ Later, many copies were made and enjoyed great popularity. However, compared to the *Shinkokin wakashū*, there is too little information about the circumstances of its creation.

7. Outlook

As already mentioned above, the *Fürstenlob* (*praise of princes*) in the *Wartburgkrieg* is based on the premise that the poets drawn from the various epochs are all 'still alive'. With the further premise in the plot that the Thüringer Landgraf Hermann (1155?-1217) is still alive, the epochs with the contemporaries Hermann, Walther von der Vogelweide and Wolfram von Eschenbach and that with Reinmar von Zweter are mixed into one, whereby the poets Tugendhafter Schreiber, Heinrich von Ofterdingen and Klingsor, who have no contours, may be excluded for the time being. It is no contradiction that the characters are all people from the past from the perspective of the time in which the work was written. Those who receive the work should enjoy it as a fantasy. In this sense, *Jidaifudō utaawase*'s composition can be regarded as a fantasy.

The fact that both the *Fürstenlob* and the *Wartburgkrieg* as a whole were created over a long period of time, which led to many different variations, is shown by the differences in the text of the various manuscripts that have survived. The manuscripts (or drafts) may also have been altered before or during finalisation, leading to further variations. The *Shinkokin wakashū* underwent a long and complex process, which resulted in a large number of variations. The creation process of the *Jidaifudō utaawase* is not known, but it seems that it was revised several times by Gotoba himself.³⁹ In both cases, he was significantly involved as the commissioner and as the compiler. In both works, therefore, changes were made to the text according to his will during his lifetime.

As far as we have seen, there are more differences than similarities between the *Fürstenlob* and the *Jidaifudō utaawase* and between the societies surrounding their works. The former is almost the only work on the subject of singing competitions in medieval

³⁸ Cf. Narrative pictures of the Competition among Poets of Different Generations. (National Treasures & Important Cultural Properties of National Institutes for Cultural Heritage, Japan) 『時代不同歌合絵巻』(14世紀) 国立文化財機構 URL: https://emuseum.nich.go.jp/detail?langId=en&webView=&content_base_id=100258&content_part_id=000&content_pict_id=0 (March 31, 2024); 『紙本白描時代不同歌合絵』(shihonhak ubuyoijidaifudouutaawasee) 文化庁 (Agency for Cultural Affairs, Government of Japan) URL: <https://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/213983> (March 31, 2024); Kubota (fn. 35), 3.

³⁹ Higuchi (fn. 34), 224; Kubota (fn. 35), 10-11.

German court society, but the reality of competitions is by no means clear. It is difficult to find more than mere entertainment in this work. The judges, Reinmar von Zweter and Wolfram von Eschenbach, were both of low rank. They were hardly recognised as noblemen. On the other hand, the latter was deeply rooted in the real world and had a cultural, ritual and, above all, political significance and function. The judges of the Japanese poetry competitions were of high rank and their judgement required a theory that had to convince those around them.

In both the German and Japanese singing contests, the referees knew that some persons would be unhappy with their judgement. In both cultures, certain considerations were made to ensure that the referees made, could make or should make an impartial judgement. In the *Fürstenlob*, Heinrich von Ofterdingen demands fairness, and in Japanese society, too, care was taken to ensure that the judge in the singing competition was not unfair. The losing poet clearly expresses his dissatisfaction with the judge.⁴⁰ For many German poets, their quality of life depended on how skilfully they praised their lord's virtue and bravery or how effectively they scolded his opponents. This was because they were not, or could not be, sedentary. Kenshō, author of the *Ropyyakuban chinjō*, whom we have cited as an example of a disappointed man, was not a man without wealth, but his self-confidence and pride dominated his thinking. As a representative of the Rokujō family, he was determined to regain authority because this family of poets was losing prestige. In pre-modern society, the means to maintain and strengthen the family's self-confidence and pride and to restore the weakened dignity were the favor of the lord.

The Thuringian Landgrave Hermann is known as a patron of numerous poets. They praised the virtue and generosity of their lord in their works, praised him when they recited poems at court, and the Landgrave must have been very pleased with them. For the poets, the act was a labor of life, and the refinement of their art and thus the increase in effectiveness ultimately led to an improvement in their quality of life. The idea of allowing people from different eras to compete with each other in their craft came about in the course of improving quality.

The *Jidaijudō utaawase* was an attempt by Gotoba to dispel his worries on a remote island, but it must have been written in awareness that it would be read by other people.⁴¹ What did Gotoba want to show whom?

