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The intriguing prehistoric human figure which decorates the cover of the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* since its inaugural issue in 1929, shows one of the most famous items in the Museum's collections (no. K11038: 5, to be displayed anew from Sept. 2004 in the permanent exhibit "China Before China"). Collected from the Banshan area, Gansu, China, it is fashioned as the painted lid of a ceramic vessel, with tattoo-like facial patterns, truncated "horns" that may have held a shaman's plumes, and on its back a serpent "which covers the neck in graceful coils" (Johan Gunnar Andersson's original description in his "Researches into the Prehistory of the Chinese", *BMFEA* 15, 1943, 240; pl. 187). It may have been modelled on calabash containers (cf. Karl Izikowitz, "Calabashes with star-shaped lids in South America and China," *Comparative Ethnographical Studies 9*, Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum, 1931, 130–34).

The dragon on the title page, the Museum's traditional logo, derives from a series of three dragons on the back of a bronze mirror of the Warring States period in ancient China, also in the collection of the MFEA (K10599: 550, see Bernhard Karlgren, "Early Chinese Mirrors," *BMFEA* 40, 1968, 85-86, plate 35).

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Writing History in the Face of the Other: Early Japanese Anthologies and the Beginnings of Literature

by

Wiebke Denecke

1. Introduction[1]

The writing of literary history in textual cultures that develop in symbiosis with an older, more authoritative reference culture faces complex challenges. It has to negotiate the desire for cultural self-colonization, which promises access to a realm of higher refinement and sophistication, against the desire for self-assertion and self-defense of a new tradition. It can not simply choose its beginnings, but it is from the outset entangled in the historiographical models and in the prolific literary production of the possibly much older reference culture. Thus, especially in the early stages of the development of symbiotic cultures, literary history gets written from a place in which the indigenous tradition is just emerging and in which both literature and reflection on literature are shaped and challenged by the models of the reference culture. These models were developed over a much longer time period in the reference culture and in response to its own inner logic of cultural development. Once they get appropriated in the younger culture they enter a new linguistic, sociohistorical and literary force field in which they are adapted, reinvented or discarded depending on new needs.

This article shows how early Japanese anthologies tackled the challenge of writing literary history. From a world historical perspective the Japanese case is quite unique, because it encompassed, unlike Roman literary culture that functioned in Latin and Greek, a triliterate canon of texts that included texts in Chinese, as well as texts in the hybrid literary idiom of "Sino-Japanese" (漢文 *kanbun*) and in Literary Japanese. This peculiar constellation resulted from a lack of a shared history with Japan's reference culture China. While Rome conquered Greece in the second century B.C. when increasingly expanding its influence over all of the Mediterranean, Japan, in contrast, never conquered China up until the 20th century. Accordingly, Rome became the center of a vast multilingual empire, in which the Roman elite was expected to function in a biliterate mode, namely be able to read, speak, and

[1] I would like to thank David Lurie, David Damrosch, Katharina Volk, Martin Svensson Ekström, and the two anonymous referees of *BMFEA* for their comments and contributions to this article.
All dates are A.D. unless otherwise indicated.

sometimes write in both Greek and Latin. In stark contrast, Japan remained for most of its history a rather isolated archipelago, politically independent, yet culturally heavily influenced by the developments on the Chinese continent and the Korean peninsula.

We could say that Sino-Japanese constituted a linguistic, sociological, and literary "third space": rather than being a clearly definable language, it captures a pliable linguistic continuum between Literary Chinese and Literary Japanese. Sociologically, Sino-Japanese functioned as clerical language in both senses of the word: it was the language of the Buddhist clergy and of imperial administration, thereby associated with public, male court-culture and ceremonial protocol. In the realm of literature Sino-Japanese poetry was inevitably in constant exchange or even competition with Chinese poetry, the royal literary genre on the continent, but also with Japanese poetry. Thus, the very doubleness of the Japanese literary tradition, which consists of a Sino-Japanese and a Japanese textual corpus, and its relationship to Chinese literature created a complex triangular constellation difficult to capture in any linear account of literary history.

The earliest attempt to account for literary history shaped by this intricate constellation is preserved in the Sino-Japanese anthology *Kaifûsô* (Florilegium of Cherished Airs 懐風藻; 751).[2] Its preface inscribed Japanese literary history into the general history of the rise of civilization (Ch. *wen* 文). This storyline echoed the preface to the canonical Chinese anthology *Wenxuan* 文選, compiled by Xiao Tong (501–31), Prince Zhaoming of the Liang Dynasty, which was part of the standard repertoire of Japanese elite education. The choice of "wen" as key concept allowed the *Kaifûsô* preface to plot the history of civilization and textuality, of governance and literature onto one and the same timeline and thus to conveniently combine the establishment of imperial power with the beginning of civilization and the development of literature. Literature in general, and poetry as its most prestigious genre, could legitimately claim the central place Cao Pi (187–226), Emperor Wen of the Wei Dynasty, had accorded it in his *Discourse on Literature* (*Lunwen* 論文): "Literary works are the greatest accomplishment in the workings of a state, a splendor that never decays 蓋文章經國之大業，不朽之盛事."[3]

This storyline of the *Kaifûsô* preface was severely challenged by a radically new account of literary history in the first imperial anthology of Japanese poetry, the *Collection of Old and New Japanese Poems* (*Kokinwakashû* 古今和歌集; hereafter *Kokinshû*; 905). In order to supplant the authority of Sino-Japanese poetry as a genre of public stature and insert the Japanese tradition in its spot the *Kokinshû* drew on cosmological narratives from Chinese sources and the Japanese Chronicles and scripted the rise of Japanese poetry along the line of the divine beginnings of the cosmos, thereby proving the Japanese tradition superior both on chronological and conceptual grounds.

[2] The most innovative scholarship on the *Kaifûsô* has recently appeared in the volume *Kaifûsô: Kanji bunkaken no naka no Nihon kodai kanshi* (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 2000) edited by Tatsumi Masaaki. It calls for a research that places the *Kaifûsô* within an East Asian context and explores the social space of the poetry in the anthology, e. g. the contemporary salon and banquet culture. For a comprehensive bibliography of recent *Kaifûsô* scholarship see the appendix of the volume.

[3] *Wenxuan. Zhongguo gudian wenxue congshu* (Taibei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1987), 2271. Translation by Stephen Owen in *An Anthology of Chinese Literature. Beginnings to 1911* (New York: Norton 1996), 361.

It is significant that in devising their grand narratives of the primeval origins of literature in Japan neither the *Kaifûsô* nor the *Kokinshû* compilers felt compelled to admit to the undeniable historical fact that literature in Japan emerged much later than in China and that the stakes were not on equal ground. This strategy to humbly bow to the reference culture and downplay one's own tradition only appeared much later in the Late Heian period in a piece by Ôe no Masafusa, a late 11th century scholar-official with predilections for Chinese literature and scholarship. The title of his elegant Sino-Japanese prose composition is "A Record on the Realm of Poetry" (J. *Shikyôki* 詩境記). Masafusa had a bent for the quirky—he also wrote a record of itinerant singing girls—and this comes equally to the fore in this unique piece, which unfortunately seems to be unfinished. Masafusa sketches a literary realm distinct from either the political or the natural world with an enchanted logic of its very own:

夫詩境者	As for the Realm of Poetry:
無水土山川	it lacks water or soil, mountains or rivers
無人民戸邑	and has no inhabitants or settlements.
又不知在何方面	Even its whereabouts are unknown.
瞥然而至	One gets there in the blink of an eye
倏然而往	just to be suddenly gone again.
至其佳境	Reaching this fair realm
難中之難也	is one of the most difficult things.
以翰墨為場	Brush and ink are its expanse,
以感傷為俗	sentiment and suffering its customs.
花月輸租税	Taxes are collected in [units of] blossoms and moon
煙霞代封錄	and salary is replaced with smoke and mist.
桃李施不言之化	Peaches and pears effect silent moral transformation,
蘭菊飽惟馨之德	while orchids and chrysanthemums satiate with their fragrant virtue.[4]
不聞風塵之變	Never would you hear of dust-stirring military upheavals
不看露霧之侵	or see cold dew and fog attack your body.[5]

Masafusa playfully builds his "Realm of Poetry" on a piece by the 7th century Chinese poet Wang Ji (590–644), suggestively entitled "A Record on the Land of Drunkenness" (Ch. *Zuixiangji* 醉鄉記).[6] Grafting the "Realm of Poetry" onto a "Land

[4] The fruits and plants in this parallel phrase stand for a heroic general, Li Guang, and a virtuous minister, Qu Yuan. According to Sima Qian's *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 史記) Li Guang was extremely plain and unassuming, yet revered by everybody in the empire for his uprightness. Sima Qian captures the general's qualities with the proverb "Although the peach and pear tree are silent, a path forms naturally underneath them." *Shiji* 109, 2878. The orchids are associated with the poet-official Qu Yuan, a virtuous minister who was not recognized by his ruler, the king of Chu, and therefore committed suicide, recounting his unsuccessful enterprise in "Encountering Sorrow" (*Lisao* 離騷) preserved in the *Songs of the South* (*Chuci* 楚辭). The phrase implies that the realm of poetry is graced with virtuous servants of the state such as Li Guang and Qu Yuan. For the "fragrant virtue" trope in the *Songs of the South* see Haun Saussy, *The Problem of a Chinese Aesthetic* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 13–17.

