University of Alberta

Preludes:
On metaphorical spaces and the socio-political function of preludes in the Heian court

by

Kristopher Lee Reeves

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Japanese Literature

Department of East Asian Studies

Spring 2013
Edmonton, Alberta

Abstract

This paper focuses on a genre of Heian literature I have called preludes (*jo* 序). The sort of preludes examined here are those preserved in a number of twelfth century literary anthologies—more specifically, those preludes appended to collections of poems composed during public banquets held throughout the Heian period. These banquets, attended by elite individuals, served as complex loci of political maneuvering and literary interaction. While ceaselessly reaffirming the dominant hierarchy, preludes composed for such events reveal an equally incessant desire to re-coordinate this hierarchy. Preludes present us with a cosmology in which heterogeneous forces, men of different ranks, are coordinated in a mutually provocative relationship of endless oscillation. Such oscillation and coordination is made possible in virtue of certain shared metaphorical spaces constructed through, and experienced in, the literary world of the prelude itself.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I must acknowledge my dear wife, Midori, whose sincere encouragement and wholehearted help at home gave me both the strength I needed to make the sudden move from Kyoto to Edmonton and the leisure necessary for an undertaking of this nature.

Dr. Mikael Adolphson deserves special acknowledgment. His profound insights and sagely advice regarding the world of Western scholarship and academia in general have and will continue to be a rich source of inspiration.

Both Dr. Anne Commons and Dr. Oleh Ilnytzkyj have, in their own ways, contributed a great deal to my understanding of literature and literary theory. I came to this university with lingering doubts about the value of such things. Now, less than a year and a half later, I leave with a passionate appreciation for, of all things, deconstructionism.

Finally, I must thank Dr. Kondō Shigekazu of the Historiographical Institute at Tokyo University for giving me full access to the university libraries during the summer of 2012. It was he who showed me the remarkable manuscript of *Waka manajoshū* used as the basis of this paper.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

Notes on style

Proper nouns, reign titles, book titles, and technical terms have been rendered phonetically. Please refer to the glossary for all relevant *kanji*. Passages quoted from primary sources are given in translation throughout the main body of this paper. Refer to Appendix B for the original text and phonetic rendering of each passage. Note that each quoted passage has been given a number for easy reference.

Single quotations marks are used to indicate that a word, and not a thing or concept is meant. Italics, aside from the common use as markers of emphasis, indicate foreign concepts. Thus, *kanbun* refers to literary compositions written in classic Sinitic, while '*kanbun*' refers to the word itself, not the thing.

When a scholar has directed my attention to a primary source relevant to this paper, I have, without exception, consulted that source for myself. In such cases, since it is only fitting to give the scholar credit, footnotes will list the primary sourced first, followed by a citation in parentheses of the scholar to whom credit is due. When citing Heian and Kamakura diaries, I have, for the most part, used the *Dainihon shiryō* text (published and digitalized by the Historiographical Institution at Tokyo University), which has likewise been included in parentheses (series: volume, page) after the

relevant diary entry. As this corpus is available publically online, it will be possible for all those interested to easily access any primary sources cited herein. On the other hand, in many instances, having independently consulted a primary source, I have afterwards discovered another scholar whose insights into that material are exceptionally noteworthy. In this case, primary sources will still be listed first, though the proceeding citations of secondary sources will *not* be enclosed in parentheses. Interested readers ought to examine these secondary sources, if at all possible.

I. Significance and Contextualization of Research

As the subtitle of this thesis indicates, two interrelated subjects are here under consideration: metaphorical spaces and socio-political functionality, both of which are examined in relation to a certain type of literature tentatively termed prelude literature (*jo bungaku*). The Japanese word I have translated as 'prelude' is *jo*, which, in most cases, might also be unobjectionably rendered as 'preface' or 'introduction'. The choice here of 'prelude' over 'preface' is based on an appreciation of the inherently poetic, that is, lyrical nature of a particular variety of *jo* I wish to examine. In the musical sense, a 'prelude' serves simultaneously as an introduction setting the key of the piece to come, and *as a lyrical performance in itself*; this gives some idea of the essentially lyrical character of the *jo* considered here. 'Preface' simply does not convey these connotations.[1]

The sort of preludes under consideration are those appended to collections of poems composed during public poetry banquets (*shien* or *kōen*) held throughout the later part of the Heian period, namely, the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Many of these

[1] I must give thanks to my dear friend, Michael Coupland, for suggesting to me the use of 'prelude'; his combined passion for poetry and music has made its way into this thesis in more ways than one.

preludes have been preserved in a number of twelfth-century literary anthologies. Public poetry banquets were attended by elite individuals, including professors (*monjō hakase*) and scholars (*monjō shō*) from the imperial universities, prominent officials, nobility, and, on especially auspicious occasions, the emperor himself.[2] Such occasions provided participants an opportunity to display their literary talents before peers and superiors, while at the same time engaging in an extremely effective mode of socio-political maneuvering. Thanks to a surge of recent scholarship, it is abundantly clear that the Heian period was marked by a tendency towards *privatization*, an all-pervading tendency that entered into the social and literary spheres as well.[3] With an increase in privatization came severe competition. Scholars and aristocrats alike scrambled to

[2] In the context of premodern Japan, 'university' (*daigaku*) does not denote the same sort of institution we have today. First, these universities were limited to a select body of elite nobility, sponsored primarily by funds coming from the imperial treasury—hence the term "imperial university." Second, this already limited elite membership was further restricted to scions of a small number of prominent families renowned for scholastic prominence. The Ōe and Sugawara families, in particular, dominated imperial universities—essentially Heian academia—for most of the Heian period.

[3] Adolphson, et al. ed., *Heian Japan: Centers and Peripheries*; Commons, *Hitomaro: Poet as God*, 1-7, 91-112; Huey, "The Medievalization of Poetic Practice," 651-668.

obtain as much cultural capital—be it in the form of public displays of wealth or literary prowess—as possible.

Before proceeding any further, the significance of these preludes for modern research must be clarified. Having been composed some nine or ten centuries before our time, one may rightly ask how, if at all, examinations of preludes will further our understanding of Heian literature and society.[4] The claim put forward here that literary composition served as an effective means of political maneuvering throughout the Heian period is by no means original. The socio-political function of literature has been acknowledged by scholars from both sides of the ocean for some time now. Significantly, however, the exact literary devices employed towards this end have not

[4] Of course, one might question the value of spilling ink over Heian Japan, or any other premodern topic. Questions of this sort bring with them presuppositions of what exactly we ought to deem modern, what premodern—where the line between the two "ages" ought to be drawn. So long as scholars concern themselves with what sort of influence an earlier generation might have exerted over posterity, prioritizing modern over premodern seems a rather arbitrary attitude. How are we to determine when exactly a bygone age has become too antiquated to merit serious examination? How many years back may a scholar retrace history before exposing himself to questions of scholastic relevance? When exactly does the influence of a previous age cease to influence later thought?

been given much attention; a close examination of the relationship between precise types of literary language, including certain metaphorical expressions, and socio-political functionality has, to my knowledge, not yet been undertaken. This thesis, therefore, by employing detailed literary analysis within a clearly stated social context, reveals not only *that* preludes were used as vehicles of political maneuvering, but, more originally, *how* exactly these preludes were able to bring about a desired end.

More general investigations into poetry presented at public gatherings evince this same relationship. Though not traditionally classified strictly as poetry, preludes were composed in a language no less poetic than that found in metric verse. Despite several definitive qualities, preludes may be fruitfully examined using the same techniques and standards employed when dealing with poetry. The crucial difference is that preludes, insofar as they serve to harmonize a series of publicly presented poems, display a heightened awareness of the urgency for socio-political coordination. Whereas poems may be said to harmonize from below, preludes harmonize from above. While poets evince a conscientious desire to seek harmonious relations among peers, the authors of preludes show a keener awareness of their role as mediators between poets and a larger audience; preludes, working on a level one step above poetry, sought to bring poets and emperors alike under an all-embracing cosmology.

Prelude literature remains sorely neglected in modern scholarship, both in Japan and elsewhere. Many potential research topics are left untouched for a reason: they simply do not merit the effort. There are times, however, when this neglect is due primarily to a lack of appreciation or the unfortunate predominance of some erroneous presupposition. In the latter case, research is necessary in order not simply to introduce new material into the scholastic community, but to increase awareness and correct mistaken views. It is for this very reason that preludes deserve our attention. One of the more notorious presuppositions leading to a general neglect of preludes in modern scholarship is a prevailing anachronistic distinction between prose and verse. Preludes, in virtue of their unique style, are not seen as standing on a par with court poetry, nor are they given a place among studies of prose or essays. Preludes have become misfits. This paper endeavours to correct that presupposition, offering a renewed consideration of preludes in all their inherent glory. Not only would a more systematic study of extant preludes give us a richer understanding of the poetic environment prevalent throughout the Heian period, but these same preludes offer literary support for otherwise primarily historical considerations of socio-political relationships and court dynamics. Current studies of Heian poetry tend to focus on poetic anthologies, especially imperially commissioned anthologies of *yamato* ("Japanese") style poetry. Here 'rarely' refers to

Japanese scholarship. As far as I can see, *not a single* account of Heian poetry written in English includes a serious consideration of preludes. Preludes contain some of the most popular poetic verses to be found throughout Heian literature—verses which were sung on the lips of countless Heian courtiers and scholars, thereby contributing to the evolution of poetry. This general neglect of preludes in modern scholarship has left us with a sorely incomplete picture of Heian poetry: focusing exclusively on verses presented expressly as poems (*uta* or *shi*) to the total exclusion of those equally poetic verses woven more subtly into preludes is tantamount topraising individual sculptures, all the while casting a blind eye on any sort of sculpted figures that happen to appear within other genres of art..

Throughout this thesis I have attempted *three* things. First, considering the sheer mass of preludes currently available, I offer an overview from which other interested scholars might gain inspiration for more detailed research. In order, however, to avoid too much generalization, I have attempted to give special attention to a number of preludes in which the literary and social efficacy is especially obvious. A large number of these examples have been taken from a thirteenth-century copy of a collection of preludes known as *Fusō kobunshū* (*Old Writings of Fusō*). Second, I have sought to provide a detailed account of the actual procedures and ritual customs enacted

during at least one major public banquet: the Tentoku Poetry Competition of 959. Third, though it would have been ideal to trace the careers of one or two prominent men, detailing exactly how their literary activities affected their political prosperity, I have found it more beneficial, at least at this initial stage, to present things the other way around: commentary regarding the relevant social connections of prominent men of letters are often followed by discussions of their public literary achievements. A natural inclination on my part towards literary matters has inevitably weighed the scales in favour of the latter.

The research presented in this thesis has been contextualized amidst a colorful pastiche of relevant scholarship from varying areas, including both literary and historical investigations. A brief account of the major threads woven into this discussion occupies the remainder of this prefatory section.

Gary Ebersole, the only western scholar to produce a full-length monograph on *Man'yōshū*—work done in the late 1980s—has emphasized the dynamic nature of myth and ritual, which actively participate in the generation of symbolic meaning. As such, far from being exclusively forces of social cohesion—as myth and ritual are wont to be viewed—these elements may be seen as cultural resources capable of being appropriated and utilized for a very specific individual or factional end. Referring to

Kojiki (*Records of Ancient Matters*, 712) and *Nihon shoki* (*Chronicles of Japan*, 720), two of the oldest mytho-historical narratives composed on the archipelago, as factional mythistory, Ebersole stresses the political ramifications of such works. Ritual and myth alike must be considered within a specific performative context, lest they appear as timeless and frozen expressions.[5] Preludes composed within the Heian court are no exception. When viewed outside their performative contexts, from a primarily rhetorical perspective, these preludes, though striking examples of poetic imagination and linguistic ingenuity, endued as it were with a seemingly timeless beauty, lose their power of agency. Though for us, as modern readers, these preludes may exert no real socio-political influence, it is crucial to realize that they *did* exert a great deal of influence over those directly involved in their composition and dissemination. Preludes were cultural resources, granting their owners, whether this refers to the composer, the presenter (at times the composer and presenter were different men), or the recipient, with a certain degree of symbolic capital. Satō Michio, whose work on poems composed around thematic verses (*kudai shi*) is rife with political considerations, rightly refers to these preludes as the very substance of a scholar's existence.[6]

[5] Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry*, 6-7, 12, 18.

[6] Satō, "Shijo to kudaishi," 16.

Public poetry banquets commonly consisted of drinking and poetry composition continuing into the wee hours of the night. Poems composed during these occasions was promptly collected and, in many cases, preserved for posterity in larger literary anthologies, such as *Honchō monzui* (*Essential Letters of Our Land*, 1058) and *Honchō zokumonzui* (*Essential Letters of Our Land Continued*, sometime after 1140). Only the most socially prominent men of letters were given the privilege of writing preludes for individual banquet poetry sessions. The prelude was not only an introduction detailing the circumstances under which a given banquet had occurred, but a poetic work of literary refinement unto itself. That compilers of Heian literary anthologies viewed these preludes with utmost admiration is evident when one considers that, in most anthologies, only the preludes were included—the poems to which such preludes were appended have either been lost or preserved in other, less public (and therefore, in their time, less prestigious) anthologies.

Gustav Heldt, in the introduction to his *The Pursuit of Harmony*, a monograph dealing with public Heian poetry competitions and socio-political motivations behind the editorial process involved in poetry anthologies, has eloquently summarized the relevant issues involved in an examination of this sort. The public presentation of poetry at ritualized banquets, wherein the words of a superior were mirrored and thereby

reaffirmed, acted as a means of generating an atmosphere of harmony. Cosmological concepts involving the interpenetration of celestial and terrestrial forces—generally, heaven and man—channeled through the performative power of verse, could serve as potent means of political legitimization.[7] Public poetry recital was a form of ritual. Rituals, whether religious or secular—it makes little difference—help provide a degree of stability in socio-political relations, while investing certain actions with symbolic meaning. Though standardized behavior forms a defining facet of ritual, these rituals, far from being merely static or rigid conventions, were inherently dynamic, powerful agents of social construction.[8]

That embedded groups, smaller cliques nested within a larger collectivity, tend to mimic ritualized behavior promulgated from the greater collectivity—a concept known as structural isomorphism—is helpful in understanding why Heian literati and noblemen might have imitated so closely the ritualistic patterns of the court in their own private banquets and gatherings. Structural isomorphism is not merely the result of unconscious imitation. There is a pervading element of survival, which in turn hinges upon adaptation. Social networks, both large and small, considered in their most

[7] Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 2, 11, 35.

[8] Knottnerus, *Ritual as a Missing Link*, 2, 4, 17.

fundamental aspect, may be distilled into an affiliation based on the mutual accommodation of private interests—potential for advancement within the ranks of one's group, prospects of power acquisition, whatever form that may take, as well as accumulation of prestige and charisma, along with all the less visible corollaries following thereupon.[9] Ritual imitation was a means of securing prestige and ultimately one's own survival.

This thesis is saturated with an interpretation of Heian cosmology that places exceptional importance on the *perpetual coordination of heterogeneous forces*. An interplay of complementary forces—celestial and terrestrial, divine and secular, superior and inferior, masculine and feminine—results in the production of a myriad of heterogeneous, that is, fundamentally incongruent phenomena, any number of which could theoretically be harmonized through, for example, the exchange of poems or artifacts between two complimentary parties acting in a ritualized context. Such harmonization served a twofold purpose, simultaneously differentiating and unifying, reaffirming the dominant hierarchy while gesturing toward a potential re-coordination of various elements within this same hierarchy. Focusing on the socio-political aspect of this cosmology reveals a predominance of the former, that is, an incessant need to

[9] Ibid, 24-30.

reaffirm hierarchical roles, to assert dominance, resulting in acts of *exclusion*. On the other hand, focusing on the literary aspect brings to light a predominance of the latter, namely, a ceaseless series of provocative gestures and counter-gestures aimed at blurring these boundaries, that a more *inclusive* web of relationships might thus prevail. Throughout this paper, the word 'harmonization' should be understood as embracing both of these mutually beneficial trends.

I am concerned primarily with public recitations of poetry. Such ritualized contexts were, through formalized acts of recitation, temporarily transformed into symbolic centers of community, wherein cosmologico-aesthetic and socio-political elements were productively intermingled. Whereas Heldt has analyzed these elements into a triad—the aesthetic, socio-political, and cosmological—I have found it more appropriate to group the cosmological together with the aesthetic.[10] My term 'cosmologico-aesthetic ' denotes the harmonious coordination of heterogeneous cosmological forces by means of aesthetic expression. The two—cosmological forces and aesthetic expression—are intimately bound together in the Heian mind. I shall use the term 'socio-political' to refer to an interaction between public, ritualized

[10] Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 12, 14.

performances (banquets, poetry recitals) and the acquisition and manipulation of wealth and charisma.

A key factor ensuring the efficacy of poetic expression in harmonizing heterogeneous elements, from relationships subsisting between celestial and terrestrial forces to those between fellow courtiers, was a strongly felt linguistic optimism claiming that certain words, or, more practically, literary compositions could be made to engage productively with the myriad external phenomena. Angela Zito refers to this ideology as a ritualist metaphysic. With such a metaphysic in place, imperial ceremonies, including banquets and poetry competitions, became crystallizations of symbolic meaning that would otherwise remain in a less condensed, more dispersed state.[11] Zito's linguistic optimism might be substituted with the Japanese '*kotodama*', spirit of words, which denotes the magical potency of certain ritualistic words and phrases believed to affect desirable outcomes. For Heian literati engaged in public banquets, composition of rhythmic verse was not merely a textual exercise, but, far more significantly, a vehicle for cosmic patterning, serving to actively engage the terrestrial forces of man with more

[11] Zito, *Of Brush and Body*, 5.

celestial powers of nature. Zito's term, 'cosmic patterning', like so many of her other pithy expressions, captures the essence of a broader East Asian literary cosmology.[12]

Expanding on considerations of this nature, the idea of resonation is something both Thomas LaMarre and Zito speak of in some detail—the former more elegantly, the latter more explicitly. Zito uses 'resonance' as a translation of the Chinese '*gǎnyìng*' (J: *kan'ō*), which usually refers to a mutual responsiveness between heterogeneous forces, such as man and heaven. On the continent as well as in the archipelago, terrestrial and celestial forces were viewed as resonating sets of correlations comprehendible by the human intellect. Man, as an agent forever bound up within this grand, resonating system, mediated in the workings of his surroundings—most effectively through poetry and music—not as an individual occupant of this system, but as a taut tympanum, itself resonating with the vibrations of the cosmos. Here was a cosmos of interpenetrating, perpetual transforming resonances.[13] "What," asks LaMarre in a similar vein, "is the Heian but a cosmological rhythm?" With his characteristically delicious diction, he characterizes the nature of Heian poetic writing as follows: "Verbal rhythms put words in motion making them pivot and weave, while verbal images hover within and between

[12] Ibid, 58.

[13] Ibid, 98-101.

poems."[14] 'Pivot', 'weave', 'hover'—all these words of motion capture not only the nature but the very visceral sensation to be found in Heian poetry. Though it would be misleading to essentialize "the Heian" as being some single *thing* containing an underlying, universally valid cosmological rhythm, it is certainly worthwhile to emphasize a certain sensitivity found in many poets of the Heian court, an awareness of the importance of aligning these cosmological rhythms through the poetic act. Heian art, in its various forms, strives to make cosmological rhythms somehow legible, all for the sake of ensuring the continual harmony of an eccentric, disjunctive cosmology—*eccentric* because such a cosmology is never permanently centered; *disjunctive* because it embraces contrasting, opposing forces.[15]

Having thus outlined the context of my research, a number of terms used throughout this thesis must now be clarified. All of the preludes examined in this thesis have been written not in any dialect of Heian "Japanese", but rather in a classical form of "Chinese", or Sinitic. Known to us as *kanbun*, that is, words of the Han, this Sinitic style, though modelled upon continental examples, contains a number of peculiarities unique to writers within the archipelago. As I cannot unconditionally accept notions of

[14] LaMarre, "Diagram, Inscription, Sensation," 688.

[15] Ibid, 689.

"Japanese" and "Chinese" in relation to the people and languages of the Heian period, these anachronistic terms will not be employed. Instead, when necessary, I have adopted other conveniently ambiguous phrases such as "scholars of the archipelago" and "scholars of the continent," or some variation of these in order to refer to the people of these two geographical areas. Our notions of "Japanese" and "Chinese" seem to imply homogeneous, unified cultural-linguistic groups, which, as far as the sources reveal, simply did not exist in the Heian period. Consequently, our ideas regarding the existence of a prevailing, internally homogeneous ethnic speech community embracing *all* Heian poetry—as though Heian poetry were one congruous entity—depends on modern historiographical notions of Heian Japan.[16] In terms of language, therefore, divisions between so-called "Japanese" and "Chinese" were not nearly as clear-cut as they have become today. To say that Heian scholars wrote preludes in "Chinese" is misleading. They wrote these preludes in a language that, while modelled on continental—and, let us not forget, peninsular (modern-day Korea) usage—was as "Japanese" to them as their own indigenous dialects. Dialects spoken throughout certain areas of the continent and peninsula gained prominence in the Heian court, and were spoken alongside more native dialects in the very same socio-political environment. As

[16] LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan*, 6.

Judith Rabinovitch and Timothy Bradstock have jointly pointed out, during the Nara and early Heian period, the court was a genuinely bilingual world. These same scholars, drawing upon the linguistic research of Leo Loveday, posit a decline in oral bilingualism sometime before the twelfth century.[17] I am in agreement with both statements, and yet would like to stress that a decline in oral bilingualism—if indeed there was such a decline—would not greatly affect the manner in which poetry was read aloud in public. Just as a fluid reading of the Koran does not require a fluency in spoken Arabic, so, too, would our Heian literati have been able to recite continental style poetry using some form of adapted Sinitic pronunciation without having a working knowledge of any given spoken continental dialect. Even the word 'native' is problematic here, for interactions between the continent, the peninsula, and the archipelago were much more intimate and mutually provocative than they are now, notwithstanding our improved transportation and rampant tourism. In order to avoid these problematic terms, I have decided to use words such as '*yamato* style' and '*kara* style' to designate the two elements contained within Heian writing. On the one hand, '*yamato*' will be used to denote anything containing a preponderate use of dialects prevalent in the archipelago during the Heian period; this is commonly known as *wabun* in modern-day Japanese

[17] Rabinovitch & Bradstock , *Dance of the Butterflies*, 4.

scholarship, where '*wa*' (the phonetic reading) can also be glossed as *yamato* (the semantic reading). On the other hand, '*kara*' will be used to denote anything containing a preponderate use of continental linguistic models, with special emphasis on figurality, that is, the writing system (*kanji*); '*kan*', the first character in '*kanbun*', can also be glossed as *kara*, which was used throughout the Heian period to refer generally to the continent *as well as* the peninsula.[18] This ambiguity is exactly what I am aiming at here. These two terms should, considering they are commonly used as proper nouns, be capitalized. Deliberately writing them in lower case, therefore, deemphasizes their geographical connotations, which is especially important in the case of *kara* style poetry. Hopefully the use of '*kara*' (small 'k'), which is not at all common in English scholarship, will enable my readers to set aside preconceptions of "Japanese" and "Chinese"—if only for the duration of this paper—in order to understand the interrelations between these various heterogeneous elements in a more holistic light. Thus, poetry written by Heian scholars in the "Chinese language", usually referred to by modern scholars as *kanshi* (Han poems), are here termed *kara* style poems. These poems are not Chinese, at least not in our modern sense of the word—nor, for that matter, should they be called Japanese.

[18] *Jidai bestu kokugo daijiten*, jōdaihen, 228; *Kadokawa kogo daijiten*, vol. 1, 889.

The origin of this continental culture is irrelevant when speaking of Heian literature. Continental elements adopted and further adapted by Heian literati had long-since penetrated a much broader East Asian cultural sphere, embracing a plurality of surrounding polities, including the northern Khitan Empire (or Liáo Dynasty), as well as the various peninsular kingdoms. Poetry, whether of the *yamato* or *kara* style, was less a matter of ethno-linguistic status than a vehicle for poetic praxis. From out the heterogeneous mixture of ethnic and linguistic elements present within the Heian court there emerged what LaMarre calls a binary machine, or the Yamato-Han assemblage, a synthesizing process capable of accommodating and coordinating a plurality of literary expressions and modes of literary production.[19] Poetry, aside from being aesthetically pleasing—a noble end in itself—was more often than not a mode of socio-political maneuvering as well.[20]

LaMarre, when considering the nature of Heian calligraphy, speaks of an aesthetic of the multisensible figure, embracing both *kara* and *yamato* style figurality, thereby doing away with the notion of incommensurable genres or grammars based

[19] LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan*, 33.

[20] Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 8-10.

solely on considerations of verbal elements.[21] *Kara* and *yamato* are no longer viewed as mutually exclusive, fundamentally separate systems. Naturally, this multisensible figure applies to Heian poetry, and especially to our preludes, as well. These preludes, written in a particular version of the *kara* style, claim to embrace a communal harmony generated by an intermingling of both *kara* and *yamato* poetry. Heian poets, it seems, were not interested in anything akin to linguistic purity, nor did they have any desire to make their works more transparent or easily understood. Mark Morris, in a paper published more than ten years before LaMarre's earlier work, assures us that had such a desire existed during the reign of Emperor Tenmu (631?-686, r. 673-686), his court would have found a way to transcribe *Kojiki* in a far purer (that is, homogeneous), more easily accessible form.[22] The continued mixture of *kara* and *yamato* styles, of various forms of calligraphy, evinces a tendency rather to obscure boundaries, a tendency *away* from transparency towards opaqueness.

Heldt associates the public recitation of *kara* style poems solely with rituals of royal governance, that is, the sovereign, relegating to *yamato* style poetry the broader capacity of harmonizing social relationships with influential people *other than* the

[21] LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan*, 138.

