

Saigyō - A Search for Religion

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SAIGYŌ, POET AND/OR PRIEST

That the warrior Satō Norikiyo of the *hokumen* guard in the service of retired emperor Toba suddenly decided to “go out from his house” and enter religion is a well-known fact. After entering the sacred life, he took the Buddhist name of En’i; he also had the title of Daikakubō, and was further styled Saigyō. To enter religion usually means a casting away of the things of this earthly world and immersing oneself in a Buddhist religious environment. But it is not clear to what extent En’i, after entering, became really “Buddhist”. It is rather as the celebrated poet Saigyō that his name and fame have been passed on to aftertimes. It remains unclear what distinction the man himself made between use of the names En’i and Saigyō, but there are extremely few records that give the name of En’i.¹ Already within a short time of his death, Satō Norikiyo was well known to the world as “priest Saigyō”; this fame however was not of the priest, but of the poet.

Saigyō is one of the representative poets of the *Shinkokinshū* anthology, but the excellencies of his poetry had already attracted attention during his lifetime. What had decided this was the inclusion of eighteen of his poems in the *Senzaishū* compiled by Fujiwara no Shunzei. This gave him his start, and we can see in the *Gokuden* of cloistered emperor Gotoba the following appraisal of Saigyō:

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1. *Senzaishū*, *Chōshūeisō*, *Mimosusogawa uta-awase*, etc., connected with Shunzei; seen in the *Shūgyokushū*.

After Toshiyori come Shakua, Saigyō and Shun'e. Saigyō is most profound and is deeply affecting; he is possessed of an altogether rare talent such as is seldom met with. He has a combination of rare qualities. He is a poet born and his poems are not such as can be imitated. He is indescribably gifted.

In this spirit, Shunzei's son Teika included in the *Shinkokinshū* ninety-four poems by Saigyō, the highest number of any poet included. Again, Teika himself wrote these words of praise of Saigyō: "He is indeed to be regarded as the greatest authority on this way of poetry."²

And so was set up the poet Saigyō. Influenced by all this, there appeared in quick succession after his death the *Senjūshō*, presenting his works, and biographical tales such as *Saigyō monogatari*, *Saigyō isshōgaizōshi*, *Saigyō monogatari e-kotoba*, etc.³ In these Saigyō is ideally portrayed as the religious who has renounced the world and lives in rustic surroundings in intimate communion with nature. As this ideal picture of Saigyō was transmitted to the public, even famous places came into being under such names as "Saigyō's mound" or "priest Saigyō's so-and-so place" etc. This trend was substantiated, as it were, by the texts of the Noh plays developed after the Muromachi period, and a considerable number of which quoted Saigyō's poems.⁴

On the other hand, there were also people who sought to understand the true value of Saigyō as a poet and took him as their model and object of emulation. Such were Ton'a, Shinkei and Bashō. According as Bashō's own prestige increased his

2. *Guhishō*. Appraisals by Teika found besides in the *Kiribioke* etc. In the *Kenzaizaisuwa* are the words attributed to Teika: "Poems come naturally to such as Jichin and Saigyō; other people construct poems laboriously."

3. Besides these, *Kokonchomonshū*, *Chōmeihosshinshū*, *Shasekishū*, *Seiashō*, *Jikkunshū*, etc.

4. *Saigyō-zakura* and *Eguchi* follow the "Tales". There are more than ten other plays that cite poems by Saigyō.

appraisal of Saigyō grew in significance.⁵ And thus, in spite of the fact that few clear details are known of Saigyō's life from his entering religion at twenty-three through the fifty years up to his death, yet a very definite picture has emerged and persists up to this day. Of the men who have made a name for themselves in the history of Japanese literature, Saigyō is one of those most studied by the researchers. Most of these try to fill in Saigyō's biography to the fullest extent possible, and then basing themselves on this, seek to draw a picture of the man. Many of them present Saigyō as a being shrouded in enigma. There is extremely little true documentary material to help our knowledge of Saigyō. Indeed, there is hardly anything but his own thirty-one syllable *waka* poems.⁶ His *Sankashū*, *Kikigakishū*, *Kikigaki-zanshū*, *Ihonsankashū*, *Sanka shinjūshū*, *Mimosusogawa uta-awase* and *Miyagawa uta-awase* are about the only clue one has to go on; they comprise in all two thousand one hundred and eighty poems. Of course there are other materials that touch on Saigyō, but only on small details. Such short poems are usually unreliable sources of authentic historical fact. It is no easy thing to grasp the real facts behind a mere thirty-one syllables in which a poet expresses just his feelings, and inevitably the reader's own subjective responses will get in the way. Consequently, to seek to know Saigyō only through his poems is a method fraught with too many restrictions. The reader's own world of the imagination will intrude, no matter what. Furthermore, Saigyō's poems are in a very subjective vein, and many are based only on his own most private emotions. This puts even more severe restrictions on the reader-interpreter.

This state of affairs notwithstanding, and in spite of the fact that considerable research has already been done on Saigyō and so much has already been said on him, I again am dealing with him here, because I am seeking to discover Saigyō the man, and

5. In the *Oi no kobumi*, the *Saimon no ji* and the *Nozarashi kikō*, there are parts that describe visits to Saigyō relics.

6. Apart from the poetry collections, there is the *Saigyō shōnin danshō*.

the nature of that man's religious quest, and I shall center my researches on certain layman-like aspects of the life-style of the poet Saigyō. I propose to show how the poet Saigyō became the priest En'i, renouncing the world, but the determining factor of his life was not his priesthood but his poetry. I will show a man taking the cloth and renouncing the world, to then consecrate his whole life to the way of poetry and throwing into that way all his joys and his sorrows. This man "suddenly one day" decided to "go out from his house" and made the experience of entering religion. Much has been said of what occasioned his decision, but I will not here treat of this question directly. Rather I will look at the question of his going so far as to resolve to enter religion and how this very important event of taking vows affected the remaining fifty years of his life. I feel there is an answer to this question and that is what I here propose to pursue.

A man gave up his position, his status, his family and entered religion. When we set this down in writing, it can be dismissed in one line, but for the man involved it cannot have been an easy thing. Naturally it must have been fraught with considerable anguish, and it may be assumed that there was a consciousness of a problem that could not otherwise be solved. As for this problem-consciousness, if a solution was not to be found in the world he had lived in up to then, it was necessary to aspire to a new life. Precisely because his problem could not be solved in the circumstances of his then life, he went beyond it and threw himself into a different world. This other world that Saigyō aspired to and from which he hoped for the eventual solution to his problem was in the religious state. To sever all one's bonds with this worldly life in order to gain entry into a religious sphere was an aspiration of many people at all times and Saigyō's case will have been no different.