[5] The text is based on the *Shintei zôho Kokushi taikei* and on Gotô Akio's commentary "Ôe no Masafusa 'Shikyôki shichû," in *Chûko bungaku to kanbungaku II* (Tokyo: Kyûko shoin, 1986–87): 303–26.
Wang Ji's "Record" is preserved in the "Parables" section of the *Wenyuan yinghua*, 833. The image of a "Land of Drunkenness" became popular in the Mid- and Late Tang and is also referred to by Japanese *kanshi* poets such as Sugawara no Michizane, Ki no Haseo, and Masafusa's grandfather Ôe no Masahira.

[6] Wang Ji's "Record" was highly popular in Japan and also served to sketch other alternative realms: the monk Ennin (794–864) whose diary records his experiences in China during the famous persecutions of Buddhism under Emperor Wuzong uses Wang Ji's "Record" as a blueprint for his "Record on the Land of Stillness and Enlightenment 寂光土記" to depict the promised land of Tiantai Buddhism.

of Drunkenness" seems perfectly sensible from the perspective of a literary tradition in which composing poetry and getting drunk are metonymical endeavors and commitments. More importantly, Masafusa sketches his literary realm along two diametrically opposed vectors: on the one hand it is spaceless, empty and hard to get to, but then he takes pains to describe the imaginary realm with its definite expanse, customs, taxes, ranks and salary, moral authority and virtuous government. In this way he sparks the reader's hope that one can visit that realm as nimbly as one's mind moves back and forth. Empty illusion or allegorical incarnation, epitome of inaccessibility or armchair travel destination, Masafusa's realm is built on highly ambivalent ground.

In a further step Masafusa seems to confirm that the Realm of Poetry is indeed universal and for everybody. Masafusa serves up a clichéd digest of poetics that every well-educated Heian courtier would have been familiar with, because it belonged to the exegetical tradition of the *Classic of Poetry*, one of the Chinese Confucian Classics:

心動於中	As the heart is moved within,
言形於外	words form outside.
詠歌不足	If singing it out loud is not enough
故嗟嘆	then you sigh
嗟嘆不足	and if sighing isn't enough
故不知手之舞	you will unknowingly dance it with your hands
足之蹈	and tap it with your feet.

The adapted lines of the "Great Preface" to the Confucian *Classic of Poetry* propose a universal psychology of composition which posits ever advancing levels of expressive intensity in case words do not suffice. Quite handily for Masafusa, the preface to the *Classic of Poetry* also relies on a spatial metaphor: poetry is the outer manifestation of the inner heart of the poet. It gets translated out of the heart into the world as words, song or dance. There is a nice *pas de deux* between the spatial metaphor of Masafusa's "Realm of Poetry" and the *Classic of Poetry*'s preface's spatial conceptualization of the process of poetic composition. For Masafusa undertakes a double translation: natural landscape gets translated into poetic landscape in the first section and, in the process, the internal landscape of the poet is translated into the outer world taking shape in words.

The universal poetics of the preface to the *Classic of Poetry* is the powerful opening of Masafusa's detailed account of Chinese literary history, in which he stays strictly true to his impulse to translate poetry into poetic landscape: poets are the aristocrats and leaders of the realm, in which even emperors are led by the poets. In one case in Masafusa's piece poets respond to the execution of poets by emperors—euphemistically referred to as "expulsion from the Realm"— by instituting new "laws" and "rules"—namely the tonal rules underlying Chinese "Recent-Style Poetry" (*jintishi* 近體詩). The "Realm of Poetry" is a seemingly universal interior psychological space. But it is also a Japanese reverie in which Chinese literary history becomes translated into a poetic realm, which mimics and even overcomes the political realm. In Masafusa's eyes poetry rules supreme and China's hegemony in East Asia—in the 11th

century certainly much frailer than Early Heian poets had witnessed—is imagined as poetic and pervasive rather than political and threatened. Yet, the loving care with which Masafusa produces this allegorical "translation" of Chinese history is suddenly choked off once he moves to domestic matters:

我朝	At our Japanese court
起於弘仁承和	[poetry] arose between the Kônin (810–824) and Jôwa (834–48) eras,
盛於貞觀延喜	flourished between Jôgan (859–77) and Engi (901–23)
中興於承平天曆	reached an intermediary peak in the Jôhei (931–38) and Tenryaku (947–957) eras
再昌於長保寬弘	and flourished again during Chôhô (999–1004) and Kankô (1004–1012).
廣謂則三十餘人	Broadly speaking some thirty poets,
略其英莫不過六七許輩	and if we limit ourselves to the outstanding ones we hardly get beyond six or seven.

It comes as a severe disappointment that the transmitted text breaks abruptly off after this sobering statement. Poetry in Japan, according to Masafusa, lacks everything that had made the Chinese Realm so attractive and convincing: whereas in China poets and their poetry rule supreme and unencumbered over a poetic territory, Japanese literary history unfolds alongside a mechanical teleology of imperial eras. Masafusa does not mention names or gives reasons for his periodization. But we can assume that he relates the beginning of literature to Emperors Saga and Junna, enlightened patrons of the arts at whose behest three anthologies of Sino-Japanese poetry were compiled. When Masafusa speaks of a first moment of flourishing he refers to Emperor Daigo under whose auspices the first imperial waka anthology, the *Kokinshû*, was produced. And with his second highpoint he points to Emperor Ichijô's era, when canonical works such as Murasaki Shikibu's *Tale of Genji*, Sei Shônagon's *Pillow Book* and the influential Sino-Japanese anthology *Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing* (*Wakan rôeishû* 和漢朗詠集) saw the light. But all this must be added in the reader's imagination, because Masafusa merely collapses literary history into a list of reign names.

The rich Chinese pantheon of poetic geniuses that Masafusa parades in front of our eyes in a passage that I have left out, meets unfavorably with the paucity of the Japanese record: only three dozen poets and hardly seven of them worth mentioning. And, most divisive of all, Masafusa literally excludes Japan from the "Realm of Poetry" by denying it his *allegorical* translation into the kind of otherworldly poetic realm as which he had portrayed the Chinese tradition. We are dropping out of the allegorical travel account into a one-sided narrative of plain literary history. As Masafusa withholds his playful impulse of allegorical translation, the seemingly universal "Realm of Poetry" has shrunk to the size of China and has banned Japan.

Since we are dealing with a fragmentary text there is no way to know, but there is a slight chance that everything might end happily after all. At the end of his "Record of the Land of Drunkenness"—the above-mentioned blueprint for Masafusa's piece—the Chinese poet Wang Ji declares that he wrote his "Record" because he was about to visit that land himself.[7] Along these lines we could imagine Masafusa

[7] Zhang Xihou, *Wang Ji yanjiu* (Taibei: Xinwenfeng, 1995), 134.

declaring himself the apogee of a tradition that started admittedly poorly, but by his time—and perhaps even with him—had become a rightful region of the "Realm of Poetry," where he comes and goes as a regular. In other writings Masafusa is highly adept at boasting of his precocious literary talents and exploits and he would certainly be capable of ending his vision of the "Realm of Poetry" with a telescopic close-up of his own flattering literary profile. But we can't really know.