[22] Morris, "Waka and Form," 588-589.

emperor, such as consorts, retired sovereigns, and Fujiwara regents. As shall be seen throughout this study, however, that was not always the case. A number of *kara* style poetry gatherings were hosted and attended by high-ranking nobles, seemingly independently of the emperor. Showing the same sort of warm favoritism towards *yamato* style poetry, Heldt correctly notes its lack of socially distinctive language, namely, its want of either honorifics or humilifics. I would add that this same quality ought to be applied to most of the *kara* style poetry composed by Heian men of letters, as well. These two poetic styles were the offspring of a single sire; the same brush that today wrote lines of *yamato* poetry would often write lines of *kara* poetry tomorrow.[23] Morris, drawing our attention to this lack in *yamato* style poetry of honorific or humilific language, sees this as a less restrictive socio-aesthetic idiolect facilitating communication between individuals of unequal power.[24] An idiolect is a language (or dialect) used by a limited group of speakers, while a socio-aesthetic idiolect signifies a language interwoven with social and aesthetic practices specific to that clique. LaMarre makes the same observation, rightly wondering why a form of literature so involved with exchanges of wealth—as will be seen below in the Tentoku Poetry Competition of

[23] Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 14-15, 18.

[24] Morris, "Waka and Form," 555.

959—and more generally in the handing out of stipends and awards after poetry gatherings, as well as with the establishment of hierarchy, does not adopt the convention of honorifics and humilifics.[25] Certain exceptions aside, this holds true both for *kara* as well as *yamato* style poetry. This does *not* hold true for letters and other more prosaic documents of the same period, which take advantage of these hierarchical sorts of language. My own answer to this quandary is as follows: the lack in poetry of differential language is due to a high degree of *contextuality* inherent in the ritualized act of public recitation. Poems were presented not as isolated pieces of literary prettiness, but as efficacious elaborations amidst a larger ritualized infrastructure, which clearly positioned the poem in a hierarchically charged relationship. Poems and preludes were presented within a framework that would have implicitly supplied its own nuances of honorific or humilific significance long before the linguistic act took place.

[25] LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan*, 195, endnote no. 27.

II. Preludes of the Nara Period: *Kaifūsō* and *Bunka shūreishū*

The oldest extant anthology of poetry composed by literati in the archipelago is known as *Kaifūsō* (*Fond Recollections of Poetry*, 751). All of the poems in this collection are written in the *kara* style, as is the prelude composed by an unknown hand. 'Prelude' is deliberate, for, as shall be made clear, this is not a mere preface, not a simple introduction, but an efficacious *poetic act*. This prelude begins with a brief outline of literature, beginning with the legendary heavenly descent to the archipelago of Ninigi, divine grandson of Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, and culminating in the compilation of this anthology in the third year of Tenpyō (751). The following passage is of exceptional relevance:

> …when our land was but newly created, the writing of man had not yet been devised. At last, when Queen Jingū had conducted her subjugation of the north, and Emperor Ōjin had ascended the throne, a scholar from Kudara [Paekche, on the Korean peninsula] came to our court, lecturing on many profound works from within the imperial horse stable. Yet another scholar arriving from Koma [Koguryo, also on the Korean peninsula] offered up a royal proclamation with

> flowing characters written upon the wing of a crow. […] Thus were the customs of our people gradually refined by the Confucian teachings.[26]

Both Queen Jingū and her son, Emperor Ōjin, are legendary, or at least semi-legendary, figures supposed to have lived sometime during the third century CE. They are, for reasons we need not examine here, both associated with military expeditions to the (now Korean) peninsula. It is no surprise, then, that they are mentioned in connection with the two peninsular scholars credited as having brought the art of letters—the writing of man—and continental learning over to the archipelago. Kudara and Koma—Nara renderings of Paekche and Koguryo respectively—were independent kingdoms, at least until the second half of the seventh century, located on the peninsula (see figure 1). Setting aside any questions of historical accuracy, it may seem striking to some that the composer of this prelude would so readily credit an outsider with the advent of writing and literature into the

Figure 1. Map of Korean peninsula

[26] *Kaifūsō*, 58-59 (see Appendix B, no. 1).

archipelago. Surely, sounds the protest, considering the public nature of this anthology, the editors would have been eager to posit a *domestic* origin for the art of writing. My response to this is simple: first and foremost, as has been stated rather forcefully above, the various literary works surviving from the Nara and early Heian period do not exhibit the same sort of nationalist imagination we tend to evoke when speaking about Japan. There was no homogeneous ethno-linguistic community of pure native Japanese people. This is an anachronistic illusion. This anthology was composed before the establishment of a capital in Kyoto (Heian), amidst a cultural stage peopled by significant numbers of long-settled immigrant groups. *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, composed several decades before this poetry collection, preserve records of these peninsular scholars and their contributions to learning in the archipelago. At this time, neither Korea nor China was a unified, homogenous community. The same is true of Japan. In this context, therefore, Kudara and Koma should not be read as referring to foreign kingdoms, any more than Nara should be read as indicating some unified Japanese nation. Kudara, Koma, and Nara alike ought to be understood instead as agonistic participants in a wide-ranging, truly heterogeneous relationship, coordinated to a large degree by the use of a common script. That a certain group within the archipelago was at times antagonistic towards this or that peninsular kingdom is a sign of political unrest, of a vying for resources, and not

of a clash between fundamentally homogeneous, strongly ethnically united communities. In this light, the transmission of a written script from two peninsular kingdoms was not so much a transmission from without as a transposition from within a wider multicultural collection of mutually provocative agents. As the oldest known anthology of *kara* style poems compiled on the archipelago, *Kaifūsō* demonstrates the potential of poetry to coordinate and perpetuate multiethnic, multi*literate* admixtures.

Satō Michio draws our attention to a continental poetry anthology by the name of *Hánlín xúeshìjí* (*Scholars of the Brush*, 627-649), containing a collection of poems offered by high-ranking noblemen in response to verses presented by their sovereign, Emperor Taìzōng (599-649, r. 626-649). These poems are meant to bring about a harmonious orchestration between lord and vassal through the use of carefully coordinated poetry. This anthology, having been conveyed across the sea and promulgated throughout the archipelago sometime prior to the Heian period, currently survives in an incomplete manuscript housed in Shinpukuji, in modern-day Nagoya Prefecture, Japan. This document would have an enduring effect on the socio-political model of harmonious orchestration via poetry adapted by the Heian literati imperium.[27] It is clear that the anonymous composer of the prelude to *Kaifūsō* was at least familiar

[27] Satō, "Shijo to kudaishi," 15; Chen, *The Poetics of Sovereignty*, 237.

with the ideology enshrined in *Hánlín xúeshìjí*, if not the text itself, for we hear him speak nostalgically of Emperor Tenji (626-672, r. 668-672) as magnanimously condescending to send down verses from atop a lofty throne, while his unfailingly loyal vassals eagerly offer up laudations to their lord.[28] The phrase translated as "sending down verses" is 垂文 (Ch: *chuí wén*; J: *bun wo tarasu*) in the original is a potent metaphorical expression referring to the revelation of auspicious heavenly portents sent down to virtuous mortals from the gods on high. Describing Tenji as sending down verses immediately places him in a position of celestial dignity, a revealer of the heavenly mandate. According to this cosmology, receiving such blessings is proof that his vassals, as men of virtue and loyalty, are indeed worthy to serve their master. Public banquets, in which social inferiors—nobles, men of letters—would mirror the words of their social superiors, especially through the use of parallel verses (*tsuiku*), in exchange for stipends formed a contextually unique microcosmic enactment of larger court politics. Not only that—each banquet was a specific poetic event participating in the grander rhythm of the cosmos.[29]

[28] *Kaifūsō*, 60 (see Appendix B, no. 2).

[29] Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 55-56, 146.

Another anthology of *kara* style poems composed by scholars on the archipelago, *Bunka shūreishū* (*Anthology of Superb Verses*, 824), contains a prelude of equally important moment to our discussion. The author of this prelude was a certain Lord Nakao (n.d.) of the Junior Fifth Rank Lower Grade, who held the position of Head of Imperial Attendants (*ōtoneri no kami*). Thirteen of his *kara* poems appear in this anthology. Here was a man who was both politically influential and gifted in letters—who better to compose a prelude to this prestigious anthology?

Lord Nakao, celebrating the industriousness of his fellow men of letters, praises the poetry of his time: "Our poems, their vigour gradually increasing over the ages, are composed in complete harmony with tonal rhythm".[30] In the original, "tonal rhythm" is given as 声律 (Ch: *shēnglǜ*; J: *seiritsu*), literally, "regulations of voice", which refers to the various pitches or tones found in continental languages. Note that it is poetry that is harmonized with tonal rhythm, not the other way around, as though the latter were of greater value than the former. Tonal rhythm is not harmonized with poetry, for the former exists, teleologically speaking, *prior* to poetry. The coordination of poetry and tonal rhythm should be viewed as an attempt to harmonize the terrestrial (the act of composing poetry) with the celestial (an all-pervading, eternal Rhythm). This

[30] *Bunka shūreishū*, 193 (see Appendix B, no. 3).

emphasis on tonal rhythm also reflects the importance of orality, with its connections to public, ritualistic performances, and the socio-political implications consequent upon such speech acts.

It should be obvious that Nakao's appraisal of contemporary poetry as something in harmony with tonal rhythm is more than a simple statement of skillful composition. Cosmological rhythms are his real subject-matter. This harmonization is crucial, especially when set against the gradually increasing vigour of his fellows' verses. The wild and chaotic force of this ever increasing vigour must be subdued, brought under the harmonizing sway of Rhythm. Vigour, though thoroughly creative, simultaneously possesses the potential for destruction—destruction, that is, of the harmonious coordination of other poems. This was, after all, an anthology of poems arranged in a deliberate order. If the vigour of one poem was allowed to rush forth too freely, the agonistic relationship subsisting between it and surrounding poems—and consequently between the poet and other poets surrounding him—would be potentially undermined.

Nakao, in his prelude makes a valiant effort to harmonize the socio-political relationship between him and his fellow noblemen, on the one hand, and their lord, the emperor, on the other:

> Jade circlets and plums alike with the same brilliance glow; mugwort and orchids together their native colors mingle. Be it pale yellow or dark red in hue, fabric is, nevertheless, fabric; be it rectangular or square in dimension, a chest, regardless, remains a chest.[31]

Jade circlets and plums upon the branch symbolize, respectively, the emperor and his nobility. Though of very different origins, finely crafted jade circlets, adorning the pates of refined nobility, and naturally growing plums, dangling from the branches of many a fragrant tree both shimmer with the same sort of brilliance. Though leagues apart, in terms of hierarchical separation, both the emperor and his vassals, in virtue of their harmonious, amicable relationship, bask in the same communal joy. Metaphorical expression opens potential regions of continual negotiation. Mugwort, a weed in want both of fragrance and vibrant colors, grows amidst the orchids—themselves brightly colored flowers effusing a delicious scent. In just this way, rejoices Nakao, do we, thy loyal nobles, lacking both in virtue and literary talent, compose our verses—base trifles not worthy of comparison to thy exceptional compositions. The significance is this: despite all differences of status, the base and the noble are allowed to mingle in the public ritual of poetic exchange. The word 'public' is important here. Though we tend to

[31] *Bunka shūreishū*, 193 (see Appendix, no. 4).

read such anthologies as *Kaifūsō* and *Bunka shūreishū* as just that, anthologies—for that is how they have been preserved for our modern eyes—what we are actually dealing with is the fossilized remains of a series of public gatherings in which poems were recited aloud amidst a clique of socio-politically active agents. One of the best examples of this is *Shinsen man'yōshū* (*Ten-thousand Leaves Newly Compiled*, first fascicle, 893, second fascicle, 913), a collection of poems presented at two public poetry competitions. Granted the poems contained within these anthologies are beautiful in themselves, glowing with a renewed light under our modern gaze, still, if we are to appreciate the reception of these same poems for poets of the Heian court, we must emphasize, again and again, the *public* nature of their poetic acts. *Bunka shūreishū* is, according to its prelude, a thematic rearrangement of poems included in the previous *kara* style poetry anthology, *Ryōunshū* (*Lofty Verses*, 814), including a number of poems left out of this latter collection. A cursory look at the table of contents of *Ryōunshū* will reveal a preponderance of poems composed expressly for outings (*yūran*) and banquets (*enshū*), most of which were held either at one of Emperor Saga's (786-842, r. 809-823) villas or within the precincts of the palace. The poems found in *Bunka shūreishū* ought, therefore, to be understood in this same light. It was in the public sphere that mugwort and orchids could be found side by side; it was in this politically-charged arena that jade circlets and

plums could be seen shimmering in each other's light. Nakao goes one step further by proposing that fabric, though it might be dyed a different hue, is nevertheless fabric; that chests, though constructed in different dimensions, remain fundamentally chests. This is a daring, though, in such a context, acceptable statement: the verses of emperor and noble alike, though supposedly of unequal value, are alike verses. Poetry, as a form of potent pubic ritual, thus becomes the locus of coordination between emperor and vassal, between celestial and terrestrial forces. In order, however, to balance this bold statement, Nakao, near the end of his prelude, is sure to assert that "Heaven towers nobly above, earth lies humbly below; the lord sings, his vassals respond harmoniously".[32] While asserting the harmonious properties of poetry, he is careful to enforce the equally pressing ideology of eternally polarized opposites, of heaven and earth, of superior and inferior. Herein lays the tension: on the one hand, these polarized forces are seen as perpetually oscillating and fluctuating, never finally settled in any truly binary relationship; on the other hand, however, the celestial is often foregrounded over the terrestrial as the privileged partner of this binary opposition. These two logically incommensurable ideas are inseparable—hence LaMarre's disjunctive cosmology. It is for this reason that poetry does not serve to equalize or marry two opposite forces, but

[32] *Bunka shūreishū*, 194 (See Appendix B, no. 5).

rather to temporarily coordinate, to provocatively engage a plurality of heterogeneous elements.

Zito, in comparing cosmological views of Manchus and Mongolians against those of Chinese—by which she must mean the Han tribe—makes an interesting point relevant to this discussion. The former viewed heaven as canopying a plurality of domains, all of which were regarded as equally important, equally valid. The latter, however, viewed heaven as encompassing and subordinating the multiplicity of earthly phenomena under a singular, supreme head. In this interpretation, earthly phenomena were ordered in a descending ladder of importance, the more removed they were from heaven.[33] Heian men of letters reveal a curious mix of the two, juxtaposing the nobility of heaven with the humbleness of earth, all the while adamantly insisting on the essential interdependence, and consequently, equal validity of both forces. Cosmological concepts originating with the Han are tempered with strains of Tungusic thought. The Heian cosmology was one invigorated by complementary polarities, not binarized dualities—entities endowed with essentially *heterogeneous* natures engaged in perpetual relations of provocation, not homogeneous members dwelling eternally in a state of quiet equilibrium. The modern cliché, as Zito calls it, which views *yīn* (feminine,

[33] Zito, *Of Brush and Body*, 20.

passive, receptive) and *yáng* (masculine, active, productive) forces as fundamentally *homogenous*, harmonious elements, is a later outgrowth foreign to premodern East Asian cosmology. This same ideology applied to the concept of self, which was seen not so much as an individual, internal self clearly differentiated from an external world, but more of an undifferentiated *self-world*, contextualized in a web of interconnection. These are some of Zito's thoughts, and though she is discussing the relationship of continental cosmology to Qīng dynasty painting styles, her argument applies with little modification to Heian cosmology.[34]

Both *Kaifūsō* and *Bunka shūreishū* manifest their poetic efficacy through the same literary device, namely, metaphorical expression. It is through metaphor that various forces are harmonized, and yet this phenomenon is not simply a matter of words. The power of metaphorical language transcends the rhetorical, entering into the cognitive sphere. Janet Soskice draws our attention to the cognitive potentialities of metaphorical language. The concepts of cognitive potential and metaphorical thought are central to my own notion of metaphorical transformation; merely syntactic accounts of metaphor are of little use here.[35]

---

[34] Ibid, 30, 41-42.

[35] Soskice, *Metaphor and Religious Language*, 15-25.

Metaphor, according to Soskice, is that figure of speech "whereby we speak about one thing in terms which are seen to be suggestive of another." Reductionist as this may appear, a deeper appreciation will reveal the relevance of this definition. Most importantly, the fundamental functioning unit of metaphor, insofar as metaphor is a linguistic phenomenon—a speech act—must be discovered in its *semantic*, not syntactic aspect; metaphor is not to be found in individual words or phrases, but in the suggestive nature of the speech act as a whole, when the reader is able to somehow (perhaps intuitively) detect that one thing is being spoken of in terms suggestive of another. Metaphorical expressions, as such, do not merely substitute literal thought, though literal senses naturally facilitate metaphorical construal; rather, such expressions, *when taken in a certain linguistic context*, suggest a mode of thinking that is metaphorical. Metaphor, therefore, offers a unique increment to understanding seldom found in strictly literal modes of expression. For Soskice, metaphorical expressions are made possible only through an interanimation, or mutual resonance, of words considered within the context of a complete utterance. It follows, therefore, that all metaphorical expressions contain an underlying model, or plurality of interrelated models, providing associative networks of signification. Soskice takes as her example the phrase 'writhing script', which brings to mind not only related notions of writhing, such as twisting and

squirming, but also other concrete things, like snakes and convulsing bodies, known to writhe. These things—models underlying 'writhing script'—bring with them a number of further associations. Perhaps, for some readers, the venomous nature of snakes or the grotesque expressions of people writhing in pain will come to be associated with 'writhing script'. Models incite us to extend the significance of metaphorical expressions perpetually, to go beyond the more basic associations, so long as we are willing to linger over the utterance, indulging in this sort of metaphorical thought.[36]

Metaphor is not mechanistically reducible to some sense or certain denotations of various words employed within the speech act. Metaphorical expressions produce a unique cognitive experience, fusing together a number of differing subject-matter and associative networks. In Soskice's own delightful words, a metaphor may provide us with a "new vision, the birth of a new understanding." In short, poetic efficacy allows us to escape from the referentiality of language, from the confining dualism of signifier-signified, and enter into a world of broader aesthetic cognition, wherein metaphorical understanding, with its perpetually expanding networks of associative meaning, reigns supreme.[37]

---

[36] Ibid, 45-58.

[37] Ibid, 98.

Exclusively rhetorical treatments of Heian poetry limit our understanding to the syntactic sphere, to the interpretation of word-meaning and intertextuality. Though valuable in itself, such analysis ignores the more animating approach to poetry taken by Heian courtiers. These men and women seem to have held a deeply-felt appreciation for the cosmological and therefore personally transformative efficacy of their own poetry. Metaphorical transformations exhibit bursts of movement wherein, in LaMarre's words, "emotions emerge in alignment with specific signs and sensations", wherein the "spatiotemporal nexus of celestial and terrestrial events" can be more clearly contemplated.[38] Natural phenomena are, via this brand of poetic metamorphosis, endued with networks of extremely suggestive models, prompting the reader to engage intimately and provocatively with these rich images.

[38] LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan*, 52- 58.

III. Standards of Composition: *Sakumon daitai*

Kaifūsō was completed in 751 while *Bunka shūreishū* was presented in 824. Already at this early age, we see the emergence of metaphorically rich preludes participating intimately in the poetic act. Before proceeding any further, we ought to enquire more carefully into contemporary practices of prelude composition. An understanding of the finer mechanics behind prelude writing will give us a firm historical perspective from which to examine the more elaborate, metaphorical aspects.

A certain document entitled *Sakumon daitai* (*Fundamentals of Composition*, 939), surviving from the mid-Heian period, is a fine testament of contemporary literary standards for the composition of *kara* style writing. Though the compiler of this text is yet unknown, the first portion, composed of ten sections relating to the fundamentals of poetic composition, ends with a postscript naming its author as Asatsuna, that is, Ōe no Asatsuna (886-958), one of the most prominent university scholars of his time. The preface (*not* a prelude) of this work, which contains the date Tengyō 2 (939), may or may not have been written by Asatsuna. This preface, in its entirety, runs as follows:

> In the way of learning, literary composition is first and foremost. If a scholar resorts simply to reciting the classics without trying his hand at composing poems and essays, he will amount to nothing

> more than a bookworm—a thing of little worth. All merit in literary composition springs from a scholar's proficiency in distinguishing the four tones, knowing the significance of each, as well as his ability to delight in natural phenomena, to penetrate into their subtler essences. Within this book shall be found scores of verses, linked together in accordance with tonal rhythms, united under the various rhyme schemes. Let this be known as the *Yamato Rhymebook*.
>
> On the fifth day of mid-spring, in the second year of Tengyō.[39]

'Four tones' refers to the various tonal inflections or rhythms—of which there were historically more than four—inherent in all Sinic languages. Tonal rhythm and rhyme seem to occupy the foreground in Heian composition. Literature partakes of a fundamentally aural existence; it is meant to be read aloud and appreciated through the ears. The importance of this aural quality ought to be duly noted. Knowledge of tonal rhythm and rhyme parallels an understanding of the essence of nature, the unseen principles of all natural phenomena. Harmony of sound both presupposes and facilitates an ultimate appreciation of nature, which is, in the end, a harmonious amalgamation of

[39] *Sakumon daitai*, 352 (see Appendix B, no. 6).

man and other cosmological forces. Each tone is supposed to contain a deeper significance; each and every natural phenomenon is envisioned as harbouring an unseen subtle essence, linking it to the greater cosmic Rhythm. Literary composition is the means of attaining to this sort of enlightened vision. To the Heian mind, the virtues of literature were very real.

Now, 'composition' (*sakumon*) refers almost exclusively to the composition of *kara* style literature. After all, *Sakumon daitai* was written by and for scholars striving to gain social prominence primarily through mastery of this form of public, that is, courtly, literature. Whether or not the same ideals of tonal rhythm applied, in one form or another, to *yamato* style literature is not something that need concern us at present. However, the alternative title (or epithet) given to this work in the preface, *Wachū setsuin* (*Yamato Rhymebook*), would seem to indicate that Heian literati were using a slightly adapted version of their continental exemplars. *Wachū setsuin*, which ought to be translated literally as "*yamato*-annotated *Setsuin*", where *Setsuin* (Ch: *Qiēyùn*, *Glossed Rhyming Dictionary*, 601) is the title of a rhymebook compiled during the Táng dynasty by Lù Fǎyán (n.d.) for the use of scholars composing poetry in preparation for the national examination. Prior to 939, a rhymebook compiled by Sugawara no Koreyoshi (812-880), known as *Tōgū setsuin* (*Prince's Rhymebook*, before 880), gained

much popularity within Heian court society. Being an amalgamation of Lù Fǎyán's *Qiēyùn* along with twelve other (since lost) continental rhymebooks, Koreyoshi's work paved the way for other creations of this sort in the archipelago. *Sakumon daitai*, as a *yamato*-annotated *Setsuin*, was likewise seen by its compiler as inheriting this tradition of cross-cultural phonetic scholarship.

More important, however, is the term '*wachū*'—*yamato*-annotated—in the context of this work, dedicated as it is to the composition of *kara* style literature. This is a fine example of the absence of clear distinctions between *yamato* and *kara* in the Heian mind. While most of the rules are rooted in continental precedent, all of the literary examples offered in *Sakumon daitai* have been drawn from Heian men of letters; not a single example comes from continental sources. A colophon near the end of this document informs us that poetry in the archipelago was dominated by two influential scholarly houses, the Sugawara and the Ōe family, "twin houses of our land".[40] This is a guide to *kara* style literary composition for the Heian court, or, more specifically, for the two great scholar families. That is to say, though the distinction between *yamato* and *kara* is not as clear-cut as we would have it today—this is not a Japanese manifesto—Heian literati of this time appear to be quite conscious of their

[40] Ibid, 371 (see Appendix B, no. 7).

own uniqueness, resulting in a work adapted to their own needs. Two of the most prominent examples of this are to found in the practice of using thematic verses (*kudai*), and the exceptional evolution of preludes (*jo*).

A thematic verse (*kudai*) is a single verse, usually of four or five characters, abstracted from a popular poem, the content of which serves as the central theme in a public poetry composition event. All present are expected to compose poems around this thematic verse, providing a strong sense of literary unity and social cohesion. A particular section in the *Sakumon daitai* entitled "On the Selection of Thematic Verses" gives the following explanation:

> Táng poets expressed their innermost sentiments spontaneously, in accordance with inspiration gained from the natural phenomena surrounding them; such men never once resorted to thematic verses. During the Jōgan era [859-877], poets in our land did not differ from the men of Táng. In later ages, however, our poets took to the habit of using thematic verses.
>
> Thematic verses are taken from five- or seven-character poems that seem appropriate to sentiments of the occasion at hand. At

> times, thematic verses may be composed anew, not being drawn from any prior poems.[41]

Here we have a clear distinction: whereas poets of the continent were wont to compose poetry as the mood struck them, on the spur of the moment, having no recourse to predetermined thematic verses, poets of the archipelago, especially after the close of the ninth century, seem to have taken recourse to such contrivances, encapsulating the sentiment of a given occasion within some pithy, well-known verse, thereby lending unity to poetry composed at public gatherings. *Ōtaku fukatsushō* (*Boundless As the Emperor's Mercy*, early 13th c.) reiterates the same sentiments, though with a slight modification: "Poets of the Táng, having no recourse to thematic verses, expressed their sentiments in accordance with a given motif", where motif 部 (Ch: *bù*; J: *bu*) refers to the broad divisions, such as "spring" or "lamentations", found in most poetry anthologies.[42] The prolific spread of thematic verses throughout the mid-Heian period corresponds with an equally prolific increase in the frequency of public banquets, in which the composition of poetry was a major component. The thematic verse may be called a Heian phenomenon, for it was born out of a specific set of circumstances

[41] Ibid, 362 (see Appendix B, no. 8).

[42] *Ōtaku fukatsushō*, 662 (see Appendix B, no. 9).

unique to that age, as public performances of poetry recital became the most effective means of socio-political maneuvering.

Thematic verses, as a unique practice among archipelago poets, were originally presented for banquets in which *kara* style poems were recited. Looking at early anthologies of *yamato* poems, such as the widely-read *Kokin wakashū* (*Yamato Poems Ancient and Modern*, 905), we may observe that when a poem has been composed to a certain them, that theme usually consists of a *single* natural phenomenon, be it a certain insect, flower, or bird. However, when we come to later anthologies, such as *Shūi wakashū* (*Gleanings of Yamato Poetry*, 1006), we find poetic themes containing a combination of *two* phenomena. The custom of using four- or five-character thematic verses for banquets in which *kara* style poems were composed eventually spilled over into the world of *yamato* poetry.[43] *Fusō kobunshū* exemplifies this later development. Most of the thematic verses listed for *yamato* style poetry gatherings are of the four-character type. A single exception would be prelude no. 26, which gives us the three-character thematic verse "The moon shines upon the pines," though this is still a combination of two phenomena—the moon and the pines.[44]

[43] Saitō, "Shijo to kudaishi," 30.