If then he sought a solution to a human problem, that solution should reveal itself in his way of life after entering religion. In

Saigyō's case, what exactly was the religious world that was his aspiration and the goal of his quest? Perhaps it was not what is usually conceived of as the religious world or life, but certainly, in some form or other, he held "religious aspirations." In this case then, entering Buddhist religion had only an external significance. Indeed many existing Saigyō studies have indicated this, but on the grounds that Saigyō was not so much a Buddhist priest as a poet-priest.

So what religion do we find in Saigyō? We must seek the answer in Saigyō himself. To do this it will be necessary to thoroughly examine a number of questions. Saigyō's human relations, his attitudes to life, the emotions he has voiced in his poems, his contacts with nature - all these provide clues to his form of religion. Here I would like first of all to focus attention on his personal relations with the people connected with him.

SAIGYŌ'S HUMAN RELATIONS

Family and social status. Satō Norikiyo's family was in the direct line of descent from Fujiwara no Hidesato. Hidesato was descended from Uona the son of Fusasaki, who was the founding ancestor of the northern branch of the Fujiwara. Hidesato was a powerful warrior of Shimotsuke in the eastern provinces and won fame for his part in quelling the rebellion of Taira no Masakado. After this great military exploit his descendants prospered and produced many worthy men. The Satō family came from one of these. They took that name in the time of Kimikiyo (fifth generation after Hidesato) and it is said to be derived from *saemon no jō no Fujiwara* ("sa" from *saemon*, and "tō" being the alternative reading for the character "fuji"). This Kimikiyo was Norikiyo's great-grandfather. From this man, continuing down through three generations, through his grandfather Kagekiyo and his father Yasukiyo they served in the *kebiishi* ("police commissioners") as *saemon no jō* ("captain of the left gate guard"). Among their relatives too were a number of men in positions of some authority in the provinces, some of the

so-called *chihō gōzoku* (“great provincial clans”). But although they wielded considerable influence in the provinces, around the capital their status was not very high. The *saemon no jō* belonged to the security office called *emon-fu* and were on guard at the various gates of the imperial palace in Kyoto. They could not rise above the sixth rank. The *kebiishi* being entrusted with the security of the capital, although their status was not very high, nevertheless because of the nature of their work wielded considerable power. These posts were not hereditary but being passed down for generations from father to son they became customary. And so, Norikiyo’s family was of fair average official standing and the Satō family was classed in the relatively important *jūdai no yūshi* (“line of valorous warriors”) class.⁷

At the time we speak of, Norikiyo like his forefathers, belonged to the *emon* office but as *sahyōe no jō* (“captain of the left military guard”)⁸; simultaneously he served as one of the *hokumen* guards of retired emperor Toba. The *hokumen* guard (named for their north-faced barracks) was established when retired emperor Shirakawa first inaugurated the system of cloister government. Their business was to guard the palace of the cloistered emperor. There was an “upper *hokumen*” and a “lower *hokumen*”, and Norikiyo was of the lower *hokumen*. As will be seen later, it was thanks to his connections with the Tokudaiji family that he came into the service of retired emperor Toba. With all this, and also viewing it from the standpoint of age, Norikiyo of the lower *hokumen* may be assumed to have been of a rank below the sixth.

Under the ancient system of rank, the decisive dividing line that showed whether one was of high or low court rank, was drawn between the fifth and sixth ranks. If one attained the fifth rank, one might associate with the nobility, but below the sixth rank, one was in the category of lesser gentlemen known as

7. See the *Taiki* (journal of Fujiwara no Yorinaga).

8. In the *Sonpibunmyaku* and the *Hyakurenshō* it is *uhyōe no jō* (“captain of the right military guard”).

jigebito. This form of discrimination placed severe restrictions on those connected with the court at the time. Norikiyo was in a position to suffer discrimination from this dividing line. It may be assumed that for Norikiyo the fact was of considerable significance. Future advancement was not impossible, but to ensure it the most tremendous efforts of meritorious service were required and it is not sure that Norikiyo had the positiveness of character this called for.

As can be seen from the above, the Satō family, depending on their then status alone, was at an impasse. The great family of the regent's line of Fujiwara held hereditary title to vast properties and all responsible posts in and around the capital were filled by the great lords of their connection. In such a society Satō Norikiyo's existence was hardly such as to attract attention. But this Satō Norikiyo, in spite of his mediocre social status, enjoyed the good fortune of being relatively close to certain members of the higher nobility and great court ladies. This was because he had behind him the power of the Tokudaiji family.

Connections with Tokudaiji family and court. According to the *Kokonchomonshū*,⁹ Norikiyo's connection with the Tokudaiji family came from his being a liegeman of that house, but it may be said to stem originally from the long service of his Satō forebears in the feudal manor of the family. The Tokudaiji family was a split from the Fujiwara clan, but at the time we speak of, through a succession of girl members who became favorites of the emperors, they wielded at the court a power and influence comparable to that of the regent's line. The founder and head of the family, Saneyoshi, held the post of minister of the left, and had a son, Kimiyoshi, who was a poet of excellent talent. Kimiyoshi was three years older than Saigyō. Their relation was that of lord and liegeman, but they appear to have been very close to one another. When he was preparing the *Kyūanhyakushū*, the imperial anthology made by decree of em-

9. See the *Kokonchomonshū*, folio 15.

peror Sutoku, Kimiyoshi entrusted to Saigyō the preliminary examination of the manuscripts; this is seen in the *Sankashū*.¹⁰ It would appear to indicate that where poetry was concerned, the Tokudaiji family highly considered Saigyō. However, no poem of Saigyō's was included in the *Kyūanhyakushū*. Although he excelled as a poet, because of his low social status he could not be admitted formally into court poetry circles. Before entering religion, Saigyō was a mere soldier of the *hokumen* guard, and even after taking vows he did not rise to any high rank as a priest, so the above was natural. But we detect all through Saigyō's life a strong hankering after fame and glory and his connection with the Tokudaiji was of the greatest importance to him and he was satisfied just to nurture this feeling.

