

Ernest F. Fenollosa's Studies of *No*:
with reference to his and other
unpublished manuscripts and
Ezra Pound's edition

Akiko Murakata

Ernest F. Fenollosa, a pioneer historian and collector of Japanese art in the U. S., was also one of the earliest Western students of the classic Japanese theatre *No*. Out of his "*No* Notebooks" and other related manuscripts, entrusted to Ezra Pound by his widow,¹⁾ came *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* (Churchtown, Dundrum: The Cuala Press, 1916), with introduction by W. B. Yeats, and *'Noh' or Accomplishment* (London: McMillan, 1916). The impact of *No* on the Irish poet-dramatist in his "Plays for Dancers," starting with *At the Hawk's Well* (1917), and later plays is well-known. Here is an attempt to trace back to the very source of influence and ascertain how Fenollosa studied *No*, for it necessarily defines the nature and extent of his "influence."

Fenollosa began his studies of *No* under UMEWAKA Minoru as early as 1883, five years after his arrival as professor of political economy at the University of Tokyo. In the great political and socio-economical upheaval of the Meiji Restoration of 1868, both the patrons and practisers of traditional arts had lost the ground of their existence. *No* actors, like artists and artisans who had served the Shogun and Daimyos, were deprived of their hereditary employment, and even the heads of the leading

schools had to find other means of living. Of the two greatest *No* masters of the period, HOSHO Kuro had renounced his inherited mastership of the Hosho family to run a retail shop and then turn a farmer, while UMEWAKA Minoru persisted in his practice of *No* through the darkest days following the Restoration. It was Minoru that persuaded Kuro to resume his profession and succeeded in staging his comeback by offering the elder master the leading roles in the *No* performance at Count IWA-KURA Tomomi's palace, 4-6 April, 1876, with members of the Imperial family and ministers for audience.²⁾

Count Iwakura, the chief ambassador of a special embassy to the U. S. and Europe, 1871-73, reevaluating *No* in comparison with the Western plays, were attempting to revive the declining native theatre. On 8 July, 1879, he also invited Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, the retired President of the U. S. on a tour around the world, to see, at his palace, the "half performance" of *Mochizuki* by HOSHO Kuro, *Tsuchigumo*, the Kyogen *Tsurigitsune*, and some *Shimai* (individual dance sequences), including *Shunyei* by UMEWAKA Minoru. Though his administrations at home had shown little signs of cultural enlightenment, Grant is said to have applauded *No*, recommending that it should be preserved.³⁾

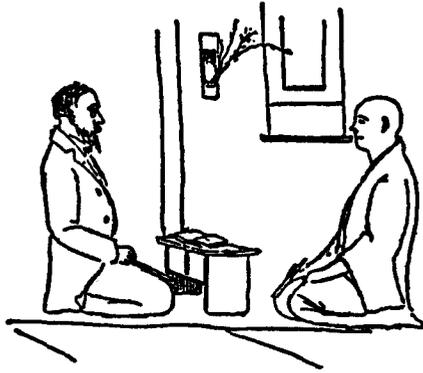
Edward S. Morse, the marine biologist from Salem who was instrumental in the appointment of the Salem-born Harvard graduate at the University of Tokyo, was the first American to seek instructions in *Utai* (*No* singing).

[18 January, 1883]

I took my first lesson in Japanese singing this afternoon. With a letter of introduction, I, or rather my jinrikisha man, found the way to Mr. Umewaka, who lived at Asakusa Minami moto machi Kubanchi. He is a famous teacher of *no* singing and acting, and

has adjoining his house a stage for *no* play. Takenaka accompanied me as interpreter. We were presented, and Mr. Umewaka was very hospitable and seemed pleased that a foreigner should wish to take lessons in singing. Takenaka explained that I had many things to do and must begin at once. Mr. Umewaka brought me a singing-book and read slowly the words I was to learn, and I wrote them down as well as I could. I had to sit down with legs bent directly under me in Japanese fashion. This method of sitting is intolerable to a foreigner at the outset, but I am now able to sit an hour and a half without discomfort. He placed in front of me a little music-stand and gave me a fan which I held resting on my leg. He sang a line and I sang it after him; then he sang another; and so on through the eleven lines of the piece. After trying it twice in that way we sang together. I realized how very rich and sonorous his voice was. Then I observed that, do what I would, my notes sounded flat and monotonous while his were full of inflections and accents, though all on one note. I felt awkward and embarrassed at the absurd failure I was making and perspired freely, though it was a cold day in January. Finally, in desperation, I threw off all reserve and entered into it with all my might, resolved, at any rate, to mimic his sounds. I inflated my abdomen tensely, sang through my nose, put the tremolo stop on when necessary, and attracted a number of attendants who peeked through the screens to look on, in despair, no doubt, at a foreigner desecrating the honored precincts by such infernal howls. Be that as it may, my teacher for the first time bowed approvingly at my efforts, complimented me when I got through and told me, probably in encouragement, that I would in a month's time be able to sing in *no* play. It is by taking actual lessons in the tea ceremony and in singing that I may learn many things from the Japanese standpoint. The method in singing is to depress the diaphragm, making the walls of the abdomen as tense as a drum, this acting as a resonator. The strain on the voice is so great that a singer will often cough in the midst of the singing.⁴⁾

According to Umekawa's diary, Morse took six lessons from him between 29 January and 13 February, 1883, learning to sing *Tsurukame*, *Kurama Tengu*, and *Tamura*. After Morse left for home on 14 February,



Fenollosa took over his lessons:

- 20 February Fenollosa, an American professor, became my student. A short passage from *Kantan* for the first lesson.
- 28 ♪ At 9.00, went for the first time to Prof. Fenollosa's official residence, No. 1 Hongo, for instruction. Came home at 12.00.
- 7 March Before 10.00, went to Fenollosa's. "Waves of the four seas [being calm,]" (a passage from *Takasago*) the world is in peaceful bliss. Home at 12.10.
- 14 ♪ Went to Fenollosa's at 10.00 and gave him a dancing fan.
- 21 ♪ A lesson for Fenollosa.
- 11 April Took Rokuro [Minoru's adopted son] to Fenollosa's. Home at 12.00.
- 18 ♪ Fenollosa's lesson cancelled.
- 25 ♪ Took [Kanze] Tetsunojo [Minoru's professional collaborator] to Fenollosa's. Home at 12.00.
- 2 May To Fenollosa's in the morning, but found him absent and came straight home.
- 9 ♪ Sent Rokuro to Fenollosa's for the first time.
- 30 ♪ To Fenollosa's in the morning.

- 6 June To Fenollosa's in the afternoon, but found him absent and came straight home.
- 13 ♪ Sent Tetsunojo to Fenollosa's.
- 27 ♪ Sent Rokuro to Fenollosa's, but he found Fenollosa absent and came straight home.
- 4 July Message of cancellation from Fenollosa on account of illness.
- 11 ♪ Rokuro went to Fenollosa's, but the lesson was cancelled as he was not feeling well.
- 18 ♪ Despite appointment with Fenollosa, no word came from him, so did not go.⁵⁾

What is to be surmised from above was the extent of Fenollosa's initial studies with Umewaka. Umewaka noted in his memorandum, "To teach foreigners *No* has been an unheard-of event."⁶⁾ Umewaka received a letter of sympathy for a flood (his house was located by the Bankside of the Sumida River) on 4 July, 1885 from Fenollosa and Dr. [William Sturgis] Bigelow, a wealthy Boston doctor-collector.⁷⁾ Fenollosa never seems to have resumed his lessons before leaving Japan in July, 1890 to become the curator of the new Japanese Department, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. But he may have visited the Shiba *No* Theatre attached to the Maple Club built in 1881 by Count Okuma and other patrons of *No*. In early July, 1886 Dr. Bigelow took the historian Henry Adams and the artist John La Farge to see *No* during their sojourn in Japan. La Farge left us the following record of his impressions of the occasion.

The doctor took us on Sunday afternoon to his club—whose name I think means the perfume of the maple—to see and to listen to some Japanese plays which are given in the club theater built for the purpose. We went there in the afternoon, passing by the Shiba temples, and our kurumas were drawn up at one end of the buildings. There everything was Japanese, though I hear stories of the other club

and its ultra-European ways—brandies-and-sodas, single eyeglasses, etc. However that may be, on this side we were in Japan without mistake. We sat on the steps and had our shoes taken off, according to the Japanese fashion, so as not to injure mats, and we could hear during the operation long wailings, high notes, and the piercing sound of flutes and stringed instruments; the curiously sad rhythm mingled with a background of high, distinct declamation. We walked in, with careful attention to make no noise, forgetting that in our stocking feet we could have made none had we wished, and we found the doctor's place reserved for him and us, and marked with his name, writ large. Other low boxes, with sides no higher than our elbows as we sat on the mats, divided the sloping floor down to the stage. The stage was a pretty little building projecting into the great hall from its long side. It had its own roof, and connected with a long gallery or bridge, along which the actors moved, as they came on or disappeared, in a manner new to us, but which gave a certain natural sequence and made a beginning and an end,—a dramatic introduction and conclusion,—and added greatly to the picture when the magnificent dresses of stiff brocade dragged slowly along to the cadence of the music. The boxes were mostly occupied by a distinguished-looking audience; the *Nō*, as this operatic acting is called, being a refined, classical drama, and looked upon differently from the more or less disreputable theater. Hence the large proportion of ladies, to whom the theater is forbidden. Hence, also, owing to its antiquity and the character of its style, a difficulty of comprehension for the general public that explained the repeated rustle of the books of the opera which most of the women held, whose leaves turned over at the same moment, just as ours used to do at home when we were favored by French tragedy.

A quiet, sleepy appreciation hovered over the scene; even the devotees near us, many of them older people and belonging to the old régime, showing their approval or disapproval with restrained criticism. I could see without turning my head the expression of the face of my neighbor, a former daimio, a man of position; a face a Japanese translation of the universal well-known aristocratic type—immovable, fatigued, with the drooping under lip. Behind him sat former retainers, I suppose—deferential, insinuating remarks and

judgments to which he assented with inimitable brevity. Still, I thought that I could distinguish, when he showed that the youthful amateurs—for most of the actors were non-professional—did not come up to a proper standard, that his memory went back to a long experience of good acting. And so catching are the impressions of a crowd that I myself after a time believed that I recognized, more or less distinctly, the tyro and the master, even though I only vaguely understood what it was all about. For I need not tell you that the libretto would have been still more difficult for me than the pantomime before me; and very often it was but pantomime, the actor making gestures to the accompaniment of music, or of the declamation of the choraegus, who told the poetic story. Occasionally these movements amounted to a dance, that is to say, to rhythmic movements—hence called the *Nō* dance—to which emphasis was given by rising and falling on either foot, and bringing down the sole with a sudden blow.