Masafusa's piece is a powerful tool to bring into relief fundamental questions about the writing of literary history in cultures that grow symbiotically in exchange with a canonical reference culture. I have outlined Masafusa's vision as a foil against which to appreciate the following discussion of the ways the *Kaifûsô* and the *Kokinshû* narrate literary history. From the perspective of these two anthologies Masafusa's account is anomalous. First, because it tells the truth—after all the Chinese *Classic of Poetry*, compiled around 600 B.C., predated the Kônin period, Masafusa's supposed "rise" of poetry in Japan, by 1400 years and was followed by prolific literary production. Second, it is anomalous because Masafusa all too willingly condones inequality between China and Japan in the realm of letters. The Late Heian Period, is a particularly strange moment for pitiful confessions of the absence of a domestic tradition, because Masafusa's time saw prolific production in all major Sino-Japanese genres, a sense of historical depth towards the indigenous literary tradition a Sino-Japanese canon that coexisted with, and at times even outshone, the Heian curriculum of Chinese texts.

The earliest Japanese accounts of literary history tended to design highly sophisticated scenarios that attenuated and diffused inequality, or even declared superiority over the Chinese tradition. Most often such accounts did so, ironically, by using the rhetorical power of Chinese intertexts. To opt for a narrative of homology rather than for a story of inequality like Masafusa's was not just a manipulative device to assert one's cultural ego, although my constructivist vocabulary here seems to suggest that. Instead, it had truly heuristic value: homology between the two traditions served to imagine practices of writing literary history in the first place by assuming that, as claimed by the "Great Preface," the poetic impulse is innate to all of humanity. I would argue that this was certainly a powerful reason why the earliest Japanese accounts of literary history tended to be fictions of similarity (*not* imitations), rather than acknowledgments of difference.

2 Making sense of the regime of "Letters" (Ch. *wen* 文) in eighth century Japan: The *Kaifûsô*

2.1 The *Kaifûsô* preface: exploding literacies and the naturalization of writing

The late seventh and early eighth century saw an explosion of textual production in a rapidly expanding number of genres. The administrative construction of the Nara state based on Chinese precedent necessitated a great amount of individuals with thorough scribal training. Heijô, the later Nara, was the first stable capital, as until

710 the court had moved with every new imperial era.[8] The grand construction of a full-fledged capital changed the relation between central authority and the provinces. As authority both of the emperor and of the aristocratic clans became more stable central grasp was extended over the provinces based on a hierarchical system of provinces, districts and villages. The first half of the Nara period saw a number of grand compilation projects that justified the budding authority of the state such as the *Records of Wind and Earth* (*Fûdoki* 風土記), a collection of records on local legends, products, and natural resources of various provinces. Increasing control over the provinces also fostered collecting—and selecting—local cultural memory with the help of the new technology of writing practiced in the center. Justification of central authority vis-à-vis the provinces was also buttressed by the compilation of chronicles relating the history of the imperial clan and other clan lineages: the *Records of Old Matters* (*Kojiki* 古事記; 712) presented a highly selective narrative designed to legitimate the current emperor's descent from the Sun Goddess Amaterasu. The *Records of Japan* (*Nihon shoki* 日本書記; 720) had no such clear agenda, but voraciously assembled variant versions of local histories to give the nascent state a history from the beginning of times to the late seventh century.

The composition of Sino-Japanese poetry was not just a side-effect of this explosion of literacy and the state's instrumentalization of textual production, but it was part and parcel of establishing imperial power. Much of the poetry in the *Kaifûsô* was composed at court banquets and eulogized the splendors of the current regime. Against this background it comes as no surprise that the *Kaifûsô* is preoccupied with making sense of the explosion and diversification of "Letters" (*wen*) in the seventh and eighth centuries. I argue that "wen" is the pivotal concept at the heart of the collection, and both the preface and the poetry itself strive to think "wen" through in all its meanings, connotations, and implications for a nascent national culture.

"Wen"—one of the potently protean conceptual clusters of the Chinese tradition—means everything from "patterned fur of animals" to "ornament." By extension, it means "civilization" and "cultural refinement" as well as "writing" and "literature." It is also the name of King Wen, one of the founders of the Chinese Zhou Dynasty (around 1020 B.C.). A pun in the Confucian *Analects* first equated King Wen with the "cultural heritage" (斯文 *si wen*) of the Zhou dynasty and, in a next step, Confucius declared himself custodian of this heritage. In this way the regime of "wen" came to be particularly associated with the Confucian tradition.

Thus, in short, "wen," which I translated here simply as "Letters," encapsulates the art of "Confucian government" through ritual "ornament," "cultivated" ethos and "refined" "textuality"—a phrase that in Literary Chinese would be a five-fold tautology of the word "wen." Thus, by choosing "wen" as the guiding concept, the *Kaifûsô* could do several things at once, namely simultaneously tell the beginning of civilization, the advent of writing, the beginning of Confucian learning in Japan, the beginning of literature, and last but not least Japan's homage to King Wen as

[8] For a detailed treatment of the exploding literacy in the seventh and eighth centuries see Chapter 4 of David Lurie's dissertation "The Origins of Writing in Early Japan: From the First to the Eight Century CE" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2001).

the ideal Confucian king and a model of Japanese imperial power. The *Kaifûsô* gradually projected the manifold signification of "wen" onto a historical timeline in precisely this fashion. As a result, literature proper, belles-lettres and poetry, appear in the *Kaifûsô* preface as the rather late outcome of a long process of civilization (or "wen"-ization). This storyline was adapted from the preface to the canonical Chinese anthology *Wenxuan* 文選, which served as a model to the *Kaifûsô* preface. The anthology included a broad spectrum of literary genres and its preface explained the gradual unfolding of literature and its genres within the broader history of civilization. Adopting the *Wenxuan*'s preface's strategy was certainly double-edged: it placed literature in the venerable position of conceptually encompassing the entire history of civilization. Yet, by assuming this historical, or evolutionary perspective, it also conceded an only gradual and rather late advent of literature in Japan, exposing a vulnerable spot that was going to be capitalized on by the *Kokinshû* prefaces, which without hesitation posit the beginning of poetry to the earliest moment possible, namely around the beginning of the cosmos.

The *Kaifûsô* had no qualms about admitting to a late beginning of Sino-Japanese composition in Japan, especially because this move enabled a powerful conceptual absorption of the *history of civilization* into the *special history* of Sino-Japanese poetry. As a countermove to a story of late arrival, the preface very cleverly downplays the importation of the writing system from China through Korea. It posits writing symbolically as a natural presence in Japan from earliest times on and taps into the Chinese lore of the invention of writing that declares writing a natural phenomenon rather than a human invention. True, mythical sages of Chinese high antiquity were regarded as figures of invention and human creation as in the case of Fu Xi who supposedly invented the hexagrams of the *Classic of Change*—and by extension writing—by watching natural patterns or Cang Jie, who invented writing by "copying" characters from bird tracks in the sand. Yet, their acts of invention were described as mimicry of the natural world, not as the creation of human artifice.

I would argue that the *Kaifûsô* preface relies on this Chinese rhetoric of the "naturalization" of writing in order to cope with the problematic importation of foreign writing into a local oral culture.

Here is how the preface accomplishes this:

逖聽前修	I have heard of sages from the remote past
遐觀載籍	and surveyed the written records of yore.
襲山降蹕之世	In the age when the Heavenly Grandchild's chariot descended on Peak Takachiho
橿原建邦之時	and when [Emperor Jimmu] founded our state at Kashihara[9],
天造草創	the workings of Heaven had barely begun
人文未作	and human civilization/writing/letters [*wen*] were not yet created.

[9] Both incidents, mentioned in the Chronicles, refer to acts that establish divine authority on earth. The Heavenly Grandchild, grandson of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu, was sent down to earth to Peak Takachiho by the Sun Goddess and Takami musubi no kami in order to combat evil gods (*Nihon shoki* II, 9). Emperor Jimmu (trad. ca. 600 B.C.), the first emperor of the "Human Age" following the "Age of the Gods," established his palace at Kashihara (*Nihon shoki* III 2/3/7). References to the *Nihon shoki* are by book, followed by the year, month, and day of the entry.