The Tokudaiji family was also the basis for Saigyō's links with the court. Retired emperor Toba's consort, ex-empress Shōshi, later the nun Taikenmon'in, was the younger sister of Tokudaiji Saneyoshi, and it was probably because of this connection that Saigyō came into service of the retired emperor as a *hokumen* guard. The question of Saigyō's entering religion occasioned much gossipy conjecture about his relations with the ladies-in-waiting of Taikenmon'in, but it may at least be said that such intimate relations were possible. His connection with Taikenmon'in and her ladies continued for long after she became a nun. And again, it was through Taikenmon'in that his intimacy with retired emperor Toba and emperor Sutoku came about. Saigyō was only a palace guard and it is not known what degree of intimate acquaintanceship he achieved with retired emperor Toba. But we may assume that to Saigyō the relationship was of the greatest importance. When Toba went to make a preliminary survey of the burial place which,

10. There is a poem accompanied by the following note: "Saying he was respectfully engaged at the request of the new cloistered emperor in making a "hundred poem collection", the General of the Right, Kimiyoshi, entrusted me with looking over them. Saying it was a great honor..."

while still living, he had chosen for himself at the Anrakujū-in monastery, Saigyō seems to have accompanied him with Tokudaiji Saneyoshi. After Toba's death, he made a poem in recollection of that occasion:

When the cloistered emperor died and was entombed, I came down from mount Kōya to visit his grave. It was indeed most sad. When once the retired emperor came here to designate his chosen burial place, there came with him the minister of the right, Saneyoshi, then titled *dainagon*. It was in secret and I was one of the few to go with him. Remembering the day I came here with the retired emperor, I composed the poem:¹¹

Koyoi koso	To-night indeed
Omohi shirarure	I deeply understand
Asakuranu	That I was linked
Kimi ni chigiri no	By strongest vows
Aru mi narikeri	Unto my lord.

This poem was made in the first year of Hōgen (1156) when Saigyō was thirty-nine. When he heard of the death of the retired emperor he came hurrying down from mount Kōya and the poem is a poignant exclamatory statement of his links with the deceased cloistered emperor. "The deep vows that linked my lord and me": the feeling of the importance to him of these links comes through strongly, and if one wished to judge him harshly, one could say that his sadness at the actual death of the cloistered emperor is all but concealed and the poem can be taken as focussed on the expression of his own ego. This may be true of many poems occasioned by the death of the emperor. At any rate, Saigyō on that occasion made only three poems, including this one, and one of the remaining two is also a strong externalizing of his own heart; his former dreams of glory were of great importance to him, and he still nurtured them.

11. The English translation of the poems quoted is my own (Translator's note).

Again, his relationship with cloistered emperor Sutoku was very deep. Sutoku was the imperial prince born of Taikenmon'in and because of that connection he would be of great importance to Saigyō. But arising out of discords between him and Toba, the Hōgen insurrection broke out and he was overthrown. Saigyō's poem at that time:

When the great event took place and the emperor met his sad fate, he took the tonsure and went to live in the north detachment of the Ninnaji temple where I went to call on him. I there met the monk Kenken. The moon shone bright and clear and I made the poem:

Kakaru yo ni	In such a world as this,
Kage mo kawarazu	Must even I who view
Sumu tsuki o	The pure moon's
Miru waga mi sae	Clear unchanging light
Urameshiki ka na	Be grieving?

In this poem, there is the same private framework as in the one above on the death of cloistered emperor Toba. He expresses with great directness his own feelings on the thing as it affects himself. The Hōgen insurrection must have been a great personal shock to Saigyō. Consequently, he casts a severe eye on it, keenly affecting the poems to Toba and to Sutoku. Also there is a feeling that comes through of the pride in his links with the court that lies coiled in the depths of Saigyō's heart. These are not the mere ejaculations of a simple ordinary man; they reveal the clinging attachments to the world of one who is already supposed to have renounced the world.

If we peruse the poems on Saigyō's relations with the court, we will find that many others too express as in the above-quoted the importance to him of personal relations, but we shall stop at these two for now and move on to the next item. I shall now pass to Fujiwara no Shunzei with whom he became closely acquainted through poetry.

Relationship with Shunzei and others. His relationship with

Shunzei also came about thanks to his Tokudaiji connection. It stemmed from the fact that Shunzei's younger sister was the wife of the poet Kimiyoshi, Tokudaiji Saneyoshi's son. In the *Senzaishū* Shunzei includes eighteen poems by Saigyō. Again, in Saigyō's later years he is the judge of the *Mimosusogawa uta-awase* or poetry contest. In the judgment he made at the time, Shunzei wrote as follows:

From our prime of life, the above En'i and I have been mutually close and have sworn the oath of friendship through two lives. Even now that we are advanced in years and living far distant from each other, and although divided by mountains and rivers, never once have I forgotten, morning or evening, that promises of long ago.

According to this, Saigyō was on terms of intimate friendship with Shunzei from their early years, and it would appear to have been no ordinary friendship. It was Shunzei who first launched Saigyō into the world as a poet, but this may have been partly because just at that time a new style was taking hold in poetry circles and the conventions of the orthodox school were giving way before new trends. Besides the orthodox Rokujō school, Shunzei's Mikohidari school now came into prominence and started a trend of pursuit of truth and beauty, centering the *waka* on the human heart. This was in line with Saigyō's own style of poetry, which followed no conventional model but freely expressed his own emotions and sang of nature. Was it perhaps his father Shunzei's influence that made the son, Teika, revere both Saigyō the man and Saigyō the poet? Like his father he became the judge of the *Miyagawa uta-awase*.

But for Saigyō the orthodox poetry circles were far away. His connections with the poets of the above-mentioned Rokujō school were very much "one-way". He mentions some of their names in his *Sankashū*, but Saigyō's name is not conversely mentioned in the collections of those poets. In a word, Saigyō was all but ignored by the poets of the court poetry group. Even if Saigyō who had once been in the service of emperors was unconscious of

it, one wonders if he did not in some way harbor resentment over this.

As to personal relations not directly stemming from the Tokudaiji, there were the three brothers known as the *Ōhara no sanjaku*. They were Jakunen (Fujiwara no Tamehira), Jakuchō (Tame-taka), and Jakuzen (Yorihira), all of them poets. All three brothers had held responsible posts, but renounced the world and went to live in Ōhara. They have a background similar to Saigyō's own. They were issued of the Fujiwara family but of a minor branch and had entered religion while still young. The wife of Tametaka, one of the three brothers, later married Shunzei and became the mother of Teika. One of their younger sisters also became a wife of Shunzei. With all this, their links with Shunzei were very deep. This was probably the basis for Saigyō's connection with them.¹² After he entered religion, these people more than any others were a recourse for Saigyō. In the realms of poetry, life and thought they had had considerable influence on him.

As outlined above then, Saigyō's personal relationships were centered on his connection with the Tokudaiji. Most of his very intimate relationships fall within that frame, and it would appear that outside of that he did not try to form close friendships. But Saigyō had a "fellow pilgrim" who followed him in the capacity of disciple. This was Saijū. His original name was Kamakura Jirō Minamoto no Jihiyōe Suemasa. They were acquaintances from their lay days. Like Saigyō this man had given up the warrior status to enter religion. It can be seen from the *Sankashū* that he died of an illness before Saigyō. It would appear that in certain ways he was a spiritual and emotional support for Saigyō.