There were many short plays, mostly based on legendary subjects, distinguished by gorgeous dresses, and occasionally some comic scenes of domestic life. The monotony of impression was too novel to me to become wearisome, and I sat for several hours through this succession of separate stories, patient, except for the new difficulty of sitting cross-legged on the mats. Moreover, we had tobacco to cheer us. On our arrival the noiseless servants had brought to us the inevitable little tray containing the fire-box with hot charcoal and the little cylinder for ashes, and tea and little sugary balls; and then, besides, notwithstanding the high-toned repose of the audience, there was enough to watch. There were the envoys from Loo Choo, seated far off in the dim light of the room, dressed in ancient costumes, their hair skewered up on the top of the head with a double pin—grave and dignified personages; and a European prince, a Napoleonic pretender, seated alongside, with his suite, and ourselves, the only foreigners. The types of the older people were full of interest, as one felt them formed under other ideas than those of to-day. And though there were no beauties, there was much refinement and sweetness in the faces of the women, set off by the simplicity of their dresses, of blacks, and browns, and grays, and dull violets, in exquisite fabrics, for we were in an atmosphere of good breeding.

And I watched one of the young ladies in front of me, the elder of two sisters, as she attended to every little want of her father, and even to his inconveniences. And now it was time to leave, though the performance was still going on, for we wished to return in the early evening. Our shoes were put on again at the steps, our umbrellas handed to us,—for sun and rain we must always have one,—and we passed the Shiba temples and took the train back for Yokohama.⁹⁾

The memories of *No* must have been revived in Fenollosa when he returned to Japan with his second wife Mary in July, 1896 to enjoy a honey-moon sojourn in Kyoto.⁹⁾ They rented a house with a garden by the Kamo River during August and September. Their nextdoor neighbour was WAKAI Kenzaburo, a retired art dealer who had run a prosperous business in Paris after the Exposition of 1876.¹⁰⁾ According to Mary Fenollosa, a poetess from Alabama,

. . . quite late at night, I hear from the lower story the slow round notes of the old ladies' samisen, "plunk" like white pebbles, one by one into the great night-sea of silence—then I creep to my bedroom veranda, and, bending to listen, catch the rich, plaintive murmur of a man's voice—old Wakai, perhaps—singing ancient *No* songs. There is nothing exactly like this singing in the whole world. It plays on our senses and nerves, rather than on the one crass organ of the ear. It seems the low plaint of a hero-soul imprisoned in the commonplace. It has long pauses, and slow quaverings, sudden risings of the voice, like a bird bestirring itself at dawn; gradual deep fading like the death of a soul. It is more than music—it is poetry symbolized in sound. The thick sweet notes come up to me past the rusty fence, and I receive them like tangible things. Each is a concrete thing. I must house them in memory, like a flock of doves beneath a temple roof. Behind it all there is such force and passion and restraint, as to rob of all femininity, the mellow sweetness of the sound. It is the steel hand in velvet glove, illustrated in music. Perhaps in old days, it was a great rich chant upon mountain slopes; now it is merely hidden outlet of an heroic soul. It affects me differently from any

other music. It is the very nerve-thread of melody. ("Looking North," "Sketches from Tokiwa-Tei")¹¹

A further stimulation came from Okakura Kakuzo, Fenollosa's student at the University of Tokyo and now the head of the Tokyo School of Art, who came to visit on 22 Sept.: "O. K. seems to think that the rendition of *No* dramas offers a rich field." (Mary Fenollosa's diary, 22 September, 1896)¹² "Also, the *No* dramas of Ashikaga are very great. It is the coming in of Gen spirit. The drama of China first started in Gen." (Fenollosa, "Okakura spent evening of Sept. 22d with me/ Most important")¹³

Because of uncertain prospects for their future life in Japan, the Fenollosas went back to the U.S. in November to return to Tokyo in April, 1897. But it was not until 17 October, 1898, that the Fenollosas saw *No* performance. A Mrs. Fujibayashi, a daughter-in-law of a high priest, who had taken "a great fancy" to Mary at the "Firewalking" Shinto festival a month earlier, took them to Shiba *No* Theatre.

According to Mary's diary,

Mrs. Fu[ji]bayashi here at 7.30 to take us to Nō dances. Impressed me as much as I had expected which is saying a great deal. Of all, one called *Yoroboshi*—a blind boy & a priest—was greatest to me. Another a Hōjō one, the story of the plum, cherry and pine, was beautiful. They had comic interludes that I did not like so well. Got away at 5 P. M. E. & I determined to study Nō, and even to try to sing the songs. Audience most interesting—Followed score closely. Tired but haunted with strange melodies. . . . The reality of Nō abides with me. Those masks seem the very crystalization of character.¹⁴

Fenollosa had begun to teach English at the Higher Normal School and the Junior High School attached to it in April, 1898, and struck up friendship with HIRATA Kiichi (Tokuboku), a young colleague and editor

of a leading literary journal *Bungakukai*. According to Mary's diary:

Oct. 29, 1898. Mr. Hirata came to dinner, and after we went into E's study and he gave us some idea of the *Nō* dances for tomorrow. All of them beautiful and interesting.

Oct. 30. I made sandwiches to take to *Nō*. Hirata appeared promptly at 9.30. Found Mr. [Osman] Edwards [of London] with his little lunch basket waiting at the Ommai bridge. The *Nō* more splendid than before. Got there in beginning of *Shunkan*. The head of the whole thing took the part of *Shunkan*. I will not speak of all as we have notes of them in separate book. The Mansfields there with Shugio.

According to Fenollosa's "No Notebook, No. 1, Studies in *No* begun on Oct. 29th 1898," the programme at the Umewaka's included *Makiginu* (Roll of Silk), *Shunkan* (Name of a High Priest), *Koi no Omoni* (The Burden of Love), *Aoi no Uye* (Name of a lady who was wife of Genji), *Funa Benkei* (Benkei in the Ship), and *Tsuchigumo* (The Earth Spider) as well as four *Kyogen* pieces, *Kaichu Muko* (The Bridegroom in the Pocket), *Kitsune Dzuka* (The Fox's Grave), *Roku Jizo* (The Six Jizo), and *Fukuro Yamabushi* (The Owl Yamabushi).¹⁵

Fenollosa's notes list up "Technical Names," *Shitei* (The hero), *Waki* (Guest), *Waki no tsure* (*Wakidzure*), *Tomo* (An insignificant attendant), *Kogata* (A very young boy), *Kiogenshi* (Sailor or servant), as "main characters that tend to some again and again." "*No* consists of 2 parts—singing and speaking. The speaking part is called—*Kataru*. The singing part is called—*Utau* (These are verbs). Sometimes one makes transition into the other." Then, outlines of the six pieces of "*No* proper" follow. Such was the extent of Hirata's initial guidance.

Nov. 2. E has caught [a cold] and had to send Oto to school saying that he couldn't attend—also he broke an engagement with Hirata to

come and study *No* tonight.

His letter to Hirata suggested, "If we improve before the end of the week, we may be able to arrange for some other evening."¹⁶

Nov. 5. We didn't ask him [Arthur Knapp] to dinner because Hirata was expected. Had a glorious evening over Nō. That is E & Hirata did—I went to sleep.

Nov. 9. Hirata came in the evening and translated more Nō!

Nov. 16. Hirata at night.

Nov. 18. Hirata came about 2. P.M. for more translation of Nō, & Umewaka & his son about 4.30. Had tea first & then a singing lesson. E did well.

Nov. 19. E writing hard on "Kinuta," the chief Nō for tomorrow.

Nov. 20. Went to Nō. Full account of this in other notebook.

The "full account" of the performance is to be found in Mary's "Notes on Nō, taken on the spot" and Fenollosa's "*No* Notebook, No. 1".¹⁷ The programme consisted of five *No* plays, *Ran* (Tumult), *Hashi Benkei* (Benkei at the Bridge), *Kinuta* (Beating the Cloth), *Hana gatami* (The Cabinet of Flowers—*Katami* also means a present from a lover; also distribution of a deceased relative's things), *Makura Jido* (Pillow Boy) and three Kyogens, *Kazumo* (The Wrestling of Mosquitoes), *Tsuri gitsune* (Fishing the Fox), and *Obagasake* (The Aunt's Wine). Fenollosa included outlines of each *No* play plus the full transcription and translation of *Kinuta*, while Mary noted costumes and stage actions. They "came in at *Hashi Benkei*, and after *Obagasake* 'an extra' [*Shimai*] was given. Umewaka's eldest son, a magnificent fellow, our beautiful friend, and quite a young boy that our neighbor said was Umewaka's grandson. Two others helped form a superb chorus. Each of the Umewakas went through with a superb and spirited dance. The youngest gave spear-dance."

On 24 November Fenollosa sent the following letter to Hirata: "Today is mail day for America, and I have many letters to write. Would it not be possible for you to come tomorrow afternoon instead? Excuse my changing."¹⁸⁾

Nov. 25. Our little Nō teacher here about 2. P.M. It was Takeyo this time without the old man. Hirata was prompt.

According to Umewaka, Fenollosa sang *Hagoromo* he had practised fifteen years earlier.¹⁹⁾

Nov. 27. I around to a private Nō entertainment at the Mitsui's. I wish I had space & time for a description of this, but haven't. Anyway I think it unlikely that I shall forget it. Hirata here at night. Brought me three Nō prints, and did some nice translating with E.

Dec. 1. E stopped at a Kwankoba on the way back and bought me several Nō prints.

Dec. 2. At about 2. P.M. Hirata and the pretty little Nō man, Umewaka Takeyo came and they had a long lesson in the beloved Nō.

Dec. 7. Hirata came in the evening to dinner and afterward he and E finished the translation of "Hajitomi," a Nō which is to be performed next Sunday. The whole piece is a sort of rhapsody of allusion and memory of Genji Monogatari and cannot be lucid to one unfamiliar with that work.

Dec. 9. At four our "Takeyo" came to teach us Nō. Hirata was a little late. We didn't get through until after dark.

Dec. 11. All day at Nō. Okakura's brother, Hirata and Hirata's little girl with us.

The 11 December performance was "Nokai=Concluding Meeting (for the year)". The programme consisted of *Kanawa* (Ring of Iron), *Shunyei* (Glory of Spring), *Hajitomi*, *Kusu no Tsuyu*, and *Shari* plus the following Kyogen pieces, *Hanatori Dzumo* (Wrestling for taking nose), *Soron* (Ar-

gument), and *Kaki Yamabushi* (Persimmon Yamabushi). Mary noted that Old Umewaka (Minoru) took part of Shite in *Hajitomi* and that between *Kusu no Tsuyu* and *Shari*, there was an "extra" part (Shimai) by "4 Umewakas", "1st dance—Manzaburo, 2d dance—Old Umewaka, 3d—Takeyo."²⁰

Dec. 14. Hirata didn't come to dinner tonight, but arrived a little after 7. He had hardly got in when Okakura's brother came. We spent the evening talking about Nō and Buddhism and spirits and ghosts. It was very entertaining.

Dec. 16. E had Nō teacher in afternoon.

Dec. 21. Hirata was here, though not to dinner, and made a beginning on *Hagoromo*.

Dec. 24. [At a shop, Nakadori, Ginza,] I bought a Nō mask for 50 sent [sic]... I was worried that E had filled up this afternoon and evening with Nō singing and translations. Hirata was to stay to dinner and the cook still sick... I didn't go in for the Nō lesson, but just before Takeyo left went in and spoke with him a few moments. Hirata stayed on to dinner and was as grinning and inane as ever... I worked like a beaver all the afternoon and evening, tying up my few little Christmas bundles, fixing the plates of nuts, raisins etc. etc. for tomorrow and doing various things. Took a bath and went to bed with E & Hirata still mumbling Nō in the next room. Not a very gay Christmas Eve.