[44] See Appendix B, no. 13.

Another exceptional feature given careful consideration in the *Sakumon daitai* is the prelude (*jo*). An analysis of the section entitled "On the Structure of Preludes" will serve as a prolegomena to the remainder of this paper.[45] It is a lengthy section, not all of which is pertinent to the present discussion. What follows is a paraphrased version, including only the most relevant material, as well as a number of extra comments freely interspersed:[46]

It is essential, at the commencement of a prelude, to praise the splendor of the season—the fragrance of flowers, the beauty of the moon—in which the given banquet is being held. This is done as a means of both setting the scene and indirectly praising the virtue of one's host. Next, direct praise is offered both to those in attendance at the banquet, usually like-minded literati of fine social standing, and to the host himself. Here the sense of social cohesion is to be emphasized as much as possible. Next, verses of appreciation are sung to beautify the chosen venue: gardens, pagodas, rivers, ponds—anything that might catch the eye of those attending. These three primary sub-sections detail the time, participants, and scene of the banquet, giving the audience

[45] See Appendix B, no. 14.

[46] *Sakumon daitai*, 370.

(both past and present) a vibrant picture of each individual event. A thick aroma of overzealous laudation permeates the whole.

Every public banquet required the selection beforehand of a suitable thematic verse. Once the preliminaries of the given banquet had been outlined, therefore, it was time for the author to incorporate this central thematic verse into the fabric of his prelude. Being the most crucial element of any prelude, this movement (to extend the musical metaphor) demanded the finest in poetic expression. Some of the most memorable verses found in later Heian anthologies, such as *Wakan rōeishū* (*Yamato and Kara Verses for Singing*, 1018)—verses which were on the lips of Heian courtiers—have been extracted from this portion of the preludes. *Sakumon daitai* divides this movement into four sections: First, the content of the thematic verse is expressed in a relatively straightforward manner, contextualizing this verse in a more concrete manner within the given banquet. Second, the thematic verse is elaborated, allowed to break forth, by means of a series of powerful couplets so as to convey a broader significance. These couplets make a point of including the content of the thematic verse in a different order, or in a slightly altered form—a feat of creativity requiring the author to express some degree of originality within the confines of convention. Third, continuing in the same vein, a number of verses are strung together

expressing the thematic verse in a more metaphorical manner, to which end any number of natural phenomena, quite often birds and fish, are borrowed. Such metaphorical rendition allows for greater latitude, in which not only the thematic verse, but participants and host alike are ingeniously incorporated into a growing image of cosmologico-aesthetic and socio-political unity. A communal space, wherein cosmologico-aesthetic and socio-political elements are most intimately interwoven, forms the all-important *metaphorical space*. Fourth, the thematic verse having been sufficiently elaborated, the author beseeches his fellow participants to try their hand at composing poems for this auspicious occasion, while simultaneously revealing something of his own sentiments. Poetry composition (or presentation) occurred at the conclusion of a banquet, after much drinking and merriment, usually quite late at night.

Finally, his duty done, the author closes his prelude with highly conventionalized humilific language, insuring harmony between him and his fellow elite. Of course, such language served two purposes: first, to give the appearance of modesty, and thereby hopefully avoid any accusations of arrogance, and second, in the self-same breath, to distinguish the author from his peers, as one who—while feigning a lack of talent—has the honor of being in a position to do so. The author of a prelude at once ostensibly depreciates and tacitly glorifies himself; the socio-political

ramifications of such a composition are far-reaching. Such language, furthermore, serves to continuously reinforce the dominant state hierarchy.

According to Ebersole, the public recitation of poems of lamentation or longing in pre-Heian times, though perhaps honestly intended, was primarily meant to demonstrate a certain status or prestige, in which the presenter of such poems asserted a special relationship to certain significant others. Such public displays served to generate differences of gradation within a given hierarchical structure.[47] This observation can be equally applied to the recitation of poems, regardless of content, at a poetry gathering, as well as to the public recitation of preludes composed for such gatherings. Public recitation always generates and reinforces status differentiation; the one reciting asserts, though not always explicitly, a certain connection to other influential individuals or groups. In the case of our Heian preludes, composers and presenters (be they the same or not) were placed in a much more privileged position in relation to their sagely superiors and virtuous hosts.

It will be seen from "On the Structure of Preludes" that the composition of preludes was accompanied by a set of rules and conventions no less strict than those put in place for the composition of poetry and other genres of literature. These preludes, far

[47] Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry*, 47-53.

from being mere prefaces, were forceful demonstrations of poetic talent, as well as eager appeals for social recognition, worthy of the epithet *genre*.

There is yet one more feature of *Sakumon daitai* requiring some examination. Roughly speaking, this document may be divided into two main sections, the first dealing with poetry, the second with a type of writing we would call prose, or, more properly, prosaic. This latter section begins with the heading "Fundamentals of Mixed Writing" (*Zappitsu daitai*), where, it seems, 'mixed writing' refers to anything *other than* poetry. The author of *Sakumon daitai*, or, if this document is an amalgamation of various documents from different authors, the author of *Zappitsu daitai* distinguishes between two kinds of *kara* style composition: On the one hand there is poetry (*shi*), properly speaking, consisting either of rhyming couplets (*zekku*), two verses, or rhyming quatrains (*risshi*), four verses, the length of each verse being either five or seven characters in length. On the other hand there is mixed writing (*zappitsu*), which ought to be called *prosaic* writing, consisting of any number of verses of any length, sometimes rhymed, sometimes not. The distinction between poetry and prosaic writing is one of *quantity* not quality; number and length of verse determines in which category a particular piece of writing may be classified. Considering there are no substantial distinctions between poetry and prose—the distinction of number being merely

accidental—it follows that this mixed or prosaic writing was no less poetic than poetry. Poetry had a strictly set metrical form, while prosaic writing did not. That is all. There is an interesting type of composition known as *fu*, which is often classified in anthologies as a kind of poem, though, in reality, it exhibits a harmonious blending of poetic and prosaic elements—something like a poetic essay. Generally quite long, covering more than one or two pages, the *fu* employs verses of all lengths, usually with a common rhyme scheme pervading the whole, which is what tends to bring this literary form under the domain of poetry. *Zappitsu daitai* explicitly states that the *fu* should be classified as mixed writing, though "the ignorant often err in their judgments" regarding the proper classification of this sort of composition.[48] While recognizing the quantitative (that is, metrical) difference between poetry and prosaic writing, the author of this section rejects any other distinctions between the two, seeing in both the common laws of tonal rhythm and, for the most part, of rhyme. The same rules of rhythm and rhyme apply more-or-less universally to both. Prosaic writing is given somewhat more freedom. In terms of meter, poetry was more strictly defined than prosaic writing. In terms of content, however, poetry was just as prosaic as prose was poetic. A case in point is the genre of preludes, which, like *fu*, is also included in the

[48] *Sakumon daitai*, 365 (see Appendix B, no. 15).

category of mixed writing, under the name *zatsu jo* or mixed preludes, where 'mixed' is synonymous with prosaic. Preludes are bejewelled with large numbers of wonderfully poetic verses. It must be kept in mind, therefore, when speaking of poetry and prose, at least in the world of *kara* style composition, that literati of the Heian period did not make such clear distinctions between the two. For Heian men of letters, the fundamental unit of composition in *kara* style literature was something called a *ku*, which might be translated as verse or sentence, or, in some cases, as preposition, conjunction, or just about any unit of speech, depending on the context. The shortest sort of *ku* found in *Zappitsu daitai* is but one character in length: the so-called *hokku* ("heading" *ku*), used at the commencement of a verse or sentence, serving as a transitional marker between thoughts. Among these are such useful paragraph starters as 'Now', 'Presently', 'Furthermore', and 'Therefore'. The longest *ku* in this section is fourteen characters in length, which, in most cases, tends to take the form of two seven-character verses tied closely together. For us, 'verse' connotes poetry while 'sentence' connotes prose. The word '*ku*' connotes both. All talk of composition revolves around this single unit. Whereas we tend to consider different genres of literature from a broader perspective, speaking of the characteristics of novels, poems, and essays, Heian literati focused their attention primarily on the *ku*—at least that is the entity upon which they seemed to have

exerted most of their literary energies. *Sakumon daitai* never goes beyond discussions of the *ku*. It is understandable, then, why these men considered poetry and prosaic writing as essentially the same. So far as the *ku* is concerned, poetic writing and prosaic writing are indistinguishable; preludes are no more prosaic than they are poetic.

IV. Recitation and Ritual: *Fukuro zōshi*

Whereas *Sakumon daitai* gives us a detailed picture of the various standards of composition for preludes, it is time now to consider a different sort of document in order to gain an understanding of the public dimension of poetry gatherings and the recitation of preludes. What follows is an examination of *Fukuro zōshi* (*Poetic Miscellany*, 1156-1159), a manual of miscellaneous court traditions revolving around poetry composition and presentation.

According to an entry in this text, poems presented at public banquets were first read aloud by a specially appointed reader (*kōshi*). This reader, genuflecting reverently upon his circular cushion, would read the given poem aloud in a clear, easily audible tone. Significantly, the reader is directed to read each verse of the poem separately, to cut off each verse, that is, insert regular pauses between verses.[49] At this stage, therefore, the poem was treated on a purely metrical level. When we consider that these poems would most likely have been *yamato* style poems—for that is the sort of composition *Fukuro zōshi* is dealing with—and that it is one of the characteristic features of *yamato* style poems to creatively disrupt metrical divisions by carrying meaning over a number of verses, or by suggesting a break mid-verse, it becomes

[49] See Appendix B, no. 16.

immediately obvious that this custom of cutting off verses was a form of preliminary standardization; by first presenting a poem as a metrical construct, conforming mechanically to the conventions of syllable count, the air would be cleared, so to speak, leaving room for a more intimately semiotic, or aesthetic reading. Having the reader pronounce each verse separately thus gave the initial appearance of unity between all poems offered up at the banquet; metrically, at least, all poems were identical.

Both *yamato* and *kara* style poetry appear to have been recited at these public banquets to the same rhythm, and to the same kind of musical accompaniment. By using a combination of pauses and prolonged intoning, individual verses of both styles of poetry would have sounded rhythmically symmetrical. This would have further enforced the cosmological ideal of mutually provocative complementary elements. Heldt is right in suggesting that, to the Heian ear, linguistic or metrical distinctions might have been less significant than the similarities in performative modes existing between these two forms of poetry.[50] Certainly, linguistic elements, though significant in terms of their aesthetic value and discursive content, would have taken second-place compared to the highly-charged, immediate, performative act of recitation before a body of intimate peers and superior. Rhythm, be it merely tonal or more properly musical,

[50] Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*,123-124.

was seen by Heian intellectuals as an embodiment of infinitely greater cosmological rhythms. Poetry was the most refined expression of these rhythms.

Not only poems, but preludes, as well, were to be read aloud in this manner. It is difficult to say for certain in what manner these *kara* style preludes were actually read. Were these verses rearranged in accordance with *yamato* syntax, complete with prepositions and auxiliary verbs—a style of reading we now call *yomikudashi* (a "broken down" or dissected reading)? Or, were these verses read as is, using continental syntactic structure and phonetic approximations—what we call *chokudoku* (direct reading)? I propose that preludes were read aloud in the former manner, using some version of a *yamato*-based dialect. The word 'dialect' is important, for it would be a laughable oversimplification to assume that readings are wholly separated from the *kara* style. *Yamato* renderings of *kara* compositions are necessarily permeated with continental idioms and turns of expression; *yomikudashi* renderings of *kara* style preludes are just as colored by continental conventions as scholastic English renderings of old Latin theological treatises are rife with florid Latinisms. In support of this claim, quick mention may be made of the Heian practice of composing personal commentaries (*shiki*) to *Nihon shoki*, which are deeply concerned with providing *yamato* style renderings of the *kara* style original text. Myōe's (1171-1232) little ritual manual *Shaka*

nyorai nenju shidai (*Sakya Tathāgata Meditation and Recitation Manual*, n.d.) is perhaps one of the finest examples of a full rendering of a *kara* style Buddhist text from the late Heian period.[51] In a section of *Fukuro zōshi* entitled "On how to read aloud the thematic verse," we are told that, aside from a handful of exceptions, thematic verses are to be read in the *yamato* style.[52] In light of such examples, therefore, it seems more likely that Heian preludes were read aloud in some form of *yamato*-like rendering. Supposing this to be the case, the reader's similar style of reading adopted for preludes and poetry alike at these public banquets would provide a further element of coordination and unity between these two visually different styles. That preludes were read alongside poetry evinces further the thoroughly literary and central role of such compositions. Prefaces merely introduce poetry; preludes participate intimately in the poetic act.

Once the reader had completed his initial metrical reading of that day's poems (and prelude, if one was presented), a group of skilled individuals performed an orchestral recitation of these same poems. This performance was repeated a total of

[51] Ōtsuki, "Tenri toshokanzō 'Shaka nyorai nenju shida'—katakanabon no seiritsu," and "Tenri toshokanzō 'Shaka nyorai nenju shida'—eiin to honkoku."

[52] *Fukuro zōshi*, 7 (see Appendix B, no. 17).

three times for each poem. If, however, a prelude had been presented, certain verses of exceptional poetic worth—no doubt these were the exceptional couplets anthologized in *Wakan rōeishū*—would be selected from the prelude by one acquainted with the genre, and recited in a musical fashion *before* the musical performance of poems. These specially selected verses, inevitably parallel couplets (*tsuiku*), were thus presented as headpieces of literary excellence, both leading into and *enshrining* the richest essence of the poetry presented that day. It was the parallel couplet, a couplet displaying perfect symmetry of syntax and meaning, that was most highly valued in *kara* style Heian preludes.[53] It was these parallel couplets that were eagerly abstracted from their original compositions, anthologized, widely circulated, and ceaselessly recited. Not only preludes, but many kinds of literary compositions were evaluated mainly on the merit of parallel verses contained therein. It is my contention that our present concept of Heian literature would be noticeably more informed were we to include, among our examinations of *yamato* and *kara* style poetry, a few observations relating to these parallel verses found throughout a rich store of Heian preludes.

When both the prelude and poems had been thus read and sung aloud, the emperor's poem was then presented from behind his curtained enclosure. Not only was a

[53] Ōsone, "Wakajo shōkō," 597.

separate elaborately decorated writing desk (*bundai*) to be prepared for this holy artifact, the reader, too, had to be replaced. The emperor's poem was to be read aloud and sung twice as many times as poems presented by his noblemen.[54]

As shall be demonstrated in the next section, all poets would have been privy to both the thematic verse as well as the emperor's poem several days before any public poetry banquet. These two would have formed a hub of poetic composition around which the literati conceived and communally orchestrated their own works. Presenting the emperor's poem last, therefore, would have been a gesture of summation, of temporary wholeness, for, having provided the initial poetic impetus for a given poetry banquet, his poem would have also served as the concluding remark, signalling the end of that day's poetic act. As Takigawa Kōji has stated, regularly staged, highly ritualized public banquets in which poetry was recited served as continuous visual reconfirmations of both the emperor's superior status as well as the socio-political hierarchical order of vassals subjected beneath him. Such events gave vassals an opportunity to further cement their own individual connections with the emperor, and as such were seen as

[54] *Fukuro zōshi*, 6.

primarily *political* events. Literary composition, likewise, was understood as a means of participating in and subtly manipulating the prevailing political apparatus.[55]

Another point of interest in this document is found in the section entitled "Precedents of preludes to *yamato* poetry," which outlines the method of writing appropriate to such compositions.[56] This offers an interesting compliment to *Sakumon daitai*. Here, the renowned Ōe no Masafusa (1041-1111) is credited with the rather tautological statement, "The composition of preludes for *yamato* style poems is guided by certain conventions, which, once learned, will guide one in writing such preludes."[57] My translation of this ambiguous entry in *Fukuro zōshi* pertaining to the composition of preludes for *yamato* style poetry gatherings follows Ōsone Shōsuke's interpretation, which is itself in line with the commentary found in Ozawa Masao's superb *Fukuro zōshi chūshaku*.[58] These conventions (*kakuyō*) refer, it would seem, to general rules of composition. In response to this ambiguous adage, the author of *Fukuro zōshi* adds the following explanation: "That is to say, preludes are not bound by strict formulae or stylistic conventions. Rather, one should record events solely in accordance with

[55] Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 12.

[56] *Fukuro zōshi*, 31-32 (see Appendix B, no. 18).

[57] See Appendix B, no. 19.

[58] Ōsone, "Wakajo shōkō," 594-595; Ozawa, *Fukuro zōshi chūshaku,* vol. 1, 98-99.

memory."[59] Now *this* is ambiguous. On the one hand, the composition of preludes is said to be guided by certain writing conventions, while, on the other, there is an absence of any formulae or conventions relating to this type of writing. Which is it going to be—conventions or no conventions? The advice to record events as they happened, in accordance with memory is also problematic, and this for two reasons.

First, if we take this instruction seriously, it would appear that preludes—at least preludes to *yamato* style poems—are equivalent to diary entries and nothing more. Granted, the sort of preludes examined thus far, namely, preludes attached to public poetry banquets, do bear certain resemblances to diaries: the season, time of day, participants, and scenery are usually described in some detail by an author who was (for the most part) present at the event. However, there is much more to these preludes than simply a factual record of events as they happened. Colorful descriptions of scenery lead to deeper observations regarding things such as the sentiments of all present, or the power of poetry and music. Personal commentary, though often conventionalized, is a crucial part of preludes. Second, seeing preludes as a record of events is problematic for the simple reason that descriptions of scenery and people found therein is so highly conventionalized, so filled with poetic vigor, so richly colored by the communal

[59] See Appendix B, no. 20.

metaphoric space in which they appear, as to render them more *ideal* than historical. Aside from proper names and dates, which are certainly historical, all description can be seen as an attempt to incite an oscillation of celestial and terrestrial forces—forces which, though certainly of strong psychological import to groups of historical agents—are nevertheless primarily metaphysical in nature. Preludes are not *merely* diaries or records of events. Preludes, as venerated literary acts, evoke powerful cosmologico-aesthetic and socio-political forces, embodying and actualizing an entire cosmological ideology of perpetual coordination.

In this same passage we are given a more concrete piece of advice for composing preludes. Though not bound by strict convention, preludes to *yamato* poems must not be written in an overly casual or carefree tone. Such preludes should be elegant and, considering they are to crown collections of *yamato* style poems, include a number of words read in a *yamato* dialect (some version of *kun'yomi*). Here, the author of *Fukuro zōshi* describes the *yamato* rendering of words as something elegantly charming (*yūen*), an appeal to the *yamato* element, which, in turn, serves to re-coordinate this with the often privileged *kara* element. Another literary composition manual mentioned earlier, *Ōtaku fukatsushō*, offers a similar commentary. To paraphrase: the sentiments embodied in preludes to *yamato* style poems are the same as those found in preludes to

kara style poems. However, the former is said to exhibit a style of composition that is elegantly subtle. There is a precedent with this sort of prelude for inserting words to be read in the *yamato* dialect.[60] *Yamato* readings—whether this refers exclusively to proper nouns or more generally to any semantic readings is uncertain—are variously described by these authors as elegantly charming and elegantly subtle. We must not forget, however, that both *Fukuro zōshi* and *Ōtaku fukatsushō* were written between the latter half of the twelfth and early thirteen century, one-hundred years or more after many of the preludes presently under consideration were composed. From my own investigation of early and mid-Heian literature, it seems that this view of *yamato* readings as somehow especially elegant in comparison to *kara* readings is not of much moment. As we move into the late Heian and early Kamakura periods, this sentiment begins to surface with more prominence.

Fukuro zōshi contains a section entitled "Family teachings regarding preludes."[61] According to this section, the greatest difficulty faced when composing a prelude lies in attaining a pleasing balance between *yamato* and *kara* style

[60] *Ōtaku fukatsushō*, 674 (Ōsone, "Wakajo ni tsuite—'Honchō shōjoshū' to 'Ōtaku fukatsushō'," 608-609) (see Appendix B, no. 21).

[61] See Appendix B, no. 22.

readings—what we now call *kun'yomi* (semantic readings) and *on'yomi* (phonetic, or Sinitic readings)—especially of proper nouns found in parallel couplets. A preponderance of, say, place names read in the *kara* style makes the prelude, as a whole, appear too stiff, too terse. On the other hand, an overuse of place names read in the *yamato* style causes the prelude to become too gentle, too malleable. The ideal prelude should be neither too stiff nor too malleable, containing a pleasing harmonization of both *kara* and *yamato* elements.[62] Allow me to cite just one example of this phenomenon from *Fusō kobunshū*. The final couplet of prelude no. 23 may be translated as follows: "Contemplate the Peach Grotto (Tōgen) and offer up a spring season of three-thousand years; follow Kakinomoto and sing forth verses of thirty-one syllables."[63] The Peach Grotto is an idyllic land inhabited by immortals, stumbled upon by a lone fisherman in a poem by Táo Yuánmíng (365-427) entitled *Táohūayuánjì* (*Record of the Peach Flower Grotto*, c. 421). In this context, the Peach Grotto refers more broadly to the poetry of great continental poets, such as Táo Yuánmíng. Kakinomoto refers to Kakinomoto no Hitomaro (660-720), perhaps the best known poet

[62] *Fukuro zōshi*, 32 (Ōsone, "Wakajo shōkō," 601-602).

[63] *Fusō kobunshū*, 13 (see Appendix B, no. 23).

of the so-called *Man'yō* (or early Nara) poets.[64] Here we have a parallel couplet in which 'Tōgen', a place name read in the *kara* or phonetic style, is being coordinated with 'Kakinomoto', a personal name read in the *yamato* or semantic style.

This couplet is not only illustrative of the way in which Heian preludes could combine *kara* and *yamato* style readings as a means of achieving a rhythmical balance in the area of recitation, but further speaks to an ideology of perpetual oscillation. The above translation calls for some explanation. "Contemplate the Peach Grotto and offer up a spring season of three-thousand years:" draw upon the auspicious images enshrined within such continental poetic examples as *Táohūayuánjì*, and produce therefrom verses capable of rejuvenating both our noble host and ourselves, granting to all longevity and health! "Follow Kakinomoto and sing forth verses of thirty-one syllables:" frame your verses in the *yamato* style, in accordance with the conventional meter of thirty-one syllables! These poets are asked to compose poems in which continental (*kara* like) themes and poetic imagery are harmoniously coordinated with insular (*yamato* like) conventions and sentiment. This was nothing new, of course, considering such blending of styles and content can be seen as early as *Man'yōshū*, and, more explicitly, in *Shinsen man'yōshū*.

[64] Commons, *Hitomaro: Poet as God*.

It ought to be pointed out, however, that despite this prescribed symmetry of *yamato* and *kara* proper nouns, most of the preludes surviving today do *not* display this technique. In the realm of Heian prelude literature, *kara* style reading was the privileged term. A sorry absence of—or lack of eagerness to transmit— *yamato* style poems supposedly presented at banquets detailed in *kara* style preludes, which poems would have served as a counterweight, emphasizes this privileged state of *kara* style composition.

V. Words and Ritual Brought to Life: *Tentoku tōshi*

Sometime after the preface to *Sakumon daitai* was written (939), a banquet was held in Tentoku 3 (959), in which a number of prominent men of letters engaged in a poetry competition hosted by Emperor Murakami (926-967, r. 946-967).[65] Fortunately for us, a document detailing both the poems recited as well as the ritualistic proceedings followed in this banquet has been preserved for our perusal. The full title of this document is *Tentoku sannen hachigatsu jūrokunichi tōshi gyōji ryakki* (*Abbreviated Record of the Poetry Competition Held on the Sixteenth Day of the Eighth Month in the Third Year of Tentoku*), hereafter abbreviated as *Tentoku tōshi* (*Tentoku Poetry Competition*). Whereas *Fukuro zōshi* provided us with a rudimentary outline of certain rituals prescribed for poetry recitations, *Tentoku tōshi* will allow us to view such a recital in action. A combined examination of *Sakumon daitai*, *Fukuro zōshi*, and *Tentoku Tōshi* will make for a well-rounded appreciation of these public rituals.

On the first day of the eighth month (mid-autumn), about two weeks before the auspicious event was scheduled to take place, Emperor Murakami summed his elite courtiers before him, selecting the captains-to-be of each team, the left and the right.

[65] *Nihon kiryaku*, Tentoku 3 (959) 8/16 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 1:10, 560); *Fusō ryakki*, same date (*Dainihon shiryō*, 1:10, 560).

This was the common practice for public poetry recitals: two teams of aristocrats were pitted against one another. A series of ten thematic verses to be used during this banquet were announced to the present company. The poems to be recited that day were *kara* style poems based on such thematic verses as "Fragrance upon a light breeze," "Fireflies fluttering amidst white dew," and "Pines reflected on the river; fallen needles upon the waves."[66] Even the men elected to compose poetry for this banquet were informed beforehand regarding the content of these thematic verses. Ten days prior to the event, these men were busy gleaning verses from the works of renowned continental literary masters, hoping to make their own poems all the more brilliant.[67] That men were informed of the thematic verses to be used during the banquet was no guarantee of victory. During these two precious weeks before the event, men eager to gain esteem among their peers and favor with their superiors were quick to seize any advantage available. A curious story found in *Gōdanshō* (*Ōe's Tales*, 1104-1108), a collection of miscellaneous stories attributed to Ōe no Masafusa, regardless of its historicity, sheds some light on the atmosphere during those days leading up to event. Tachibana no Naomoto (n.d.), one of the men chosen to compose poems, got word that his fellow

[66] *Tentoku tōshi*, 280-281 (see Appendix B, no. 24).

[67] Ibid, 285.

teammate, Ōe no Koretoki (888-963) had been granted the further honor of acting as judge (*hanja*) over the poems. That a man participating in the competition should further be allowed to preside over the results may seem surprising. However, in terms of socio-political standing, Koretoki was among the most preeminent figures in his clique, holding the position of imperial advisor (*sangi*) to his host and patron, Emperor Murakami.[68] Naomoto approached Koretoki, imploring him to compose a few verses that he might then include in one of his own poems for the banquet. Whether Naomoto considered Koretoki his superior in the field of *kara* style poetry composition is uncertain. At the time, Naomoto was an imperial tutor (*shikibu taifu*), a position of great eminence and yet one step below imperial advisor. It should be noted here that the post of imperial iutor was generally seen as a preparatory step towards that of Imperial advisor. As seen in a royal order issued in Tenryaku 2 (948), Koretoki had served as imperial tutor about a decade prior to the present banquet. The same order lists his junior, Naomoto, as a professor of letters (*monjō hakase*), the same position Koretoki had held before becoming imperial tutor himself.[69] Naomoto was faithfully following Koretoki's lead. The Ōe family stood heads above the Tachibana, dominating Heian

[68] Ibid, 286.