Looking at Saigyō's whole life, we find that he had truly close

12. As in the case of his relationship with Shunzei, the Tokudaiji family is behind his relationship with the three *jaku* of Ōhara.

relations with exceedingly few people. This may appear natural in a religious, but beyond that, one is led to think that he did not want the complications of human associations, and I feel this is one of the typical aspects of Saigyō's character. He lived in a dream of links with or attachments to former glory, and to this he gave great importance. So far as can be seen from his poems, the life Saigyō aspired to was not his new life but rather the old life. How did he seek to live? He looked hard at his own self, he pursued the self, he strove for self-fulfilment. But in his new religious life, I wonder if it was not impossible for him to attain this even though he tried. Was Saigyō able or not to find peace of soul in a natural environment after entering the sacred life? Focusing attention on this point perhaps it will become clear what kind of world exactly and what way of life was his goal. I should like then next to examine the way of life of Saigyō the poet.

SAIGYŌ'S ATTITUDE TO LIFE

Inclusion of his poems in imperial anthologies. Saigyō's first public appearance as a poet was when the *Shikawakashū* included one of his poems. The *Shikawakashū* was an imperial anthology compiled by Fujiwara no Akisuke at the decree of cloistered emperor Sutoku and completed in the first year of Ninpei (1151). In it appears one poem by Saigyō over the mention "anonymous poet". Saigyō was thirty-four at the time.

Mi o suteru	Some enter religion
Hito wa makoto ni	And vow renouncement of the world
Suteru ka wa	But cannot let it go.
Sutenu hito koso	Some who have never taken vows
Suteru nari keru	Do cast the world away.

But the compiler did in fact know that Saigyō was the author of the poem. As for his reasons for noting "anonymous" while knowing the poet, it is that Saigyō's social status was not very

high and he hesitated to include him in an imperial anthology.¹³ In a word, Saigyō as a poet had no right to a place according to the conventions of noble society of the time. But that a poem by a mere priest, even one, was chosen by the poet Akisuke of the proud and traditionalistic Rokujō school may be considered a determining factor in the life of the poet Saigyō. This was a thing of the greatest significance. Saigyō could not be formally admitted into the ranks of the orthodox school but his poems were beginning to gain recognition. However this too will have depended in part on Saigyō's former links with the court.

The next inclusion of Saigyō's poems in an imperial anthology was in the *Senzaishū* when he was seventy-one and just two years before his death. There was a time-lapse of close on forty years from the *Shikashū*. Already the leading figures of the official poetry circles had passed away and it was now the age of Shun'e and Shunzei. The *Senzaishū* was compiled by decree of cloistered emperor Goshirakawa and Shunzei was the compiler. Tradition has it that Saigyō was in Kōya or again in Ise at the time of the compilation, but when he heard talk of it, he sent manuscripts of his poems to Shunzei.

Hearing that the Lord Steward of the City Left (*sakyō no daibu*),¹⁴ Shunzei, was collecting poems and sending my *uta* with the accompanying poem:

Hana naranu	Although my poems be
Koto no ha naredo	Mere leaves of words
Onozukara	That came not to full flower,
Iro mo ya aru to	Still may you find in them
Kimi hirowanamu	A charm and coloration of their own.

13. There were three cases in which the mention "author anonymous" was used in the imperial anthologies: 1. Case of unclear authorship. 2. Author of common status. 3. When the poem itself called for reservations. Saigyō was in the second of these categories; this is clearly stated by Fujiwara no Kiyosuke in the *Yakumomishō*.

14. Mistake for *ukyō no daibu* ("Lord Steward of the City Right")

Saigyō sent his manuscripts to Shunzei with the above poem attached. In response Shunzei sent the answering poem.

Yo o sutete	These leaves of words
Irinishi michi no	From one now entered in the way
Koto no ha zo	Of world renouncement
Aware mo fukaki	Do show indeed deep shadings
Iro wa miekeru	Of the feeling heart.

Saigyō who lived in and for poetry must indeed have felt quite deeply the desire to be included within the frame of the greatest contemporary authority on the way of poetry. It may be reasonably considered that deep within himself, this was one of Saigyō's strongest aspirations. Does not the anecdote in the *Seiashō* reveal this paradoxically?¹⁵

If he had truly renounced the world, taking no notice of his personal glory and pursuing his ideal of living in close communion with nature; if thus he was a true ascetic living out the Buddhist disciplines, it was hardly appropriate for him to aspire to having his compositions appear in an imperial anthology. Even if he were tentatively invited to participate he might very well have refused. But we see by his poem above that he was actually urging Shunzei. By that time, Saigyō's poems, recognized for their excellence, were on the lips of all sensitive men and their transmission to aftertimes was assured. Nevertheless Saigyō busied himself positively to get them included. This may partly have been out of consideration for Shunzei, but it must be said that it was mostly because of his own passion for poetry, and we can certainly discern here too the figure of a man who joyed in the fame and glory of being included in an imperial anthology.

15. While Saigyō was on his way back to Kyoto from the eastern provinces, he heard that the compilation of the *Senzaishū* had been completed. There is a tradition that when he was told his own poem on "the marsh were snipe are rising" was not included, in a fit of discouragement he turned back to the East again. Also found in the *Imamonogatari*.

It may be considered that after entering religion, Saigyō lived his subsequent career of fifty years only for poetry. Outside of poetry he had no *raison d'être*. His poems, set against a background of communion with nature, were generally concerned with self-awareness; many were a kind of dialogue with nature, or evoked flight from nature. With their free poetic style, until then untried within the thirty-one syllable frame of the *waka*, and coming at a time when that form was beginning to show symptoms of decline, they gradually gained importance in poetic circles. This may well have been Saigyō's ultimate goal.

In support of this view, I would like to look at the two "self versus self" poetry contests (*jika-awase*), the *Mimosusogawa uta-awase* and the *Miyagawa uta-awase*.