Dec. 26. E & Hirata started off early to a visit to old Umewaka, taking a box of eggs and 15 yen as a New Year present. E didn't get back till lunch and had had a glorious time. Old Umewaka told him so many interesting things that he put them down at once.

Ezra Pound quotes Fenollosa's diary for 26 December, 1898, misreading the date as December 20.²¹ "The mistake of years ago" Fenollosa apologized to Umewaka for must refer to his lapse from *Utai* lessons in 1883. Umewaka's diary verifies Fenollosa's and adds that he presented Fenollosa

and Hirata with copies of *Seikan no Eki*, the *No* chorus written by the Emperor for which Umewaka prepared a libretto.²²⁾

To sum up, Fenollosa began his serious studies of *No* in October, 1898, resuming *Utai* lessons under Umewaka and his son he had taken up fifteen years earlier following Morse. Hirata was an indispensable mediator who translated the text and accompanied the Fenollosas to Umewaka's monthly performances. Before attending each performance, Fenollosa with the help of Hirata prepared the translation of the programme, outlines of all the pieces (*No* proper and *Kyogen*), and one full translation (plus Romanized transcript, sometimes) of the main *No* play to be seen. Their text was *Yokyoku Tsukai* (The Complete and Annotated Edition of *No* Plays) (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1896).²³⁾ Mary's "notes taken on the spot" supplemented her husband's on costumes, stage actions, "extras" on the programme, etc.

The record for 1899 is only to be glimpsed from Mary's diary and Fenollosa's letters to Hirata. The Fenollosas went to *No* on 15 January, "but it was so cold we came home early." Though the chief *No* was presumably *Hagoromo*, as Fenollosa and Hirata were translating the piece till Christmas Eve to the disgust of Mary who was making preparations for the holiday, we do not know if they saw the play before leaving. According to her "Summary" for January, "Ernest wrote an article for the *Orient*, and also some on *ukiyoye*. His great interest was however *Nō*. He sang, translated, notated, and took lessons. Hirata and I tried singing, too, but didn't succeed very well." In February, "*Nō* was suspended because of sickness."

Though Pound informs us in the notes to the play that Minoru played the heroine in *Sotoba Komachi* on 8 March,²⁴⁾ Mary went to *No* on 19 March "with Hirata and the Amah (servant) for appearance. E did not

dare risk it.”

Jun. 11. Went by invitation to the swell *Nō* club of Shiba. All rival troops performed.

Nov. 19. Spent all day at *Nō*. Fine! Hirata did not come.

According to the same notes by Pound, Minoru again acted the heroine in *Kayoi Komachi*, which was followed by *Suma Genji*, on 19 November.

The Fenollosas went to Kabuki on 21 November “as Danjuro is in a famous part—that of a sort of wild mountain ‘Maple’ venus, based on *Nō*. [The artist] Honda [Tenjo] came to join me at 12 and E and [Ralph G.] Watkin, [Fenollosa’s colleague at the Higher Normal School from Oxford] appeared at three.” On 24 November Fenollosa had to cancel an appointment with Hirata and Takeyo to visit a sick friend.

Dec. 10. All day at *Nō* with the Millers. They were very appreciative. “Yoroboshi” seemed to appeal most.

On 20 December (Wed.) Fenollosa wrote to Hirata:

I find that I am going to be so busy today—that I must forgo the pleasure of translating with you this afternoon. I am very sorry to miss it.

Before you go away into the country, would it not be possible for you to come some one other afternoon, instead of today? Friday would suit me best. I go to school till 3, and will be back at my house by 3.30. If you can meet at the school door at 3, I will drive you over.

In any case I want to hear from you about going to see Mr. Umewaka.²⁵¹

According to Mary’s “Summary (Interests and Studies), 1899,”

The classic opera *Nō* has been one of our new delightful interests.

E, little Hirata & I took lessons from old Umewaka's son Takeyo, a beautiful being. E was quite crazy over it and we went to every performance until that wretched grippe in January.

The first reference to Fenollosa's studies of *No* for 1900 is to be found in Umewaka's diary: "6 February. A letter from Kiichi Hirata, 19 Koyanagi-cho, Kanda. Fenollosa wishes to take a weekly lesson at 3.00 p.m. on Thursdays. Wrote back that they must wait till I come back from a trip."²⁶ No lesson was given, it seems, during February and March, but Fenollosa had several sessions with Hirata for translation. According to Mary's diary:

Feb. 7. Hirata came to translate *Nō*. Stayed to dinner & did some children's verses for me.

Feb. 10. [E] is deep in *Nō* with Hirata, Chinese poetry with Mr. Mori [Kainan] and Ariga [Nagao]. My interests are *Nō*—but in this I am second fiddle—Japanese poetry, the life of Ono no Komachi that Mr. Ariga is translating with me.

Feb. 14. E brought home little Hirata, but he didn't stay to dinner.

Feb. 18. We had a disappointment today in not being able to go to *Nō*, but the weather was so dreadful with rain and snow that we didn't dare it. The programme was a fine one, including a most touching play called Sumitagawa.

Mar. 14. [E] keeps up *Nō* with Hirata whenever the little "Squeaky" will come.

Fenollosa's "*No* Programmes, Volume, No. 3, 14 March, 1900" contains the "triple programmes" for 18, 21, and 25 March, a festival to open the Spring Season at Umewaka's.²⁷ Its programme prologue is quoted by Pound as "programme announcement" in his Introduction.²⁸ This time, Fenollosa noted down the names of principal players:

Programme for 18 March

Okina by Rokuro
Yoro by Minoru
(Seikan no Eki—*No* chorus by the Emperor sung by Minoru)
Tomonaga by Tetsunojo
Matsukaze by Tetsunojo & Minoru
Shoson by Manzaburo
Mochizuki by Rokuro

Kiogen

O[n]gioku Muko (The Music Bridegroom)
Buwaku
Tsuru gitsune (Catching the Fox)
Mochizuki Ai

Programme for 21 March

Kuzu by Manzaburo
(Heijo, song by Empress, sung by Minoru)
Kiyotsune by Rokuro
Sekidera Komachi by Minoru
Kiso by Tetsunojo
Tsuchigumo by Kanze Oriyo

Kiogen

Ninin bakama
Urinusubito (Thief of Melons)
Yumiya (Bow and Shaft)

Programme for March 25th

Yamamba by Tetsunojo
Ashikari by Rokuro
Dojoji by Manzaburo
Ataka by Minoru
Chorio by Minoru
Rokuro taking part of Chorio
Shojo by U. Shintaro

Kiogen

Hanatori dzumo (Nose taking wrestling)
Hanako

Juntaro
Dojoji Ai

Of the above, only full translations of *Yoro*, *Matsukaze* (with Romanized transcript), and *Ashikari* (with comments on stage written in on the margins) have survived.²⁹⁾

Fenollosa's letter to Hirata, 20 March, is a frank confession of his fear that Hirata might be falling away, revealing his helplessness without Hirata's assistance:

I sincerely hope that you are not losing interest in *No*. I received your note on Sunday morning, enclosing a sketch of "Shoson," and promising to come to the performance, bringing with you "Tomonaga". But you did not come, and I have not heard from you since. I hope you are not ill!

Mrs. Fenollosa and I went. *Matsukaze* was *very fine*. I have engaged our regular seats for next Sunday, the 25th, through the usher. I did not meet any of the Umewakas. Fearing the usher who is a little stupid, may have made a mistake, I think you had better write at once to "Rokuro", reminding him of that engagement. I do not think we can enjoy it properly, unless we have the *same seats* as usual. We were very uncomfortable on the 18th.

We shall not attempt to go to the performance on Wednesday; so, please come here in the afternoon, if you can, to translate some of the piece for Sunday. I hope you will not lose interest in this subject of *No*.³⁰⁾

Three entries in Umewaka's diary fill the gap between the above letter and another dated 29 May.

27 April. An American Fenollosa and HIRATA Kiichi came at 5.00 p. m. They asked me to talk about the way of *No*, so I talked about its rise and fall since the Meiji Restoration—how, during 1876-78, it recovered from the initial setback and how it has regained prosperity, though interrupted by a recession, within the past few, especially the

last two, years—of Umewaka Tayu, the land he owned, the branch families—eighty-six, 150 years ago—, of SEI Matagoro, of the Four Guilds and Five Schools, of the Shogun's court, of the five-day *No* performance during festivities, when townspeople were invited for audience.³¹⁾

Though Pound quotes from Fenollosa's notes of 15 May,³²⁾ Umewaka's diary has different dates for May:

6 May. Fenollosa and Hirata came at 10.00 for a second interview. Talked of the basic twelve [five and seven]-syllable pattern of *Utai*—how the large and small drums should keep the rhythm and the inseparable divisions of *In* [five] and *Yo* [seven] notes, of the gift of seasonal costumes.³³⁾

22 May. Fenollosa and Hirata came. Spoke of *No*—the repertoire of the Kanze family, etc. Made an appointment for the next interview at 9.30 a.m., 2 June.³⁴⁾

Fenollosa wrote to Hirata on 29 May (Tue.):

Some friends of mine are intending to come to my house on Wednesday afternoon. So I am going to request you, if it is not inconvenient, to come to me for translation on Tuesday afternoon instead of Wednesday.

At what time were we to go to Umewaka's on Saturday [2 June]? I have forgotten.

Mr. Pain, who has married Miss Miller, wishes to take the whole Miller family to the performance of *No* on June 17th. He wishes to go with us, which will make 7 altogether, and so we shall want 3 mats. Will you write to Rokuro early, at once, asking for these mats in our usual place, if possible arranged, thus,—

□□□□³⁵⁾

Fenollosa's "Notes and Translations of *No*, No. IV, begun May 25th, 1900" gives the programme for the June 17 performance, "Shozoku Osame—'Costume Storing'—i. e. last performance with costumes", as follows:

Ernest F. Fenollosa's *Studies of No*: with reference to his and other unpublished manuscripts and Ezra Pound's edition

| | | |
|------|----------------|----------------------|
| 1 st | Kokaji | Tetsunojo |
| 2 nd | Ikuta Atsumori | Minoru |
| 3 rd | Senju | Rokuro and Manzaburo |
| 4 th | Semimaro | Tetsunojo and Minoru |
| 5 th | Youchi Soga | Manzaburo and Rokuro |

Kiogen

Kobukaki (Seaweed-persimmon)

Tachi ubai (Sword-Stealing)

Fumon Zato (Kikadzu Sitting-head) (Not hearing blind man's)

Full translations of *Senju*, *Semimaro*, *Ikuta Atsumori*, *Youchi Soga*, and the Kyogen *Fumon Zato* have survived.³⁶⁾

Fenollosa continued to have sessions with Hirata to translate *No* before sailing back to the U.S. on 17 August, 1900, as seen from the following letter to Hirata of 12 July:

You did not come this afternoon. Now it happens that tomorrow (Friday) morning, I have to hold an important interview; and so shall not be able to translate, I suppose, then, we shall have to wait until next week. I am very sorry.³⁷⁾

Fenollosa's letters testify his dependence on Hirata in his studies of *No*.