[69] *Ruiju fusenshō,* 9, Tenryaku 2 (948) 7/7 (*Dainihon shiryō,* 1:9, 239).

academia, and consequently, many court positions. Naomoto knew his place. Asking Koretoki for assistance was a sign of subservience, which Koretoki would have been eager to exploit. Koretoki assented. What was beneficial for Naomoto would, in one way or another, be beneficial for Koretoki. It is, perhaps, no wonder that among the poems presented by Naomoto at the banquet, the poem rumored to contain a couplet procured from Koretoki was judged, by Koretoki, as being superior.[70] In the end, according to *Tentoku tōshi*, the competition ended in a draw. This was yet another instance of social pageantry, the pretty guise of social manipulation.

Not only were the thematic verses revealed in advance, the poems composed around these themes were likewise written and ready to present ahead of time. Ono no Michikaze (894-967), the most highly regarded calligrapher of his time, was beseeched with deluges of letters, each more garrulously polite than the next, sent by members of both teams, in hopes that he would condescend to write up the final draft of *their* poems to be presented to the emperor. The fame of Michikaze cannot be stressed enough. The *Tentoku tōshi* refers to him as the reincarnation of Wáng Xīzhī (303-361), one of the continent's most far-famed calligraphers.[71] Michikaze could not bring himself to choose

[70] *Gōdanshō,* 4:15, 111-112 (*Dainihon shiryō,* 1:10, 570).

[71] *Tentoku tōshi,* 286; Komatsu, "Sanseki no kao," 91-98.

one side over the other. Perhaps in hopes of avoiding offending either party, Michikaze claimed he simply could not leave his house on account of some recent inauspicious omen. It was on the morning of the fifteenth, just one day before the banquet, when, by barging into the house of Michikaze, some men from the right team managed to get a hold of the calligrapher, escorting him to the house of a local lute player, whereupon they proceeded to treat their all-too-welcome guest to a drinking party. In this way, through the use of wine and a fair deal of coaxing, they managed to get Michikaze to copy out their poems in his elegant hand. Apparently drink did not affect his brushwork. Naturally, men from the left team soon got wind of the trickery, and, unable to infiltrate the house wherein Michikaze was being entertained, managed nonetheless to force him, through an officially issued command, to produce an elegant copy of their poems the next day just before noontime. In this way, Michikaze was half-forced into composing a final copy of all the poems to be presented at Emperor Murakami's Tentoku Poetry Competition that day.[72]

The banquet, as noted previously, took place on the sixteenth day of the eight month, which, in the lunar calendar, corresponds to mid-autumn. Sometime between half past three and four o'clock in the afternoon, Emperor Murakami appeared before

[72] *Tentoku tōshi*, 286.

his eager noblemen in the Seiryōden, one of the emperor's more private chambers. He and his noblemen were seated along the outer aisles and extended veranda, surrounding his chamber, which meant that this banquet was an outdoor event, albeit shaded comfortably above by eaves. This outer aisle and veranda runs along the eastern side of Seiryōden, such that all in attendance would have had a fine view of the Eastern Garden (Tōtei).

Some thirty minutes later, both teams brought forth their writing desks (*bundai*), exquisitely crafted, waist-high tables employed primarily for the purpose of presenting poems in formal occasions of this sort. Small chests, no less exquisite, containing beautifully written copies of the poems to be read that day, were set thereupon. Lavish trappings accompanied these little tables. Take this example of the left team, which prepared for their table a raised mat, similar to the modern *tatami* mat, lined with leopard skin, spread over with a carpet of purple brocade. Their chest was carved of sapan-wood, a dyewood of deep-crimson hue, exhibiting a cord, decoratively knotted, dyed in various gradations of purple pigment. Their poems, ten in all, one for each thematic verse, were written on slips of thick paper colored a vibrant sky-blue. Koretoki's team—the right team—went one step beyond this, presenting a sapan-wood chest inlaid with mother-of-pearl, while the paper upon which *their* poems were written

shone brighter, sprinkled as it was with gold and silver powder. If this were not enough, the right team's slips of paper exhibited, besides poems, drawings or paintings representing the corresponding thematic-verse. The right team was sparing no expenses. The left team's desk was placed on the northern area of the veranda, while that of the right team was placed on the southern area—to the left and right, respectively, of the emperor (who would have been facing east). These luxurious trappings are noteworthy, for they serve to *enshrine* the poetry here presented, physically incarnated in the form of aesthetically superb brushwork and paper. This enshrinement is all-important, if the full efficacy of harmonization, both cosmologico-aesthetic and socio-political, inherent in poetic expression is to be realized. These writing desks became, through intricate craftsmanship and elaborate trappings, sacral vessels bearing sacred, powerful words. Naturally, the sacred nature of these poems increased as they were brought within ever closer proximity to the imperial person.

Again, some thirty minutes later, around five o'clock, one man from each team was called up before the emperor to serve as reader (*kōdokushi*) for his respective team's poems. These were the readers (*kōshi*) found in *Fukuro zōshi*. These were *not* the men who had composed the poems, though the poets themselves were present at this banquet. Evening comes quickly in autumn. Torch-bearers were summoned to cast light upon the

poems, which were removed from and placed delicately upon the lid of their elaborate container.[73]

Now begins the recitation, and subsequent judging of poetry. The first thematic verse of the evening was "A promise made with the autumn moon."[74] One poem from the left team was read first, followed by one from the right. This done, Koretoki, as judge, pronounced his evaluation of this pair of poems: victory, at least in round one, went to the right team—*his* team. The victorious poem, composed by Naomoto, contained a couplet conceived originally by Koretoki—if we are to believe the account in *Gōdanshō* given above. Judgment passed, the winning team, in accordance with custom, poured wine for their opponents. In the case of a draw, both teams poured wine for one another.

The first four rounds resulted in a draw with two victories per side, at which point an intermission featuring a grand feast was held. Three or four days prior to the event, both teams had made arrangements with acquaintances installed in the palace kitchens and storehouses to supply the proper victuals.[75] As Gustav Heldt has pointed

[73] *Tentoku tōshi*, 281.

[74] See Appendix B, no. 25.

[75] *Tentoku tōshi*, 283.

out in regards to *Kokin wakashū*, anthologized sometime near the very beginning of the tenth century, the act of editing poetry, on the one hand, and that of supplying, preparing, and presenting food for royal banquets, on the other, was intimately intertwined from a very early time. Individuals directly involved with the process of editing *Kokin wakashū* are recorded as having received temporary posts in the palace kitchen immediately following commencement of work on the anthology, posts which they held for but a short while thereafter. Positions granting these men proximity to the palace kitchen would have facilitated the dissemination of poetry, and a vision of a new political order, to those associated directly or indirectly with the ensuing banquet. These banquets were, after all, primarily propaganda pieces legitimizing this or that clique.[76] That the men involved in our Tentoku Poetry Competition had been intimately involved with the palace kitchen up until the time of the banquet implies exactly the same sort of quiet political manipulation. Foodstuffs were presented not only to the team members of each side, but to the various court ladies and high-ranking nobles as well. Here was an extensive display of cultural capital embracing both poetry and food, perhaps the two most crucial commodities of the Heian court.

[76] Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 142-143.

Round five was pronounced a tie—a nice way to conclude the first half of this performance. Rounds six through nine produced another draw, again with two victories per side. Predictably, round ten was pronounced a tie, though only after a lengthy show of feigned deliberation on Koretoki's part. His judgment was made only after a musical interlude, just at the moment when dawn was approaching. These men had spent the entire night in reverie, yet, in the end, nobody truly won, at least not technically. It would have been obvious, however, to anyone present that this banquet was an opportunity for Koretoki to shine—a time for him to revitalize his political charisma, as well as flaunt the Ōe family's wealth.

Let us return a moment to the two poems presented in the first round. These form the centerpiece of the whole, setting the scene for the entire banquet. That Naomoto's poem was judged by Koretoki as victorious, therefore, carries exceptional weight. Remember, the thematic verse here is "A promise made with the autumn moon"' The first poem, composed by Sugawara no Fumitoki (899-981) of the left team, runs as follows:

> Does ever an autumn pass without longing after the moon? How
> much greater still the longing on this the sixteenth night! Nature

itself plies sonorous chords for this pure, cool garden; gazing afar at yonder clouds, I see promise of another ten-thousand years.[77]

Naomoto's poem mirrors the structure and imagery of his opponent:

Though I think on thee whenever the mist recedes, revealing golden moonlit waves, my longing is never so deep as when the cool breeze blows in this the eighth month. Verily, the purest moonlight promises to shine upon the august palace of my most sagely lord for ten-thousand years.[78]

My interpretation of the first verse of Naomoto's poem has been affected by a brief comment found in the edition of *Gōdanshō* used in this analysis. Though tempted to translate the first verse as "Though I think on thee whenever golden moonlit waves are enveloped in autumn mist," reading the character 巻 as *maku*, "envelope," the editors of this edition remind me that this character historically possesses an alternate gloss, *osamu*, meaning "to repress," "to quell," or, in this case "to recede." This latter reading makes more sense, especially when we consider that mist is usually rendered as

[77] *Tentoku tōshi*, 281 (see Appendix B, no. 26).

[78] Ibid, 281-282 (see Appendix B, no. 27).

something that obstructs moonlight. Receding mist would allow the moon to shine more brilliantly upon the waves.[79]

It is the first couplet of Naomoto's poem ("Though I think…the eight month.") which *Gōdanshō* has attributed to Koretoki's invention. Naomoto's (or perhaps Koretoki's) "purest moonlight" mirrors Fumitoki's "pure, cool garden," both of which are indirect references to the venue of this banquet—the Seiryōden—which means literally "pure, cool palace." Fumitoki gives the day, while Naomoto gives the month of the occasion: the sixteenth day of the eighth month. Both men offer prayers of longevity for their lord, Emperor Murakami. Admittedly, the image of mist rolling back to reveal golden moonlit waves is sublime, and yet, aside from this, there is nothing exceptional about Naomoto's poem. Perhaps we might sight his use of honorific epithets, such as "august palace" and "most sagely lord" as evincing a loftier pitch. The quality of Naomoto's verse, however, was simply not the issue here. Koretoki was in charge. This was a staged fight; his team was bound to take the palm. The final outcome was merely a show of sportsmanship—an outcome, it should be noted, that was agreed upon by both teams from the outset. That these two poems agree so completely in form and image, being parallel constructs of each other, reveals collaboration between the teams

[79] *Gōdanshō,* 4:15, 111.

beforehand. The real work of composition and revision happened behind the scenes, during the two weeks prior to the actual banquet. Though divided into two opposing teams, these men were by no means enemies. Quite the contrary—these were men intimately acquainted with one another, following close upon each other's heels, eager to take advantage of any mutually beneficial turn of events that might chance to befall them. Tachibana no Naomoto and Sugawara no Fumitoki were not only both students in the same faculty, the faculty of letters (*monjōin*), in the Imperial University, moreover, they belonged to the same department therein, that is, the Western Hall (*seisō*).[80] Koretoki, hailing from the Ōe family, was a scholar from the Eastern Hall (*tōsō*). Traditionally, sons of both the Tachibana and the Sugawara houses studied in the Western Hall, while scions of the Ōe family studied in the Eastern Hall.[81] Significantly, the Eastern Hall was also home to influential members of the Northern Fujiwara family. Emperor Murakami was the grandson of Emperor Uda (867-931, r. 887-897), a man who had intimate ties with the Northern Fujiwara.[82] It follows, then, that Koretoki was most likely chosen to act as judge in virtue of his affiliations with the Northern Fujiwara,

[80] Momo, *Jōdai gakusei no kenkyū*, 169-171.

[81] *Nichū reki*, vol. 2, *jushoku reki* (Momo, *Jōdai gakusei no kenkyū*, 163).

[82] Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 115.

and consequently with Emperor Murakami's political regime. The victory of Koretoki's team at the Tentoku Poetry Competition served as a propaganda piece, legitimizing this new regime. Ultimately, the academic affiliation of poets involved in this competition was of little import.

There are a number of seemingly contradictory points requiring clarification. *Gōdanshō*'s account of Koretoki, who belonged to the Eastern Hall, agreeing to help Naomoto, a scholar from the Western Hall, though seemingly contradictory, especially when we consider the competitive spirit that persisted between the Sugawara and the Ōe families, is irrelevant when considered against the larger political picture. Having Naomoto pitted against Fumitoki—two men from the same department—may also seem odd at first glance. There is, in reality, nothing odd about this. Koretoki, in cooperation with Emperor Murakami, used this strategy to insure a sense of harmony among the participants, as if to say; "It matters little who wins this match, men. We are all cut of the same cloth, are we not?" Of the four bouts organized between Naomoto and Fumitoki, the former was granted only a single victory, while the latter claimed three. We can almost hear Koretoki continuing in the same vein; "You see, men, my judgments are free from prejudice. I have not favored Fumitoki over Naomoto." Likewise, it may seem curious that of the seven poems presented by Naomoto, only two

were judged by Koretoki as victorious. Koretoki granted himself but two victories. Again, the answer is simple: he could not very well grant his junior more victories than he himself had procured. All of this was nothing but subtle political trickery. Koretoki, through endless maneuverings, was ensuring that his family would prosper alongside the Northern Fujiwara clique.

LaMarre describes the efficacy of poetry gatherings in which rival poems are played off one another as a coordination of resonant tensions, which reinforces the notion of an agonistic, provocative *interrelatedness* subsisting between these poems. The nature of Heian poetic competition is neither one of negation nor of absorption—as though either one poem had to be defeated, totally eliminated, or else both had to be completely consolidated into a single, unified whole—but rather one of permanent provocation or oscillation.[83] Only in this way could poems be understood as eternally productive, now rising, now falling, now producing one kind of effect here, now another there.

[83] LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan*, 73, 107.

VI. Metaphorical Spaces Within Preludes: *Fusō kobunshū*

The preceding illustration of a public poetry recital from *Tentoku tōshi* elucidates the complex sort of socio-political maneuvering involved in such gatherings. It is time now to take up once more the subject of metaphorical spaces as seen in a number of Heian preludes.

1. Ōe no Chisato's prelude and metaphorical signifiers

The document I wish to examine presently has been given two titles: the extant handwritten manuscript of this work has been registered as *Waka manajoshū* (*Kara Preludes to Yamato Poetry*), while the typeface edition has been given the name *Fusō kobunshū* (*Old Writings of Fusō*), where '*fusō*' is synonymous with *yamato*. This latter title will be used throughout our discussion, unless referring explicitly to the handwritten facsimile, in which case the title *Waka manjoshū* will be adopted.

During the summer of 2012, having had an opportunity to do some research at the Historiographical Institute at Tokyo University, I was able to view the original handwritten manuscript of *Waka manajoshū*. Probably copied sometime in the early thirteenth century, this document takes the form of a long scroll. A number of letters addressed to Ōe no Hiromoto (1148-1225), one of Minamoto no Yoritomo's (1147-1199) closest vassals, have been glued together side-by-side, on the reverse side of which the

Waka manajoshū has been copied. Among these missives, one clearly shows the date Angen 2 (1176), while another is proposed to date from Kenkyū 7 (1196). Despite a colophon appended to *Waka manajoshū* dated Ōhō 2 (1162), it is obvious that this document, having been written on the reverse side of the aforementioned letters only *after* they had been gathered (sometime after they had been received, and consequently deemed no longer useful) and pasted together, cannot have been composed any earlier than the end of the twelfth century.[84]

Twenty-nine preludes written in the *kara* style have been preserved in this document—the first portion of which is missing—most of which were penned for banquets in which *yamato* style poems were presented, with one or two for banquets in which *kara* style poems were presented. This, at least seems to be the common consensus among the very small number of Japanese scholars who have written anything at all about this document. I would argue, however, that though a good number of preludes in this anthology do explicitly state that poems recited during a given occasion were *yamato* style pieces, there is a large number of preludes that do not. In

[84] *Fusō kobunshū*, 1. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Kondō Shigekazu at the Historical Institute for his generosity and continued patience as my acting supervisor during the summer of 2012.

several cases, when there is no historical evidence available for corroboration, we simply cannot know what sorts of poems were recited.

What we *can* know for certain is this: in comparison to preludes composed for *kara* style poems, those written for *yamato* style poems tend to be shorter in length. Historically, whereas the former were simply referred to as poem preludes (*shijo*), the latter were called substitute preludes (*jodai*), that is, substitutes insofar as they were later developments modeled after the long-established, and therefore genuine *kara* style poem preludes. Being relatively short compositions, these substitute preludes were also known as short preludes (*shōjo*). Preludes for *yamato* style poems are to be found as early as *Man'yōshū*, composed by poets such as Ōtomo no Tabito (665-731), Yamanoue no Okura (660?-733?), and Ōtomo no Yakamochi (718-785), all known for their exceptional intimacy with continental literature.[85]

Looking at the few preludes composed by Nara poets still preserved in *Man'yōshū*, it appears that there was, at this time, no established convention for this sort of composition. Preludes, *as a genre*, did not yet exist.[86] Tabito's prelude appears in fascicle 5 of *Man'yōshū* before a small collection of thirty-two *yamato* style poems

[85] Ōsone, "Wakajo shōkō," 588-589.

[86] Ibid, 590.

(poem nos. 815-846) composed around the theme of plum blossoms.[87] According to this prelude, Tabito held a banquet at his home on the thirteen day of the first month in Tenpyō 2 (730), just when the plum blossoms would have been in bloom. This prelude, therefore, is nearly two centuries older than the oldest piece found in *Fusō kobunshū*, composed by Ōe no Chisato (prelude no. 22). Aside from the personification of pines and birds, there is, in my estimation, not much in the way of poetic transformation here—at least not when compared to the sort of brilliant displays of metamorphosis poets become accustomed to in, for example, later preludes found in the *Fusō kobunshū*. Tabito does, however, succeed in constructing a relatively simple sort of metaphorical space capable of harmonizing the poetic acts of both himself and his guests by likening the heavens and earth to the ceiling and floor mats of his own house: "With heaven roofed overhead and earth spread out beneath."[88] His home thus becomes, for the duration of this banquet, a microcosm, endued with the greater potency of celestial and terrestrial forces.

As mentioned above, the earliest prelude included here (prelude no. 22) was written by Ōe no Chisato (n.d.), who, in Kanpyō 6 (894), was ordered by Emperor Uda

[87] *Man'yōshū*, vol. 1, fascicle 5, before poem no. 815, 465-466.

[88] See Appendix B, no. 28.

to compile and present a copy of his family's poetry anthology, *Kudai waka* (*Yamato Poems to Thematic Verses*, n.d.).[89] Ōsone, referring to this prelude, notes the lack of any concrete description of circumstances surrounding the event or of the participants—articles present, as a rule, in later Heian preludes.[90] Chisato's prelude, then, might be seen as an example of a transitional period in the genre, when conventions of composition had not yet been firmly established. The title of Chisato's prelude reads: "On the third day of the third month, at the Pond Pagoda Gathering of Rihōō."[91] Allow me to offer *two* possible interpretations of this.

Rihōō was an alias given to Prince Shigeakira (906-954), fourth son of Emperor Daigo (885-930, r. 897-930), upon his being granted the post of minister of ceremonies (*shikubukyō*) sometime before Tenryaku 5 (951).[92] If the r*ihōō* here is indeed referring to Shigeakira, it follows that Chisato was still publically active during the middle of the tenth century, at which point he must have been extremely elderly!

---

[89] *Nihon kiryaku*, Kanpyō 6 (894) 4/22; *Kudai waka*, preface (*Dainihon shiryō*, 1:2, 145-6).

[90] Ōsone, "Wakajo shōkō," 590.

[91] See Appendix B, no. 29.

[92] *Seikyūki*, Tenryaku 5 (951) 11(probably erratum for 12)/5 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 1:9, 780).

Incidentally, Chisato had a younger brother named Chifuru (886-924), whose third son was none other than Ōe no Koretoki, judge of the Tentoku Poetry Competition. If we tentatively date the banquet detailed in Chisato's prelude at, say, 950, Emperor Murakami would have still been on the throne, while his political allay, Koretoki, would have been active. Both of these men had close ties to the Sekkanke, or central lineage of the Northern Branch (Hokke) of the Fujiwara clan, as did Shigeakira, whose two consorts were both daughters of Sekkanke Northern Fujiwara aristocrats. Considering the Tentoku Poetry Competition was held in Tentoku 3 (959), along with the mutual affiliations of those involved, the banquet held at Shigeakira's pagoda might have had some relation to the former.

Another—I believe far more convincing—interpretation would take rihōō as referring not to a prince but a *princess*. This banquet bears certain resemblances to both the Teiji Villa Poetry Gathering (*Teijiin no utaawase*) held in 913 and the Kyōgoku Consort Poetry Competition (*Kyōgoku no miyasundokoro Hōshi no utaawase*) held in 921. Heldt has summarized the political undertones of both of these poetry gatherings, as well as provided us with a lucid English translation of the *kana* prefaces appended to each.[93] The pond pagoda (*chitei*) found in the title of Chisato's prelude might very well

[93] Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 114-121, 319-322.

be synonymous with the Teiji Villa (*teijiin*), which was a pagoda erected in the center of a scenic pond. Placing the date of Chisato's prelude somewhere between 913 and 921 seems more realistic, considering it would not overly extend his lifespan. Perhaps the most convincing feature linking Chisato's prelude to these two poetry gatherings is the presence almost exclusively of women. The Teiji Villa and the Kyōgoku Consort poetry matches were headed by women, and the majority of members were women. Chisato informs us that, at this particular banquet,

> There were four young serving girls all clad in yellow-green, treading upon bejewelled sandals, looking like the green willow branches and the yellow nightingale; there were eight mature consorts, dressed in dark-red, draped in purple embroidery, looking like the flowers of the wisteria and the stamens of cherry blossoms. Now tuning the bridges of their zithers, they sing among themselves of the intimate nightingales; now decorating themselves with flowers of the meadow, they secretly charm the fluttering butterflies.[94]

[94] *Fusō kobunshū*, 12 (see Appendix B, no. 30).

Here we have a pair of parallel couplets (which I have separated by a period): the first such couplet depicts the women as flowers and birds appropriate to springtime, while the second hints at more erotic undertones—both 'intimate nightingales' and 'fluttering butterflies' refer to harmonious relations between man and woman.

I would now have my reader note the use of a certain phrase, occurring in the first couplet, translated as "look like." The young serving girls *look like* green willow branches and yellow nightingales; the older consorts *look like* purple wisteria blossoms and purple-pink cherry blossom stamens. In the original, for both instances of 'look like', we find the character 擬, which is usually read phonetically as *gi* (or, in verb form, as *gi su*), though in this case it seems more appropriate to read it semantically as *omou*, which might be rendered here by the more casual (and much less poetic) phrase "you would think (they looked like)…," or "(They) looked for all the world (like)…" This sort of metaphor is important, for it reinforces the cosmological function of poetry, that is, the coordination of the terrestrial—natural phenomena and the march of the seasons—with the terrestrial—female participants at the banquet. The word '*omou*' has a stronger nuance than my 'look like'; Chisato creates a metaphoric space in which these women are temporarily transformed into, or at least intimately coordinated with, the various phenomena with which they are being associated. The act of coordination is being

carried on before our eyes. For the duration of this poetic act, and each successive recitation thereafter—including the recitation within this paper—these women *become* flowers and birds. Poetic transformation within metaphorical spaces is, as LaMarre puts it, a conscious complication of vision, facilitating the simultaneous emergence of various patterns and rhythms. Once our vision has been amply complicated, once we are able to see a number of images superimposed atop one another, we begin to sense the resonance between terrestrial and celestial forces.[95]

Chisato claims there was not a single man to be seen at the scene of this banquet. Of course, that is not completely true. Chisato, for one, was permitted to attend. Furthermore, if parallels between this and the other poetry competitions discussed above hold true, there were most likely a large number of men present. Perhaps Chisato is referring strictly to the garden, replete with two islands and a pond, in which he quietly observes these women sing and frolic about. The second couplet certainly suggests the presence of men somewhere within earshot. Poetic transformation occurs more profoundly in this second couplet, when the women now *become* nightingales and butterflies. These women are not said to resemble or look like these things; they become them. Metaphoric space permits a rapid succession of metamorphoses, the

[95] LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan*, 172, 179.

psychological effect of which is neither alarming nor frightful. We observe the change in our mind's eye as something perfectly natural, and perhaps even as *necessary*. These women, by being transformed in this manner, simultaneously serve as a locus of cosmological and sexual harmony. If, by extended acquaintance with Heian poetry, we become attuned to such cosmological rhythms, Chisato's poetic words begin to have a much stronger, more immediate psychological impact. His metaphors, far from being mere word-play, take on a *reality* unique to metaphoric spaces such as these.