Poetry contests: concern with self-awareness. The poetry contest which was already a pastime of the imperial nobility had by this time a history of about two hundred years. It was generally held in the imperial palace or the houses of the great lords. It declined somewhat in the middle of the Heian era but after the agitations of the insurrections, it flourished again in the late Heian period. In all periods it was made by specially chosen participants. For those chosen it was an unsurpassable glory but those who could not participate were sometimes plunged into bottomless despair. Some who participated won great fame for themselves. There were also cases of people rejected because of some form of discrimination and their whole lives were affected by it.¹⁶ At any rate, in Saigyō's day several poetry contests were held, but he was not a participant in any of these because this world of poetry contests that seemed so near was yet so far from him. It appears though, that he took part in an indirect way but was never accorded formal membership. In the "self versus self" poetry contests of Saigyō's later years, was there not something of the "unattainable dream" element of

16. The example of the poet Mibu no Tadami in the Tentoku poetry meeting.

his attitude to the *uta-awase*? Of course, Saigyō was not the only poet to contest self versus self. After him, a certain number of poets, beginning with the cloistered emperor Gotoba and Teika went in for it, but it appears that Saigyō was the first to try it. Here we see something of Saigyō's tremendous passion for poetry and for his own poetry. Of course, it was a matter of self-satisfaction, this dividing of his own work into two parts and submitting the poems for judgment. The judges, as already briefly indicated, were Shunzei for the *Mimosusogawa uta-awase* and Teika for the *Miyagawa uta-awase*. In both, Saigyō ranged on two sides thirty-six of his best-loved poems, adding up to seventy-two poems in all. It was a selection of his own work by the poet himself. The judges too have noted this. The fact that Saigyō did both poetry contests late in life when he was living close by the great shrine of Ise reveals another aspect of his character and is profoundly interesting. The *Mimosusogawa* is another name for the *Isuzugawa*, which with the *Miyagawa* river flows through the Ise shrine precincts. Taking the names of these two rivers for the titles of his *jika-awase*, he offers them respectively to the inner and outer shrines. These two *jika-awase* are of great importance in the history of Japanese literature and the *waka* as selections by a poet of his own works. But as indications of Saigyō's attachment to Ise shrine, they are also of great significance. In his late years Saigyō moved from Kōya to go and live in the Ise area,¹⁷ but it may be safely assumed that the move was prompted by his great veneration for the Ise shrine. Just as he went to live in a hermitage on mount Yoshino because he so loved cherry-blossoms, it may be surmised that he had some similar reason for being deeply attached to this land of Ise, and since it would appear that he had no other links with Ise, it seems that he came there moved by a feeling of deep veneration for the Shinto shrine. This was also the shrine where

17. It was about the fourth year of Jishō (1180). There is a note to a poem: "Wearying of the life on mount Kōya and going to a temple in the hills at Futami no Ura in the land of Ise..."

the Shingon Buddhists of mount Kōya came to venerate the *suijaku* or apparitions of Buddha to save men. There are several poems connected with Ise shrine, but in his notes to the following one is:

While following the traces of Dainichi Nyorai I made this poem...

Fukaku irite	I go in deep
Kamiji no oku o	Into the farthest reaches of
Tazunureba	The pathway of the gods, and
	then
Mata ue mo naki	High over all a mountain
	peak,
Mine no matsukaze	The wind - sough in its pines.

In this poem we see Saigyō's heart totally rapt before the shrine of Ise. In his specifically Buddhist poems, nowhere, I think, can one find such an expression of "heart". Therefore it would seem that, at least in his later life, the thing that held his spirit was veneration for the native gods of Japan. This is demonstrated in the poem:

Sakakiba ni	Waving the leafy branch
Kokoro o kakemu	Of the <i>sakaki</i> tree,
Yūshidete	I'll pledge my heart unto the
	gods,
Omoeba kami mo	For I perceive that
Hotoke narikeri	Gods and Buddhas are all one.

This shows a belief in a syncretic fusion of gods and buddhas. We may say in brief that the spirit of the Buddhist priest Saigyō was not bound to any formally defined Buddhism, but rather to some broader concept of deities to be found in and through nature, no doubt a concretization of the religious aspirations of this poet who had lived all his life close to nature. Saigyō as a Buddhist priest, starting with Kōya and the Daigorishōin monastery, spent some time in many temples and monasteries in various places, but I cannot think that he strove very diligently there. Rather we may suppose that deep inside, latent in

his consciousness, was a different kind of religious life. This inner religious world was not the world of illumination of consummate Buddhism, nor the world of Buddhist salvation, but appears to have been that world of mystery and depth called *yūgen*, which is to be sought through nature. Was it not in that mysterious land that he sought his peace of soul? If so, Ise would have been truly a part of Saigyō's religious world. It may be supposed that we can glean part of the answers we seek from this place to which he dedicated the two *jika-awase* that best represent what he lived for.¹⁸

Another meaning of the *jika-awase* lies perhaps in Saigyō's dream of glory and links with the great ones of the ruling dynasty, that lurked in the depths of his heart. Was this not a way to circumvent the pain of, to the end, being unacceptable as a participant in the formal court poetry contests? Ostensibly they were made as an offering to the Ise shrine and came of his great wish to leave behind a collection of his own work selected by himself. But what was the real purpose? Was it not self-satisfaction, self-glorification? I feel that this was his reason for copying the practice of the court. Was it not a means by which he could realize by himself the fulfilment of his own basic desires? As tools towards this he used the works into which he had put his whole life. I think this adopting of the form of the *jika-awase* reveals the true mental portrait of Saigyō.

Saigyō's poems are comparatively self-centered; their high level of excellence apart, they reveal a sphere of deep feeling and we may be struck by the fact that so many of them show the individual and his emotions. But in this we can find the humanity of Saigyō. Here then, leaving aside the evaluation of Saigyō in the history of the literature, I would like to look in his poems for what they reveal of the man and his feelings. Many other aspects of the world revealed by his poems require

18. It is said that he intended to dedicate *jika-awase* to twelve Shinto shrines beginning with Ise shrine, but these are all he completed.

examination, but I shall stop at a brief general outline and would like next to pass on to a consideration of the mental anguish he suffered after his entering religion.

EMOTIONS VOICED IN HIS POEMS

At his entering religion. As regards Saigyō's entering religion, we fortunately have records. First of all, the journal of Fujiwara no Yorinaga, the *Taiki*, has this entry for the 15th day of the third month of the first year of Kōji (1142):

Priest Saigyō came to talk to me... I enquired his age. He answered twenty-five. (Two years earlier he had entered religion at twenty-three.) This Saigyō was formerly captain of the guard Norikiyo, the son of *saemon no daibu* Yasukiyo. He comes of a long line of brave warriors and was in the service of the cloistered emperor. Even before forsaking the world, he was interested in Buddhist religion. He comes of a prosperous house and, even while young, showed no greed. He finally took vows and was admired by all.