According to Umewaka's diary, 17 January, 1901, Fenollosa wrote to him, telling him of his lecture on *No* at New York University (or a university in New York) and enclosing ¥25 as the New Year's present.³⁸⁾ Fenollosa's lecture is published as "Notes on the Japanese Lyric Drama," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 22 (1901).

Fenollosa came back to Japan on 14 May, 1901, for a final sojourn to supervise the publication of *An Outline History of Ukiyoye* and wind up his studies of *No* and Chinese poetry. On 19 May, five days after landing, he went to the monthly performance at the Umewaka's. He

noted, "Programme strangely enough had three of important pieces seen last time last year with Mr. Miller—*Ikuta Atsumori*, *Semimaro*, and *Youchi Soga*. The additional important one was *Yugio Yanagi*, in which the famous priest Yugio summons the spirit of a willow tree, in order to convert and save it."³⁹ He then added comments on stage actions on the blank versos of last year's translations of the three plays he had seen. He also added the names of main actors, Rokuro as Sakagami and Manzaburo as Semimaro in *Semimaro*, and Rokuro as SOGA Goro Tokimune and Manzaburo as Juro Sukenari in *Youchi Soga*, carefully distinguishing between his 1900 and 1901 notes.

According to Umewaka's diary:

30 May. Letter from Hirata Kiichi, saying that Fenollosa could not come this day for eye troubles and that he hoped to come the next Thursday or Tuesday or on the afternoon of Saturday.

8 June. Fenollosa came accompanied by Hirata at 2.00 as appointed, and listened to my talk on *No*—"Fukeyuku tsuki koso (midnight moon)" passage of *Matsukaze*, of the revised edition of the text completed last September, *Hibariyama* and the deposed Emperor, of the waterfall in Motosu county of *Yoro*, of the Shirakawa Barrier, the basic principle of vocalization, etc.

15 June. Fenollosa came in the morning, accompanied by Tamamura, a photographer on Benten St., Yokohama, who took photos of the stage.

16 June. Tamamura came and took photos at the request of Fenollosa.⁴⁰

The June 16 performance was "Shozoku osame" again, "the last time with full costume—later they have *Hakama No*." Fenollosa noted down the following programme, starting at 9.00 a. m., this time including Shimai:

Ogeiso

by Kanze Ono and Umewaka Yujiro

Ernest F. Fenollosa's Studies of *No*: with reference to his and other unpublished manuscripts and Ezra Pound's edition

| | |
|-------------|------------|
| Kanehira | Um. Rokuro |
| Kakitsubata | Tetsunojo |

Shimai (dances)

| | |
|---------------|--------------|
| Hanagatami | by U. Rokuro |
| Yoroboshi | K. Tetsunojo |
| Minadzuki | U. Shintaro |
| Sanemori | U. Toyosaku |
| Kumasaka | U. Minoru |
| Kasuga Riujin | K. Orio |
| Kagekiyo | U. Minoru |
| Adachi gahara | Manzaburo |

Kiogen

Kazumo (Mosquito Sumo)

Uri nusubito (Melon thief) May of it

Katatumuri⁴¹⁾

Full translations of *Kanehira*, *Kakitsubata*, *Kagekiyo*, and *Adachigahara* have survived, of which Fenollosa noted actions on stage on the versos of the first three pieces. The addition of comments on the spot to the prepared translation, utilizing the blank verso, is apparently the method Fenollosa improvised at the May 19 performance in 1901. If he had thought of it earlier, Pound and Yeats would have learned more about the stagecraft of *No*, especially of the pieces they included into their editions.⁴²⁾

On 4 July Umewaka wrote to Hirata: "I shall look forward to your visit at 9.30 a.m. on the ninth... As to the speech of Ai Kyogen of *Nishikigi*, my disciple says that it is at our house, so I have not sent for it yet. If not urgent, I hope to wait till I can talk it over with you when you come..."⁴³⁾ The Romanized transcript and translation in Hirata's hand of 'Waki Okashi no Kotoba' and 'Ai-gatari', material for the Waki and the Ai Kyogen, from "Soe Kotoba no Maki" owned by Umewaka are to be found among the Fenollosa *No* manuscripts at the

Beinecke Library.⁴⁴⁾ Fenollosa's notes at the end of his Romanized transcript and translation of *Nishikigi* reveals why he was particularly interested in this piece:

Mr. Hirata says that the words of many pieces, such as *Shunkan* and *Yuya*, are far richer and purer than *Nishikigi*, and that the structure of the pieces are better, but there is an unreality and mystic feeling about this—very beautiful and unique. The very absence of dramatic construction leads to this impression of unreality.

But it seems to me that *Nishikigi* is more direct dramatically, though imaginative, because it does not bring in so much extraneous pedantic poetry and mere association which half warrants the charge that spectators who now glue their eyes to the libretto "come to *hear*, rather than to *see*, *No*."⁴⁵⁾

Curiously, *Nishikigi* also fascinated both Pound who chose it as the first piece to publish for *Poetry* (May, 1914) and Yeats who wrote *The Dreaming of the Bones* (1917) under its inspiration.

The final interview between the Old Master and his American disciple took place on 9 July, as appointed:

Fenollosa and Hirata came at 9.30 a. m. and listened to my talk.

A wooden-floor stage was built in the second year of Ganji (1864). Rehearsals took place every ten days. Patched *furoshiki* (wrapping cloth) was used for the curtain to be replaced with coarse woolen cloth. Lord YAMAUCHI Yodo and other nobles, Nonomiya, Matsudaira, Tokugawa, Tayasu, Ikeda and others, came to play the *No*. In the first year of Meiji (1868) the five schools of *No* declined as if the fire was extinguished. Some suggested that we should found the Umewaka School, but it was not what I wanted. Once our ancestors served to support the Kanze school and have overcome many difficulties to keep it up, it would be regrettable now to claim our difference.

I served for a time as a guard of the Administration Gate. Nomura bade me off a land, which Count Okuma, the Finance Minis-

ter, helped us to obtain thanks to KATAYAMA Denshichi's efforts. I took over the stage together with the debts. We made enough profits at the three-day Memorial *No* to commemorate the 980th anniversary of our lineage to repay the money borrowed from Count Nabeshima. We were commissioned by the Army to perform during the Shokon-sha Shrine Festival. In April, 1877 we performed *No* for the Emperor—an historically rare event!—, thanks to Count BOJO Toshimasa's generosity. It is a strange coincidence that we owe his ancestor our family name.

Since I played *Shoson* for the opening performance of the *No* stage at the Imperial Palace, 6 July, 1878, *No* had prospered only to decline again in a few years. But it has regained popularity in recent years. *No* is a purely native product with little foreign influence.

I talked about the days when I served the Shogun—in the official and private quarters of the Palace.

Since my adopted father Rokuro indulged in luxury, I subsisted in a shabby house at Matsui-cho, from seventeen till twenty-four in age, during which I secured my living by playing *No* at the Shogun's palace, with gradual improvement in comfort. I played the music for *Sakuragawa* at Matsui-cho, acted in the same play in *Hakama-No* style at the Palace, and in full costume in the early years of Meiji, recalling of which brings tears to my eyes.

In January, 1871 I gave my first performance beginning with *Okina* on the wooden floor of the old stage. The original stage was reconstructed in November of the same year. The new stage was opened on 26 November and I was discharged three days later, with the allowance of two-years' salary in rice. The time is not yet ripe for *No*, for there is no performance at the Imperial Palace. According to the old Lord Kono'e, *No* had been performed there annually on 20 January, till sixty or seventy years ago.

The land was obtained in 1873, and I was obliged to take over the stage together with the debts, counting on the generosity of the Old Lord Nabeshima, who soon passed away. His retainers came to negotiate over the debts, driving me to the wall. Thanks to my ancestors, however, the 980th anniversary memorial performance, by which our distinguished genealogy became well-known and unexpected returns were made, paid off all the debts.⁴⁶⁾

Fenollosa inquired after Manzaburo's injury from Maple Hotel, Yokohama, according to Umewaka's diary, 25 July, 1901.⁴⁷ Minoru's eldest son was reported to have been injured by accident on 12 July. Fenollosa's last extant letter to Hirata, 31 July, 1901, shows that his main concern was now shifting to Chinese literature:

I was much pleased to see you last evening, and have that decisive talk about our coming work.

Prof. Mori's address is Kojimachi ku Nagata cho Itchome, 19 banchi. I hope you will write to him at once and find out if he has come back, *when* I shall come to him for the first lecture, and *where*. He agreed provisionally to Tuesdays and Thursdays at 9.30 a. m. I think at his house. Shall we begin from next Tuesday? Any day suits me, only it is best to make it regular.

Please do not forget what I asked of you, to let me know what I should pay you for a salary for your kind work for me in June and July—, I would send you a check at once. Also your thought of a salary for August, during which I want you to work for me *all* your workable hours. Please don't fail me in this, for I am relying on you.

Please finish the *No* book as soon as possible, and get a copy of "Kiso" with commentary.⁴⁸

The "*No* book" may refer to Owada Tateki, *Utai to No (Nichiyō Hyakka Zensho*, No. 45) (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1900), of which Ch. 3, 'Sarugaku and the Tokugawa Shoguns', and other sections on programme, musical instruments and stage were translated by Hirata.⁴⁹

Umewaka's last reference to Fenollosa is to be found on 22 September. "Hirata came in the morning to see me. Fenollosa had left Yokohama by boat. Hirata brought me the fees of ¥ 20.00 and the photographs taken by Tamamura, as promised."⁵⁰

Hirata, having won fame as a scholar of English literature, reminisced his youthful days with Fenollosa:

My acquaintance with Prof. Fenollosa dates back to his last two sojourns in Japan toward the end of his life. The first [April, 1897—August, 1900] was when circumstances had driven him out of the curatorship of Japanese Department, Boston Museum of Fine Arts he helped to found; he drifted back to our shores which were dear to him. The late Prof. KANO Jigoro, director of the Higher Normal School, Tokyo, sympathetic with his former teacher at the University of Tokyo in adversity, employed him as teacher of English language and literature.... I had left the First Higher School to be enrolled as an English major at Kano's school, and on graduation, had just begun to teach at the Middle School attached to it. At the request of the director, I served as a kind of mediator in Prof. Fenollosa's conversation classes.... Next came the studies of *No*: Prof. Fenollosa started his lessons with *Hagoromo* under UMEWAKA Minoru and his son Rokuro; he was also a regular attendant at Umewaka's monthly performance, at which he would watch from the specially reserved front seat. According to the Old Master, "of all my audiences, there is not a single person that would watch me perform with such a devoted attention as he." He took with him the summaries of the plays in the programme, prepared from my oral translation. He finished *Hagoromo* with quite a mastery, completing its word-to-word translation. Of other plays, he was much interested in *Nishikigi*, pleased that it somehow reminded him of Rossetti. He was interested in *Kake-kotoba*, "Hang-words", or a play on words, of *No*, saying that Maeterlinck is doing it in his thinking. I confirmed it later on reading *Pelleas and Melisande* and was impressed with his far-sightedness. Those manuscript translations were sent by his widow to Ezra Pound, who mediated for the publication in Ireland of Yeats, *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* and inspired Yeats to produce *At the Hawk's Well* and other new plays. I was rather happy that my crude, youthful efforts had not entirely been in vain.