A musical theorist by the name of Steve Larson, in his *Musical Forces*, asking us to more consciously consider our lived, personal experience of music, reminds us that the concept of musical motion is a profound enigma. I fully agree, and would like, furthermore, to extend this statement to our ideas of poetic efficacy, of the psychological power of metaphor. Musical motion, Larson continues, is some kind of metaphorical motion that exerts its effect upon the listener in a metaphorical space; though we are not *literally* moved by music, we certainly feel *as though* we are being moved. That, in itself, is real, insofar as we are willing to consider metaphorical experiences as real. Musical motion, existing in its metaphorical space, is the result of an incredibly sophisticated psychological feat of synthesis, wherein sounds are inwardly crafted into meaningful patterns that somehow incite an infinite gamut of emotional and imaginative

responses. The exact same may—nay, *must*—be said of poetry. Psychologically speaking, then, the world of musical motion and metaphorical efficacy is *more* real than the musical notes or poetic verses themselves. Our yearning after a monolithic ontology (only *this* sort of reality is *really* real), though understandable, does not do justice to the multifaceted nature of human experience.[96]

This sort of metaphoric transformation, a very real part of our psychological experience of poetry, is especially prevalent in Heian *kara* style composition, and most noteworthy in the genre of prelude literature. Metaphoric transformation in these preludes serves a twofold purpose, possessing both a cosmologico-aesthetic and socio-political efficacy. Though stated near the beginning of this thesis, I would like to repeat my definitions of these two crucial terms here: 'cosmologico-aesthetic ' refers to the harmonious coordination of heterogeneous cosmological forces by means of aesthetic expression. 'Socio-political', the more familiar term, refers to interactions between a wide variety of social, often ritualized actions and a political subculture, which is often associated with wealth and charisma. The socio-political function of preludes is made possible through a cosmologico-aesthetic mode of expression crystallized in metaphorical spaces of transformation and coordination. Strictly

[96] Larson, *Musical Forces*, 62-63, 77-79.

speaking, the cosmological, aesthetic, social, and political elements are inseparable from one another; herein lays the magic of Heian preludes. To return one last time to Larson, he uses the term 'emergent property' to refer to a global—by which he means something like cumulatively emerging or integrated—phenomenon resulting from the coordinated interaction of any number of more local—that is, individual or less integrated—phenomena. His example is a flock of geese flying in a V formation. Not a single bird, purportedly, consciously makes the decision to fly in such a formation; each bird makes immediate responses to local factors, such as wind, and the movements of neighbouring birds. The result, however, is a global movement, which, from our earthbound perspective, looks like the letter V.[97] He employs the idea of emergent properties as a means of explaining certain expressive elements of music. This same idea may be adapted to explain the overall effect of poetry—especially preludes—on a Heian (and sometimes modern) audience. Cosmologico-aesthetic elements, such as tonal rhythm, rhyme, meaning, imagery, parallel construction, along with all the ritualistic trappings consequent upon public recitation of poetry, amalgamate to produce a grand, global effect, the psychological impact of which is far greater than any of its parts.

[97] Ibid, 17-18.

Returning to Chisato's preface, it is one of those instances in which we are *not* given any explicit statement regarding the nature of the poems recited at this banquet. They might very well have been *yamato* style poems, considering the preponderance of women, though they could just as easily have been *kara* style pieces, especially if men were involved in the event.

2. One prelude, five poets

In its current, incomplete, form, the *Fusō kobunshū* contains twenty-nine preludes, all written in the *kara* style of composition, some for banquets in which *yamato* poems were recited, others for events in which *kara* style poems were intoned. The earliest prelude in this anthology as noted above, was composed by Ōe no Chisato sometime around the beginning of the tenth century. This seems to be a stray addition, however, considering the next earliest prelude (prelude no. 25) was composed sometime shortly before Kankō 8 (1011), while the latest (prelude no. 29) contains the date Tenji 2 (1144). That is to say, aside from Chisato's prelude, the remaining twenty-eight pieces were composed within a period of about a century and a half. Roughly speaking, the largest concentration of preludes occurs between the years 1099 and 1112, with a total of nine preludes. In the appendix of this thesis I have included a table containing all

preludes found in this anthology, rearranged in *chronological* order, including such information as composer and venue.

Preludes, containing both poetic as well as prosaic elements, were highly esteemed by Heian men of letters. From what has been postulated above regarding the interpenetration of cosmologico-aesthetic and socio-political elements in these preludes, it would seem that Heian literati had good reason to anthologize and emulate these pieces. The following section contains a number of examples from *Fusō kobunshū* that most clearly illustrate the elaborate function of metaphoric transformation.

Prelude no. 11, composed in the spring of Jōtoku 3 (1099), is unique insofar as it is the work of five men. Before discussing the socio-political relationships between these men, however, it is crucial to elucidate the context of the banquet behind this prelude. I will demonstrate, in contrast with a certain contemporaneous event of rather grand proportions, that the banquet of prelude no. 11 was a relatively private affair. Only by a comparison of this sort can such a distinction be made clear. Looking at the prelude alone, we are able to glean the following information: the title of this prelude reads: "*Yamato* poems composed together around the thematic verse 'The garden is buried in falling flowers', in late spring—prelude appended;" there were five or six

fellow noblemen in attendance this day.[98] That is all we are told. Two Heian diaries, *Chūyūki* (*Diary of Munetada*, 1138) and *Honchō seiki* (*Records of an Era in Our Land*, 1159), contain entries mentioning an event that may be closely related to this banquet.[99] *Chūyūki* tells us that on the twenty-eight day of the third month of 1099, a royal archery contest was held. On this same day, a playful mock archery contest, involving small toy bows and arrows, was held in the consort's palace, along with various other festivities, including *kemari* (a type of football played by Heian aristocrats), music, and a royal *yamato* poetry gathering.[100] Though we might be tempted to equate this latter gathering with the banquet of prelude no. 11, a similar, more descriptive entry in *Honchō seiki* shows a number of discrepancies. Namely, the author of the prelude to the consort's palace *yamato* poetry gathering is given as Fujiwara no Masaie (1026-1111), a high-ranking official of the fourth rank lower grade, and a university professor who served as imperial tutor to Emperor Horikawa (1079-1107, r. 1086-11107). Prelude no. 11 does not list Masaie among its five authors. Furthermore, the thematic verse selected

[98] *Fusō kobunshū*, 7 (see Appendix B, no. 31).

[99] I have translated *Chūyūki* as *Diary of Munetada*, considering *chūyū* is an abbreviation for Naka no mikado (family name) and *udaijin* (minister of the right), which denote the house and station respectively of Fujiwara no Munetada (1062-1141).

[100] *Chūyūki*, Kōwa 1=Jōtoku 3 (1099) 3/28 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:5, 337).

for the gathering is given as "The wind is silent; the flowers fragrant" 風静花芳, which does *not* match that of prelude no. 11. The former chief minister, along with all beneath him, was in attendance at this extravagant occasion.[101] In contrast to this, the event described in prelude no. 11 was attended by no more than five or six literati—hardly an extravagant affair.

Taira no Suketoshi (n.d.), the first author listed in prelude no. 11, seems to have been somehow involved with the civil ministry (*minbushō*), having been granted the junior fifth rank lower grade in Ōtoku 3 (1086).[102] If he ever had an official position in the civil ministry, he was no longer holding any position when this prelude was written; in the *Fusō kobunshū*, Suketoshi is designated as *san'i*, that is, one who, though holding a rank, lacked an official position. The third author, Fujiwara no Atsumitsu (1063-1144), is also listed as *san'i* at the time of this event, though he later climbed the political ladder, serving as imperial tutor. Two other authors in this group, Fujiwara no Aritada (n.d.) and Ōe no Iekuni (n.d.), remain unknown to us; there is nothing substantial regarding these men in the historical record. The final author, Fujiwara no Nagazane

[101] *Honchō seiki*, Kōwa 1=Jōtoku 3 (1099) 3/28 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:5, 337-338).

[102] *Misokui joi burui*, Horikawa-in, Ōtoku 3 (1086) 12/16 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:1, 22, 26).

(?-1119) is listed as a former *monjō tokugōshō,* a title referring to a university scholar in the faculty of letters whose exceptional academic achievements granted him a seat at the state examination—essentially the fast road to political success. The date of this man's death, Gen'ei 2 (1119) 11/12, is recorded in *Sonpi bunmyaku* (*Collected Genealogies,* late 14th c.). This same entry gives his rank as junior fourth rank lower grade, and his official post as senior secretary (*dainaiki*), a position limited to graduates from the faculty of letters.[103] It seems that, among the five men who composed short preludes, Nagazane alone held a position of power at the time of this event.

The extravagant banquet, complete with games, music, and *yamato* poetry recitation, held in the consort's palace must be viewed as distinct from the much less dignified banquet attended by this handful of more-or-less undistinguished gentlemen. Whereas the former is recorded as having occurred on the twenty-eighth day of the third month, the latter, according to Aritada's use of the phrase "the middle of the month", seems to have been held sometime between the eleventh and the twentieth day of this same month. That these banquets occurred within ten odd days of each other may be coincidental, though it seems reasonable to assume some relationship between the two events—though what exactly that relationship was is not clear. What we might say with

[103] *Sonpi bunmyaku*, Fujiwara uji, Sadatsugu no mago (*Dainihon shiryō,* 3:23, 115).

confidence is this: whereas the grand banquet and festivities of the twenty-eighth day were organized and attended by high-ranking nobility, held within the palace at the consort's palace, the banquet mentioned in prelude no. 11 was a small-scale, relatively private affair. By 'private' here is meant simply *somewhat more removed*—both politically as well as cosmologically—from the court. That is not to say this banquet was insignificant. An interlinear gloss appearing beside the title of this prelude indicating the venue states that this event was held at the same mansion as the "previous" banquet. If this gloss is referring to the previous prelude (no. 10), the venue would have been none other than the Toba mansion (Toba'in), a villa frequented by, among others after him, Retired Emperor Shirakawa (1053-1129, r. 1073-1087, *in* 1087-1129). During the Kōwa years (1099-1103) alone, two dozen processions led by this retired emperor to the Toba mansion are recorded, five instances of which occurred

on the second or third day of the first month of each year.[104] This mansion, located several kilometers south of the capital (see figure 2), and therefore also known appropriately as the Villa South of the Capital (Jōnan rikyū), is mentioned, either directly or indirectly, as the venue for poetry gatherings in at least eight preludes in our *Fusō kobunshū* (preludes nos. 4, 2, 11, 15, 10, 9, 27, 13). A venue of this nature, therefore, far from being insignificant, possessed well-pronounced socio-political nuances. Consequently, the banquet described in prelude no. 11, though ostensibly less extravagant than that held in the consort's palace several days later, was charged with its own deeply felt political connotations. That this set of five short preludes was selected as worthy of preservation in the *Fusō kobunshū* is ample evidence of its high reception.

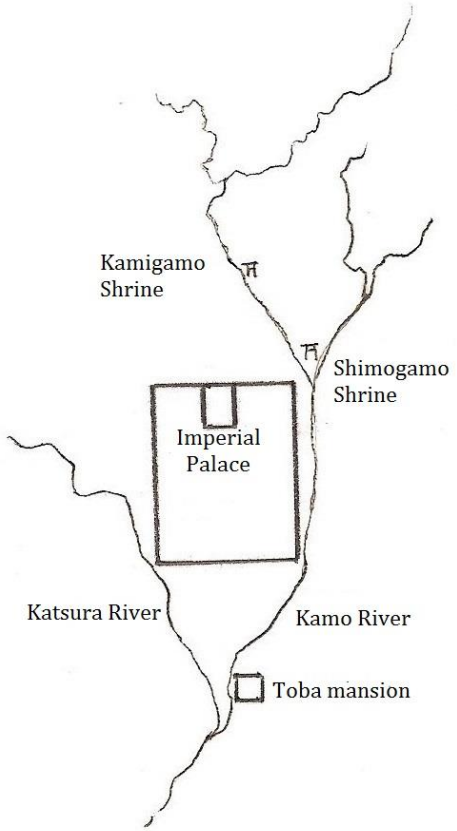

Figure 2. The Toba mansion

[104] Various entries in *Dainihon shiryō*, 3:5-6.

The significance of the Kōwa years deserves some attention here. As Mikael Adolphson has observed, Emperor Shirakawa's sudden rise to dominance within the court began sometime after 1100. Two of the most influential Fujiwara chieftains, Morozane (1042-1101) and his son, Moromichi (1062-1099), died within two years of one another, leaving the latter's young son, Tadazane (1078-1162), to manage Fujiwara political affairs at court. Shirakawa, though technically retired, was able to keep Tadazane under thumb, effectively quelling the once seemingly unconquerable Fujiwara bloc.[105] A sudden surge, therefore, of royal processions, many to the Toba mansion, as well as poetry banquets during the Kōwa years may be explained by Shirakawa's unprecedented rise to power over his Fujiwara rivals. These celebratory occasions served to legitimize Shirakawa's newly obtained authority.

Let us now turn our attention to the content of these five short preludes, focusing on the way in which a mutual metaphorical space is created wherein cosmologico-aesthetic elements are effectively expressed. The thematic verse around which these literati composed their poems was "The garden is buried in falling flowers."[106] As each man has endeavoured to capture the essence of this theme, the

[105] Adolphson, *Gates of Power*, 75-81.

[106] See Appendix B, no. 32.

final product is a concatenation of mutually provocative verses. The following is a selection of the most revealing couplets—one per author—in order of appearance.[107] These verses are rich in metaphorical language that may be difficult to understand at first glance. Fear not—the proceeding commentary ought to provide ample clarification.

> As floating willow blossoms scatter here and there, snow upon the smooth sand grows ever more vivid; as falling colors of apricot petals flutter about, the rainbow of dancing dust glows a brighter red.
>
> —Taira no Suketoshi

> Back and forth we tread, our bejewelled sandals peeking out from amidst the red; falling blossoms flutter up and down—the color of green moss turns snow white.
>
> —Ōe no Iekuni

> Motley petals follow the footsteps of men in bejewelled sandals coming and going; drifting blossoms vie for brilliance with men clad in brocade garments on their way to the banquet.
>
> —Fujiwara no Atsumitsu

[107] *Fusō kobunshū*, 7-8 (see Appendix B, no. 33-37).

Vivid red blossoms flutter about—mist upon the surface of sand
glimmers so brightly; powdered pigments scattered here and
there—snow upon the mossy hair glows a pure white!

—Fujiwara no Aritada

I knew not that waves, churning atop one another, made not a
sound; nor that snow, lingering over from last year, had such a
fragrance.

—Fujiwara no Nagazane

First, Suketoshi transforms fallen willow blossoms, scattered here and there, into bright snow upon smooth sand, a poetic term for smoothly raked pebbles of a garden. Likewise, apricot petals fluttering about in midair are here transformed into an earthly rainbow of dancing red dust. As my translation will have conveyed, Suketoshi does not use any phrases that might hint at metaphorical usage—not a single "look like" or "seems to be." A more straightforward version of this couplet might read as follows: "Floating willow blossoms scatter here and there, shimmering vividly *like* snow upon the garden; falling apricot petals flutter about *like* a rainbow of dancing red dust." The use of 'like' indicates that these fallen willow blossoms are not real snow, but *resemble* snow. Likewise with apricot petals: they have not formed themselves into a real rainbow,

but somehow *resemble* one. Suketoshi, by doing away with 'looks like' or 'resembles', draws a more intimate connection between the various heterogeneous elements of his comparisons; the transformation seems more effective for want of such tell-tale indicators of metaphoric usage. In like manner are the metaphorical transformations conjured up by the other four men in this series made more efficacious, in virtue of being more immediately experienced. Within this shared metaphoric space, willow blossoms do not merely resemble snowflakes—they *become* snowflakes; dancing apricot petals do not merely look like a rainbow—they *become* a rainbow. It is crucial that these things be allowed to actually become something new, if the cosmological significance is to be fully realized. Within this couplet we see two parallel constructs: one of space, one of color. Apricot petals, transformed into a rainbow, are suspended above, while willow blossoms, transformed into fallen snow, are settled below. The rainbow glows red, while the snow shines white. Consider, too, the subtle inversion of spatial motion here: snow, having fallen from above, has settled quietly upon the ground, whereas dust, having been gathered up from the earth, now floats momentarily in the air. We have before us a poetic coordination of celestial and terrestrial elements, fundamentally heterogeneous powers set into a relationship of alternating spatiality. In terms of color, the willow blossoms/snow grow ever more vivid; the apricot

petals/rainbow glow a brighter red. This relationship is one of mutual provocation, in which both elements are positively affected. Being the first in this series of miniature preludes, Suketoshi's efficacious poetic imagery sets the scene for the piece as a whole.

Figure 3. Section from *Waka manajoshū*, showing the problematic gloss for 擎 in Iekuni's prelude (bottom of the second line)

Iekuni responds to his companion's verses with a couplet depicting the toes of bejewelled sandals peeking out from amidst a carpet of scattered red petals, and falling blossoms dotting the green moss with flecks of white. I must mention briefly a discrepancy with the manuscript, simply to avoid censure from those who may consult the original. In the first line of Iekuni's couplet, the character translated as "peeking out" is written as 擎, which is usually given the semantic reading *sasageru*, meaning "to lift" or "to raise upwards." This same manuscript, as may be noted in figure 3, contains a gloss at the bottom of the page, which would have us understand this character as an erratum for 声 (*koe*), "sound" or "voice."[108] Ōsone

[108] *Waka manajoshū,* 13.

happens to follow this reading.[109] Admittedly, the original character, if read as *sasageru*, is problematic; it does not go well with sandals. If, on the other hand, in accordance with this latter gloss (*koe*), we substitute my tentative translation—"peeking out"—with "sound," we end up with the following rendition: "Back and forth we tread, *the sound of* our bejewelled sandals *heard through* the red; falling blossoms flutter up and down—the color of green moss turns snow-white." That the sound of sandals should be heard amidst floating petals is not exceptionally poetic, unless we are to imagine the air so full of petals that those walking about in the garden cannot see, but only hear one another. Interesting though this image may be, it does not accord well with the second verse, which revolves around a juxtaposition of *color*, in harmony with Suketoshi's couplet. If, however, we understand this problematic character as referring to some part of the sandal—perhaps the tip, i.e., that which is "raised up"—we might interpret the verse as follows: "our bejewelled sandals *peeking out* from amidst the red." In this way, the color, whatever that may be, of their sandals is juxtaposed against that of fallen petals. Sandals are dyed red and moss is colored white. The red in Iekuni's poetic vision corresponds to the rainbow of red dust glittering over the garden described by Suketoshi. Just as Suketoshi saw the sand/pebbles of the garden turn white with fallen willow

[109] Ōsone, "Wakajo shōkō," 603.

blossoms/snow, so, too, does Iekuni observe the moss as it becomes ermined with petals/snow. Though ambiguity of interpretation remains, it is clear that Iekuni has utilized his literary powers as a means of coordinating his verses with those of Suketoshi.

Third in line is Fujiwara no Atsumitsu, who, elaborating upon the imagery of color, gives us a picture of many-colored petals following behind the footfalls of sparkling, bejewelled sandals, of drifting blossoms competing for brilliance with vibrant brocade garments. Whereas the previous two couplets set up juxtapositions of color—red/white, green/white—Atsumitsu's verses introduce a mutual provocation of color. Colorful petals upon the ground follow behind equally colorful sandals; vibrant petals falling through the air vie with equally vibrant garments. These fallen petals, anthropomorphized into sentimental lovers, follow behind the men's sandals out of a longing to get closer to those shimmering hues. The airborne blossoms, transformed into bands of eager suitors, strive fervently to impress those brocade garments with their own native hues. Rhetorically, this might be referred to as personification. However, in line with what has been said above, Atsumitsu's metaphor should not be taken merely as a rhetorical trick. Insofar as this metaphor occurs within a mutually constructed metaphorical space, the petals are not merely personified, but transformed—truly

anthropomorphized—into sentimental beings, fawning upon and alluring these refined gentlemen. This is a crucial turn of events. Now we have natural phenomena transformed into emotional beings, partaking in the sensitivities of man. Atsumitsu has succeeded in introducing a far more intimate relationship between the surrounding natural phenomena and his fellow banquet-goers; celestial and terrestrial elements are set ever closer together that a more complete interpenetration might take place. As the level of intimacy grows, so too does the emotional impact. Atsumitsu closes his prelude with "Sighing alone will not do—I must try my hand at singing a few verses!"[110]

After Atsumitsu comes Aritada, another Fujiwara nobleman. Echoing imagery found in the first two preludes, he shows us red blossoms transformed into glimmering mist drifting through the garden, and powdered pigments—fallen petals—transformed into snow upon the moss. Juxtapositions of color are once again brought to the fore, though 'powdered pigments' and 'mossy hair' are also suggestive of a lingering anthropomorphic element. More importantly, however, is the gradual loss of focus, or blurring effect, found in this couplet. What were until now clearly recognizable petals and blossoms become, in the eyes of Aritada, a more nebulous sort of red vividness, for that would be the direct translation of '*kōen*' 紅艶, which I have, for clarity's sake,

[110] See Appendix B, no. 38.

rendered as "vivid red blossoms." In the next line, this self-same red vividness is referred to as a glimmering mist; flower petals have been transformed into an amorphous vapour of brilliant hue. That is to say, the original phenomena have given way to their more essential quality—color—whereby the harmonious coordination of these juxtaposed heterogeneous elements can be more easily accommodated.

Transformation within this mutually created metaphoric space has come a long way. To return wholeheartedly to the more concrete, focused sort of imagery found in the first three preludes in this group might seem redundant. Nagazane, our final participant, conscious of his duty as concluder of this series, courteously summarizes his fellows' verses as follows: "Powder of varying hue, light and dark, enshrouds the white sand and green moss."[111] 'Powder' here, of course, refers to flower petals. This passing description thus supplied, Nagazane proceeds to encapsulate the deeper sentiments of all present with the words "I knew not that waves, churning atop one another, made not a sound; nor that snow, lingering over from last year, had such a fragrance." This "I knew not" would perhaps be better translated as "What surprise I feel when noting that…," considering the feeling here is one of newfound wonder, not ignorance. This is yet another interesting turn of events. Not color, but sound and

[111] See Appendix B, no. 39.

fragrance now come to the foreground. Flower petals drifting through the air and blossoms fallen to the ground are respectively transformed into churning waves and snow upon the garden—waves, nevertheless, that move without a sound; snow that effuses a sweet fragrance. As noted above, a return to the more concrete images found throughout the previous preludes in this series might seem redundant, yet that is just what Nagazane is doing, though in a very interesting way. By calling our attention to the curious incongruities of soundless waves and fragrant snow, he reminds us that though flower petals have indeed been transformed into waves and snow, rainbows and mist, these new forms retain certain properties of their original nature, that is, as flowers. This is not a simple transformation from one state to another, but a *temporary synthesis* of heterogeneous properties, such that the product of this metamorphosis is something truly new, worthy of wonder. I say 'temporarily' deliberately, for the fundamental character of Heian cosmology lies in a perpetual movement, an endless realignment of mutually provocative elements. The series can never be finalized. Nagazane, then, whether consciously or unconsciously—it matters not—has opened up this series to new possibilities, concluding by means of a new beginning: this protean flower/wave/snow continues to offer up new and interesting combinations of heretofore unrealized

qualities. The potential for further transformation is preserved; fluctuation between various forms is encouraged.

In terms of the psychological (or cognitive) aspects of this latest transformation, the potential for new and promising socio-political connections would have presented itself quite readily to these eager Heian aristocrats. This event was held in the Toba mansion, intimately associated with Retired Emperor Shirakawa. Nagazane, as perhaps the only participant in this banquet to have held a position of significant power, was, if not the host, at least the centerpiece. It was Nagazane who was given the privilege of concluding the series of preludes. Being a distinguished graduate from the School of Letters, as well as a scion of the Fujiwara clan, his social and political standing would have been widely recognized. The other four men in attendance would have been desirous of maintaining close relations with this man.

The meanings of poems presented orally, says Ebersole, were generated out of the performative/communicative event *in toto*. Meaning was not produced unilaterally from composer to audience, but transactionally, as a cooperative action between composer (and/or reciter) and audience. Insofar as such meaning was generated transactionally, these poems could not only mean different things, they could *do* different things, depending on the specific context. For one thing, oral poetry was

capable of actively manipulating and transforming the operative symbolic paradigms of a given community.[112] The preludes examined thus far seem to have taken the place, or at least reinforced earlier models of religio-secular public recitations, invested with the same sort of communal efficacy. Preludes, with their constant re-invoking of symbolic structures and cosmological movements, with their perpetual appeal to harmonization and coordination, to transformation and double vision, were capable of not only reinforcing but of actively reforming what Ebersole often refers to as the operative court rationality. A shift, for example, in the hierarchical organization of a particular bloc, caused by an assertion of changing status through public recital, would inevitably influence the symbolic arrangement of the various forces seen to permeate that group. When a court scholar refigured his position within the bloc in virtue of composing a prelude, he was instantly engaging in a communal act of symbolic refiguring, wherein his newly asserted status would have to be coordinated into an ever-changing network of interrelated individuals.

3. Banquets for a newborn prince

Some two years after the event described in prelude no. 11, we see a number of poetry banquets being held in or around the Toba mansion between the years 1101 and

[112] Ebersole, *Ritual Poetry,* 190, 214.

1108. *Fusō kobunshū* contains seven preludes composed between these dates (in chronological order: preludes nos. 15, 10, 17, 18, 9, 20, and 27), three of which (nos. 17, 18, and 9) occur in the summer of Chōji 1 (1104). Why the concentration here? During Shirakawa's period of retirement—which in reality marks the period of his most active political activity—the reigning emperor was Horikawa (1079-1107, r. 1086-1107). Horikawa's son, Prince Munehito (1103-1156) was born in 1103, ascending the throne as Emperor Toba (r. 1107-1123) at the age of four. The banquets described in preludes 17 and 18 took place in the prince's palace, while that of prelude 9 was hosted in the Toba mansion, after which Prince Munehito eventually took his royal name. Preludes 17 and 18 reveal nearly identical thematic verses, namely "The garden pines are ever green" and "The crane has endless years," respectively, both serving as prayers of longevity.[113] It is obvious, then, that this concentration of poetry banquets around the year 1104, and consequently of preludes, was due to the recent birth of a promising prince.

Returning to the year 1101, prelude no. 10 details a banquet held during the early winter of that year, attended by a number of high-ranking noblemen skilled in

[113] See Appendix B, no. 40.

yamato style poetry.[114] As with prelude no. 11 above, this event took place in the Toba mansion. The thematic verse chosen for this banquet was "The pines promise to bring long years."[115] According to *Fusō kobunshū*, Fujiwara no Tadamichi (1081-1122), who would have been around twenty years old at the time, was a scholar (*gakushō*) at the university. He took the national examination on the tenth day of the first month in Kajō 2 (1107), at which time his examiner was Fujiwara no Atsumune (1042-1111), who happens to be the author of prelude no. 17.[116] Later, in Eikyū 1 (1113), Tadamichi appears in historical documents as the Lord of Aki (*aki no mori*), a province in the western region of present-day Hiroshima. Apparently Tadamichi owned a mansion somewhere close to the far-famed Toba mansion, for Retired Emperor Shirakawa is recorded as having taken shelter there on the twenty-first day of the twelfth month in Eikyū 1 (1113) and again in Eikyū 5 (1117).[117] Tadamichi's close relationship to Shirakawa justifies his being selected for the prestigious duty of composing a preface for this banquet.

---

[114] *Fusō kobunshū*, 6-7.