⁴⁰ Parallel to the judge-centered format, there were also poetry competitions in which the winner was determined by a *shugi-han* (衆議判), a consensus of those present. *Utaawase* events in this format were held frequently until the 11th century. After that, the decision was increasingly left to the referee(s). Around the time the *Shinkokin wakashū* was created, the consensus form was active again. Tanaka Yutaka suspects that there was a backlash against the spread of judge-centered poetry competitions. See Tanaka Yutaka: *Shūka to Teika Karon* (Excellent Songs and the Song Theory of Sadaie). In: *Chūsei Bungaku* 9 (1964) 4–10 (田中裕：秀歌と定家歌論。中世文学 9 (1964) 4–10), 9.

⁴¹ Kubota (fn. 35), 11.

Even after his exile to the Oki Islands, Gotoba had loyal followers such as Fujiwara no Ietaka and Fujiwara no Hideyoshi, who often contacted him. Gotoba wanted to let them know that he was still alive and compiling such an original collection of poems, all the more so because his self-esteem was wounded. The *Fürstenlob* was written with great respect for Landgraf Hermann von Thüringen. Even if this work were a song of praise to the Landgrave of Thuringia, who was reigning at the time of writing,⁴² the author had the same respect for this man as he had for Hermann. Gotoba's self-affirmation was directed at himself, so the perspective and orientation of the *Jidaijudō utaawase* differ from those of the *Fürstenlob* of the ruler, but the feelings shared by both were the main reason for the creation of two works with the same structure.

Excursus: One factor in the text flow

At the end of this essay, we would like to look at examples of the same song being passed down under different author names. The reason for this is that the same phenomenon can be observed in different cultures.

We have seen above that a poem by Akazome Emon is included in the *Goshūi wakashū* (1086), no. 680. The source is the collection of her songs *Akazome Emon shū* (赤染衛門集 1044–1053?). This poem is also recorded in the anthology by Uma no Naishi (馬内侍 ?-?), *Uma no naishi shū* (馬内侍集 Date unknown).⁴³ She lived at the same time as Akazome Emon. Since it is unlikely that these two women were sisters, it is reasonable to assume that the same poem was included by one of them in the anthology of the other. Akazome Emon was a lady-in-waiting of Akiko (彰子 988–1074), the eldest daughter of Fujiwara no Michinaga (藤原道長 966–1028), the most powerful man of the time, and the wife of Tennō Ichijō (一条天皇 980–1011). Uma no Naishi served as lady-in-waiting to Sadako (定子 977–1001), the daughter of the above quoted Fujiwara no Michitaka (藤原道隆 953–995), Michinaga's elder brother, and also a wife of Tennō Ichijō. In other words, the two women were very close. It is likely that this confusion arose when copying their respective anthologies, which have passed down a large number of poems.⁴⁴

⁴² Burghart Wachinger argues that it is reasonable to assume that the historical fiction was also intended to honor the contemporary Landgrave of Thuringia. See Wachinger (fn. 6), 745.

⁴³ 48. Kōhon Uma no Naishi shū to Sōsakuin. Edited with a Commentary by Imai Gen'e with Fukui Michiko, Tajiri Eizō and Kudō Shigenori. Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin 1972 (今井源衛 (監修) 福井迪子・田尻英三・工藤重矩 (編) 校本馬内侍集と総索引. 東京: 笠間書院 1972), 48.

⁴⁴ The medieval German poet Reinmar (the Elder) considered a pioneer of poetry left behind numerous works, some of which have survived under the names of others. Günther Schweikle surmises that this is due to the fact that different works by different poets were written in succession during performances. Poets were also known to recite the works of others at the performance, which would have led to confusion over the author's name. These explanations may well be applicable to the study of literature in medieval Japan. Cf. Reinmar Lieder. Hrsg., übersetzt und kommentiert von Günther Schweikle. Durchgesehene und

A description in Murasaki Shikibu's diary provides a clue to this situation. She worked with Akiko to bind the manuscripts together:

Her Majesty was involved in her book-binding, and so first thing every morning we had to go to her quarters to choose paper of various colors and to write letters of request to people, enclosing copies of the stories. We were also kept busy night and day sorting and binding work that had already been finished.⁴⁵

At the same time, the author is concerned that Akiko's father has taken her valuable manuscript (presumably of the *Tale of Genji*) without permission, so that the unfinished, unedited version not only reaches the public, but also spreads:

Then, while I was in attendance, His Excellency [Fujiwara no Michinaga] sneaked into my room and found a copy of the Tale [of Genji] that I had asked someone to bring from home for safekeeping. It seems that he gave the whole thing to his second daughter. I no longer had the fair copy in my possession and was sure that the version she now had with her would hurt my reputation.⁴⁶