Prof. Fenollosa returned to the U.S., having photographed Manzaburo and Rokuro on stage. I hear that he then lectured successfully on Japanese *No* in various parts of the U.S. He came back to Japan in a year or so. Saying that the intellectuals in the U.S. had now awakened to Oriental literature which appealed to the mind as well as art which appealed to the eye and that he hoped to be a pioneer in

the field, he asked Prof. MORI Kainan to lecture on the history of Chinese literature, especially poetry, with myself as a mediator. In midsummer, he came up almost every day from his hotel in Yokohama to listen to the lecture at the former residence of the Chairman of the Privy Council, then the Bureau for Investigation of Imperial System, at Reinanzaka, Akasaka, where Prof. Mori had his office. I was not only amazed at Prof. Mori's profound learning, erudition and strong memory, but also impressed with his eloquence, describing each literary period most fluently without manuscript but selections of poems for examples. Thus after a month of strenuous efforts, Prof. Fenollosa departed in mid-September, when the autumn wind was rising. The last I saw of him was then at the pier of the Port Yokohama.⁵¹⁾

Notes

- 1) Now at the Beinecke Library, Yale University. Hereafter to be referred to by file numbers preceding BL.
- 2) FURUKAWA Hisashi, *Meiji Nogakushi Josetsu* (Introduction to the History of *No* in Meiji Period) (Tokyo: Wan'ya shoten, 1969), pp. 10-25.
- 3) *Ibid.*, pp. 95 and 285.
- 4) *Japan Day by Day* (Tokyo: Kobunsha, 1936), pp. 401-2.
- 5) Furukawa, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-5.
- 6) *Ibid.*, p. 186.
- 7) *Ibid.*, p. 184. Of Dr. Bigelow, see Akiko Murakata, "biographical introduction," "Selected Letters of Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow" (dissertation, Geroge Washington, 1971), her "Bigelow Ryakuden (Brief Biography of Dr. Bigelow)", *Kobijutsu* 35 (December, 1971) and "Bigelow, Fenollosa, Okakura: Boston Bijutsukan Nihon-bu no Keisei (the Beginnings of the Japanese Department, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)", *Museum*, 384 (March, 1983).
- 8) "An Artist's Letters from Japan," *Century Magazine*, XXXLX, 4 (February, 1890), pp. 488-490.
- 9) Murakata (trans.), "*Fenollosa fujin no Nippon nikki* (Mrs. Fenollosa's Japanese Diary)", 1-90 [6 July-11 November, 1896], *Kyoto Shimbun* (3 November, 1981-24 June, 1982). The original manuscripts are owned by Mrs. Elizabeth Winslow, Montrose, Alabama.
- 10) *Ibid.*, 29 [1 Sept.], n. 3.
- 11) *Ibid.*, 31.
- 12) *Ibid.*, 50.
- 13) File No. 7, BL, p. 62.

- 28 Ernest F. Fenollosa's Studies of *No*: with reference to his and other unpublished manuscripts and Ezra Pound's edition
- 14) MS. owned by Mrs. Winslow and entrusted to the City Museum, Mobile, Alabama. The quotations hereafter beginning with italicized dates are from the same source.
 - 15) File No. 41, BL.
 - 16) [I] (Addendix, "Fenollosa's Letters to HIRATA Kiichi", FURUKAWA, *Obeijin no Nogaku Kenkyu* (European and American Studies of *No*) (Tokyo Women's University Monograph Series, No. 1, 1962), p. 173. The date of the letter is corrected in accordance with its photograph reproduced in the book.
 - 17) At the Beinecke Library.
 - 18) [III] (see n. 16 above), p. 174. The letter can be dated from internal evidence offered in Mary's diary.
 - 19) *Meiji Nogakushi*, p. 188.
 - 20) File No. 40, BL.
 - 21) *The Classic Noh Theatre of Japan* (New York: New Directions, 1959), pp. 27-29.
 - 22) *Meiji Nogakushi*, p. 189.
 - 23) It is ascertained by collating the translation with the text and confirmed by Fenollosa's reference to the editor in his translation of *Kagekiyo*: "(There is no such paragraph division in the Japanese text—probably made by Mr. Owada—from the acting)." File No. 43, BL.
 - 24) *Classic Noh Theatre*, p. 15.
 - 25) [XII], *Obeijin*, p. 181. I supplied the year for the date of the letter by internal evidence.
 - 26) *Meiji Nogakushi*, p. 191.
 - 27) File No. 42a, BL.
 - 28) *Classic Noh Theatre*, pp. 5-6.
 - 29) File Nos. 17, 42a and 45, BL.
 - 30) [VIII], *Obeijin* pp. 178-9.
 - 31) *Meiji Nogakushi*, p. 191.
 - 32) *Classic Noh Theatre*, pp. 8-9 and 29.
 - 33) *Meiji Nogakushi*, p. 192. See *Classic Noh Theatre*, pp. 32-34.
 - 34) *Ibid.* For Fenollosa's June 2 notes, see *Classic Noh Theatre*, pp. 34-36.
 - 35) [IX], *Obeijin*, pp. 179-80.
 - 36) File No. 43, BL.
 - 37) [X], *Obeijin*, p. 180.
 - 38) *Meiji Nogakushi*, p. 192.
 - 39) File No. 43, BL.
 - 40) *Meiji Nogakushi*, p. 193.
 - 41) File No. 43, BL.
 - 42) Mr. Richard Taylor's criticism that "one of the great failings of [Pound's] edition" was not to have included Fenollosa's "marginalia taken down at actual

performances. . . in its entirety" is rather misleading, for only *Kakitsubata* and *Kagekiyo*, among Pound's selection, had such marginalia.

- 43) *Meiji Nogakushi*, p. 194.
- 44) File No. 41, BL.
- 45) File No. 42, BL. See my Appendix for Fenollosa's rendering of *Nishikigi*.
- 46) *Meiji Nogakushi*, pp. 194-5.
- 47) *Ibid.*, p. 195.
- 48) [XVI]. *Obeijin*, pp. 183-4. Fenollosa's extensive notes and translations of Chinese literature are also preserved at the Beinecke Library. "Kiso" may be Dr. Furukawa's misreading of "Riso" by the Chinese Poet Kutsugen. Dr. Ariga's translation of the poem for Prof. Mori's lecture on 4 July, 1901 is in File No. 11, BL. Fenollosa had seen the *No* play *Kiso* on 21 March, 1900.
- 49) File No. 41, BL.
- 50) *Meiji Nogakushi*, p. 195.
- 51) "Prof. Fenollosa," *Bungei Shunju*, XVI, 15 (September, 1938), pp. 41-3.

The quotations from the Ernest F. Fenollosa Manuscripts are by courtesy of Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Library, Yale University, and Mr. James Laughlin of New Directions Publishing Corporation. I am grateful to Mrs. Elizabeth Winslow for her permission to quote from Mary Fenollosa's diaries. The following rendition of *Nishikigi* by Fenollosa in the Appendix is also by courtesy of Beinecke Library and Mr. Laughlin.

Se- baya to omoi soro.
make-(wish)ending/that/think am

make a pilgrimage even up to the (very) end of the land's depth.
(Michiyuki)

Idzuku ni mo | Kokoro tome-ji to
What place/ to /even/ heart set-not that

何處 as if, modifies *yuku*

Wandering as if they set not their hearts on any place whatever,

Yuku kumo no | hata- de mo miyete

Going, wandering/clouds 's banner-hands even being seen,
subject of *miyete* mod. dusk, as rel. clause

the sky of the Evening dusk, in which are seen the banner hands

Yu-(u)-gure no | Sora mo Kasanaru

Evening/dusk 's Sky/even/to fold- or set in folds = (ply-)

2 meanings- to repeat- to fold

Sora is its subject, but it relates to *goromo* relative clause

of the clouds (so wandering), being folded over in repetition

(each word has a double meaning, and introduces the next thought)

(the last clause beginning with *Michinoku* is connected to all the previous lines by the sound of *oku*— repeating the *oku* as noun in meaning, but connecting grammatically with *oku* as a verb)

Tabi-goromo | oku wa Sonata ka,
travel-clothes 2 {depth as for, that part ?

subj. of *oku*/ 2 {put or lay/relates to depth

oku as depth is sub. of verb expressed in *ka*!

like travelling clothes put on, depth after depth— (Ah!) does the deep

Michinoku no | Kefu no sato ni mo

land's depth/'s narrow cloth, 's village to as much as,
name of village just up to

lie in that direction?—as far as the village of Kefu in that very

Tsuki ni keru. |

arrive at have (aux)

Land's depth, (at last) have I come.

(new paragraph)

Shite and Tsure (Shidai)

Kefu no hoso- nuno | ori ori no

narrow cloth narrow cloth 2 {weave weave adj. ending

subj. of *ori* 2 {occasionally, weaving of *nishiki*

It is this very colored-branch, (set up) time after time, as if it

nishiki-gi ya | na- tate naru ran(u).

brocade/wood/wa name-stand will be

painted/ rod (emphatic) to spread a rumor

lie like falling forest-dew upon our sleeves, if we,

Akashi te wa | *haru" no nagame* *mo*
 pass if spring 's scene, subj. of narrow/too
 (this introduces the subordinate clause with all before)

(also quotation from Kokinshu)

who are able neither to wake nor sleep, pass thus our midnights,

Ika naran(u).

how shall be

how may it be with the very scenes of spring?

Asamashi *ya* | *Somo ikuhodo no*
 shallow, shameful now until when (adj. ending)
 in vain, vain shame! possibly naturally
 How foolish! Being a body (which lives) naturally

Mi nish(i) areba | *Nawo matsu- koto no*
 body is if still wait- thing (nom. case)

until when, still something to wait for

Arigawō nite | *omowanu hito wo*
 is-look seeming does not love man (acc.)

Seeming to be something there, this thinking in sleep of the person

omoi- ne no | *yume ka utsutsu ka*
think-sleep (adj.) dream ? vision ?
 dream

who has no thought for me, is it a dream, or is it true vision?

Nete ka samete ka
 sleep ? awake ?

Am I sleeping— or am I waking?

Kore ya rembo no | *narai naru.*
 This very desire-yearn, love/(adj.) custom, habit is

This is the very custom of passion.

(*Uta*)

Itadzura ni | *Suguru Kokoro wa*
 vain in pass heart (nom.)

Though the heart-things which pass in vain are many,

Though the things which vainly pass in our hearts are many

Ō(o) Kere-do | *Mi ni nasu koto wa*
 many is-though body/in do thing (nom.)
 what we do in the body

yet the fact that we do nothing in the body

Namida-gawa, | *nagarete hayaki* | *tsuki-hi Kana!* | *Geni ya!*
 2 {tears-river flow quick month-day how! Indeed!
nashi or fast time

is nothing— O what swift time it is flowing as a river of tears! Indeed

Nagarete wa | *Imose* no *naka* no
 flowing as for 2 {name of mt. between
 couple, wife-husband

As for flowing, of which we hear as the river (that falls),
 And speaking of flowing, which we hear of in the case of the

Kawa to kiku | *Yoshino no yama wa* | *Idzuku zo-ya?*
 river/ that/hear (rel. with *yama*) where is-(emphatic)

river that falls between the mountains of lover and bride, where indeed is that
 very mountain of Yoshino ('s river? Here!)