[115] See Appendix B, no. 41.

[116] *Chūyūki*, Kajō 2 (1107) 1/10 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:9, 30).

[117] *Denryaku*, Eikyū 1 (1113) 12/21 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:14, 337); *Denryaku*, Eikyū 5 (1117) 2/12 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:18, 230).

Mention of this particular event appearing in *Denryaku* (*Imperial Calendar*, early 12th century), a diary written by Fujiwara no Tadazane, Retired Emperor Shirakawa's pawn, who served as regent for two emperors, Horikawa and Toba, informs us of a *yamato* poetry gathering held at the Toba mansion on the twenty-seventh day of the tenth month of Kōwa 3 (1101), which corresponds exactly to the interlinear gloss found for prelude no. 10 in *Waka manajoshū*.[118]

Furthermore, three of the *yamato* poems composed for this banquet are still extant, though in scattered sources. One such poem appears in *Rokujō shuri no daibushū* (*Family Anthology of Akisue*, compiled before 1123), composed by Fujiwara no Akisue (1055-1123), a foster brother of Emperor Shirakawa, born from the latter's wet nurse: "As we gaze this year at flowers budding upon the pine branches, so, throughout all seasons, it is to thee we shall look!"[119] Akisue offers up his prayers for Shirakawa's longevity and health, transferring the rejuvenating youthfulness of the new pine sprouts to his foster brother and lord. Though it does not come through in translation, Akisue is making use of the phonetic homogeneity of two terms, namely, '*somuru*' (budding) and

[118] *Denryaku*, Kōwa 3 (1011) 10/27 (*Fusō kobunshū*, 7; *Dainihon shiryō*, 3:6, 53);*Waka manajoshū*, 8.

[119] *Rokujō shuri no daibushū*, poem no. 64 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:6, 54) (see Appendix B, no. 42).

'*so miru*' (we shall look), wherein the act of budding, or literally coloring the branches is intimately associated with the act of looking, or, more properly, admiring and praising. Each act of praise, therefore, carries an element of budding, or rejuvenation; the more Shirakawa is praised, the longer he shall prosper. A second poem may be found in *Sanboku kikashū* (*Woodchips and Curious Poems*, c. 1127), the family anthology of Minamoto no Toshiyori (1055-1128), a prominent poet during the reign of Horikawa: "Though the sturdy pine says not for whom it stands, surely it is for thee—a sign of thine august age!"[120] In a similar vein as Akisue, Toshiyori envisions the pine, always green, ever enduring, as an auspicious sign representing the reign of Shirakawa. Finally, a third poem from this banquet may be found in *Senzai wakashū* (*Yamamto Poems of the Millennium*, 1187): "I wish to sow pine seeds upon yon rock, ever motionless since the age of the gods."[121] In *yamato* style poetry, pine trees are often given the epithet '*iwane no*', "like unto a deeply-rooted rock," or, more simply "sturdy." Here, the rock (*iwane*) is more-or-less synonymous with the pine; both are symbols of longevity and stability. Prayers for Shirakawa's longevity abound.

---

[120] *Sanboku kikashū*, poem no. 687 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:6, 54) (see Appendix B, no. 43).

[121] *Senzai wakashū*, poem no. 614 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:6, 54) (see Appendix B, no, 44).

As noted above, Tadamichi's intimate connections with Shirakawa provided him with the necessary social recognition to compose a prelude for this auspicious event. His later career as Lord of Aki is a product of this earlier socio-political literary activity. As to the content of Tadamichi's prelude, some of the cosmologico-aesthetic, socio-political elements found therein ought now to be examined. First, a description of the banquet scene:

> With jade-green bamboo stalks and red autumn leaves forming row upon row of garden fruits, the autumn borrows pigments of crimson and green; with springs flowing amidst rocks and creeks running over stony beds, casting up waves of flowers, the dawn harmonizes notes of harp and flute alike.[122]

Autumn is anthropomorphized into a painter, dabbing the garden with greens and reds, as well as a conductor, coordinating a performance of harmonious music. The juxtaposition of color—red and green—is, as we have seen, a common device used to bring about a balancing of cosmological elements. Implied here is an underlying correspondence between nature and the onlooker: autumn is beautiful *for* the onlooker *because* he, especially the gracious host, is a virtuous and worthy man. Remember that

[122] *Fusō kobunshū,* 6-7 (see Appendix B, no. 45).

this banquet took place sometime in early winter, when the autumn leaves would have been nearly fallen; neither fruit not flowers decorated the garden at this time. Within this metaphorical space, however, stocks of bamboo and lingering autumn leaves are transformed into garden fruits, while the foam and bubbles sprayed up by natural springs become flowers. Winter has come and yet fruit and blossoms abound. This is a sign of timelessness, of longevity. Tadamichi's verses are in harmony with the three poems quoted above. As shall be seen later when citing examples from *Gōrihōshū* (*Anthology of the Ōe Minister of Ceremonies*, 1071), literary depictions of autumnal scenes composed during the onslaught of winter were not uncommon.

As mentioned above, the man who served as Tadamichi's examiner, Fujiwara no Atsumune, is also the author of prelude no. 17, which was written sometime in the fourth month of Chōji 1 (1104), less than a year after the birth of Horikawa's son, Prince Munehito. Considering preludes nos. 17, 18, and 9 were all composed in the fourth month, it behooves us to pause a moment and examine any possible relationship between these three preludes. Contemporary sources record a number of festivities occurring near the end of the fourth month. It is up to us to decide whether these various events correspond to those described in *Fusō kobunshū*.

In his diary, Munetada briefly notes the occurrence of a public musical performance held within the palace (*gyoyū*) on the twenty-second day of the fourth month. This event, like most of this sort, took place in the evening.[123] Under an entry for the twenty-fourth day of that month, he further makes note of a *yamato* poetry competition accompanied by musical performances held in the newly renovated Horikawa Palace, where the queen was then in residence. The selection of this locale is related directly to the recent birth of Horikawa's son. Many high-ranking nobles, including Fujiwara no Akisue, who presented a poem in praise of Shirakawa during the banquet featured in prelude no. 10, attended this prestigious event. Following the customary rounds of wine, poems were then presented. Interestingly, the thematic verse chosen for this banquet is identical to that found in prelude no. 10, namely, "The pines promise to bring long years." Certain thematic verses were considered especially auspicious, reappearing here and there in a number of banquets. Minamoto no Moroyori (1068-1139), a prominent nobleman and poet, was given the honor of composing the prelude for this occasion. Apparently, as Moroyori was unable to compose a satisfactory prelude—for reasons unknown to us—the two controllers (*daiben*) of the left and right were ordered to take up the task. Here we are told that while it was customary for

[123] *Chūyūki*, Chōji 1 (1104) 4/22 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:7, 582).

high-ranking scholars to compose preludes, in cases when no such individual was available, a man holding the post of controller was permitted to take up the task. Finally, if a controller was not available, the task would be handed over to an elderly gentleman of high virtue proficient in the art of prelude composition.[124] This quick explanation is given by Munetada as a means of justifying the practice of having a controller compose a prelude on behalf of a higher-ranking nobleman. "The people," he remarks, "found this practice odd."[125] Preludes, after all, were venerated literary works of extraordinary efficacy, and, as such, were to be composed by the noblest of noblemen.

Two poems from this banquet survive, one in *Kin'yō wakashū* (*Anthology of Golden Leaves*, 1124-1126), the other in the already quoted *Sanboku kikashū*. Both poems are classified under the heading of Blessings or Celebratory Poems. First: "While the pine wets its lowest branches upon the pond's surface, it is the sentiment of the pond that sings out 'One-thousand long years!'"[126] Here the pine, symbolizing the host, condescends to bestow its auspicious blessings upon the pond, that is, its underlings. In response to such a magnanimous gesture, the pond intones a prayer of longevity for its

[124] *Chūyūki*, Chōji 1 (1104) 4/24 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:7, 583).

[125] See Appendix B, no. 46.

[126] *Kin'yō wakashū*, poem no. 312 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:7, 583) (see Appendix B, no. 47).

towering lord. Longevity is an inherent quality of the celestial pine, a quality which is both partially inherited and partially reinforced by the terrestrial pond. Even the slightest contact between the two sends the waters ringing. The author of this poem expresses a ritualistic obedience towards his virtuous host. Second: "There, atop lofty pines, where clouds drift amidst those uppermost needles, I see thee, my lord, towering into the heavens."[127] Celestial power is channeled through the verses of this laudatory poem, in which the host is apotheosized, occupying a lofty throne somewhere between the uppermost tip of the pine tree and the overarching heavens. The verb translated here as 'towering' is, in the original, *hotobashiru*, which carries with it a much more active, explosive nuance—akin to our 'gush forth' or 'spray up'. The host, thus transformed, is described as engaging in a potent, extremely dynamic sort of existence, radiating forth from the crown of the pines, rushing across the heavens in a display of cosmological harmony. These two poems, like those recited at the banquet of Kōwa 3 (1101) outlined above, are thoroughly laudatory, utilizing metaphorical transformations as a means of bringing about cosmological coordination.

[127] *Sanboku kikashū*, poem no. 692 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:7, 584) (see Appendix B, no. 48).

The above banquet in the Horikawa Palace is obviously not the same as that which gave birth to prelude no. 17. Not only the hosts but the thematic verses of each are different. A third banquet, however, is recorded in both *Denryaku* and *Chūyūki*, which does match prelude no. 17.[128] The entry in *Chūyūki* tells us just what we want to know: The man selected to compose a prelude for this event was the university scholar Fujiwara no Atsumune; the thematic verse was "The garden pines are ever green."[129] We are told further that this was the first *yamato* poetry banquet held in the Prince's Palace, where 'first' refers, I believe, to the first since the birth of Horikawa's son.

Denryaku and *Chūyūki*, by identifying the venue of the banquet celebrated in prelude no. 17 as the Prince's Palace (Tōgū), have done away with any doubts regarding the actual location of the so-called Seii Palace, a title appearing three times in *Fusō kobunshū* (prelude nos. 17, 20, and 21). Granted prelude no. 20 contains an interlinear gloss for 'Seii Palace', explaining that this is the name of a palace, it is not clear to which palace this gloss is referring. These diaries at last make that connection clear. Seii Palace, then, seems to be an epithet for the Prince's Palace, where '*sei*' 青, green, is the

[128] *Denryaku*, Chōji 1 (1104) 4/27 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:18, 61); *Chūyūki*, same date (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:7, 585).

[129] See Appendix B, no, 41.

traditional color of east/spring, and '*i*' 囲, envelope/circumscribe, refers to the encircling gates of a palace, giving us Spring Palace or Eastern Palace, which is also a fine translation of 'Tōgū', the Prince's Palace.

Regardless of all that has been said above, it is nevertheless impossible to determine the relative order of prelude nos. 17, 18, and 9. There are no other historical records of the last two. The venues of these preludes are given, respectively, as the Princes Palace, the Secretariat of the Prince's Palace (Tōgū kurōdo dokoro), and the Toba mansion. It is possible—I dare say *highly probable*—that these three banquets took place on the same day, at three distinct locales, thereby forming a coordinated cosmological network of mutually effectual nodes, each with its own set of poems and significant actors. The contents of prelude no. 17 and 18 seem to suggest this sort of relationship. Atsumune, author of prelude no, 17, describing the shimmering hue of pines, exclaims:

> There are a number of pine trees growing in the eastern garden.
> Their brilliant hue, now shimmering over the Seii Palace, is ever
> green, now falling upon jade stairs, grows purer still. Immortal
> cranes perch tamely upon jade-green pines, flocking together
> within the palace precincts; royalty and nobles alike seek to imitate

> the constant pine, seated amidst this banquet, drinking deep the wine of benevolence![130]

True to the rules of prelude composition, the first couplet neatly contains the elements of the thematic verse "The garden pines are ever green:" "There are a number of *pines* growing in the eastern *garden*, whose brilliant hue…is *ever green*." Note the interweaving of pine and crane, both symbols of longevity. The green pigment of pines engenders the Prince's Palace with a richer, purer hue, which, reflected back upon the pines, lends an ever growing brilliance to the entire scene. Cranes settle in the garden, lending their own celestial potential. The term translated as "palace precincts" is *kakkin* 鶴禁, forbidden abode of the cranes, an epithet for the imperial palace. Prelude no. 18 reveals a similar sort of combination of pine and crane:

> There are cranes within the palace precincts whose years stretch on without end. Their frosty white feathers shimmer against the ringed moon; their whispering song joins that of pines in a thousand valleys.[131]

---

[130] *Fusō kobunshū*, 10 (see Appenddix B, no. 49).

[131] *Fusō kobunshū*, 11 (see Appendix B, no. 50).

Though different in length, the structure of these verses is identical to those found in prelude no. 17. First we have a statement of the main subject, "There are…," followed by a parallel construct detailing a mutual reflecting of color—and, with prelude no. 18, of sound. Here, too, cranes are coordinated with pines: their ermine feathers blend with the glow of a full moon; their song harmonizes with wind blowing through the pines. Later in this second prelude, too, we find the phrase "drinking deep the wine of benevolence." These preludes were composed well in advance. It seems inevitable that two preludes meant for events of such an intimately close nature would have been written to play off each other, thereby increasing the total cosmological efficacy of the occasion. Prelude no. 18, though presented by Ki no Yukiyasu (n.d.), was composed by the godfather of literati, Ōe no Masafusa (1041-1111), which, according to a brief commentary appended to this prelude, explains why its content is "far from mundane."[132] This same commentary explains that Yukiyasu was a pupil of Masafusa's. Masafusa, as scholar extraordinaire, was eager to extend his influence as much as possible.

Prelude no. 9 does not exhibit the same sort of conceptual and stylistic similarities found between prelude nos. 17 and 18. As there is nothing exceptional about

[132] See Appendix B, no. 51.

prelude no. 9, allow me to pass it over in favour of something more pertinent to our present investigation.

4. In praise of Shirakawa

The year 1104, as seen above, was significant for the Heian court as a whole. About a decade or so prior to this—perhaps as a means of quietly foreshadowing what sudden changes were to come–there were a number of banquets revolving around Retired Emperor Shirakawa. Let us now turn our attention to prelude nos. 4 and 2, which will further emphasise a unique element of metaphorical transformation.

Ōe no Masafusa, aside from being the author by proxy of prelude no. 18, is also the author of prelude no. 4 (and, for that matter, prelude no. 16), which was written in accordance with a command from Retired Emperor Shirakawa. According to the introductory notes prefixed to *Waka manajoshū*, this preface was composed sometime between the second and seventh year of Kanji (1088-1093).[133]

The thematic verse of prelude no. 4 is "Reflections of pines float upon the water."[134] The pine, as has been seen, is a symbol of constancy and longevity, often evoked by noblemen eager to praise their lord. This banquet was held in Retired

[133] *Waka manajoshū*, 3.

[134] See Appendix B, no. 52.

Emperor Shirakawa's palace "south of the capital," namely, the Toba mansion. Masafusa was a man of immense learning, intimately acquainted with continental classics, as may be seen in the greater majority of his works. Subtle textual allusions make many of his verses nearly incomprehensible to the uninitiated reader. This prelude is just such a work. Nevertheless, the verses with which we are here concerned are rather lucid. In accordance with the thematic verse, Masafusa offers up the following couplets:

> Pines grow along the banks; they cast their reflection upon the surface of the water. Evening waves, raising up their flowers, decorate themselves in the pigments of one-thousand years; chilly currents, bearing the moon, shine more brightly with the color of ten-thousand leaves.[135]

It is night. Not only the reflection of pines but that of the moon can be seen amidst the gently moving waters. The flowers seen in the waves potentially have a double significance: they may be reflections of little yellow and purple flowers of the pine, as well as the reflection of stars. Yes, pine trees *do* bring forth flowers. Considering the banquet in question took place in early winter, pine flowers would certainly be out of season. It is more likely that the more immediate signification here is the reflection of

[135] *Fusō kobunshū,* 3 (see Appendix B, no. 53).

stars. Even so, if we are to appreciate the depth of this verse, these flowers/stars must simultaneously be perceived as pine flowers, manifesting themselves out of season, a sign of the immortality associated with pine trees. Winter though it may be, the poet sings, the pine is in perpetual bloom! Metaphorical spaces of this sort make possible such otherwise impossible incongruities. These stars are not merely reminiscent of pine flowers; they *are* simultaneously both stars *and* flowers; the stars have been *transformed* into flowers. The "pigments of one-thousand years", likewise, refers both to the gleam of stars and the pale hue of pine flowers. Likewise with the moon shining upon cold currents: the "color of ten-thousand leaves" refers both to the forever green needles of the pine, as well as the color of immortality, for the phrase '*man'yō*' means both "ten-thousand leaves" and "ten-thousand ages." Here there is a fluid interpenetration of celestial and terrestrial forces. The waters represent the humble terrestrial power—Masafusa and his fellow courtiers; the pine tree and those winking luminaries within the night sky represent the superior celestial power—Retired Emperor Shirakawa. However, this juxtaposition is not static. The waters may just as easily be seen as the emperor, receiving the rejuvenating hues of celestial powers. It is this very fluidity that lends efficacy to Masafusa's poem. What is important—at least for our current discussion—is this: colors of the pine, the stars, and the moon are made to glow

with a brighter luminescence when reflected upon the waters. Things shine more brightly, both above and below the currents; there is a mutually provocative oscillation between these heterogeneous elements; each lends to the other a portion of its native power. Considered from a slightly different, though equally legitimate angle, the waters may be understood as a locus of coordination, synchronizing the celestial—stars and moon—with the terrestrial—pine trees and, by extension, man. Merely observing, in this metaphorical space, through the poetic eye, this harmonious amalgamation upon the waves is in itself an auspicious occasion, bringing about, through the efficacy of this poetic act, the prosperity and harmonious relationships of lord and nobleman.

Metaphorical transformation is more often than not interpreted as an oblique form of reasoning, a studied naiveté, a contrived misapprehension, in which the poet pretends to mistake one thing for another.[136] Rhetorically speaking, this interpretation has some validity. Considering the supposed cosmologico-aesthetic efficacy of poetic expression, however, such pretense was, far from being pretension, a wholehearted expression of the prevailing court cosmology. Singing about falling flower petals *as though* they were dancers, for example, speaks to a coordination of celestial and terrestrial forces. The phrase 'as though', in this case, is inappropriate; within the

[136] Rabinovitch & Bradstock, *Dance of the Butterflies*, 10.

metaphorical space, flowers petals *became* dancers. The same may be said of parallelism or paired verses. Structurally speaking, parallel verses do indeed lend a sense of unity, as well as an aesthetic richness.[137] However, this is an appraisal based exclusively on rhetorical elements. Parallelism, aside from its structural beauty, acts as perhaps the most effective, hence most persistent, culturally exalted expression of cosmological aligning. The act of paralleling verses is an appeal to an analogous paralleling of cosmic forces.

This is the only prelude in *Fusō kobunshū* containing one of the poems presented during the banquet in question. In this case, the poem is a *yamato* style piece presented—and perhaps composed—by Shirakawa: "The reflection of that ever-lasting pine, when cast upon the waves, appears all the greener."[138] Naturally, this would have been the model around which all in attendance composed their own poems. Masafusa's verses, quoted above, are a wonderful example of the way in which *kara* style verses could be seamlessly interwoven with *yamato* style verses.

Prelude no. 2 was composed by Minamoto no Tsunenobu (1016-1097) for a banquet held at the Toba mansion on the fifteenth day of the eight month in Kanji 8

[137] Ibid, 20.

[138] See Appendix B, no. 54.

(1094).[139] Tsunenobu is listed at this time as the grand councillor (*dainagon*), a position of immense political power.[140] *Chūyūki* contains a detailed description of this event.[141] Retired Emperor Shirakawa ordered his noblemen to accompany him aboard a boat. All the major figures of government were present, including the minister of the left and the Regent. Our man Tsunenobu was commanded to play the lute as well as sing out a number of poems during the musical performance accompanying this boat ride. Incidentally, Ōe no Masafusa—now holding the position of middle councillor (*chūnagon*)—was also present, though aboard a separate boat occupied exclusively by a group of eight high-ranking nobles. After these men had each presented their poems, a number of imperial ladies recited a group of three poems from behind their curtained seats. These festivities continued until the dawn again appeared the next day.

Kin'yō wakashū preserves two of the *yamato* poems presented on this occasion, one by Shirakawa, one by Tsunenobu. The thematic verse selected for this banquet was "Admiring the moon upon the pond."[142] "I shall paint tonight's moon, shinning there

---

[139] *Fusō kobunshū*, 2.

[140] *Chūyūki*, Kahō 1/Kanji 8 (1094) 8/15 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:3, 439).

[141] *Chūyūki*, Kahō 1/Kanji 8 (1094) 8/15 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:3, 439-441).

[142] See Appendix B, no, 55.

upon the pond, and have it all to myself, to do with as I please."[143] Shirakawa's use of the word '*utsusu*', translated here as "paint," is intended to invoke both the act of painting or copying (写), as well as, in accordance with this event's thematic verse, the moon's reflection (映, also '*utsusu*') upon the placid pond. Interestingly, according to an entry in *Fukuro zōshi*, this poem was not originally composed by Shirakawa himself, but by one of his consorts.[144] In *her* version, instead of using the word '*utsusu*', she uses '*yadosu*', to harbour or cause to tarry (usually at one's own residence). Hence the more suggestively romantic interpretation: "I shall harbour tonight's moon, shinning there upon the pond, and have it all to myself, to do with as I please." Here we feel a hint of warm expectation, a lover pleading with her darling to tarry a little space. According to this account, however, such a superb poem was—for some undisclosed reason—deemed inappropriate for her lips. "Let this by *my* poem," pronounced the emperor, wherefore this poem was "appropriated into the royal treasury."[145] The term translated as 'appropriate' is *shūkō*, which refers to the act of confiscating property into the public treasury, hence an act of *ownership*. I make mention of this incident not to discuss some

[143] *Kin'yo wakashū*, poem no. 180, 52 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:3, 441, where this piece is listed as poem no. 171) (see Appendix B, no. 56).

[144] *Fukuro zōshi*, 119 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:3, 442).

[145] *Fukuro zōshi*, 119 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:3, 443) (see Appendix B, no. 57).

concept of authorship supposed to have existed within the Heian court, but rather to draw the reader's attention to the idea that a poem could be owned, and that it could be more appropriate to this or that individual. Gender is not the issue here. Rather, this was a matter of political domination and cosmological efficacy. Shirakawa wished to assert his dominance over this particularly influential consort, Fujiwara no Zenshi (1060-1150), daughter of the late minister of the right, Fujiwara no Toshiie (1019-1082). As noted earlier, Retired Emperor Shirakwa rose to great heights of power after the death of two prominent Fujiwara chieftains, Morozane and Moromichi. Appropriating a poem from this Fujiwara consort, therefore, was yet another deliberate act of reaffirmating his own political primacy. Furthermore, and of much greater moment, by appropriating this woman's poem, Shirakawa was appropriating the *poetic efficacy* of this piece into his own repertoire. To possess the moon, to have it all to one's self, to do with it as one pleases—this was an act of cosmological coordination appropriate only to one of the more potent loci of celestial-terrestrial harmonization, the emperor himself. Socio-political prestige calls for cosmologico-aesthetic power.

Tsunenobu's poem takes a more playful tone: "If the shinning moon tarries not upon the water amidst the rocks, how are we to count those floating bubbles?"[146] This poem appears in *Kin'yō wakashū* immediately after Shirakawa's (or, if we are to trust the account found in *Fukuro zōshi*, Fujiwara no Zenshi's) piece, a deliberate editorial gesture revealing the intimate connection between these two poems, and consequently, these two men. I wonder whether the version of Shirakawa's poem given in *Kin'yōshū*, in which the verb '*yadosu*' (harbour, cause to tarry) has been altered to '*utsusu*' (make a painting or replica) was not a later adaptation, considering Tsunenobu's poem uses the compound '*yadorazu*' (tarries not), which would resonate nicely off the original version found in *Fukuro zōshi*. As both a presenter of poetry in and composer of a prelude to this well-documented banquet, Tsunenobu would have been privileged enough to enjoy a more intimate acquaintance with the emperor. As was the case with most of these public poetry gatherings, poems were composed in advance; Tsunenobu most certainly had an opportunity to view Shirakawa's poem before the event. If we attempt to read both men's poems within this socio-political context, the significance of their verses—especially of Tsunenobu's—becomes somewhat more apparent. Whereas

[146] *Kin'yo wakashū*, poem no. 181, 52 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:3, 442, where this piece is listed as poem no. 172) (see Appendix B, no. 58).

Shirakawa seems to beseech loudly, desiring to wholly possess the moon, to do with it as he pleases, Tsunenobu presents a humble plea, quietly entreating the moon to stay, if only to afford his company the opportunity to count bubbles floating on the pond. Shirakawa assumes a position of authority, capable of appropriating the object of his desire. Tsunenobu bows low in a gesture of obeisance, pleading his case in the most gracious of terms. Such was the nature of the latter's relationship to his lord, at least that is the manner in which Tsunenobu chose to present it poetically to his fellow banquet-goers. This poem acted simultaneously as a presentation of literary prowess as well as a proclamation of his loyalty and humble obeisance to the retired emperor.

Tsunenobu's *yamato* poem pales in comparison to the fine *kara* verses he has so thankfully scattered throughout his prelude (no. 2) to the banquet: "The water shines all the more brightly in virtue of the moon's rays; the moon glows yet more vibrantly in virtue of the water's reflection."[147]This couplet takes up the motif of mutually provocative, mutually enlivening cosmological forces found in prelude no. 4, where Masafusa sang; "Evening waves, raising aloft their flowers, decorate themselves in the pigments of one-thousand years; chilly currents, bearing the moon, shine more brightly with the color of ten-thousand leaves." Tsunenobu and Masafusa are both after the

[147] See Appendix B, no. 59.

self-same poetic effect. Tsunenobu, adding more scenic detail to this initial motif, continues:

> A clear moon illuminates this jade-green pool with a brilliant white, while flapping wings of mandarin ducks are coated with ice; pure moonlight shines through jade curtains and all is still, while embroidered sleeves of delicate beauties shake off fallen snow.[148]

This passage is significant in virtue of its skillful use of metaphoric transformation in order to bring about an exceptionally heightened sense of cosmological and socio-political harmonization. The ice seen here atop the wings of mandarin ducks along with the snow being shaken off the sleeves of lovely consorts concealed behind their curtained enclosures are metaphorical representations of the all-embracing pale moonlight. Here, mandarin ducks refers to amiable courtiers and high-ranking noblemen. Moonlight shines equally upon men and women, transforming itself into ice and snow, effectively pouring down its celestial power upon the terrestrial order below. This transformation of moonlight into ice and snow also has the additional function of signalling the coming of winter, as this banquet was held in mid-autumn. Reaffirmation

[148] *Fusō kobunshū,* 2 (see Appendix B, no. 60).

of seasonal rhythms is no less affective, cosmologically, than singing of the harmony of heaven and man.