Notes of similar import are found in the *Sonpibunmyaku* and the *Hyakurenshō*.¹⁹ It is evident from these that Satō Norikiyo entered religion at the age of twenty-three. Saigyō describes his feelings on the occasion of his entering religion in the following poem:

I composed this poem when I went to take leave of cloistered emperor Toba before taking vows:

Oshimu to te	Saying that one regrets
Oshimarenubeki	One cannot yet regret
Kono yo ka wa	To leave the world.
Mi o sutete koso	To cast the self away
Mi o mo tasukeme	Is but to save the self.

According to the accompanying note quoted above, he informed cloistered emperor Toba of his feelings on entering religion. There are many possible interpretations of this poem, but it

19. See the *Hyakurenshō*, folio 6: "On the 15th day of the 10th month of the 6th year of Hōen (1141), Satō *uhyōe no jō* Norikiyo entered religion."

would appear to mean that true life is to be found in severing one's attachments to this earthly world. For a poem of one about to take vows at the age of twenty-three, we can discern in it a considerable degree of spiritual enlightenment. Again:

I composed when I began to resolve to give up the world:

Kaku bakari	Although it be
Ukimi naredomo	But such a world of sorrowing,
Sutehatemu to	If one should think
Omou ni nareba	To throw it all away,
Kanashikarikeri	The thought brings sadness.

When I was about to flee the world, I sent this message to the house of an acquaintance:

Yo na naka o	I have completely
Somuki hatenu to	Turned my back upon the
	world.
Iiokamu	I'll leave this word,
Omoishirubeki	Even if there be none
Hito wa naku to mo	To understand it.

When I decided to be not of the world:

Sora ni naru	The vain heart is
Kokoro wa haru no	No more than mists of spring,
Kasumi nite	Now that
Yo ni araji to mo	My thoughts have turned
Omoi tatsu kana	To world renouncement.

And in the same spirit:

Yo o itou	I'll leave behind
Na o da ni mo sawa	The name of one who
Todome okite	Fled the world,
Kazunaranu mi no	In memory of a man
Omoide ni semu	Of small account.

The special circumstances of the time of composition may have been different, but all of these poems express the mind of Saigyō about to enter religion. According to these, Satō Norikiyo appears to have been thinking of entering for some time before

taking vows. It may be assumed that he hesitated at the fork in the road, trying to choose between being a warrior or giving up the martial life and living his own life freely. And then, in these poems, along with the enthusiastic determination to enter religion one gets a feeling as of some doubt or hesitation. Of course, entering religion is a most important step in life and it would be quite natural even after one's mind is made up, to still feel some hesitation. But I feel that there is here an element of something different from the traditionally imagined picture of Saigyō as based on the various motives usually given for his entering religion, or on the recorded fact that from his early youth he was interested in the Buddhist way. Is there not perhaps here something that reveals one of the facets of Saigyō the man? "When I thought to be no longer of the world..." The posture of resignation that we find in this was perhaps in conflict with a something else deep behind it, and this conflict in various forms had an effect on his whole life subsequent to entering religion.

Then what did entering religion mean for him? To take vows, generally means a decision to follow the way of Buddha, but this need not necessarily mean a strict embracing of the Buddhist disciplines. There were mere formal vow-takings too. For example, it was common practice at the time for the sick to seek to circumvent the bad *karma* by entering religion; or if one of two spouses died, the one left behind would take the tonsure as a gesture of constancy. To a certain degree, it was common for those advanced in years, having lost what was up to then their purpose in life, to enter religion. Indeed, the Heian nobility seemed to enter religion very lightly, but it was done usually in an attempt to throw off the shackles of some *karma* by which they felt bound. To put it briefly, we may say that to enter religion was to renounce the world and to enter upon a new life of the individual. Consequently, the motives behind entering continued to be of great significance through the whole life of the religious after taking vows.

To look then at Saigyō's case: he abandoned his family, threw away his position, gave up his chances of future advancement. But this, combined with the fact that he was a young twenty-three at the time, poses a problem. Saigyō's decision must have been most carefully and deliberately arrived at. If we take it that he found unendurable the vicissitudes of life during the period of the Genpei troubles, then we may also feel that such an awareness was most unusual in the consciousness of one who was not only a warrior but also a young man. Was it not a self-centered course of action? This interpretation might apply, if we accept Yorinaga's appraisal of the attitudes to the world of this man. But if we look at the thing from the viewpoint of the result of Saigyō's choosing between the religious and military life, it does not fit. For Saigyō who acquired fame as a poet after entering the sacred life, his giving up the world was a plus factor, although it meant failure as a warrior. To put it another way, when he saw that the military profession confined him to being a warrior, there was only one other course open to him and that was entering religion. It was rather like the case of the escapist professional man of to-day, who shakes off the shackles of his profession and chooses to live free. Did not something of this sort come to have a strong pull on him?

Later poems. Among the poems of Saigyō are many in remembrance of his former life that speak of his warrior friends of the old days and even some that tell of women. But there is not one that treats of his own family. Perhaps this is natural in one who had given up his family. But I feel that here again we have one of the riddles of Saigyō. He composed poems about the emperors Toba and Sutoku and the ex-empress Taikenmon'in and the ladies of her retinue. But there is scarcely a mention anywhere of his own father, brothers, wife or children. This raises another question about the man Saigyō.

To continue, if we address ourselves to those of his poems dating from after his entering religion, they do not reveal a be-

havior very typical of a Buddhist monk. For a number of years after vow-taking, he lived in and around Kyoto and cultivated his old friends.

When I went deep into Kurama to flee the world, I noticed that the bamboo water-pipe was ice-locked and that the water was not coming through. On hearing that it would be thus until springtime, I composed:

Wari nashi ya	A melancholy thing.
Kōru kakehi no	Because of water frozen
Mizu yue ni	In a bamboo pipe,
Omoisuteteshi	I sit here longing for
Haru no mataruru	The spring my thoughts had spurned.

He had entered religion in a moment of mystic perception of the truth. But in the severe winter deep among the hills, his spirit weakens and he longs for spring. He is waiting for visits. Here we see the mere man laid bare.

When I lived in Higashiyama, fleeing the world, someone came inviting me to see the cherry-blossoms in full bloom at Shirakawa. On my return, remembering the past, I made the poem:

Chiru o mide	Your fall unseen,
Kaeru kokoro ya	My heart turned homeward.
Sakurabana	Cherry-flowers -
Mukashi ni kawaru	It is a sign I am not now
Shirushi naruran	What I was long ago.

He cannot detach his heart from the past. After this he goes on a journey to Mutsu. But at the time of departure he goes to bid farewell to his intimates.

Kono haru wa	My parting from you
Kimi ni wakare no	Is so keenly sad.
Oshiki ka na	This spring
Hana no yukue o	I have forget to wonder
Omoiwasurete	Where the flowers go.