Koko wa mata | *Kokoro no oku ka*
 in this place (Kefu no sato) too | heart 's depth is?

Here, too, (introduces Michinoku) is it the heart's depth?

And here, too, is it not a case of heart's depth?

Michinoku no | *Kefu no Kō(wo)ri no* | *Na nishi Ō(o)*, |
 narrow cloth/County name into carrying
 here in this land's depth (corresponding to)

Though the color of the narrow cloth which fits into the
 name of the district of Kefu in land's depth—

Hosonuno no | *Iro koso* *kaware*
 narrow cloth color/(emphatic *wa*) change, though
 in respect to color has changed,

Nishiki-gi no | *chi- tabi momo yo*
 thousand times hundred nights

Nishikigi's thousand times and hundred nights

Itadzura ni | *Kuyashiki tanomi* | *Nari-keru zo* |
 in vain which we regret now trust was emphatic

were indeed a trust whose emptiness we now regret.

Kuyashiki tanomi | *Narikeru*.

(New Paragraph)

Waki (Kotoba)

nei
Fushigi ya na *Kore nar(u)* *ichi-bito*
 strange!, isn't it! This is here market-person
 (merchants of the town)

Strange! indeed! Seeing these town-people here,

wo mire-ba, fu-fu to oboshiku te
 (acc.)/if see=seeming married pair/that/seem, what I think/and
niosho no mochi tamai taru (mono) wa
 female sex/ga having give (te aru) as for
 (honorific) (honorific) is

as for the thing which the lady gives herself the trouble of holding, it looks

tori no hane nite ori-taru nuno to miye tari.
 birds' feathers/with, of/is woven/cloth/that/it looks like (seems)

like a piece of cloth woven from the feathers of birds.

Mata otoko no mochitaru (mono) wa utsukushiku
 And male ga holds as for/beautifully

And, as for the thing which the male carries,

iro-dori Kazari taru ki nari.
 color-take adorned is wood is
 adj.=painted/ornamented

it is a piece of wood ornamented by being beautifully painted.

Idzure mo, idzure mo fushigi-naru uri-mono kana!
 Where even " " strange is sell-thing how
 either one or the other = both

Whether it be the one or the other, what a queer piece of merchandise it is!

Kore wa Nani to mōshi-taru mono nite sorō zo?
 This, these/as for/what that/is called thing/being is emphatic

These, being things which are called what, are they, indeed?

Tsure (Kotoba)

Kore wa hoso-nuno tote
 this/ as for/slender,/cloth/to moshite
 narrow being called

As for this, just as its name is, "hosonuno",

(m)
hata-bari (no) sebakī nuno nari.
 weaving/breadth narrow, cloth is
 frame contracted

it is a cloth contracted in the loom-weft.

Shite (Kotoba)

Kore wa, Nishiki-gi to (iu) te, irodori kazareru ki nari.
 this/ as for is called by painting/is ornamented wood is

Idzure mo, Idzure mo, to-sho no mei-butsumi nari.
 Whether one or the other, this place 's/name thing is
 corresponding, appropriate famous

it is a celebrated article of the place.

Kore, Kore mesare soraye.

this this call let be (imp.)

This, and that too, won't you be making us an offer for (them)!

Waki (Kotoba)

Geni, geni! Nishiki-gi hosonuno no koto wa
Indeed indeed fact/as for

Indeed, indeed, (as for these facts) about nishiki-gi and hosonuno,

uke- tamawari oyobi- taru meibutsu nari.

receive/was given/reached

(honorific for heard), have had access to receiving (information) about
they are famous things which I have already had occasion to hear about.

Sate nani-yuye no meibutsu nite soro yaran?

Now what for 's being is I wonder

Now, being things celebrated for what, are they, I wonder?

Tsure

Utate no o(o)se | Saburo-(o) ya!
sorrow/ adj. ending/ words, will (n.) (So-ro) what
disappointing, distasteful/what you say

How disappointing is that which you say!

Na ni o nishiki-gi | hosonuno no | Sono kai mo | naku,
name to corresponding that advantage not-being
benefit

As for (the fact that) into other places, no advantage has yet come from that very
correspondence of nishikigi and hosonuno

yoso made wa | Kiki mo oyobase | tamawanu yo no(o)
other to as for/hear/ever/have did not do you/emphasizes
place access receive not it, calling

with their names, is it really possible that you have never had an opportunity of
ever hearing about them?

Shite (Kotoba)

Iya Iya! Sore mo on Kotowari.

No No! That too/honor./reasonable thing

No! No! That is reasonable enough.

Sono michi michi ni en naki koto wo ba,
its way way to/relation/has not/thing/acc./wa, as for

From what can people be expected to know those very things

Nani tote Shiroshi mesaru-beki?

what to yute = how/knowing call can

which have no relation each to his own way?

NiNin (both)

Mi tatemasure ba, | yo wo sute- bito no
see/offer, hon./ if world abandon-person/ga

That you who, when we presume to look at you, (seem to be)

Rembo no michi no | iro ni somu,
love 's way 's color/in dyed

a person that has abandoned the world, should have no

Kono nishiki-gi ya | hosonuno no
this and (wo!)

call to know the worth of this nishikigi and hosonuno, which

Shiroshi mesa-nu wa | Kotowari nari.

price call reasonable is

know, not know

Are dyed in the color of the way of love, is reasonable.

Waki

Ara! omoshiro no | hentō yana!
There/interesting reply what

Ha! What an interesting reply!

Sate sate nishiki-gi | hosonuno to wa
well well as for

Well then, as for nishikigi and hosonuno,

Koi-ji ni yoritaru | iware yo nō!
love-way/to/having some relation/names ? are they?

they are names having some relation to the way of love, are they?

Shite (Kotoba)

Naka naka no koto. Mitose made
Very, exactly/the/case. 3 years up to

Just exactly the case. From the fact of having set up

Tate oku kadzu no nishiki-gi wo
set up/put number (obj. of tatete) acc.

make set up

every day nishikigi of a number which caused them to be set up,

(1st verb.)

hi goto ni tatete chi- dzuka to mo yomi,
day every in having set, 1,000-pieces, that/too/read,
by setting up sticks sung of

up to three full years, they are sung of chidzuka, too;

Tsure.

Mata hosonuno wa | hatabari sebaku-te
and as for weft narrow-being

And, concerning *hosonuno*, as, from the fact that, being narrow in weft,

Sanagara mi wo mo | Kakusa- ne- ba
as it were/body/acc./even conceal/not/if (as)

it does not conceal even the body, one might say.

Mune ai- gataki | Koi to mo yomi-te
1. breast/meet/difficult love/that/too/ read/and
2. heart join

it is spoken of as a love which is difficult of breast-meeting.

Shite

Ura- mi ni mo yose (2d verb), |
back-look/to/even/address by, hint of

So it hints even of disappointment; and,

Tsure *Na wo mo tatete,*
name/acc./too/having set up
rumor

constituting out of the fact that, though we have set up the name (of love),

Shite

Awanu wo tane to, |
do not meet/acc./seed, origin/that

Yet we do not meet, a seed (of something possible in future)

Tsure *yomu uta no*
read/song/'s

the famous poem that expresses (this constituting)

Chorus (a poem quoted by Noin Hoshi in *Goshui-shu*)

"Nishiki-gi wa | tate nagara koso
as for set up/being in way of/(emphatic)
progressive form

"As for *nishiki-gi*, in the very fact of its continuing to be set up,

Kuchi ni kere; | *Kefu no hosonuno*
decay has

it has decayed; so it seems that the narrow cloth of *Kefu*

Mune awa-ji to ya" to | Sashi mo yomi-shi
breast/will not meet/so it seems/that so even/read(past)

will not meet across the heart," like this *hosonuno* of which we so read

Hosonuno no | hatabari mo | Naki mi nite |
's weft even not having/body/ being

this being famous poem, we, being bodies who have no weft of force whatever,

(3d verb)

Uta-monogatari | Hadzukashi ya! | Geni ya, na nomi wa
song-narrative shameful ! Indeed name/only/as for

O how shameful is this song-story of ours! Indeed, as for the (love-) names only,

Iwashiro no | Matsu no koto no ha | Tori oki,

1. name of place in Kishu/pine words 's leaves take/put

2. to say having taken

having bound together the word-leaves of the pine trees of Iwashiro,

(which speak those names)

(there is a custom of binding together branches of pine tree, if one has a wish, till it is fulfilled)

Yū- hi no kage mo | Nishiki-gi no | yadori ni iza ya Kayeranu.

Evening-sun 's shadow/even 's lodging now will return

As it is now the image of the evening Sun, we will return to our lodging of Nishikigi.

Waki (Kotoba)

Nawo nawo, Nishiki-gi hosonuno

Still Still (forcible)

Still further, please narrate the facts about

no iware on-monogatari soraye.

the facts about, account tell imp. of be

Nishiki-gi and hosonuno.

Shite (Kotoba)

Mukashi yori Kono tokoro no Narai

old times/from/this/ place 's custom

It being the custom of this place from old times,

Nite otoko onna no nakadachi ni wa

being/male/female 's mediator as

we make this nishiki-gi as a mediator between

Kono nishiki-gi wo tsukuri, onna no iye no kado ni tatsuru

this acc./make and female house 's gate at set up

male and female and as it is a symbolic piece of wood which

Shirushi no Ki nareba, utsukushiku irodori

sign 's wood/as it is, beautifully by painting

we set up at the gate of the female's house,

Kazarite Kore wo nishiki-gi to iu.

ornamented this acc. we call

we call this, which is beautifully ornamented by painting, nishiki-gi.

Saru hodoni o(o)beki otoko no

So for which we choose to meet male 's

therefore

It being so, as we take in the nishiki-gi of the male

nishiki-gi wo- ba tori-ire ô(o) majiki wo- ba
 acc./wa take-put in/meet/will not/acc./wa
 strong take in/which we do not choose to meet
 whom we wish to meet, and do not take in (that of the male)
tori-ire ne ba, aruiwa momo- yo mi- tose
 take in not as sometimes hundred nights/three-years
 whom we do not wish to meet, for the reason that it
made mo tachishi ni yotte,
 up to/even/standing (into) rely upon
 by the reason

Sometimes is standing even up to one hundred nights for three years,

chi- zuka to mo yomeri. Mata Kono yamakage ni
 1,000 sticks that even/is spoken. And/this/ mt.-shadow
 it was sung of even as the thousand sticks," and

Nishiki- dzuka to(iu)te Soro.
 Colored, love-cave called is

And in this mountain shadow there is (a place) called the nishiki-cave.

Kore koso mi tose made nishiki-gi tate tarishi
 This (emphatic) 3 years up to set up had

As this very cave is the old-grave of a man who had set up

hito no ko-fun nareba, toriwoku nishiki-gi no
 man 's old-grave as it is which we took away 's
 up to (the limit of) three years, (they) built into this cave

Kadzu tomoni tsuka ni tsuki komete,
 number/together, with cave/into/build/put into

numbers of nishikigi which were taken away, together with (him),

Kore wo nishiki-dzuka to mō-shi Soro.
 this/ acc./colored-cave/ call is

and this we call nishiki-dzuka.