The above examination of preludes from *Fusō kobunshū* emphasizes the cosmologico-aesthetic efficacy of this genre of literature. At the centre of this genre lie numerous metaphorical spaces containing literary transformations aimed at promoting harmony between poet and host. A *cosmology* entailing mutual provocation between heterogeneous elements is repeatedly regenerated and reinforced by an *aesthetic* manifested through metaphorical expression. Here, at least, the cosmological and the aesthetic are inseparable.

VII. Conclusion

The notion that literary composition was, throughout the Heian period, an effective means of political maneuvering is not at all original. Scholars from both sides of the ocean have long recognized the socio-political function of literature. What has not heretofore been examined in any great detail is the exact literary devices employed towards this end. The preceding discussion has, if my hopes are well-founded, succeeded in elucidating that very point. Preludes, as especially refined crystallizations of poetry, developed metaphorical spaces wherein metamorphoses of all sorts were realized. *Metaphorical transformation*, therefore, is the poetic means—*the* literary device—whereby court poets and scholars endeavored to engage in the prevalent Heian cosmology. Consequently, we can now confidently say not only *that* preludes contributed to a harmonization of heterogeneous forces, but, more interestingly, *how* exactly these preludes enacted that harmonization. Whereas previously we could but witness from without *that* a certain spell was cast, we now have the privilege of understanding intimately from within precisely *how* that spell was cast.

A closer examination of Heian preludes offers insight into the cosmologico-aesthetic and socio-political aspects of this genre of literature, and, for that matter, of public poetry in general. Investigations into poetry presented at public

gatherings reveal the same sort of dynamics, and yet, it is my contention that preludes, insofar as they serve to harmonize these poems, display a heightened awareness of the urgency for coordination. Poems harmonize on ground level, while preludes harmonize from above, acting as mediators between poets—noblemen—on the one hand, and the audience—quite often the emperor—on the other.

Prelude literature (*jo bungaku*) remains sorely neglected in modern scholarship, both in Japan and elsewhere. Some things are neglected for a reason; they simply are not worth the effort. Preludes, however, very much deserve our attention. Not only would a more systematic study of extant preludes give us a richer understanding of the poetic environment prevalent throughout the Heian period, but these same preludes may also offer literary insights into a number of socio-political relationships and court dynamics. A full-length, annotated English translation of *Fusō kobunshū*, for example, might serve as a first step towards making preludes more accessible to a wider range of scholars, especially those who are not well-versed in Japanese or Chinese literature. In particular, scholars of history or comparative literature would surely welcome such an addition.

I have attempted to deal with a large collection of materials within a limited space. A scarcity of previous scholarship on this topic necessitated a cursory summary

of topics that, by rights, deserve more intense examination. Consequently, a proper account of the socio-political functionality of preludes *after* they had been written has not been given much attention here. Whereas the social standing of certain scholars commanded to compose preludes has been outlined, there has been no detailed account of how their lives were affected *in the aftermath* of these compositions. The reason for this incomplete analysis lies in my method of prioritizing the subject-matter. It seemed wiser to make a preliminary examination of the broad socio-political environment surrounding prelude composition before venturing upon any overly specific examples. Naturally, this is the very thing I hope to tackle in years to come. It would be fruitful, for example, to choose a court scholar, follow his career step-by-step, using contemporary diaries and other official documents in order to observe how exactly prelude composition affected his political career. The evidence is certainly available.

This research, if carried out to its fullest extent, would give us a detailed picture of literature—preludes and poetry alike—as it was used by prominent aristocrats and scholars as a means of socio-political manipulation. Historical studies of prominent individuals tend to focus on the more immediately visible, more practical aspects of political life—ceremonies, military campaigns, and the like. As a result, the no less political function of literature is oft times ignored or sorely underestimated. A study of

the sort I am here proposing would serve to remedy this ill. Not only will we come to see the socio-political sphere of Heian court life as one permeated with currents of powerful literary efficacy, we will further gain a clear vision of *how* exactly that efficacy was realized. A more intimate congregation of literary analysis and socio-political history is required—a union that promises to yield far-reaching implications, extending even into our present era.

Glossary

Amaterasu 天照, goddess of the sun

bu 部, broad divisions, motifs, or thematic categories found in poetry anthologies

bundai 文台, a writing desk or low podium, used primarily for presenting poetry at formal occasions

chitei 池亭, pond pagoda

chokudoku 直読, a method of reading *kara* style documents using the syntax and phonetic approximations of some continental dialect

chūnagon 中納言, middle councillor

Chūyūki 中右記 (*Diary of Munetada*, 1138)

tsuiku 対句, parallel couplet

daiben 大弁, controller

Daigo (885-930, r. 897-930), emperor

dainagon 大納言, grand councillor

dainaiki 大内記, senior secretary

Denryaku 殿暦 (*Imperial Calendar*, early 12th century *enshū* 宴集, official banquets

fu 賦, a *kara* style composition containing both poetic and prosaic elements

Fujiwara no Akiko 藤原彰子 (988-1074)

Fujiwara no Akisue 藤原顕季 (1055-1123)

Fujiwara no Inshi 藤原威子 (1000-1036), queen

Fujiwara no Masaie 藤原正家 (1026-1111)

Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966-1028)

Fujiwara no Moromichi 藤原師通 (1062-1099)

Fujiwara no Morozane 藤原師実 (1042-1101)

Fujiwara no Tadazane 藤原忠実 (1078-1162)

Fujiwara no Toshiie 藤原俊家 (1019-1082)

Fujiwara no Yoshitada 藤原義忠 (?-1041)

Fujiwara no Zenshi 藤原全子 (1060-1150)

Fukuro zōshi 袋草紙 (*Poetic Miscellany*, 1156-1159)

Fusō kobunshū 扶桑古文集 (*Old Writings of Fusō*), alternative title for *Waka manajoshū*

Fusō ryakki 扶桑略記 (*Simple Records of Japan*, sometime after 1094)

gakushō 学生, a scholar at the imperial university

gǎnyìng 感応 see *kan'ō*

gi 擬, the phonetic reading (*on'yomi*) of this character is *gi*, see *omou*

Go Ichijō 後一条 (1008-1036, r. 1016-1036), emperor

Gōdanshō 江談抄 (*Ōe's Tales*, 1104-1108)

Gōrihōshū 江吏部集 (*Anthology of the Ōe Minister of Ceremonies*, 1071)

gyoyū 御遊, a public musical performance held within the palace

hanja 判者, a judge at poetry competitions

Hánlín xúeshìjí 翰林学士集 (*Scholars of the Brush*, early 7th c.)

Horikawa 堀河 (1079-1107, r. 1086-1107), emperor

Hokke 北家, Northern Branch of the Fujiwara

hokku 発句, in *kara* style prosaic composition, a short word or phrase used at the commencement of a verse or sentence

Honchō monzui 本朝文粋 (*Essential Letters of Our Land*, 1058)

Honchō seiki 本朝世紀 (*Records of an Era in Our Land*, 1159)

Honchō zokumonzui 本朝続文粋 (*Essential Letters of Our Land Continued*, after 1140)

Jingū 神功 (c. 3rd century), queen

jo bungaku 序文学, general term for the genre of prelude literature

jo 序, prelude, preface, introduction

jodai 序代 (or 序題), preludes to *yamato* style poems

Jōnan rikyū 城南離宮, Villa South of the Capital, another name for the Toba mansion

Kaifūsō 懐風藻 (*Fond Recollections of Poetry*, 751)

Kakinomoto no Hitomaro 柿本人麻呂 (660-720)

kakuyō 書様, vague writing conventions or formalities

Kamogawa Shrines 賀茂神社, consisting of two shrines, namely, Shimogamo Shrine 下賀茂神社 and Kamigamo Shrine 上賀茂神社

kan 漢, *kara* (more commonly Han), or anachronistically, "Chinese"

kanbun 漢文, common term for *kara* style literature; see *kara*

kanji 漢字, writing system borrowed from the continent

kan'ō 感応 (Ch: *gǎnyìng*), mutual responsiveness between heterogeneous forces

kara 漢 or 唐, refers ambiguously to elements of the continent and the peninsula

kemari 蹴鞠, a type of football played by Heian aristocrats

Khitan Empire 契丹国, (Ch: *Qìdāngúo*), also known as the Liáo Dynasty 遼朝

Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (?-946)

Kin'yō wakashū 金葉和歌集 (*Anthology of Golden Leaves*, 1124-1126)

kōdokushi 講読師, a reader at poetry competitions

kōen 公宴, public banquet; also known as *shien*

Kojiki 古事記 (*Records of Ancient Matters*, 712)

Kokin wakashū 古今和歌集 (*Yamato Poems Ancient and Modern*, 905)

Koma 高麗, Koguryo, northern peninsular kingdom (independent from 37 B.C.-668)

kōshi 講師, see *kōdokushi*

ku 句, verse or sentence

Kudai waka 句題和歌 (*Yamato Poems to Thematic Verses*, n.d.)

kudai 句題, thematic verses, chosen for public poetry composition

kudai shi 句題詩, poems composed around thematic verses

Kudara 百済, Paekche, southwestern peninsular kingdom (independent from 346-660)

Kun'yomi 訓読み, *yamato* style reading; semantic reading

Kyōgoku no miyasundokoro Hōshi no utaawase 京極御息所褒子歌合, the Kyōgoku Consort Poetry Competition, held in 921

Liáo Dynasty 遼朝, see Khitan Empire

Lǐjì 礼記 (*Record of Ceremonies*, probably pre-Han)

Lù Fǎyán 陸法言 (n.d.), author of *Qiēyùn*

Lù Jī 陸機 (261-303), renowned continental poet

Man'yōshū 万葉集 (*Ten-thousand Leaves*, shortly after 759)

Midō kanpakuki 御堂関白記 (*Diary of the Midō Regent*, 1021)

Minamoto no Moroyori 源師頼 (1068-1139)

Minamoto no Toshiyori 源俊頼 (1055-1128)

Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147-1199)

minbushō 民部省, civil ministry

monjō hakase 文章博士, professor of letters at the imperial university

monjō tokugōshō 文章得業生, a university scholar in the faculty of letters whose exceptional academic achievements granted him a seat at the state examination

monjōin 文章院, faculty of letters at the imperial university

Mt. Kame 亀山 (Kameyama)

Munehito 宗仁 (1103-1156), prince, see Toba, emperor

Myōe 明恵 (1171-1232)

Nakao (n.d.) 仲雄, lord

Nichūreki 二中歴 (*A Pair of Histories*, n.d.), a history compiled sometime during the beginning of the Kamakura period by an unknown author, being an amalgamation of two (no longer extant) Heian period histories

Nihon kiryaku 日本紀略 (*Abridged Chronicles of Japan*, late 11th to early 12th century)

Nihon shoki 日本書紀 (*Chronicles of Japan*, 720)

Ninigi 瓊瓊杵 (or 邇邇藝), divine grandson of Amaterasu

Ōe no Asatsuna 大江朝綱 (886-958)

Ōe no Hiromoto 大江広元 (1148-1225)

Ōe no Koretoki 大江維時 (888-963)

Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041-1111)

Ōe no Masahira 大江匡衡 (952-1012)

Ōi River 大井河 (also 大堰河 Ōigawa)

Ōigawa gyōkō wakajo 大堰河行幸和歌序 ("Prelude to the Ōi River Procession *Yamato* Poems," 907)

Ōjin 応神 (c. 3rd century ?), emperor

omou 擬, the semantic reading (*kun'yomi*) of this character is often glossed as *omou*, which might be rendered as "look like," "thought to resemble"

Ono no Michikaze 小野道風 (894-967)

On'yomi 音読み, *kara* style reading; phonetic, or "Sinitic" reading

Ōtaku fukatsushō 王沢不竭鈔 (*Boundless As the Emperor's Mercy*, early 13th c.)

Ōtomo no Tabito 大伴旅人 (665-731)

Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (718-785)

ōtoneri no kami 大舎人頭, Head of Imperial Attendants

Pān Yuè 潘岳 (247-300), renowned continental poet

Qiēyùn 切韻 (*Glossed Rhyming Dictionary*, 601)

rihō 吏部, continental equivalent of *shikibu*

Rihōō 吏部王, alias of Prince Shigeakira (which see)

risshi 律詩, quatrain (in *kara* style poetry) of five- or seven-character verses

Rokujō shuri no daibushū 六条修理大夫集 (*Family Anthology of Akisue*, compiled before 1123)

Ruiju fusenshō 類聚符宣抄 (*Compendium of Royal Orders*, c. 1121)

Ryōunshū 凌雲集 (*Lofty Verses*, 814)

Saga 嵯峨 (786-842, r. 809-823), emperor

Sakumon daitai 作文大体 (*Fundamentals of Composition*, 939)

sakumon 作文, composition of *kara* style literature

Sanboku kikashū 散木奇歌集 (*Woodchips and Curious Poems*, c. 1127)

sangi 参議, imperial advisor

san'i 散位, a courtier who, though holding a rank, lacks an official position

seiritsu 声律 (Ch: *shēnglǜ*), tonal rhythm

Seiryōden 清涼殿, the emperor's personal chambers in the Heian Imperial Palace

seisō 西曹, Western Hall, a department in the *monjōin* (faculty of letters)

Sekkanke 摂関家, main lineage of the Northern Branch (Hokke) of the Fujiwara

Senzai wakashū 千載和歌集 (*Yamamto Poems of the Millennium*, 1187)

Setsuin 切韻, see *Qiēyùn*

Shakanyorai nenjushidai 釈迦如来念誦次第 (*Sakya Tathāgata Meditation and Recitation Manual*, n.d.)

shi 詩 *kara* style poetry, couplets or quatrains of five- or seven-character verses, distinguished from prosaic writing (*zappitsu*)

shien 詩宴, public poetry banquet; also known as *kōen*

Shigeakira 重明親王 (906-954), prince, fourth son of Emperor Daigo

shijo 詩序, preludes to *kara* style poems

shikibu 式部, minister of ceremony

shikubu taifu 式部大輔, imperial tutor

shikubukyō 式部卿, minister of ceremony

Shinpukuji 真福寺

Shinsen Man'yōshū 新撰万葉集 (*Ten-thousand Leaves Newly Compiled*, 893, 913)

Shirakawa 白川 (1053-1129, r. 1073-1087, retired 1086-1129), emperor

shōjo 小序, "short preludes," another term for *jodai*

Shūi wakashū 拾遺和歌集 (*Gleanings of Yamato Poetry*, 1006)

shūkō 収公, the act of appropriating property into the public (royal) treasury

sochi dainagon 帥大納言, commander of Dazaifu and grand councillor

Sonpi bunmyaku 尊卑分脈 (*Collected Genealogies*, late 14th c.)

Sugawara no Fumitoki 菅原文時 (899-981)

Sugawara no Koreyoshi 菅原是善 (812-880)

Tachibana no Naomoto 橘直幹 (n.d.)

Taira no Suketoshi 平祐俊 (n.d.)

Taìzōng 太宗 (599-649, r. 626-649), emperor

Táo Yuánmíng 陶淵明 (365-427)

Táohūayuánjì 桃花源記 (*Record of the Peach Flower Grotto*, c. 421)

Teijiin no utaawase 亭子院歌合, the Teiji Villa Poetry Gathering, held in 913

Tenji 天智 (626-672, r. 668-672), emperor

Tenmu 天武 (631?-686, r. 673-686), emperor

Tentoku dairi utaawase 天徳内裏歌合, Tentoku Palace Poetry Competition (960)

Tentoku tōshi 天徳闘詩 (*Tentoku Poetry Competition*, 959), shortened from *Tentoku sannen hachigatsu jūrokunichi tōshi gyōji ryakki* 天徳三年八月十六日闘詩行事略記 (*Abbreviated Record of the Poetry Competition Held on the Sixteenth Day of the Eighth Month in the Third Year of Tentoku*)

Toba 鳥羽 (1103-1156, r. 1107-1123), emperor

Toba'in 鳥羽院, The Toba mansion

Tōgen 桃源, the Peach Grotto, an idyllic abode

Tōgū kurōdo dokoro 春宮蔵人所, secretariat of the prince's palace

Tōgū setsuin 東宮切韻 (*Prince's Rhymebook*, before 880)

Tōgū 東宮 (or 春宮), prince's palace

tōsō 東曹, Eastern Hall, a department in the *monjōin* (faculty of letters)

Tōtei 東庭, Eastern Garden, located in the Heian Imperial Palace, east of the Seiryōden

Uda (867-931, r. 887-897), emperor

wa 和, *yamato*, or anachronistically, "Japanese"

wabun 和文, common term for *yamato* style literature; see *yamato*

Wachū setsuin 倭注切韻, alternative title or epithet of *Sakumon daitai*

Waka manajoshū 和歌真字序集 (*Kara Preludes to Yamato Poetry*, early 13th century), also known as *Fusō kobunshū* 扶桑古文集 (*Old Writings of Fusō*)

Wakan rōeishū 和漢朗詠集 (*Yamato and Kara Verses for Singing*, 1018)

Wáng Xīzhī 王羲之 (303-361)

Wénxuǎn 文選 (*Selected Letters*, first half of 6th c.)

Yakumo mishō 八雲御抄 (*Treatise of Eight Clouds*, 1221)

Yamanoue no Okura 山上憶良 (660?-733?)

yamato 大和 or 倭, refers ambiguously to elements of the archipelago

yang 陽, masculine, primarily celestial force (J: *yō*)

yīn 陰, feminine, primarily terrestrial force (J: *in*)

yomikudashi 読み下し, a method of reading *kara* style documents in accordance with some version of *yamato*-like syntax

yūen 優艶, the quality of being elegantly charming or sublimely beautiful

yūran 遊覧, official outings

Zappitsu daitai 雑筆大体 "Fundamentals of Mixed Writing," a section in *Sakumon daitai*

zappitsu 雑筆, mixed, or prosaic writing, distinguished from poetry (*shi*)

zatsu jo 雑序, "mixed prelude," another name for prelude given in *Sakumon daitai*

zekku 絶句, couplet (in *kara* style poetry) of five- or seven-character verses

References

Note: Authors of primary sources have been listed after the title, while authors of secondary sources have been listed before the title. *Kanji* have been given only for source titles and authors. English translations of titles for primary sources may be found in the glossary.

Primary sources in Japanese

Bunka shūreishū 文華秀麗集. Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu 藤原冬嗣, et al. In *io hiraki*

Fukuro zōshi 袋草紙. Fujiwara no Kiyosuke 藤原清輔. *Shin nihon kotenbungaku taikei* 29, ed. Fujioka Tadaharu 藤岡忠美 et al.. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten. 1995.

Fusō kobunshū 扶桑古文集. Compiler unknown. In *Tōkyō daigaku shiryōhensanjo hō* 2 (1967) *shiryō shōkai*, 1-15.

Fusō ryakki 扶桑略記. Kōen 皇円. In *Dainihon shiryō*. Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo. 1901-.

Gōdanshō 江談抄. Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房. *Shin nihon kotenbungaku taikei* 32, eds. Gotō Akio, Ikegami Junichi, and Yamane Taisuke. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten. 1997.

Gōrihōshū 江吏部集. Ōe no Masahira 大江匡衡. In Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一 ed., Gunshoruijū, vol. 9, fascicle 132, *bunpitsubu* 11, p. 200-241. Tōkyō: Zoku gunshoruijū kanseikai. 1977.

Honchō monzui 本朝文粋. Fujiwara no Akihira 藤原明衡. *Shin nihon kotenbungaku taikei* 27, eds. Satake Akihiro, Ōsone Shōsuke, Kubota Jun, et al. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten.1992.

Honchō zokumonzui 本朝続文粋. Compiler unknown. In *Kokushi taikei* 国史大系, volume 29, part 2, ed. Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan. 1941.

Kaifūsō 懐風藻. Compiler unknown. In *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 69, ed. Kojima Noriyuki 小島憲之. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten. 1964.

Kin'yo wakashū 金葉和歌集. In Kawamura Teruo 川村晃生, et al. ed., *Shin nihon kotenbungaku taikei* 9. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten. 1999.

Man'yōshū 万葉集. Compiler uncertain. Satake Akihiro 佐竹昭広, et al. ed., *Shin nihon kotenbungaku taikei* 1-5. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten. 1999.

Nihon kiryaku 日本紀略. Compiler unknown. In *Dainihon shiryō*. Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo. 1901-.

Ōtakufu katsushō 王沢不竭鈔. Ryōki 良季. Kokubungaku kenkyūshiryōkan 国文学研究資料館, ed. *Kanbungaku shiryōshū* (Shinpukuji zenpon sōkan, 12: bunpitsu bu, 2). Kyoto: Rinsen shoten. 2000.

Sakumon daitai 作文大体. Compiler unknown. In Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一 ed., Gunshoruijū, vol. 9, fascicle 137, *bunpitsubu* 16, p. 352-372. Tōkyō: Zoku gunshoruijū kanseikai. 1977.

Tentoku sannen hachigatsu jūrokunichi tōshi gyōji ryakki 天徳三年八月十六日闘詩行事略記. Author unknown. In Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一 ed., Gunshoruijū, vol. 9, fascicle 134, *bunpitsubu* 16, p. 280-287. Tōkyō: Zoku gunshoruijū kanseikai. 1977.

Facsimile editions of primary sources

Waka manajoshū 和歌真字序集. Heian Kamakura kirokutensekishū 平安鎌倉記録典籍集. Tōkyo daigaku shiryōhensanjo in'eisōsho 2, ed. Tōkyo daigaku shiryōhensanjo. Tokyo: Yagi shoten. 2007.

Secondary sources in Japanese

Jōdaigo jiten henshū iinkai 上代語辞典編集委員会. *Jidai bestu kokugo daijiten, jōdaihen* 時代別国語大辞典 上代編. Tokyo: Sanseidō. 1967.

Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美. "Sanseki no kao" 三跡の顔. In Komatsu, Shigemi, ed. *Sanseki* (*Nihon no sho*, 3), 91-98. Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha. 1981.

Momo Hiroyuki 桃裕行. *Jōdai gakusei no kenkyū (shūteiban)* 上代学制の研究 (修訂版). Momo Hiroyuki chosakushū 1. Kyōto: Shibunkaku shuppan. 1994.

Nakamura Sachihiko 中村幸彦, et al. ed. *Kadokawa kogo daijiten* 角川古語大辞典. Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten. 1982.

Ōsone Shōsuke 大曾根章介. "Enkyū no sumiyoshi ogyō wakajo ni tsuite" 延久の住吉御行和歌序について. In *Nihon kanbungaku ronshū* 日本漢文学論集, vol. 1, 612-617. Tokyo: Kyūko shoten. 1998-1999.

Ōsone Shōsuke 大曾根章介. "Ōe no Masahira" 大江匡衡. In *Nihon kanbungaku ronshū* 日本漢文学論集, vol. 2, 315-342. Tokyo: Kyūko shoten. 1998-1999.

Ōsone Shōsuke 大曾根章介. "Wakajo ni tsuite—'Honchō shōjoshū' to 'Ōtaku fukatsushō'" 和歌序について—『本朝小序集』と『王沢不竭鈔』. In *Nihon kanbungaku ronshū* 日本漢文学論集, vol. 1, 606-611. Tokyo: Kyūko shoten. 1998-1999.

Ōsone Shōsuke 大曾根章介. "Wakajo shōkō" 和歌序小考. In *Nihon kanbungaku ronshū* 日本漢文学論集, vol. 1, 588-605. Tokyo: Kyūko shoten. 1998-1999.

Ōtsuki Makoto 大槻信. "Tenri toshokanzō 'Shakanyorai nenjushida '—eiin to honkoku" 天理図書館蔵『シヤカニヨライネンシユノシタイ』(釈迦如来念誦次第)--影印と翻刻. Biburia, Tenri toshokanpō, 125 (2006) 37-109. Nara: Tenridaigaku shuppanbu.

Ōtsuki Makoto 大槻信. "Tenri toshokanzō 'Shakanyorai nenjushida'—katakanabon no seiritsu" 天理図書館蔵『シヤカニヨライネンシユノシタイ』(釈迦如来念誦次第)--片仮名本の成立. Biburia, Tenri toshokanpō, 124 (2005) 3-26. Nara: Tenri daigaku shuppanbu.

Ozawa Masao 小沢正夫, et al. *Fukuro zōshi chūshaku* 袋草紙注釈. Tokyo: Hanawa shobō. 1974-1976.

Satō Michio 佐藤道生. "Shijo to kudaishi" 詩序と句題詩. In *Nihon kangaku kenkyū*, 2 (1998) 15-33. Tokyo: Zuibokushobō.

Takigawa Kōji 滝川幸司. *Tennō to bundan: Heian zenki no kōteki bungaku* 天皇と文壇：平安前期の公的文学. Kenkyū sōsho 361. Osaka: Izumi shoin. 2007.

Yamazaki Makoto 山崎誠. "Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui ni tsuite" 平安朝佚名詩序集抜萃について. In *Chūsei gakumonshi no kitei to tenkai* 中世学問史の基底と展開. 813-948. Osaka: Izumi shoin. 1993.

Secondary sources in English

Adolphson, Mikael. *Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan*. Honalulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2000.

Adolphson, Mikael, et al., ed. *Heian Japan: Centers and Peripheries*. Honalulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2007.

Chen, Jack Wei. *The Poetics of Sovereignty: On Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty.* Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 2012.

Commons, Anne. *Hitomaro: Poet as God*. Leiden: Brill. 2009.

Ebersole, Gary. *Ritual Poetry and the Politics of Death in Early Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1989.

Heldt, Gustav. *The Pursuit of Harmony: Poetry and Power in Early Heian Japan*. Cornel University: Ithaca, New York. 2008.

Knottnerus, David. *Ritual as a Missing Link: Sociology, Structural Ritualization Theory and Research*. Boulder, Colorado: Paradigm Publishers. 2011.