Shortly after his return from Mutsu, the Hōgen rebellion broke

out. As has already been touched on, people he was closely acquainted with were involved in this insurrection and fell from eminence most pitifully. Then the capital was engulfed in the severe troubles of the Heiji rebellion. After these insurrections times changed and the new age of the warrior had come. In the midst of these vicissitudes, particularly as they affected directly people closely linked with himself, Saigyō who had renounced the world cannot have known any peace of soul. The Tokudaiji family and all around them that had been his support had suffered change. Saigyō is henceforth to be found only in rustic surroundings of hill and field. It is from this time that his life in Kōya begins.

Mount Kōya was the site of the seminary of the Shingon sect of esoteric Buddhism and occupied a position of the greatest importance. Here lived great prelates and the student novices. Saigyō became one of them, but it is not clear to what extent he pursued his studies or followed the Buddhist disciplines. For the Buddhist priest there are two roads possible; the one, to diligently pursue a course of studies, attain a high degree and rank and become a fully ordained professed priest; the other, to fervently follow a course of austerities and become an ascetic. It is said that it was because of his humility that Saigyō lacked any craving for fame and position and did not pursue his studies far enough to become a great prelate or high-priest. That may be so, but I am inclined to think that Saigyō, from the beginning, simply had no intention of becoming a high-priest. A man so expert in poetry surely had the mental faculties required to rise to a high position as priest and live a very different life if only he had so wished. But the fact that he didn't, came not so much from humility as from the simple fact that from the start it was never his purpose to complete the theological course of study of the great scholar-priest. On the other hand, it seems that he was not so very interested in asceticism either. "Away, in observance of austerities..." is a note that accompanies a number

of poems. What degree of austerity and what meaning it all had for him is not easy to gauge. Was his austerity pilgrimage not something like the "business-trip" of the modern-day professional man? His poems of these occasions do not touch on the severity of the disciplines. Most of them sing of the natural scenery or of the people he met along the way. If Saigyō had truly practised austerities, this would surely reveal itself in the world of his poetry.

Human anguish. But since his life on mount Kōya cannot have been completely dissociated from the way of Buddha, it is impossible to deny that Saigyō, to some degree, did practise the austerities in this place. And not only on Kōya; he also observed the disciplines of Ōmine. There is said to be a record that Saigyō, in his Kōya days, carried out the work of construction of the Rengejōin monastery in the east annex of mount Kōya, which the princess Ryōkonai-shinnō, now a priestess, had erected for her father, cloistered emperor Toba, therein to pray for the repose of his soul. Saigyō was sixty years old at the time.

Again he went on pilgrim walking tours of the various provinces. In the course of one of these he visited the tomb of Kōbō Daishi in Shikoku and paid homage before the tomb of retired emperor Sutoku at Shiramine. Then there was the long journey undertaken at the request of the abbot of the Tōdaiji temple in Nara, to solicit the donation of Fujiwara no Hidehira of Ōshu in the rebuilding of the Tōdaiji. Being journeys of that time they were undertaken at risk to life and limb,²⁰ but in both cases

20. According to the *Azuma kagami*, when he was received in audience by Minamoto no Yoritomo in Kamakura, he did not talk about the way of poetry; the anecdote of the silver cat is of this occasion. It was also during this journey that he composed the poem:

Toshi takete	Advanced in years
Mata koyubeki to	I had not thought
Omoiki ya	To cross these hills again,
Inochi narikeri	But I have lived such a long time-
Sayo no Nakayama	Nakayama of the night.

there was a definite reason for the undertaking. They were not the sort of ramblings one does following the inclinations of the heart. It was no doubt Saigyō's ideal, before entering religion, to abandon himself to nature, and have for companions "the moon and the snow and the flowers" and live in closest communion with nature. But the truth of the matter, I feel, was that after taking vows he found he had to a certain degree thrown off the human shackles that bound him and attained a certain freedom, but only to be bound in a different way by until then unsuspected shackles. These bonds came from human affections, emotions of the most lay-man-like sort, and I feel that Saigyō's human distress began at the discovery of this. His human anguish as revealed in his poems would indicate this. It shows strongly in his ties with the lay world and deepens as he gains self-insight in the midst of nature. There are several love-poems that show the above. It was a convention of poetic gatherings of the time to compose some love-poems. Consequently they were often made just because it was the set theme. But in Saigyō's case they do not appear to be simple poems on a given conventional theme. I feel that many of them were based on his own experience. Furthermore, they have the rare characteristic for their time of being mostly made for himself alone, and not as statements dedicated to another person.

There are very direct pieces like:

Nan to naku	When all is said and done
Sasuga ni oshiki	I hold life dear, for
Inochi ka na	If I live,
Ariheba hito ya	Someone will be aware
Omoishiru to te	Of this my life.

and then there are more evocative pieces like:

Yo o ushi to	Were I to go
Omoikeru ni zo	Far far into the depths
Narinubeki	Of Yoshino,
Yoshino no oku e	Someone might think I found
Fukaku irinaba	The world a place of sorrow.

Nageke to te	The moon that
Tsuki ya wa mono o	Calls me to lament
Omowasuru	Brings things to mind.
Kakochi gao naru	The tears come falling down
Waga namida ka na	My mournful face.

This typical poem, evoking emotions through images of moon and flowers, shows traces of the human anguish of the man Saigyō become priest.

Again, Saigyō who had thrown himself into nature, yet could not penetrate to complete fusion with it, knew another kind of distress that would appear to have gone very deep, and finds expression in many poems.

Sabishisa ni	Sure there must still be
Taetaru hito no	An anchorite who can
Mata mo are na	Bear loneliness.
Iori naraben	I'll set my hut by his
Fuyu no Yamazato	This winter in this village in the hills.

Tou hito mo	I have stopped hoping now
Omoitaetaru	That any come to see me
Yamazato no	In this mountain village.
Sabishisa nakuba	Without the loneliness
Sumi ukaramashi	'T were misery to live here.

Akatsuki no	Sound of a
Arashi ni taguu	Booming temple gong like
Kane no oto o	Storm at dawning,
Kokoro no soko ni	I hear reverberating
Kotaete zo kiku	Through my inmost heart.

Furuhata no	From a tree that stands
Soba no tatsu ki ni	Beside the barren field,
Iru hata no	Voice of a wood-dove
Tomo yobu koe no	Calling for his mate.
Sugoki yūgure	Ah! terrible this lonely twilight!

In such poems, revealing the helpless desolation of one all alone in the midst of nature and finding the solitude unbearable, there is a feeling as of a need to flee the self.