至於神后征坎	Then, Empress Jingû (r. 201–69) campaigned in the direction of the "Hole" Hexagram[10]
品帝乘乾	and Emperor Ôjin (r. 270–310) rode the powers of the "Heaven" Hexagram[11] (and came to the throne).
百濟入朝	The Korean state of Paekche did obeisance at our court
啟龍編於馬厩	unraveling dragon texts[12] in the horse stables.[13]
高麗上表	And the state of Koguryo submitted memorials to our throne[14],
圖烏冊於鳥文	drawing up their crow documents with bird-track patterns.[15]
王仁始導蒙於輕島	At first Wani[16] introduced guided instruction at Karushima[17]
辰爾終敷教於譯田	and Shinni completed this by spreading the doctrines in Osada.[18]
遂使俗漸洙泗之風	Thus our customs gradually absorbed the influence of the Zhu and Si Rivers[19]
人趨齊魯之學	And people tended towards the teachings from Qi and Lu[20].[21]

The preface makes two clever moves to deal with the adoption of writing from China. First, it claims for Japan what I would call a "hexagrammatic literacy," the existence of writing literally *avant la lettre*. Although writing is "not yet created" and the Korean envoys have yet to bring their diplomatic documents and the technology of writing to Japan, Empress Jingû and Emperor Ôjin align their actions with the hexagrams from the *Classic of Changes*, which, as mentioned above, were allegedly invented by the mythical hero Fu Xi as a type of proto-writing. "Hexagrammatic literacy" diffused the secondary advent of writing in Japan through importation from China. Second, the preface downplays the importation of Chinese writing through Korea by tapping into a jumble of Chinese legends that "naturalize" the invention of writing in China. The official documents are "dragon texts" echoing the story of

[10] 29th hexagram of *Classic of Changes*. Associated with water and the North, thus referring to the crossing of the ocean northwards, when Empress Jingû launched an attack on the Korean state of Silla.

[11] First hexagram of the *Classic of Changes*. Associated with Yang forces and imperial power.

[12] The "Testamentary Charge" (*Guming* 顧命) chapter of the *Classic of Documents* (*Shujing* 書經) mentions in a list of precious objects the "River Chart" (*hetu* 河圖), a table with the hexagrams discovered by Fu Xi that emerged from the Yellow River on the back of a dragon. See James Legge, *The Chinese Classics III. The Shoo King or the Book of Historical Documents* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1893–95), 554.

[13] The Korean envoy Akichi is said to have presented the Japanese court with stallions and to have instructed prince Uji no Waki Iratsume in the Chinese Classics. See *Nihon shoki*, X 15/8/6.

[14] *Nihon shoki*, XX 1/5/15.

[15] Reference to the legendary invention of writing by hero Cang Jie.

[16] Wani and Shinni are both Korean envoys.

[17] Emperor Ôjin's capital.

[18] Emperor Bidatsu's (r. 572–585) capital. The graphs used here pun on the literal meaning of "Fields of Translation." (the *Nihon shoki*'s spelling of "Osada" is 譯語田 *Nihon shoki* XX 4/6). In parallel, "Karushima," Emperor Ôjin's capital is represented with the graphs for "Light Island."

[19] Rivers in the ancient state of Lu, Confucius's home state.

[20] These two ancient Chinese states were both associated with Confucian learning.

[21] Kojima Noriyuki, ed., *Kaifûsô, Bunka shûreishû, Honchô monzui*, (NKBT), Vol. 69 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1964), 58–62. My translations from the *Kaifûsô* have benefited from Paul Rouzer's unpublished translation. I have also consulted the translation of Andrea Maurizi, *Il più antico testo poetico del Giappone : il Kaifûsô (Raccolta in onore di antichi poeti)* (Pisa : Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 2002). The *Kaifûsô* preface has been translated in Wm. Theodore de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition Volume One: From Earliest Times to 1600*. 2nd edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 98–99. There is also a French translation of the prefaces to the Kaifûsô and to the imperial Sino-Japanese anthologies of the 9th century by Maria Chiara Migliore. See her "L'anthologie entre tradition et transformation : les recueils de poèmes en chinois au Japon (VIIIe-IXe siècle)," *Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident* 25 (2003).

a table with the hexagrams emerging from the Yellow River on the back of a turtle. The "bird-track patterns" allude to Cang Jie's "discovery" of writing while watching bird tracks. The Korean envoys offer the technology of writing as a diplomatic tribute to an imagined superior Japanese court—a court that already possessed *a hexagrammatic notion* of writing. The only true novelty the Koreans bring to Japan are the teachings contained in the Confucian Classics. As the first extant attempt of narrating literary history in Japan, the *Kaifûsô* preface draws up a powerful history of literature as a history of "wen" in all its connotations. And by implying a "hexagrammatic literacy" of early Japanese emperors and tapping into Chinese discourses of the "naturalization" of writing as mimicry of the cosmos, it also downsizes what a tremendous novelty the Chinese writing system constituted when it reached Japan.

2.2 Framing the anthology through "wen": the Civil (*wen*) and the Martial (*wu*) in the biographies of Prince Ôtomo and Prince Ôtsu

"Wen" was not just a major narrative thread in the Preface's account of civilization and the rise of literature, but the anthology as a whole is preoccupied with working through the semantic logic of "wen." This theme is further continued in the 9th century Sino-Japanese anthologies. The preface to the *Towering Clouds Collection* (*Ryô'unshû* 凌雲集; 814) states that Emperor Saga commissioned the collection to preserve "our cultural heritage," echoing *Analects* 9.5 where Confucius confidently takes charge of preserving the "cultural heritage" (*wen*) of King Wen of the Zhou Dynasty.

The proper balance between cultured civility (*wen*) and martial prowess (*wu*) is a prominent concern in the biographies of the two princes whose poetry opens the collection.[22] I shall now demonstrate the ramifications of these concepts in the anthology. The preface had located the beginning of belles lettres and poetry proper at the court of Emperor Tenji (r. 668–671), who built his short-lived capital at Ômi close to the Biwa Lake near Kyoto. Tenji's son Prince Ôtomo was deposed in the bloody Jinshin War of 772 by Tenji's brother, the later Emperor Temmu. The preface laments the loss of poetic collections in this succession war, painting an anticlimactic picture of the beginning of poetry followed by immediate destruction. In agreement with this claim in the preface there are only two poems preserved from the time before the Jinshin War, both by Emperor Tenji's unfortunate deposed heir Prince Ôtomo.[23] Placing Prince Ôtomo at the beginning of the collection is

[22] Out of the 64 poets anthologized in the *Kaifûsô* nine are portrayed in short biographies attached to their poetry. They are either princes or monks, the one exception being Isonokami no Ason Otomaro, third son of Isonokami no Ason Maro, a Korean who came to Japan on the mission that also included Yamanoue no Okura and the monk Shaku Dôji, whose poetry is also included in the *Kaifûsô*. Inserting the genre of biographies from official histories or monk hagiographies such as the *Gaosengzhuan* 高僧傳 (compiled by Hui Jiao in 519) into a poetry collection is quite unique to the *Kaifûsô*. For theories about the presence of biographies in the *Kaifûsô* see Hatooka Akira, *Jôdai kanshibun to Chûgoku bungaku* (Tokyo: Kasama shoin, 1989), 17.

[23] There have been hot debates whether Prince Ôtomo was ever inthroned or who ruled during the turbulent months preceding Temmu's victory. Compilers of the *Dai Nihon shi* compiled between 1657 and 1906 decided that he was enthroned and thus he was conferred the posthumous imperial name of "Emperor Kôbun" in 1870. See John W. Hall, ed., *Cambridge History of Japan: Ancient Japan* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge UP, 1988–1999), 218 f.

chronologically sensible, but also ideologically desirable: he is a paragon of virtue and erudition who would have been a worthy successor to his father. The biography praises his balance of civil (*wen*) with martial (*wu*) qualities. His portrayal is written as a positive mirror image of the third poet in the collection, Prince Ôtsu, a son of Emperor Temmu who was given high office after Temmu's victory in the Jinshin war, yet later forced into suicide under allegations of rebellion by Temmu's wife Empress Jitô who supported her son's Prince Kusakabe's claim to the throne. There is no doubt that the two princes are intended as a complementary character study, an instructive diptych. They both receive prophecies from foreign diviners and while Prince Ôtomo is praised for his ability to balance cultured civility with martial prowess Prince Ôtsu is doomed for his lack thereof.