LaMarre, Thomas. "Diagram, Inscription, Sensation." In *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, 24:3 (1997) 669-694.

LaMarre, Thomas. *Uncovering Heian Japan: An Archeology of Sensation and Inscription*. Durham: Duke University Press. 2000.

Larson, Steve. *Musical Forces: Musical Meaning and Interpretation*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2012.

Morris, Mark. "Waka and Form, Waka and History." In *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 46:2 (1986) 551-610.

Rabinovitch, Judith, and Timothy Bradstock, ed. *Dance of the Butterflies: Chinese Poetry from the Japanese Court Tradition*. New York: Cornell University East Asia Program. 2005.

Huey, Robert. "The Medievalization of Poetic Practice." In *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 50:2 (December, 1990) 651-668.

Soskice, Janet Martin. *Metaphor and Religious Language*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1985.

von Verschuer, Charlotte. *Across the Perilous Sea: Japanese Trade with China and Korea from the Seventh to the Sixteenth Centuries*. Kristen Hunter, trans. New York: Cornell University East Asian Program. 2006

Zito, Angela. *Of Body and Brush: Grand Sacrifice as Text/Performance in Eighteenth-Century China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1997.

Appendix A:

Chronological arrangement of preludes found in *Fusō kobunshū*

In most cases, when the year of composition is known, it has been given first, followed by the month and day (when known). In cases when the month or day is known, while the year remains unclear, the latter has been listed last. Though prelude no. 22 does not contain any dates, its author, Ōe no Chisato (n.d.) was active during the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century, making this the earliest prelude in the anthology. Preludes no. 13, 14, and 24 do not contain any dates.

No.	Date of composition	Season	Author	Venue
22	3/3, year unknown (prob. early 10th c.)	Spring	Ōe no Chisato 大江千里 (n.d.)	Pond Pagoda of Rihōō 吏部王池亭
25	8/?, before Kankō 8 (1011)	Autumn	Minamoto no Michinari 源道済 (n.d.)	Western countryside 西郊
8	Kannin 2 (1018) 9/16	Autumn	Yoshishige no Tamemasa 4 慶滋為政 (n.d.)	Koichijō Mansion (Ōi River) 小一条院 (大井河)
19	3/9, before Chōryaku 3 (1039)	Spring	Ōe no Kinyori 大江公資 (?-1040)	Unnamed temple 寺
26	Likely Jiryaku 1 (1065)	Autumn	Fujiwara no Akihira 藤原明衡 (?-1066)	Shirakawa Mansion (Kan'in Pagoda) 白河院 (閑院亭)
16	3/2, between	Spring	Ōe no Masafusa 大	Prince's Palace 東宮

	Enkyū 2-5 (1070-1073)		江匡房 (1041-1111)	
5	Enkyū 5 (1073) 2/20	Spring	Minamoto no Tsunenobu 源経信 (1016-1097)	Iwashimizu Shrine, Naniwazu Temple 岩清水神社, 難波津仏閣
28	7/?, before Jōhō 1 (1074)	Autumn	Sugawara no Ariyoshi 菅原在良 (1041?-1121)	Pagoda of Letters (*buntei*) of the Rihōō 吏部大王文亭
23	Kanji 1 (1087)	Spring	Fujiwara no Atsumoto 藤原敦基 (1046-1106)	Mansion of the Daiō 大王之邸第
4	10/?, between Kanji 2-7 (1088-1093)	Winter	Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041-1111)	Abode of Retired Emperor [Shirakawa] 太上皇仙居
2	Kanji 8 (1094) 8/15	Autumn	Minamoto no Tsunenobu 源経信 (1016-1097)	Toba mansion 鳥羽院
6	Eichō 1 = Kahō 3 (1096) 1.22	Spring	Minamoto no Toshifusa 源俊房 (1035-1121)	Jōtōmon Mansion 上東門第
11	Jōtoku 3 = Kōwa 1 (1099) 3/?	Spring	Taira no Suketoshi 平祐俊 (n.d.), Ōe no Iekuni 大江家国 (n.d.), Fujiwara no Atsumitsu 藤原敦光 (1063-1144), Fujiwara no Aritada 藤原有忠 (n.d.), Fujiwara no Nagazane 藤原永実 (n.d.)	Toba mansion 鳥羽院
15	Kōwa 3 (1101) 8/?	Autumn	Fujiwara no Yukimori 藤原行盛 (n.d.)	South of the Capital (Abode of the Retired Emperor) 城南 (太上皇之仙居)
10	Kōwa 3 (1101)	Winter	Fujiwara no	Toba mansion 鳥羽院

	10/27		Tadamichi 藤原尹通 (1081-1122)	
17	Chōji 1 (1104) 4/29	Summer	Fujiwara no Atsumune 藤原敦宗 (1042-1111)	Seii Palace 青囲
18	Chōji 1 (1104)	Summer	Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041-1111), on behalf of Ki no Yukiyasu 紀行康 (n.d.)	Secretariat of the Prince's Palace 春宮蔵人所
9	Chōji 1 (1104) 4/?	Summer	Fujiwara no Munemitsu 藤原宗光 (n.d.)	Toba mansion 鳥羽院
20	Chōji 2 (1105) 3/4	Spring	Fujiwara no Sanekane 藤原実兼 (1085-1112)	Seii Palace 青囲
27	3/?, before Tennin 1 (1108)	Spring	Fujiwara no Reimei 藤原令明 (1074-1143)	Villa south of the Capital 城南別業
21	9/9, before Ten'ei 3 (1112)	Autumn	Fujiwara no Sanekane 藤原実兼 (1085-1112)	Seii Palace 青囲
7	Hōan 5 (1124) intercalary 2/12	Spring	Minamoto no Arihito 源有仁 (1103-1147)	Shirakawa Mansion 白河院
12	Tenji 2 (1125) 5/5	Summer	Fujiwara no Hirokane 藤原廣兼 (n.d.)	Mansion of the Retired Emperor 仙院
1	3/3, between Tenji 2-Daiji 1 (1125-1126)	Spring	Fujiwara no Atsumitsu 藤原敦光 (1063-1144)	Unknown
3	Daiji 5 (1130) 9/5	Autumn	Fujiwara no Sanemitsu 藤原実光 (1069-?)	Abode of the Retired Emperor 太上皇仙洞
29	Tenji 2 (1144) 3/4	Spring	Fujiwara no Masanori 藤原雅教	Abode of the Retired Emperor 太上皇仙洞

			(1113-1173)	
13	Date unknown	Spring	Fujiwara no Munekane 藤原宗兼 (n.d.)	Toba mansion 鳥羽院
14	Date unknown	Summer	Ōe no Iekuni 大江家国 (n.d.)	Unknown
24	8/?, year unknown	Autumn	Fujiwara no Morimoto 藤原盛基 (n.d.)	Palace of the Third Prince 三宮 [Sukehito 輔仁 (1073-1119)]

Appendix B:

Original text and phonetic renderings of primary quoted sources

Note: The phonetic rendering (*yomikudashi*) of *kara* style compositions, though long-since standardized, occasionally allows for alternate readings. Square brackets have been used here to note these alternate readings. Phonetic renderings for quotations from *Kaifūsō* (no. 1, 2) and *Bunka shūreishū* (nos. 3-5) have been copied from *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 69 (edited by Kojima Noriyuki. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten. 1964). All other phonetic renderings are my own.

No.	Original text and phonetic rendering
1	"…when our land was but newly created, the writing of man had not yet been devised. At last, when Queen Jingū had conducted her subjugation of the north, and Emperor Ōjin had ascended the throne, a scholar from Kudara came to our court, lecturing on many profound works from within the imperial horse stable. Yet another scholar arriving from Koma offered up a royal proclamation with flowing characters written upon the wing of a crow. […] Thus were the customs of our people gradually refined by the Confucian teachings." …天造草創、人文未作。至於神后征坎、品帝乗乾。百済入朝、啓龍編於馬

	厥、高麗上表、図烏冊於鳥文 […] 遂使俗漸洙泗之風、人趨斉魯之学。 *tenzō sōsō ni shite, jinbun imada okorazu ariki. jingo kan wo seishi, hontei ken ni jōji tamau ni itarite, kudara nyūchō shite, ryūhen wo bakyū ni hiraki, koma jōhyō shite, usaku wo chōbun ni egaku.* […] *tsui ni yo wo shushi no fū ni susume, hito wo seiro no gaku ni omobukashimu.*
2	"send down verses" 宸翰垂文 *shinkan bun wo tarasu* "offer up laudations" 賢臣献頌 *kenshin shō wo tatematsuru*
3	"Our poems, their vigour gradually increasing over the ages, are composed in complete harmony with tonal rhythm." 或気骨弥高、諧風騒於声律 *aruwa kikotsu iyo'iyo takaku, fūsō wo seiritsu ni totonoe*
4	"Jade circlets and plums alike with the same brilliance glow; mugwort and orchids together their native colors mingle. Be it pale yellow or dark red in hue, fabric is, nevertheless, fabric; be it rectangular or square in dimension, a chest,

	regardless, remains a chest." 至瓊環与木李斉暉、蕭艾将蘭芬雑彩。寔由絪縕未異、篋笥仍同者矣。 *keikan to bokuri to hikari wo hitoshiku shite, shōgai to ranfun to aya wo majiuru ni itarite wa, makoto ni shōtei imada koto ni arazu, kyōshi nao onajiki ni yoru.*
5	"Heaven towers nobly above, earth lies humbly below; the lord sings, his vassals respond harmoniously." 天尊地卑、君唱臣和。 *ten tōtoku chi hikuku, kun tonae shin kotau.*
6	"In the way of learning, literary composition is first and foremost. If a scholar resorts simply to reciting the classics without trying his hand at composing poems and essays, he will amount to nothing more than a bookworm—a thing of little worth. All merit in literary composition springs from a scholar's proficiency in distinguishing the four tones, knowing the significance of each, as well as his ability to delight in natural phenomena, to penetrate into their subtler essences. Within this book shall be found scores of verses, linked together in accordance with tonal rhythms, united under the various rhyme schemes. Let this be known as the *Yamato Rhymebook*.

	On the fifth day of mid-spring, in the second year of Tengyō." 夫学問之道、作文為先。若只誦経書、不習詩賦、則所謂書厨子、 而如無益矣。辨四声詳其義、嘲風月味其理。莫不起自此焉。備 絶句、聯平声、惣廿八韻、号曰倭注切韻。 于時天慶二年仲春五日也。 *sore gakumon no michi, sakumon wo saki to su. moshi tada keisho wo jushi,* *shifu wo narawazu, sunawachi iwayuru shozushi, shikōshite mueki no gotoshi.* *shisei wo benji sono gi wo tsumabirakanishi, fūgetsu wo chōshi sono ri wo* *ajiwau. kore yori okorazaru koto naku. zekku wo sonae, hyōshō wo tsurane,* *nijūhachi in wo sōji. gōshite iwaku wachū setsuin.* *toki ni tengyō ni nen chūshun itsuka nari*
7	"twin houses of our land" 本朝両家 *honchō no ryōke*
8	"On the Selection of Thematic Verses" 出題事 *shutsudai no koto* "Táng poets expressed their innermost sentiments spontaneously, in accordance with inspiration gained from the natural phenomena surrounding them; such men never once resorted to thematic verses.

	During the Jōgan era (859-877), poets in our land did not differ from the men of Táng. In later ages, however, our poets took to the habit of using thematic verses. Thematic verses are taken from five- or seven-character poems that seem appropriate to sentiments of the occasion at hand. At times, thematic verses may be composed anew, not being drawn from any prior poems." 唐家詩随物言志、嘗無句題。我朝又貞観以往、多以如此。而中古以来好句題。句題者五言七言詩中取叶時宜句。又出新題也。 *tōka no shi mono ni shitagae kokorozashi wo ii, katsute wa kudai nashi. waga chō mata jōgan iō, ōkute kaku no gotoshi. shikōshite chūko irai kudai wo konomu. kudai wa go gon nana gon shi no naka yori jigi ni kanau ku wo toru. mata shindai wo dasu nari.*
9	"Poets of the Táng, having no recourse to thematic verses, expressed their sentiments in accordance with a given motif." 凡唐家無句題、即部言志 *ōyoso tōka wa kudai naku, bu ni sokushite kokorozashi wo iu.*
10	"The moon shines upon the pines"

	月照松 *tsuki matsu wo terasu*
11	"On the Structure of Preludes" 雑序体 *zatsujo no tai*
12	"The ignorant often err in their judgments." 頗以愚意、不可推量 *sukoburu gui wo motte, suiryō bekarazu*
13	"Cut off (or read separately) each and every verse." 一句々々読切之 *ikku ikku kore wo dokusetsusu.*
14	"On how to read aloud the thematic verse" 題目読様 *daimoku no yomuyō* "Thematic verses are to be read in the *yamato* style." 凡題目ハ可訓読也 *ōyoso daimoku wa kundoku subeshi nari.*
15	"Precedents of preludes to *yamato* poetry"6 和歌序故実

	waka jo kojitsu
16	"The composition of preludes for *yamato* style poems is guided by certain conventions, which, once learned, will guide one in writing such preludes." 和歌序ハ有書様、学テ可書事也 *waka jo wa kakuyō ari, manabite kakubeki koto nari.*
17	"That is to say, preludes are not bound by strict formulae or stylistic conventions. Rather, one should record events solely in accordance with memory." 其説ト云ハ、無式法無様、唯以所記書之 *sono setsu to iu ha, mu shikuhō mu yō* [or *shikuhō mo nakereba yō mo naku*], *tada shirusu tokoro wo motte kore wo kaku.*
18	"The sentiments embodied in preludes to *yamato* style poems are the same as those found in preludes to *kara* style poems. However, the former is said to exhibit a style of composition that is elegantly subtle. There is a precedent for inserting words to be read in the *yamato* dialect." 其情同詩序。但其体可優玄云々。以置訓詞為故実也 *sono jō shijo ni onaji. tadashi sono tai ha yūgen narubeshi to unnun. kunshi wo oku wo motte kojitsu to nasu beshi nari.*
19	"Family teachings regarding preludes"

	序代庭訓 *jodai no teikun*
20	"Contemplate the Peach Grotto (Tōgen) and offer up a spring season of three-thousand years; follow Kakinomoto and sing forth verses of thirty-one syllables." 思桃源而献三千年之春、慣柿本而詠卅一字之詞 *tōgen wo omoite sanzen nen no haru wo kenji, kaki no moto wo naraite sanjūichi ji no kotoba wo eizu.*
21	"Fragrance upon a light breeze" 蘭気入軽風 *ranki keifū ni iru* "Fireflies fluttering amidst white dew" 蛍飛白露間 *hotaru hakuro no aida wo tobu* "Pines reflected on the river; fallen needles upon the waves" 松江落葉波 *shōkō rakuyō no nami*
22	"A promise made with the autumn moon"

	与月有秋期 *tsuki to aki no chigiri ari*
23	"Does ever an autumn pass without longing after the moon? How much greater still the longing on this the sixteenth night! Nature itself plies sonorous chords for this pure, cool garden; gazing afar at yonder clouds, I see promise of another ten-thousand years." 何秋与月不相思、豈若今秋二八時。為向清涼風景奏、望雲別有万年期。 *nanzo tsuki to ai omowazaru aki aran, ani konshū nihachi no toki no gotoku wo ya. seiryō ni mukau tame fūkei no sō* [*ari*], *kumo wo nozomi bannen no chigiri koto ni ari.*
24	"Though I think on thee whenever the mist recedes, revealing golden moonlit waves, my longing is never so deep as when the cool breeze blows in this the eighth month. Verily, the purest moonlight promises to shine upon the august palace of my most sagely lord for ten-thousand years." 金波巻霧毎相思、不似涼風八月時。定識聖明鸞殿上、清光長献万年期。 *kinpa kiri wo osami ai omou goto ni, ryōfū hachigatsu no toki ni nizu. sadamete shiru seimei randen no ueni, seikō nagaku bannen no chigiri wo kenzu.*

25	"With heaven roofed overhead and earth spread out beneath." 蓋天坐地 *ten wo gaishi chi ni zasu*
26	"On the third day of the third month, at the Pond Pagoda Gathering of Rihōō" 三月三日吏部王池亭会 *sangatsu mikka rihōō no chitei no e*
27	"There were four young serving girls all clad in yellow-green, treading upon bejewelled sandals, looking like the green willow branches and the yellow nightingale; there were eight mature consorts, dressed in dark-red, draped in purple embroidery, looking like the flowers of the wisteria and the stamens of cherry blossoms. Now tuning the bridges of their zithers, they sing among themselves of the intimate nightingales; now decorating themselves with flowers of the meadow, they secretly charm the fluttering butterflies." 童女四人着麹塵曳玉履、擬青柳黄鶯之姿。長姫八人服蘇芳被紫繍、擬藤花桜蘂之色。或調於箏琴之柱、自韻関々之鶯。或装於草木之花、暗媚翩々之蝶。 *dōjo yo'nin kikujin wo ki gyokuri wo hiki, seiryū kōō no sugata wo omou* [or

	gisu]. *chōki hachinin suhō wo fukushi shishū wo ōi, tōka ōzui no iro wo omou* [or *gisu*]. *iruiwa shogon no hashira ni chōji, mizukara kankan no uguisu ni inzu. aruiwa sōmoku no hana ni yosooi, hisokani henpen no chō ni kobu.*
28	"*Yamato* poems composed together around the thematic verse 'The garden is buried in falling flowers', in late spring—prelude appended." 暮春同詠落花埋庭和歌 加小序 *boshun rakka niwa wo uzumu no waka wo dōeizu shōjo wo kuwau*
29	"The garden is buried in falling flowers" 落花埋庭 *rakka niwa wo uzumu*
30	"As floating willow blossoms scatter here and there, snow upon the smooth sand grows ever more vivid; as falling colors of apricot petals flutter about, the rainbow of dancing dust glows a brighter red." 柳絮飄兮紛々、平沙之雪添艶。杏艶落兮片々、遊塵之虹増紅。 *ryūjo tadayoi funpun tari, heisa no yuki en wo sou. kyōen ochi henpen tari, yūjin no niji kō wo fuyu.*
31	"Back and forth we tread, our bejewelled sandals peeking out from

	amidst the red; falling blossoms flutter up and down—the color of green moss turns snow white." 行々重行々、珠履之擘穿紅、漠々復漠々、緑苔之色変雪。 *kōkō* [*shi*] *kasanete kōkō shite, shuri no kei* [?] *beni wo ugachi, bakubaku* [*toshi*] *mata bakubaku toshite, ryokutai no iro yuki ni henzu.*
32	"Motley petals follow the footsteps of men in bejewelled sandals coming and going; drifting blossoms vie for brilliance with men clad in brocade garments on their way to the banquet." 珠履往還之人、雑藥随歩。錦衣趨拝之客、軽葩争粧。 *shuri ōkan no hito, zatsuzui ayumi wo shitagau. kin'i shuhai no kyaku, keiha* *yosoi wo arasou.*
33	"Vivid red blossoms flutter about—mist upon the surface of sand glimmers so brightly; powdered pigments scattered here and there—snow upon the mossy hair glows a pure white!" 紅艶粉飛、沙面之霞爛々。粉粧散乱、苔髪之雪皚々。 *kōen funpi shi, samen no kasumi ranran taru. funshō sanran shi, taihatsu no yuki* *gaigai taru.*
34	"I knew not that waves, churning atop one another, made not a

	sound; nor that snow, lingering over from last year, had such a fragrance." 不知波畳而無声歟、又不知雪宿而有匂。 *shirazu nami tatamite koe naki koto wo, mata shirazu yuki yadorite nioi aru koto wo.*
35	"Sighing alone will not do—I must try my hand at singing a few verses!" 不足嗟歎、聊以詠歌 *satan ni tarazu, isasaka nishite eika su.*
36	"Powder of varying hue, light and dark, enshrouds the white sand and green moss." 以被濃淡浅深之粉、埋此白砂青苔之色 *nōtan senshin no kona wo ōu koto wo motte, kono hakusa seitai no iro wo uzumu.*
37	"The garden pines are ever green" 庭松久緑 *teishō hisashiku midori naru* "The crane has endless years" 鶴有遐年

	tsuru kanen ari
38	"The pines promise to bring long years" 松契遐年 *matsu kanen wo chigiru*
39	"As we gaze this year at flowers budding upon the pine branches, so, throughout all seasons, it is to thee we shall look!" 今年より枝さしそむる松の木の花の折々、君そみるべき *kotoshi yori eda sashimuru matsu no ki no hana no oriori, kimi so miru beki.*
40	"Though the sturdy pine says not for whom it stands, surely it is for thee—a sign of thine august age!" たがためといはねの松はいはねとも、けしきはみよのしるしとそみる *ta ga tame to iwane no matsu wa iwane tomo, keshiki wa miyo no shirushi to so miru.*
41	"I wish to sow pine seeds upon yon rock, ever motionless since the age of the gods" 神代より久しかれどや、うごきなきいはねに松のたねをまきけん *kamiyo yori hisashi karedo ya, ugoki naki iwane ni matsu no tane wo maki ken.*
42	"With jade-green bamboo stalks and red autumn leaves forming row

	upon row of garden fruits, the autumn borrows pigments of crimson and green; with springs flowing amidst rocks and creeks running over stony beds, casting up waves of flowers, the dawn harmonizes notes of harp and flute alike." 翠竹紅樹之列庭実也、秋模丹青之色。巌泉石瀬之飛浪花也、暁調絃管之声。 *suichiku kōju no teijitsu wo narabu nari, aki tansei no iro wo bosu. gansen* *sekirai no rōka wo tobasu nari, akatsuki genkan no koe wo totonau.*
43	"The people found this practice odd." 世人為奇 *sejin ki to su*
44	"While the pine wets its lowest branches upon the pond's surface, it is the sentiment of the pond that sings out ‘One-thousand long years!’" 水の面に松のしづえのひぢぬれば、千とせはいけの心なりけり *mizu no o ni matsu no shizue no hiji nureba, chitose wa ike no kokoto nari keri.*
45	"There, atop lofty pines, where clouds drift amidst those uppermost needles, I see thee, my lord, towering into the heavens." 雲のゐる松のうは葉の木だかさに、空にそ君がほとばしらるゝ *kumo no iru matsu no uaba no ki dakasa ni, sora ni so kimi ga hotobashiraruru.*

46	"There are a number of pine trees growing in the eastern garden. Their brilliant hue, now shimmering over the Seii Palace, is ever green, now falling upon jade stairs, grows purer still. Immortal cranes perch tamely upon jade-green pines, flocking together within the palace precincts; royalty and nobles alike seek to imitate the constant pine, seated amidst this banquet, drinking deep the wine of benevolence!" 東朝庭上有数株松。映青囲兮色久緑、当碧砌兮影弥清。仙禽之栖翠蓋、馴鶴禁而得群。宮臣之慣勁節、列燕席而酔恩。 *tōchō* [no] *teijō sūshu no matsu ari. seii ni hae iro hisashiku midori nari, hekisetsu ni atari kage iyo'iyo kiyoshi. senkin no suigai ni sumi, kinkaku ni narete mure wo u. kyūshin no keisetsu ni narai, enseki ni narabete megumi ni yō.*
47	"There are cranes within the palace precincts whose years stretch on without end. Their frosty white feathers shimmer against the ringed moon; their whispering song joins that of pines in a thousand valleys." 鶴禁有鶴、齢契遐齢。照霜毛於重輪之月、伴風声於千澗之松。 *kakukin ni tsuru ari, yoi karei wo chigiru. sōmō wo jūrin no tsuki ni terashi, fūsei*

	wo senkan no matsu ni tomonau.
48	"far from mundane" 其体非凡流 *sono tai bonryū ni arazu.*
49	"Reflections of pines float upon the water" 松影浮水 *shōei mizu no uku*
50	"Pines grow along the banks; they cast their reflection upon the surface of the water. Evening waves, raising up their flowers, decorate themselves in the pigments of one-thousand years; chilly currents, bearing the moon, shine more brightly with the color of ten-thousand leaves." 松在砂痕、影浮水面。夕浪揚花、自畳千年之粉。寒流帯月、更彰万葉之色。 *matsu sakon ni ari, kage suimen ni uku. yūrō hana wo age, mizukara sennen no kona wo tatamu. kanryū tsuki wo obi, sarani banyō no iro wo akirakanisu.*
51	"The reflection of that ever-lasting pine, when cast upon the waves, appears all the greener." ゆくみづにときはのかげをうつしてぞ、まつのみどりもいろまさりける

	yuku mizu ni tokiwa no kage wo utsushite zo, matsu no midori mo iro masari keru.
52	"Admiring the moon upon the pond" 玩池上月
53	"I shall paint tonight's moon, shinning there upon the pond, and have it all to myself, to do with as I please." いけ水に今夜の月をうつしもて、心のまゝにわがものとみる *ike mizu ni koyo no tsuki wo utsushite mo, kokoro no mama ni waga mono to miru.*
54	"'This poem is not appropriate for one such as you. Let this by *my* poem,' pronounced the emperor, wherefore this poem was appropriated into the royal treasury." 汝歌ニハ不似合。可為我歌トテ御収公云々. *nanji no uta ni wa niawazu. waga uta to nasu beshi tote goshūkō to unnun.*
55	"If the shinning moon tarries not upon the water amidst the rocks, how are we to count those floating bubbles?" てる月の岩まの水にやどらずは、玉ゐるかずをいかでしらまし *teru tsuki no iwa ma no mizu ni yadorazu wa, tama iru kazu wo ikade shira mashi*

56	"The water shines all the more brightly in virtue of the moon's rays; the moon glows yet more vibrantly in virtue of the water's reflection." 水因月増映、月因水添光 *mizu tsuki ni yorite kage wo mashi, tsuki mizu ni yorite hikari wo sou.*
57	"A clear moon illuminates this jade-green pool with a brilliant white, while flapping wings of mandarin ducks are coated with ice; pure moonlight shines through jade curtains and all is still, while embroidered sleeves of delicate beauties shake off fallen snow." 清光之臨璧沼而皎皎、鴛鴦蕩颺之翅負氷。素影之透翠簾而沈沈、窈窕錦繍之袖翻雪。 *seikō no hekishō ni nozomite kōkō tari, enyō tōyō no hane kōri wo ōu. su'ei no suiren wo sukashite chinchin tari, yōchō kinshū no sode yuki wo hirugaesu.*