Murasaki Shikibu's concern that her originality would not be adequately conveyed stems from her knowledge that people were very interested in her work. The fact that the *Tale of Genji* attracted the interest of the people around her from the beginning is evident from other descriptions in the *Diary of Lady Murasaki*,⁴⁷ but Sugawara no Takasue no Musume (1008–after 1059) also wrote in her *Sarashina Diary*:

With my heart pounding with excitement, I was able to read, right from the first chapter, the Tale of Genji, this tale that had confused me and made me impatient when I have read only a piece of it. With no one bothering me, I just lay down inside my curtains, and the feeling I had as I unrolled scroll after scroll was such that I would not have cared even if I had had a chance to become empress!⁴⁸

Although Takasue no Musume was born somewhat later than Murasaki Shikibu, she was

bibliographisch ergänzte Ausgabe. Stuttgart: Reclam 2002, 54.

⁴⁵ The Diary of Lady Murasaki. Translated and introduced by Richard Browning. London: Penguin 1996, 32–33.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 33.

⁴⁷ Major Councillor Fujiwara no Kintō poked his head in and asked whether the little Murasaki, a person in the *Tale of Genji*, would be in attendance by any chance. See *ibid.*, 31.

⁴⁸ Sugawara no Takasue no Musume: The Sarashina Diary. A Woman's Life in Eleventh Century Japan. Translated, with an Introduction, by Sonja Arntzen and Itō Moriyuki. New York: Columbia University Press 2018, 13.

almost a contemporary of the latter. The expression emphasising the great pleasure she took in reading the *Tale of Genji* is perhaps a little exaggerated, but it clearly shows that the overlong work aroused great interest among the public shortly after and while it was written.

Over time, the *Tale of Genji* has increasingly established itself as a classic. As we have already seen, Fujiwara no Toshinari emphasised the importance of the *Tale of Genji* for the *waka* poets. Due to this strong interest, the *Tale of Genji* and other literary works were copied again and again and thus continued to be read. However, copying could result in a large number of variations, ranging from the level of word and sentence, where the copyist unintentionally made a mistake or wrote an equivalent alternative expression, to the deliberate interference with the text. In pre-modern societies, it was fairly normal for writings to be altered later (or to be produced in multiple originals from the outset). Authors knew this, and it was more common for them to note that their text should be corrected. No changes were to be forbidden to what they had written if they had made a mistake. (Changes were forbidden in religious documents.) The *Shaseki shū* (沙石集), written by the Monk Mujū (無住 1227–1312) in the late-13th century as a Buddhist collection of short stories, concludes with the following statement:

(…) but there may be many inadvertent errors. I hope that some future scholar will make the necessary corrections and disseminate them. (…) Perhaps there will be those with sensibility who will support my objectives, correct my mistakes, and continue to add to the collection, acting as intermediaries to lead the foolish to salvation.⁴⁹

This phenomenon is probably not unique to medieval Japan. Of course, the scribes and copyists respected for their sources. However, this did not prevent them from making changes to what they considered to be a better version of the text. It is also possible that the scribes inserted texts that were not included in the original sources, either through misremembering or misunderstanding, or deliberately. In an age without copyright, authors may even have infringed such 'rights' themselves. The fluidity of the text was an unavoidable phenomenon.

⁴⁹ Robert E. Morrell: *Sand and Pebbles (Shasekishū): The Tales of Mujū Ichien, A Voice for Pluralism in Kamakura Buddhism*. Albany: State University of New York Press 1985, 267.

時代を異にする詩人による歌合の構想

— 中世ドイツの『君主讃歌』と日本の『時代不同歌合』 —

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【要旨】ともに13世紀に成立したドイツの『君主讃歌』と日本の『時代不同歌合』は、異なる時代に活躍した詩人たちに歌合で優劣を競わせるという構想で書かれた作品である。日本側の作者は承久の乱のち隠岐島に流された後鳥羽上皇であるが、ドイツ側では不明である。日本では同じ構想による作品が他にも見られるがドイツでは知られていない。そのためドイツでは研究が進んでいない。そこで『時代不同歌合』の成立に至った状況と上皇の執筆動機たりうる条件を概観し、『君主讃歌』成立事情の共通点と相違点を探る試みを行う。また写本が書き継がれる過程で本文が流動する現象は多くの文化圏で見られるので、日本文学の研究成果からドイツ文学研究の参考となりうるものを紹介して検討する。

【キーワード】 ヴァルトブルクの歌合戦, 君主讃歌, 時代不同歌合, 本文流動