Prince Ôtomo is equally proficient in civil and military matters, he excels in speech and writing and brings about a "renaissance of letters" like his father Emperor Tenji, which the preface portrayed as the first properly "literary" ruler:

> [Prince Ôtomo] was deeply learned and of broad understanding and he had talents in civil as well as military affairs....The prince was by nature of keen perception, with an elegant predilection for broadly exploring antiquity. As soon as his brush descended, essays took shape, and when words came out [of his mouth] they were like discourses. The advisors of his time sighed in admiration over his magnificent learning, and before long the renaissance of belles lettres increased with every day. Due to the Jinshin revolt his Heavenly Mandate did not ensue.[24] He was twenty-five.[25] 皇子博學多通, 有文武材幹 [...] 太子天性明悟, 雅愛博古. 下筆成章, 出言為論. 時議者, 嘆其洪學, 未幾文藻日新. 會壬申年之亂, 天命不遂. 時年二十五.

The "Heavenly Mandate" (天命 Ch. *tianming*, J. *tenmei*) had been a powerful concept through which the Zhou dynasty justified its overthrow of the presumably cruel and decadent Shang on moral grounds. Prince Ôtomo's virtue and excellence did not translate into entitlement to rule, so that "his Heavenly Mandate did not ensue." The biography does give an explanation for this outrageous mismatch between moral entitlement and political failure. It is couched in the words of the Tang emissary Liu Degao who visited the Yamato court in 665 and who, marveling at the prince's features, exclaimed, "This prince has a character and bone structure[26] quite unlike his contemporaries. It is indeed not the lot of this country to possess such an individual. 此皇子, 風骨不似世間人. 實非此國之分." [27]

If Prince Ôtomo is deposed by his Japanese countrymen and his potential to be an ideal ruler goes to waste because of the Jinshin War, it is a Chinese envoy, who, from a culturally and diplomatically superior position, questions the qualification of the Japanese to possess such a promising and exceptional crown prince in the first

[24] The phrase can also simply mean "his Heavenly-appointed life span ran out." But a more political interpretation as "Heavenly mandate" is certainly appropriate in this passage that recounts the prince's deposition and death during the Jinshin War.

[25] *Kaifûsô*, 70.

[26] 風骨 could mean more generally "demeanor" or "character." However, it appears here in a physiognomic context and I thus translate literally "character and bone structure."

[27] Ibid., 70.

place. Further more obvious signs that the prince will lose power prepare the reader for his sad end and his loss of the throne. He has a dream in which an old man in crimson tries to offer the sun to him which in the very moment of passing it on it is snatched away by somebody else. Fujiwara no Kamatari, a prominent minister under Emperor Tenji and the ancestor of the powerful Fujiwara clan, which in the Heian Period came to *de facto* rule Japan by marrying its daughters to the Japanese emperors, tries to console the prince. He insists that cultivation of his virtue will protect him from bad effects in the future. Yet, according to the logic of this narrative, Liu Degao's prophecy had already made clear that Prince Ôtomo had by birth been endowed with perfect virtue and was in no need to cultivate it to be worthy of the throne. Kamatari's dream interpretation thus seems to serve two other functions: first, structurally, in the narration of the life of Prince Ôtomo, it marks the starting point of his promising, yet short-lived ascent, his marriage to Kamatari's daughter, his appointment to the status of crown prince, and his ability to gather an entourage of talented courtiers around him. Second, it further ennobles the prince's image. Not only was he endowed with perfect virtue, but the inauspicious dream tells us that he made all efforts possible to cultivate his virtue even further. That neither heavenly endowment nor personal effort could avert his end makes him into a full-fledged tragic figure.

Prince Ôtsu is portrayed as the evil, yet still attractive, twin of Prince Ôtomo. His biography opens:

> Prince Ôtsu was the eldest son of Emperor Temmu.[28] He was of imposing stature and profound character. In his youth he liked to study, he had a broad grasp of things and was good at literary composition. Reaching adulthood he grew fond of martial affairs and, physically strong, became a talented fencer. His nature was rather unrestrained and he did not adhere to any laws or rules. He was gracious and polite towards others. Therefore he had many followers.[29]
> 皇子者, 淨御原帝之長子也. 狀貌魁梧. 器宇峻遠. 幼年好學, 博覺而能屬文. 及狀愛武. 多力而能擊劍. 性頗放蕩. 不拘法度. 降節禮士. 由是人多附託.

Like Prince Ôtomo, Prince Ôtsu possessed both civil and martial qualities, but they were unevenly divided between a literary youth and martial adulthood, the latter eventually leading to his attempted revolt in 686. Connecting the imbalance between the cultivated and the martial to the rest of the biography it seems that the lack of "civility" in his adulthood is reflected in the absence of proper associations. Yes, he was gracious and due to his politeness he had a large following—another endearing characteristic that makes the biography's portrayal of Prince Ôtsu quite complex. But apparently this company did not consist of the right people at the right moment. This is apparent in the prophecy Prince Ôtsu receives, which is a negative mirror image of Prince Ôtomo's: it comes from a diviner monk from the Korean Kingdom of Silla, diplomatically clearly of lower status than the Chinese emissary. It predicts the prince's bad end. The absence of a figure like that of the wise Kamatari in Prince Ôtomo's biography, highlights the prince's lack of good advisors who can

[28] The *Nihon shoki* makes him Emperor Temmu's third son.
[29] *Kaifûsô*, 74.

help him cope productively with a disconcerting prophecy. The astronomer from Silla announces ominously, "Your bone structure reveals a man who will never be a subject of others. This is why your rank has remained low for such a long time. I fear you will not be able to preserve your life 太子骨法，不是人臣之相。以此久在下位。恐不全身."[30]

The role of the sagely advisor Fujiwara no Kamatari in Prince Ôtomo's biography is to highlight the Prince's ability of gathering people of keen judgment around him and of accepting their advice. Kamatari alleviates worries about the ambiguous prophecy and the inauspicious dream and assures the Prince that fate will be just if he only cultivates himself. Indeed, Prince Ôtomo's rise to a crown prince with the potential to follow in the footsteps of his virtuous father, Emperor Tenji, is inspired by the soothing councils of Kamatari. In contrast, Prince Ôtsu does not have an adept advisor or eager future father-in-law to help him cope with the unfortunate prophecy. The result of this prophecy is dire:

> [The prince] thereupon advanced his plans of rebellion. Led astray by these deceptions he thus schemed and got off track—alas, how regrettable! He had good potential, but did not preserve his life through loyalty and filiality. Instead, having come close to that evil monk,[31] he suffered the humiliating punishment of suicide. Based on this example, how profound is the saying of the ancients that "you should be careful of your acquaintances." He was twenty-four.[32]
> 因進逆謀. 迷此詿誤, 遂圖不軌. 嗚呼惜哉. 蘊彼良才, 不以忠孝保身. 近此姦豎卒以戮辱自終. 古人慎交遊之意, 因以深哉. 時年二十四.

Prince Ôtsu goes astray because he lacks a resourceful entourage and because his own character judgment is wanting: he believes the "superstitions" of the astronomer from Silla and nobody is there to keep him from rushing to revolt based on the prophecy that he will never be a good subject and, in consequence, has to become ruler to forego the dire end prophesied for him.

There is no moral to Prince Ôtomo's biography, but for the cautionary tale about Prince Ôtsu it is directly spelled out as a strong prohibitive. The term "acquaintances" (J. *kôyu* 交遊) is a revelatory cue here, because it connects discourses about ruling through "wen" and about rulers as generous patrons of literature with a more general rhetoric of friendship and cultivation of character by surrounding oneself with the right people. The *Kaifûsô* preface portrayed Emperor Tenji as an expert of making "acquaintances" in precisely this way:

既而以為	Before long, [Emperor Tenji] thought:
調風化俗	For harmonizing customs and transforming conventions,
莫尚於文	nothing is more esteemed than letters (*wen*).
潤德光身	For nurturing virtue and enlightening oneself,
孰先於學	what could come before learning?
爰則建庠序	Thus he established schools and academies,
徵茂才	seeking men of flourishing talent; [...]
旋招文學之士	He repeatedly summoned men of letters,
時開置醴之遊	often hosted excursions to set out sweet wine.
當此之際宸翰垂文	At those occasions the imperial brush descended in composition

[30] *Kaifûsô*, 74–75.
[31] The Korean diviner.
[32] Ibid., 75.