Waki (Kotoba)

Saraba, sono nishiki-dzuka wo mite furusato no
 Then that love cave acc./on seeing/native village 's

Then, I will look at that nishiki-dzuka and make (it) into

monogatari ni shi soro-beshi.
 story to, acc./make

a story for my native-village.

Oshiete tamawari soraye.
 teach give let

Please show it to me (Please give me instructions).

Shite

O, ide ide saraba | oshiye mō(o) san.
O, then, well then if it be so, I will speak of the teaching
instructions

Tsure

Konata ye irase | tama ye to(iu)te,
this side/to/getting give (imp.) by saying
place come

Saying— deign to come to this side.

Ni-Nin

Fū-fu no mono wa | saki ni tachi,
couple/'s/persons/as for before standing, going
As for the state of the couple, they going before,
Kano tabibito wo | tomonai tsutsu,
that traveller, stranger (acc.)/accompany-ing,
(progressive form)

and accompanying that traveller,

Chorus

Kefu no hoso- michi | wake kurashite
1. narrow cloth/'s/narrow way divide spending the
2. name separate/whole day and
3. Kio = today

having spent the whole day until dusk, opening up the narrow path by pushing
aside (the grass) the narrow way of Kefu.

Nishiki-dzuka wa | idzuku (naru) zō?
love cave as for where is indeed?

As for nishikizuka— where indeed is it?

otoko

Kano oka ni | Kusa Karu onoko
That hill/on/grass/cutting/a man

O you man, cutting grass on that hill,

Kokoro shite | hito no Kayoi-ji
mind made person 's path way

having care make plain to me
put your mind on it, and please, O please teach me

Akiraka ni | oshiye yoya!
clearly teach (imp.) O please!
clearly where a man may go!

Michi-shiba no | tsuyu wo ba tare ni | Tōwa mashi. ♪
road grass/'s dew acc. whom to shall ask

Of whom shall we ask about the dew of the wayside grass?

(it means that there is no dew, grass being frosty— refers to an old poem in Sagoromo)/(More probably) Of whom shall we ask (how to make our way through) the dew of the wayside grass?

Shin-nio *no tama wa* | *Idzuku zo* *ya?*
True phenomena 's gem as for where indeed is it?

As for the jewel of true appearance,

Motome taku zo | *obo-yuru.*
seek wish (emphatic) I feel—

We feel that we want to seek it.

Shite

Aki *samuge naru* | *yu(u)- ma gure*
Autumn cold seeming evening/time dusk

(Now it is) the evening dusk which seems cold in autumn!

0

Chorus

Arashi Ko- garashi | *mura- shigure*
storm tree/make wither spotty sudden autumn shower,
falling leaves blotting

O storms, the falling of leaves, and patches of the autumn shower,

Tsuyu wake Kanete | *Ashibiki* *no*
dew separate/not being able 1. foot drag 's
2. pillow word

Not being able to separate the dewy leaves, so dragging our feet,

Yama no to- kage mo | *Mono-sabi, (ヱ)*
Mountain 's perpetual-shadow/even thing-became lonely

lovely in decay

the eternal shadow of the long sloped mountain, too, became lonely, and

“*Shō Kei ni naku* | *fukurō*
pine tree/ivy on crying

Crying among the tress on the pine tree, (there is) an owl!

Ran giku *no hana ni* | *Kakuru naru*
orchid chrysanthemum 's/flower/among hide ad. ending
hiding

(changed quotation from a poem in *Hakushi Bunshu*)

As for the nishiki cave dyed like the leaves of maple and

Kitsune" sumu naru | *tsuka no kusa*
fox live ing cave 's grass

of the weeds of the cave in which lives a fox which hides among

Momiji ba Somete | *nishiki dzuka wa*
maple leaves dyed love cave as for

the flowers of orchids and chrysanthemums, leaving behind
Kore(naru) zo to ii sutete | tsuka no uchi ni zo
 this is that say leaving cave 's inside in (emph.)
 them the saying that this is just it, they have gone into the
iri ni keru. | *Fū-fu tsuka ni | iri ni Keri.*
 had gone into The couple cave into/had gone
 very inside of the cave, the couple have gone into the cave.
 (end of First part)

Second Part

Waki (Kotoba)

“Ojika no tsuno no | tsuka no ma mo” (taken from *Shin Kokinshū*)
 Male deer's horn 's 1. to hold/space/even
 2. short space

It seems that I cannot sleep even for a moment short as the

Neraren(u) mono ka, | Aki- kaze no
 sleep-cannot/thing ? Autumn wind 's
 of a young male deer, (and so) the lying under (lying)

Matsu no shita- bushi | yo mo sugara
 pine 's/under to lay(lie) night through
 whole

pinus of the autumn wind, I do not know what else to do, and so

Koye butsu- ji wo ya | nashi nuran(u).
 voice Buddha-thing acc./perhaps do will
 service

Perhaps I had better perform a voice-service to Buddha.

Tsure (ichi)
Ikani oso | *ichi-ju ikka no*
 what! (to call attention) hon. priest/one-tree/one-river 's

How! O priest! Beyond the fact I hear that even to dip up

Nagare wo kumu mo | ta- shō(o) no(naru) en zo to
 stream (n.)/acc./to dip up/even other/life 's relation/emph./that
 (water) from (the shadow of) the same tree (falling on)

the same river (is) just the Karmic cause from some other life,
 (know) (meet)

Kiku mono wo | Mashiteya chi- gu no
 hear/thing/acc. moreover (increase) meeting, poetical word/ga
 (idiom) while, really object of *mashiteya*/mysterious connection
 (now a conjunction)

as (now) there is just this very mysterious meeting (between us),

Areba koso | *Kaku yadori suru* | *Kusa no makura no* |

as there is (emphatic) thus lodge do grass 's pillow 's

as for my dream bridge on the pillow of the wild grasses among which I lodge,

yume bashi samashi | *Tamo(o) na yo* |

dream bridge awake (tr.) honorific/do not/O!

(forcible *wa*)

O I pray you, do not wake me from it.

Ara tat(su)to *no (takkokō)* | *Minori yana*

what precious, worthy (adj. ending) hon. law O what a!

O what a precious holy-law this is.

Nochi-shite

Ara, arigata no | *on toburai* *yana!*

what thank(ful) adj. (hon.) service for the O what!

welfare of the dead

There! What a grateful service for the dead!

Ni se to kane-taru | *Chigiri danimo*

two worlds that to include/adj. end love even(very strong)

in one

(literally promise)

Even, even the love promise, which has to do with two worlds, even for that

Sashi mo mi tose no | *hi-kadzu tsumoru.*

so (it being) even/ 3 years 's day-number/heaps (intrans.)

having become three years, the number of their days heap up.

Kono nishiki-gi no | *Ai gataki*

This 's to meet which is difficult

O how thankful is this mysterious meeting of the law

Nori no chigū no | *Arigata sa yo.*

law 's myst. meeting/ga thankful/how!

which (meeting) it is difficult to have by this nishiki-gi.

Ide ide Sugata wo | *Miye mosan(u).*

now now form, appearance/acc. show I will (honorific)

Now, now, I will show my figure.

Ima Koso wa | *iro ni ide nan(u)* | *Nishikigi no,*

now/just/as for color/in/come out/ will 's

Of nishikigi which will come out into color now for the first time,

Chorus (perfect) | (gone)

Mi tose wa sugi nu (pause is possible) *Inishiye no*

3 years/as for/passed/has old times 's

as for the three years they have passed. . . of old times

Shite

Yume mata yume ni | Koyoi mi tose no
dream and dream to this evening 3 years 's
that we just now return to dream after dream, and

Chigū ni ima zo | Kayeru nare to
myst. meeting/to/now/emph. return will that

return

mysterious meeting of three years, (saying)

Chorus

Obana ga moto no | omoi-gusa no
suzuki grass 's foot 's think-grass 's
stem love

O see how they seem to come out in the momentary phantasm from the cave

Kage yori miye- taru | tsuka no maboroshi ni
shadow from appears adj. end 1. cave 's false vision/in

rel. clause? 2. for a moment/phantasm, illusion

which shows itself from the shadow of the love grass

Araware idzuru wo | goran(u) zeyo.
appear come out/acc./ hon. see *nasai* (imperative)

appear

growing at the roots of the Suzuki!

Shite (Sansk. naraka)

Yū naraku | Naraku no soko ni
say is hell bottom

It is said that, when one has gone into the lowest part of hell,

Iri nureba | Setsuri mo shuda mo
enter/has if (when) princes (caste) sudra (caste)

it does not differ at all either for princes or common people.

Kawara-dzari-keri. | Ara, hadzukashi ya!
differ not did Ah shameful

Ah! how shameful! (for me)

(New paragraph)

Waki

Fushigi ya na! | Samo furu-dzuka to | Miye-tsuru ga |
strange! So old cave seem had wa (strong)

Strange! As for what had seemed so old a cave,

uchi wa kakayaku | Tomoshi-bi no
inside/as for/bright(very strong form) light 's

in the rays of a fire light which makes the inside brilliant,

kage akiraka naru | *Jin-ka no uchi ni*
 from distinct adj. ending man-house 's inside in
 rays? clear (which is)

now becoming distinct, in the interior of a human dwelling,

hatamono wo tate | *Nishiki-gi wo tsumite*
 loom acc setting up piling up

setting up a loom and heaping up *nishiki-gi*,

Mukashi wo Arawasu | *Yosoi nari.*

old times which shows dressing, furnishing is

it seems to be a furnishing which reveals old times.

Kore wa yume Kaya? | *Utsutsu Kaya?*

This dream is ? vision is ?

As for this, can it be a dream? Can it be an illusion?

Tsure (All quoted from Narihira in *Kokinshu*; this was Narihira's reply to a lady.)

"*Kaki-kurasu* (used when snow falls) | *Kokoro no yami ni*
 put out-become dark heart 's darkness/in
 (light) (very poetical) blindness (not seeing)
 (has meaning of struggling and so feeling one's self going out)

We have wandered in the darkness of souls which are going out
 (in struggle)

(Not using *no* between is quite forceful)/
 (imperative)

Madoi ni ki. | *yume utsutsu to wa* | *Yo-hito sadame yo.*

wander has dream vision as to world-man/determine

As for whether it is a dream or an illusion,

You world-man may determine.

Shite (Kotoba)

Geni ya, mukashi ni | *Narihira mo*

indeed old times/in 1. man, Narihira too

2. *naru*=to become

Indeed, (considering) the fact that Narihira, too, who has

Yo-hito sadame yo to | *iishi mono wo*

world-man/determine imp./that said fact

vanished into antiquity, said, "Let a world-man determine it,"

Yume utsutsu to wa | *tabibito koso*

dream/vision/as to traveller (you, this)

it must be just you, traveller, who have a call to know

Yoku yoku shiroshi | *mesaru bekere.*

well well know (hon.)call must

this well.