If we look into Saigyō's feelings as shown in these poems, we discern the figure of a man racked by anguish after entering religion, inconsistent with the ideal pursued by him, of complete oneness with nature. When he was faced with it in all its grandeur, he could not come to grips with it; one feels rather that he experienced a feeling of defeat. The freedom he had dreamed of before entering was not here. The state he had aspired to for himself had engendered a state which again held him in bondage, and this may be considered as one of the facets of the mental anguish of the man.

Oneness with nature. For such a Saigyō, there was one thing in nature that he sought after in a fairly positive way, and this was the cherry-blossom. More than any other thing he loved the cherry-blossom, and in his pursuit of this flower he found solace and joy of heart. Then the cherry-blossom bound Saigyō to Yoshino. There are a great many poems on the cherry, but among them the following perhaps gives the best idea of Saigyō's conception of these flowers:

Yoshinoyama	From the day I saw
Kozue no hana o	The blossom on the branch
Mishi hi yori	At Yoshino,
Kokoro wa mi ni mo	My heart has been at odds
Sowazu nariniki	With priestly me.

Here there is a feeling of real oneness with nature. Saigyō has achieved a part of his quest. He does not show this degree of "heart" towards any other natural object.

Yoshinoyama	I will forsake
Kozo no shiori no	The path I marked last year
Michi kaete	At Yoshino,
Mada minu kata no	And go another way to find
Hana o tazunen	The blossoms still unseen.

Tazune iru	I'll not show
Hito ni wa miseji	The mountain cherry-flowers
Yamazakura	To any visitor,
Ware to o hana ni	Because I want this meeting
Awan to omoeba	With the blossoms all for me.

These poems, revealing the concentration of all his longings in the cherry-blossom and his deep communion with the flowers, show the great desires of his whole life, and simultaneously, here too Saigyō conceals his reminiscences of the past and its glory, all bound to the cherry-blossom. His desire for the cherry-flower gets final expression in the poem:

Negawakuwa	This is my prayer:
Hana no shita ni te	To die beneath the blossoms
Haru shinan	In the spring
Sono kisaragi no	In the month of <i>kisaragi</i>
Mochizuki no koro	When the moon is full.

By what strange co-incident? - he reached in extremis the longed-for state by dying just as he had hoped, on the sixteenth day of the second month under the full moon.

CONCLUSION

Above, I have given a broad general outline, confining myself to those things we may consider as most singularly characteristic in the life of Saigyō. From these, I would like to point out the following things in Saigyō's way of life.

First of all, that Saigyō's entering religion was motivated by a desire for self-fulfilment. Then, that after taking vows, the various forms of anguish that can be discerned in his life and which underly his recollections on the unfulfilled self, stem from his strong human relationships in his pre-religious life. Thirdly, that he aspired to an ideal of oneness with nature, but that in the midst of nature he totally failed to find peace of soul. Then, that in nature there was one thing with which he was able to

achieve communion and this was the cherry-blossom. The thing that supported and upheld him in his living out these things was the *waka* poem. Poetic composition was Saigyō's unique means towards self-fulfilment, his sole purpose in life. Throwing the self into the midst of nature and seeking therein a place of self-fulfilment, what Saigyō sought above all else was that realm of feeling or state where self and nature fuse into one. This would appear to be a state attainable not so much by direct experience as indirectly through aspiration. These aspirations were to be attained through the *waka*. Placing himself in the midst of nature, giving all his attention to the poems in which he laid bare the inner self, could he not find a relief and a satisfaction that he would not exchange for any other thing? There are many examples of a poet striving for the ultimate in poetic art in a quest that is closely akin to the religious. Does this not also apply to the case of Saigyō? There was a side to Saigyō's character too that was quite methodical and liked things in set patterns. Attaching importance to ritual and lines of conduct he appears to leave developments to take care of themselves. But in fact this was not so. Perhaps there was a human drama involved in his having to follow the line of entering religion. Then after entering, all his thoughts and actions encountered this line or fold. It would appear from this that Saigyō had calculated his vow-taking the whole way. But entering religion at twenty-three was perhaps done on emotional impulse, and as well as taking vows, Saigyō's life after entering had to be lived within the limits of the plan he had set up for himself. Was this not the source of Saigyō's anguish after becoming a priest? Cherishing his contacts with his old friends connected with the court, wanting human company and reminiscing in a mountain village, letting his heart be captured by the splendor of the cherry-blossom, Saigyō, in those of his poems that deal with the self, does not sing of the joy of life, but rather do we find in them a nostalgia for the self that could not attain fulfilment. I feel it was because he felt that he must complete this self-fulfilment

that he sought inclusion in the *Senzaishū* and made a selection of his own poems in the form of a self-versus-self poetry contest. The poet-priest Saigyō appeared to have taken the religious habit and gone to spend his life in villages in the hills, abandoning the world. But living this seeming unworldly life, he was usually reminiscing about the worldly. He seemed to be straying somewhere on the border of the worldly with the unworldly. Are his poems not a continuous expression of his inability to follow the path of enlightenment? Satō Norikiyo, concealed in the cloak of Saigyō, therein gave himself to a quest for a religion that was all his own.

This essay, in the above perspective, was written to form the introduction to later work in which I hope to further explore this perspective. Consequently, I have here dealt only summarily with Saigyō's life and poetry. I should like to leave a more detailed examination until later.

GLOSSARY

Anrakujūin 安楽寿院

Azuma kagami 吾妻鏡

Bashō 芭蕉

chihō gōzoku 地方豪族*Chōmeihosshinshū* 長明発心集*Chōshūeisō* 長秋詠藻

Daigorishōin 醍醐理性院

Daikakubō 大覚房

dainagon 大納言

Dainichi Nyorai 大日如来

Eguchi 江口*emon-fu* 衛門府

En'i 円位

Fujiwara 藤原

Akisuke 顕輔

Fusasaki 房前

Hidehira 秀衡

Hidesato 秀郷

Kiyosuke 清輔

Shunzei 俊成

Teika 定家

Uona 魚名

Yorinaga 頼長

Genpei 源平

Gokuden 御口伝

Goshirakawa 後白河

Gotoba 後鳥羽

Guhishō 愚秘抄

TAKAGI Kiyoko

Toba 鳥羽

Tōdaiji 東大寺

Tokudaiji 徳大寺

Kimiyoshi 公能

Saneyoshi 実能

Ton'a 頓阿

Toshiyori 俊頼

uhyōe no jō 右兵衛尉

ukyō no daibu 右京大夫

uta-awase 歌合

waka 和歌

Yakumomishō 八雲御抄

yūgen 幽玄