賢臣獻頌　and worthy ministers presented their hymns:
雕章麗筆　Finely carved essays and beautiful brushwork
非唯百篇　were hardly limited to a hundred pieces.[33]

Emperor Tenji is the perfect embodiment of the *Kaifûsô*'s programmatic regime through "wen." He gives literary composition highest priority in his governing, sets up academies to train men of talent to become his resourceful entourage, and invites them to literary outings (*asobi* 遊び) at which the ruler with his ministers composes poetry in the companionable atmosphere of a literary salon. Highest principles of governance, educational politics, literary composition, and a culture of court friendship all intersect at Emperor Tenji's court. Conversely, Prince Ôtsu's inability to have the right "acquaintances" is just another way of pointing to his abandonment of learning and literary composition in his adulthood for the sake of martial pursuits and to his lack of broader political vision.

Thus the theme of the "civil" versus the "martial" that frames the opening of the anthology is further refracted through the lens of character judgment and the proper cultivation of relationships. This is where the biography of Prince Kawashima, Emperor Tenji's second son, comes into play. It is wedged between Prince Ôtomo's and Prince Ôtsu's biography as if to negotiate between these unequal twins while itself providing an unfavorable contrast to Crown Prince Ôtomo—like Prince Kawashima a son of Emperor Tenji. The crown prince sides with the right people who, even though they cannot change his dire fate, direct him to prepare for the role of a model emperor. Prince Kawashima is an ambivalent case: he is a loyal subject but a bad friend. His biography is a diatribe against people who forsake their friends. He swears loyalty to Prince Ôtsu, but then reports him for plans of rebellion. Consequently, "although the court praised his loyalty and uprightness, his friend thought his talent and feelings shallow. 朝廷嘉其忠正, 朋友薄其才情."[34] The biography preaches that one should not let one's "personal connections" (J. *majiri* 交じり) override one's duty towards the ruler, but, in a clear argument for the value of friendship relations, one should consider it a duty to dissuade one's friends from rebellious plans rather than reporting them to the authorities. Prince Ôtsu, as the third in the row, becomes the victim of his lack of wise advisors and virtuous friends.

By juxtaposing the biographies and poetry of Princes Ôtomo, Kawashima, and Ôtsu the *Kaifûsô* compiler did not just arrange the opening of the anthology by chronology and social status, namely imperial lineage. He created contrasting character vignettes of the Princes that intricately connected the more narrowly literary discourses around "wen" and concepts of civil versus martial duty, with the practice of imperial banquets in the company of literary-minded courtiers, and the cultivation of companionship, friendship and loyalty beyond these more formal occasions.

[33] Ibid., 60. In contrast to the portrayals of other emperors in the earlier part of the preface, the portrayal of Emperor Tenji does not match with the *Nihon shoki* account. The *Nihon shoki* celebrates Temmu instead. Hatooka Akira has shown that Tenji's portrayal here echoes the depiction of Emperor Taizong in the *Zhenguan zhengyao* 貞觀政要 (comp. by Wu Jing 吳競), which records exemplary debates between Taizong and his ministers about policy issues. See Hatooka, "Hachi seiki ichi Nihonjin no kokusai kankaku—*Kaifûsô* no sekai kara," *Kokugakuin zasshi* 103.11 (2002): 167.

[34] Ibid., 72.

2.3 Balancing an anthology of "wen": the tension between ornament (*wen* 文) and substance (*zhi* 質)

> Confucius said, "A dominance of substance over ornament will result in roughness. A dominance of ornament over substance will result in scribal pedantry. Only a well-balanced mixture of the two results in a superior person" 子曰:質勝文 則野,文勝質則史.文質彬彬,然後君 子.[35]

The proper balance between solid substance and artful ornament was to become one of the central concerns in the Chinese literary tradition. The balance ensured the production of an attractive, yet morally responsible literature. Its loss was considered not just poetically, but morally and politically harmful. Exceedingly ornate literature could bring dynasties down: in a passage in the *Sui History* (*Suishu* 隋書) such literature is brought forward as the cause for China's long period of disunion between the fall of the Han Dynasty and the reunification under the Sui and Tang Dynasties.[36] Ideally the outer pattern (*wen*) would be a perfect manifestation of inner substance as described by the Chinese poet Lu Ji (261–303) in his *Poetic Exposition on Literature* (*Wenfu* 文賦):

理扶質以立幹　Nature's laws bear the substance, they are a tree's trunk;
文垂條而結繁　Patterns hang as the branches, a lavish lacework.[37]

But literary composition in China has since the fifth century generally been pressed to defend itself against allegations of giving in to artful ornament at the expense of moral substance. Liu Xie's *A Literary Heart and the Carving of Dragons* (*Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍) is a sensitive mirror of the intricate discourses developing around the polarity between "literary flourish" and "substance" in the fifth and sixth centuries. It takes turns attacking and vigorously defending the related term of "dragon carving," which had carried negative connotations ever since Yang Xiong's remark that such "insect carving" and the writing of poetic expositions had been a vice of his youth.[38] The Japanese poets anthologized in the *Kaifûsô* had to deal with that tension inherent in Six Dynasties poetry and poetics.

The *Kaifûsô* preface faced this problem in a less sheltered way than the preface to the *Wenxuan*. Certainly, the *Wenxuan* preface capitalized equally strongly on the polysemantic efficiency of the key term "wen" and told the history of literature—"wen"—from the broad angle of the history of civilization—"wen." However, looking back to more than a millennium of textual production and several centuries of discussions about textual genres and categorizations the *Wenxuan* preface was written from the perspective of a highly compartmentalized literary landscape in which belles lettres could claim a special position thanks to their "literariness" (*wen*),

[35] *Analects* 6.18.

[36] Luo Genze, *Sui Tang wenxue piping shi* (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 2nd edition 1996), 157.

[37] Translation from Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature* (New York, London: Norton, 1996), 338. *Wenxuan*, 764.

[38] See Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 185. On the polarity between "flourish" and "substance" in Six Dynasties poetics see Ke Qingming and Zeng Yongyi, *LiangHan Wei Jin Nanbeichao wenxue piping ziliao huibian* (Taibei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1978), 41–44.

or in its own words "brush flourish" (*hanzao* 翰藻).[39] On this basis the compiler, in contrast to the broad scope of the rise of civilization and textuality sketched at the beginning of the preface, later explains that he excluded selections from the "Histories" and the "Masters" sections of the Chinese encyclopedias for their lack of literary polish. But these were precisely those textual genres in the traditional Chinese classification of texts that had discussed the significance of "wen" as civilizing force and moral power.

In the case of the *Kaifûsô*, the first literary collection in Japanese history, the tension between "literary flourish" and "substance" is complicated due to the lack of a protective concept of "literariness" based on which the *Wenxuan* preface had eliminated historical and philosophical texts. "Wen" itself is still suspended between the moral mission of virtuous Confucian governance on the model of King *Wen* and its more "ornamental" manifestation in the realm of belles-lettres and literary entertainment at the Yamato and Nara courts.

This becomes very clear when the preface tells the history of poetry after the Jinshin War and the demise of Emperor Tenji's lineage. It changes narrative modes, now telling the story of poetry through its poets and poems:

自此以降	Since those times
詞人間出	poets have emerged now and then:
龍潛王子	A crown prince[40]—like a hidden dragon
翔雲鶴於風筆	made cloud-dwelling cranes soar with his breezy brush (in poem no. 6)
鳳翥天皇.	An emperor[41]—like a raising phoenix
泛月舟於霧渚	had the moon boat float by misty islands (in poem no. 15)
神納言之悲白鬢	Counselor Ômiwa [Takechimaro] lamented his white temples (in poem no. 18)
藤太政之詠玄造	and Chancellor Fujiwara [no Fuhito] sang of mysterious creation (in poem no. 29).
騰茂實於前朝	They elevated the lush fruits of previous reigns
飛英聲於後代	and let their preeminent voices fly on to later eras.[42]

The passage forces very different individuals into a parallel structure: Prince Ôtsu, a prince dreaming of becoming an emperor, gets a favorable treatment put on a par with Emperor Mommu, son of Prince Kusakabe and Empress Gemmei, who ruled for a decade of his short life and under whose behest the famous Taihô legal code was promulgated in 701. The only similarity between the two high officials coupled

[39] *Wenxuan*, 4.

[40] Prince Ôtsu.

[41] Emperor Mommu (r. 697–707).