Waki

Yoshi yume nari to mo | utsutsu nari to mo
let it be/dream is that even vision

I don't care whether it is if it

Whether it be a dream, or be a vision, I caring not,

Haya haya mukashi wo | Arawashite
soon soon old times (acc.) showing

Grant to show to me through the night,

Yo sugara ware ni | mise tamaye.
night/through me to show give (hon.)

revealing soon, soon the old times!

Shite

Ide ide mukashi wo | Arawa-san to
now now old times

Now, now, saying that we will show (you) the old times,

Yū(u)- Kage-gusa no | tsuki no yo ni

1. Saying shadow-grass 's moon 's night in

2. Evening/(sometimes called hotaru-gusa,
has a deep blue flower, grows in that place)

in the night when the moon wh. relates to (looks for)
the shadow grass of evening,

Tsure

Oñna wa Tsuka no | uchi ni irite
woman/(nom.) cave 's inside in entered and

Now, the woman, on her side, entering to the inside of the cave,

Aki no kokoro mo | hosonuno no

autumn 's heart too 1. 's

2. hoso

and setting up the loom of hosonuno, thin as the heart of Autumn also,

Hatamono wo tatete | hata wo oreba

loom (acc.) setting up/woof (acc.) when she weaves

as she weaves through the woof,

Shite (Kotoba)

Otto wa nishiki-gi (wo) | tori-mochite
husband/as for take-holding

the husband, also on his side, though, taking and holding nishikigi,

Sashi-taru kado wo | tatake domo

which was shut/gate knock though

he knocks on the gate which was shut,

*Tsure**Uchi yori kotōru | Koto mo naku*

inside from answer thing even not

there being nothing whatever (that answered) from the inside,
of the action to answer*Hisokani oto-suru | mono to te wa*

secretly (here, very gently)/noise-make thing as for only

and as for the only thing which makes a noise (here) stealthily,

*Shite**Hatamono no oto,*

loom 's//sound//noise

(Ah,) the noise of a loom

| | |
|---|----------------|
| { | Oto=noise |
| } | ne=sweet sound |

*Tsure**Aki no mushi no ne*

autumn's insects 's sweet sound

the sweet sound of an autumn insect

*Shite**Kikeba yo-goye mo |*

on hearing/night-voice/even

hearing, voices of the night, too,

Tsure

"Kiri"

(sound)

Shite

"hatari"

(sound)

Tsure

"Cho"

(sound)

Shite

"Cho"

(sound)

Chorus

"Kiri, hatari, cho, cho, | Kiri, hatari, cho, cho,"

(noun)

Hata-ori, matsu-mushi | Kirigirisu,

woof-weaving pine-insect crickets

shuttle in the woof, insects in the pines, crickets

(which sing at home of the approach of winter)

*Tsudzuri sase yo to | naku mushi no*rags, wasted cloth/sew (imp.) that singing insect *wa*

As for, this insect that sings "Sew away on the old rags,"

Koromo no tame ka | na wabi zō.

clothes 's for is it? not, never sorry!

(not coming first has strong feeling)

for the sake of clothing is it— indeed, never fear for that!

Ono ga sumu no no | chi-gusa no ito no
 one's self/wa live/ field 's 1,000-kinds of weeds 's thread 's
 (For) I will let you take hosonuno, weaving it of the threads of the
Hosonuno orite | tora sen(u).
 weaving take I will let

Many grasses (that grow) in the field where you yourself live.
 (New Paragraph)

Chorus. (Kuri)

Geni ya Michinoku no | Kefu no Kōri no
 indeed land's depth 's district 's

Indeed, O what a state, matchless in the world,

Narai to te | tokoro-gara naru
 custom being place proper which is

which is proper to its place, it being the custom of the

Koto-waza no | yo ni tagui naki
 thing-work 's world in kind, sort, lit.=resemblance not being
 district of Kefu in land's depth! matchless

Ari-sama Kana!
 is-state O what

Shite (hashi)

Mōshi-tsuru da ni | habakari naru ni
 say had even objection, obstacle, shame, is while
 fear or dread

While there is some fear in saying it,

Nawo mo Mukashi wo | Arawase to no
 still old times (acc.) show that (sign of apposition)

“Still show as the old times,”

Chorus

Oso no ō(o)se ni | Shitagai te
 now priest 's saying to following

following the honorable priests saying, even if we

Oru hosonuno ya | nishiki-gi no
 (which we) weave and 's

pass the 100 nights, 1,000 times of nishikigi and hosonuno,

Chi- tabi momo yo wo | furu to te mo
 1,000 times 100 nights (acc.)/pass even if

which we weave so following,

Kono Shūshin wa | yomo tsuki- ji.
 this Ernest desire, “take mind” ever extinguish-will not

this earnest love (for each other) will not ever die out.

Shite

Sare domo | *ima ai- gataki | en ni yorite,*

But now meet-difficult relation in issuing
so although

Chorus

Taye naru | *ichi-jo- mio- ten no*

mystic (*myo*) one-vehicle-wonderful-scripture 's
Wishing that we should get the merit power of the
Ku-riki wo en to | Zange no sugata
merit-power (acc.)/get that repentance appearance
mystic wonder-scripture of one vehicle,

Mū chū ni Nawo mo | Arawasu nari.

dream/middle/in still show I am

Still we shall show now, even in the midst of a dream, the form of repentance.

Chorus (Kuse)

Otto wa nishiki-gi wo | hakobe ba
husband/as for acc. carry if (while)

As for the husband, while he carries the nishiki-gi,

Onna wa uchi ni | hosonuno no
woman/as for/interior/in 's

and as for the woman, though there is no need of doing so much,

hata-oru mushi no | ne ni tatete
woof-weaving insect 's cry/in setting up

as to ask her, while she sets up the cry of the

tō made koso | nakere domo
ask/up to/emphatic not is though

loom-weaving of hosonuno in the interior, though there is no need as much as ask to do

Tagai ni uchi-to ni | Aru zo to wa

each other/interior-outside in is emph. as to that
Yet the gate of grass of the hedge between them which

Shirare shirareru | Naka-gaki no
is known is known to 1. middle-hedge 's

You are known, & fence in Jap. yashiki enclosing garden
I too am known 2. relation

has relation to its being known by each other concerning their

Kusa no tozashi wa | Sono mama nite

grass 's gate as it is, being in this way

inside and outside relation, being in the way it is,

Yo wa sude ni | *Ake-kereba*

night already dawn as

and as night has already dawned,

Sugo Sugo to | *tachi-kaeri-nū*

sheepish adj. ending/rise up-return-has

Solitarily (shrinkingly) he has risen up and returned—

Saru hodo ni | *omoi no kadzu mo*

after a while thought, love's number, too
subj. of tsumori

After a while the number of love's thoughts

Tsumori kite | *nishiki-gi wa,*

heap becoming

becoming heaped up too much, as for nishikigi,

iro kuchite | *Sanagara koke ni*

color/decaying as it were so moss in

its color having decayed, as I am a body not known to

Umorigi no | *hito shirenu mi naraba*

buried wood's another man/not known/body/if it is

Any other man, life wood buried in moss, as it were,

Kakute omoi mo | *todomaru beki ni*

being such/think/even stop will while, but

being such, I will stop even thinking of love; but

Nishiki-gi wa | *kutsure domo*

as to decay though

as for nishikigi, though it decays

Na wa tachi Soite | *Ō(o) Koto wa*

name stand up/add meet/thing/as for

the rumor spreads beside

the rumor of our love spreading, as for there being no fact

Namida mo iro ni ide-keru kaya;

1. tears even color in appeared it seems, (and so)

2. nashi=not come out

of meeting, tears even have come out into color, it seems;

Koi no Some-ki to mo | *Kono nishikigi wo* | *Yomishi nari.*

love dyed-tree even (acc.) speak is
indirect object spoke, sung

and so (the poets) sing of this nishiki-gi, as if it were dyed tree of love—

Shite (Quoted from Senzaishu— poem of Shunze)

"*Omoi Ki ya!* | *Shiji no hashi-gaki*

did I expect!(?) shaft-bench 's end-writing

"How could I have expected, that heaping up my writings

Kaki-tsumete, |

write-collect or heap

at the end of her shaft-bench

Chorus

Momo yo mo onaji | Marone sen" to

100 nights/even/same curling-sleep do that

that I should do that same curling sleep (with clothes on) for even 100 nights,

Yomishi da ni | Aru mono wo

sung even is while (or beyond)

even while there exists the fact that (a poet) has sung thus,

Semete wa hito tose | Matsu nomika

at least one year wait only?

Waiting as much as one year at length, and not only that,

Futa-tose amari | Ari ari te

two-years/more than being being

it being— being more than two years,

Haya michinoku no | Kefu made mo

already Land's depth 's 1. Kefu town/up to/even

2. Kio=today

even already up to today in this Kefu of Land's depth

Toshi Kurenai no | nishiki-gi wa

year 1. Kure=end (of year) adj. as for

2. crimson ending

the year just coming to an end and crimsoning into nishikigi,

Chi- tabi ni nareba | itadzura ni

1,000 times became, having become in vain

As it (nishikigi) has become 1,000 times, in vain

Ware mo Kado-be ni | tachi- ori

I too/gate-side at standing is (standing)

I too standing at the gate-side,

Nishiki-gi to tomo ni | Kuchi-nu beki

with which is to have decayed

(refers back to *ware* and forward to *sode*)

Why do you not grant to see me and show yourselves once in a while

Sode no Namida no | tamasaka ni mo

sleeves 's tears 's 1. seldom
2. *tama*=jewels

at least, for the sake of the gems of tears on the sleeves which are
(hon.)

Nadoya mi miye | tamawa-nu dzo!
(naze) why/see/show give-not (emph.)

doomed to decay along with nishikigi and me?

Sate itsuka | Mi- tose wa michi nu
now (lit.=when) three-years has filled (used for tide)
not knowing when

Now, not knowing when three years have filled themselves up, come to high tide

Ara tsurena | tsurenaya!
What too cruel how

Ah, how too cruel, cruel it is!

(Next paragraph)

Chorus
Nishiki-gi wa
as to

As for nishiki-gi

Shite Chi-dzuka ni Nari nu.
1,000-stick, piece has become

It has become 1,000 sticks.

Ima Koso wa |
now then (as for)

Now, then,

Chorus
| hito ni Shirare nu
others to not known

Shall I ever see the inside of (her) bedroom

Ne-ya no uchi mime |
bedroom 's inside shall possibly see (weak)

Not known to others?

Shite Urushi ya na!
happy
O how happy!

Koyoi omu no | Saka-dzuki" no*
this evening 1. parrot (adj. ending) wine cup (adj. ending)
2. *ō*=to meet *special name given to a cup

This evening meeting, and (joining in) in parrot wine cup,

The state of things which is a dream-person in that time only which comes before

Same naba nishiki-gi mo | hosonuno mo
wake if and and
on waking

and *it* has not yet waked, *when* it wakes, nishikigi and hosonuno

Yume mo yaburete | Shō fū sasatsu taru
dream breaking up/pine tree/wind soughing (adj. ending)
vanish (sound)

and dream itself vanishing, all have just turned into

Ashita no hara no | No-naka no tsuka
morning 's field 's field-middle 's cave
morrow plain wilderness

this very cave in the wilderness of a field of morning

To zo nari ni Keru.
conj. ending (emph.) become has

where the pine tree winds are soughing.