[42] *Kaifûsô*, 60–61. This is an account of the second of the four phases into which the poetry of the *Kaifûsô* is conventionally divided. The first phase, up to the Jinshin war, is only represented by the two poem by Prince Ôtomo. The second phase, from the Jinshin war until the Wado era (708–715) comprises less than half of the collection, while the third and fourth phases (715–729 and 729–751 respectively) belong to poetry composed at the Estate of the great literary patron Nagaya no Ôkimi son of Prince Takechi and grandson of Emperor Temmu, and, lastly, to poetry composed under the patronage of Fujiwara no Muchimaro who took over Nagaya no Ôkimi's role as literary patron after the latter's forced suicide in 729. While the preface discusses phase 1 and 2, phase 3 and 4 go unaccounted for.

in the lines is that they were both prominent and unsuccessful in their own way.[43] The line-up of poems alluded to reveals a preference for the "literary": clearly it is the most ornate, not the most morally instructive, poems that are chosen to represent their authors.[44] This choice is particularly pertinent in the case of Prince Ôtsu. Out of the four poems by the prince it is not the prince's famous deathbed quatrain that is selected (although it would have alluded to his rebellion and forced suicide, and thus added force to a condemnation of the prince's behavior on moral and political grounds suggested in his biography). Instead, the preface evokes this beautifully crafted couplet:

> 天紙風筆畫雲鶴 On heaven's paper the breezy brush paints cloud-dwelling cranes—
> 山機霜杼織葉錦 Mountain loom and frosty shuttle weave leafy brocade.[45]

Not laments of a life cut short, but a couplet on cranes longevity is invoked from the prince's poetry. In the couplet nature is made into her own craftsman, painting with a wind-brush and weaving brocade leaves over the mountain ridges. Nature artistically adorns herself so that the poet does not even seem to strike an ornate pose, but describes nature in its seemingly *natural* beauty. There is little reason to read this couplet as a political allegory, although a couplet added by a later poet, which forces such an interpretation on the lines, shows the desire of the compiler to allegorize.[46] The couplet is rather an elegant reverie paying homage to the artfulness of nature and by extension to the nature of poetry as artfulness. And it exemplifies a practice of literature/*wen* that prizes elegant wit and literary artifice, certainly not didactic mission.[47]

The choice of the elegant over the instructive is even clearer in Emperor Mommu's case. Out of three poems, "Stating my Feelings" shows the emperor's earnest attempts at Confucian self-cultivation.[48]

Yet, the author of the *Kaifûsô* preface instead chooses the poetically most ornate and sophisticated poem to match Prince Ôtsu's elegant couplet:

[43] Ômiwa no Takechimaro was sent into exile and Fujiwara no Fuhito, the most powerful person at court after Mommu's death, never succeeded in putting his favorite Prince Obito on the throne.

[44] Fujiwara no Fuhito's poem (no. 29) is, in contrast to the other poems referred to by the preface, a heavy-handed praise of Confucian governance in which a New Year's Day celebration is staged as an audience at an idealized Zhou court. Yet none of the other four poems by Fuhito to which the author of the preface could have alluded to are particularly ornate so that, while intending to match the two ministers Fuhito and Takechimaro, he did not have a matching choice from Fuhito's poetry.

[45] *Kaifûsô* no. 6, 76.

[46] This later poet links this imagistic couplet *per force* to Prince Ôtsu's unhappy fate:
赤雀含書時不至 The time for crimson sparrows with letters in beak did not come;
潛龍勿用未安寢 Hidden dragon—do not act! –He can never rest in peace.
Crimson sparrows would have brought the message of the prince's enthronement. The quotation from the first hexagram of the *Classic of Changes* "Hidden dragon—do not act!" warns the Prince, addressed as the imperial dragon about to take power, against rebelling. Yet, the prince took no heed and due to his forced suicide cannot rest in peace. Thus, one could read the selection of Prince Ôtsu's couplet through the indirect hint to the couplet of the later poet, especially because the Preface mentions the "hidden dragon." Yet, in the context of the preface the "hidden dragon" serves as nothing more than a fit parallel to Emperor Mommu's "phoenix-mindedness" and puts the rebellious prince even more on par with the Emperor, his parallelistic correlate.

[47] Sawada Fusakiyo praises the sophistication of this couplet in most flattering terms. See Sawada, *Kaifûsô chûshaku* (Tokyo: Ôokayama shoten, 1933), 54.

詠月　"Composing on 'Moon'"

月舟移霧渚　The moon boat advances by misty islands,
楓檝泛霞濱　cassia oars float along the hazy shore.
臺上澄流耀　[The moon's] liquid luster shines on the terrace
酒中沈去輪　as its departing wheel sinks into the wine cup.

水下斜陰碎　Slanting shadows scatter on the flowing water.
樹除秋光新　Its autumn light shines fresh through sparse trees.
獨以星間鏡　Alone like a mirror among stars
還浮雲漢津　it even floats through the Milky Way's ford.[49]

The poem lives up to its topic as it unfolds layer upon layer of moonlight: the reflection of the moon, which is like a boat floating next to the poet's boat; its glow on the vast expanse of the terrace, its almost tactile caressing of the trees, like a mirror among the stars. This multiplication of emerging translucencies is played off against multiple layers of concealment: misty islands and hazy shores, the disappearing reflection in the small wine cup that in turn is particularly striking in contrast to the vast expanse of the terrace, scattering shadows, and, lastly, the expected disappearance of the moon-mirror's light when it crosses into the bright Milky Way.

The tension between translucent and concealed brightness is delicately sublated in the beautiful closure of the poem: the image of the moon-mirror being one and alone, yet inherently prone to infinite self-multiplication within the landscape of luminous reflective surfaces such as the lake waters, wine cups, terraces, trees, and the Milky Way with which the poem previously had beguilingly enwrapped the reader. Mommu's poem on "Moon" is one of the truly ravishing and clever poems in the collection.[50] It dates to the chronologically earlier part of the collection. As such

[48] *Kaifûsô* no. 16, 87–88:

年雖足戴冕　Though in years I am old enough to wear the crown
智不敢垂裳　as regards my wisdom I do not dare to let the robes fall. (1)
朕常夙夜念　I, a solitary emperor, am persistently poring day and night
何以拙心匡　over how to correct my crude mind.

猶不師往古　If I do not take those of high antiquity as my teachers (2)
何救元首望　how can I entertain the hope to properly head my state?
然毋三絕務　Though I do not take on the duty of [reading the *Classic of Changes*] thrice to shreds (3)
且欲臨短章　I would at least like to approach it in this short piece.

This painfully erudite poem uses poetry for an austere reflection on the necessity of Confucian education. The emperor contemplates on his governmental mission by declaring himself incapable of embodying sage kings of high antiquity. (1) He does not dare to be like the mythical Emperors Huangdi, Yao and Shun, paragons of virtue, who "let their robes fall and the world was governed." (from *Xicizhuan* 繫辭傳). (2) He feels he has not yet paid heed to ancient precedent as the sage minister Yue adivised King Wuding of the Shang Dynasty (from the "Shuoming" 說命, 3rd chapter of the *Book of Documents*. Legge, *The Chinese Classics III. The Shoo King or the Book of Historical Documents*, 260). (3) He acknowledges that he is not a second Confucius who according to the biography by Sima Qian preserved in the *Records of the Grand Historian* turned late in his life so intensely to the study of the *Classic of Changes* that he read its bindings three times to shreds. Despite the humble gesture of stating his inability to live up to any of these figures or situations, Emperor Mommu places himself at the same time in good and ennobling company who elevates him and his devotion to his imperial duties.

[49] *Kaifûsô*, no. 15, 87.

[50] Based on the sophistication of this poem Nakanishi Susumu suggests reconsidering Emperor Mommu's position in literary history. He argues that the image of the "moon boat" is peculiar to Japanese poetry and invents the witty term "washi" (和詩, perhaps best translated as "Japanized Sino-Japanese poem") for this poem that blends continental diction with indigenous imagery. See Nakanishi, *Nihon bungaku to kanshi. Gaikoku bungaku no juyô ni tsuite* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2004), 38–42.

it is an effective, if minute, counterargument against the wide-spread assumption that the *Kaifûsô* is a collection of awkward poetic beginnings of the yet-uneducated Japanese poets and that the quality of the poetry slowly increases as time passes. Rather, one could argue that the presence in the *Kaifûsô* of pedantically didactic poetry such as Emperor's Mommu's poem on his attempts of self-cultivation and of clever and eloquent poems such as the one on the moon by the same author are a symptom of a highly ambivalent concept of poetry in eighth century Japan: the *Kaifûsô* gives a glimpse of a literary culture that was eager to still keep together "literary flourish" and moral "substance" in a way that became unthinkable in China after the *Wenxuan* preface and its concept of the "literary."

2.4 Scintillating "wen" between Confucian, Daoist, and Buddhist rhetoric

The choice of poems deemed representative by the author of the preface brings out a tension between two versions of "wen" that in the Chinese tradition by the time of the *Wenxuan* preface had become compartmentalized into the properly literary and the morally instructive that lacked literary polish. And the author betrays a proud preference for the ornate and sophisticated over the plain and instructive. This choice is just one example of the complicated collusion and collision of various ideological stances propagated in the poetry. It emerges from the juxtaposition of the preface with the sampled poetry and the attached prose biographies and—as we saw in the case of Prince Ôtsu—considerably complicates what the preface tells us at face value. If "wen" is central to Confucian discourses yet also tied to rhetorical flourish characteristic of belletristic literature, the role of Buddhist presence in the preface and the collection is equally ambivalent: put simply, the preface saw Buddhist endeavors and literary pursuits as incompatible, but in the collection we see Buddhist monks happily versifying.

In the preface, Prince Shôtoku, the famous 7th century regent and propagaster of Buddhism, lacks "leisure" for literary pursuits, because he busies himself with setting up a rank system and studying Buddhist doctrine. Thus, Buddhism is presented as an impediment to literary production. The collection complicates this image by inserting the biography and poetry of monk Chizô, who had been studying in China and was highly rewarded for his Buddhist expertise upon his return to the Nara court. Chizô's insertion among imperial family members is too prominent not to be significant. His biography continues the exemplification of proper friendship relationship that had made Prince Ôtomo become even more virtuous, Prince Kawashima a bad friend, and Prince Ôtsu a rebellious failure. As I shall show below, Chizô is the successful correlate to Prince Ôtsu, whose poetry precedes Chizô's entry in the collection. The biography relates how fellow monks were envious of his superior command of the Buddhist law and how he feigned craziness to escape harm, while secretly copying the essentials of the Buddhist canon and hiding them in a lacquer-sealed tube that he used to carry around during his pilgrimages.

Chizô's story intersects with Prince Ôtsu's case on several levels. First, both have hidden designs. Chizô's secrecy, his feigning of crazy and unrestrained behavior is successful, while Prince Ôtsu's is unraveled and he pays for it with his life. Interest-

ingly, what makes the difference is their similar behavior: Prince Ôtsu is by nature unrestrained and indomitable (*hôtô* 放蕩), resulting in his premature death; Chizô *feigns* unrestrained (*hontô* 奔蕩) and crazy behavior and this "recipe" (*sube* 方) helps him preserve his life (*mi o mataku* 全軀).[51] The term here suggests survival through a Daoist, particularly Zhuangzian ruse of "uselessness." As the huge and gnarly tree can avoid the axe in the first chapter of the *Zhuangzi* "Free and Easy Wandering" (*Xiaoyao you* 逍遙遊), because it cannot be put to any use, Chizô's acting mad saves him from the intrigues of his fellow monks and helps him preserve his life.

The second intersection between the figures of Prince Ôtsu and Chizô is the interplay between secrecy and its unveiling:

> In the reign of Empress Jitô Master Chizô returned to our country. When his fellow monks reached land, they unrolled the sutras they had brought to air them out; Chizô undid the folds of his garment, stood against the wind and said, "I am also airing the mysterious meaning of the scriptures!" All guffawed in scorn and thought his words idle talk. When the time came for the monks to be examined Chizô ascended the lecture seat and expounded [the teachings] in full. The meaning of his words was lofty and profound, and his intonation elegant and beautiful. Though disputants rose fiercely against him, he answered them in fluent flow. All submitted to him and everybody was utterly astonished. The empress esteemed him and appointed him head of his sect。太后天皇世, 師向本朝. 同伴登陸, 曝涼經書. 法師開襟對風曰: 我亦曝涼經典之奧義. 眾皆嗤笑, 以為妖言. 臨於試業, 昇座敷演. 辭義峻遠, 音詞雅麗. 論雖鋒起, 應對如流. 皆屈服莫不驚駭. 帝嘉之. 拜僧正.[52]

It is a triple revelation of sorts: first, Chizô unfolds the sutras from his secret lacquer tube. The second revelation, the opening of his robe and declaration that his belly contains the Buddhist law is incomprehensible to Chizô's companions who laugh at him but it prepares the reader for the final revelation, the ultimate triumph when he starts to teach fluently and in recognition of his extraordinary abilities is appointed head of his own new sect by the empress.

The gesture of Chizô's second and most important revelation, the opening of his robe, in fact opens one of Prince Ôtsu's poems:

開衿臨靈沼	I open the folds of my rob, stand by Numinous Pond[53],
遊目步金苑	let roam my eyes, strolling in Golden Garden[54].
澄清苔水深	Radiant and clear, mossy waters are deep,
晻曖霞峰遠	tenebrous and vague, misty peaks distant.
驚波共絃響	Surging waves echo, blending with the strings,
哢鳥與風聞	chirping birds are heard alongside the breeze.
群公倒載歸	Gentlemen drop drunk and return in their carriages.
彭澤宴誰論	So who would even talk about a banquet at Pengze? [55]

[51] In comparing the biographies of monks in the *Kaifûsô* Yamaguchi Atsushi identifies their unconventional iconoclastic behavior as a similarity in their portrayal. See "Higashi Ajia no kanshi to sôryo. *Kaifûsô* sôden kenkyû josetsu," Tatsumi Masaaki, ed., *Kaifûsô. Kanji bunkaken no naka no Nihon kodai kanshi*, 152.

[52] *Kaifûsô*, 79.

[53] The pond was built by King Wen of the Zhou dynasty in his royal park. In response to the king's virtue the common people allegedly worked on its construction voluntarily.

[54] Referring to "Golden Valley Garden" (*Jingu yuan*), the pleasure estate of the fourth-century plutocrat Shi Chong, whose literary banquets in his luxurious garden became proverbial.

[55] *Kaifûsô* no. 4, 75.

The opening of his robe is a gesture of the prince's insouciance while enjoying himself away from his court duties with his coterie at a banquet. The banquet evokes the famous salon in Golden Valley Garden of the wealthy Shi Chong. The last line refers to the famous Chinese poet and drinker Tao Qian (365–427) who became famous as a hermit, but served for a couple of months as magistrate of Pengze. Pengze marked the turning point of his life, when he decided to relinquish office and retreat to the countryside. The poem thus mentions Tao Qian at his most courtly and least typical. Yet, a Japanese prince enmeshed in court life could more easily empathize with the more untypical Tao Qian, the official, rather than with Tao Qian, the hermit. In the end the prince empathizes with Tao Qian to the degree of competing with him: the Japanese courtiers are even better drinkers and banqueters than Tao Qian as the governor of Pengze, so that Tao Qian doesn't merit mention after all. Thus Prince Ôtsu does two things at once: he elegantly parades his familiarity with Tao Qian's biography but also uses it to declare Japanese victory in an imaginary competition over whether Tao Qian's companions or Prince Ôtsu's are the better banqueters.

If "opening the robes" leads us to Chizô's triumph to be established as the head of his own sect by using a Daoist ruse of life preservation, the prince-poets relaxing of his official attire and feasting in company leads to disaster, because, as we know from his biography, he tended to be careless about his acquaintances and assembled with the wrong people.

Thus, Chizô serves as effective counter-portrayal to Ôtsu. He astutely manipulates Daoist self-preservation techniques to his advantages, where the Prince deludedly plays Daoist: he truly IS "unrestrained" and this leads to his demise if not in the poem but in the biography framing the poem.

The intricate interlacing of Chizô's acquisition of the Buddhist law and preservation of his life through Daoist recipes which *feign* Daoist escapism is also a collateral lesson in how to be a good courtier: courteously *playing* Daoist libertinage was to be preferred over getting out of control by *being* a Daoist libertine. Thus the lesson to be learnt is that Chizô pretends and gets rewarded for his acting by the Empress, where Prince Ôtsu acts earnestly and fails.

In Chizô's poetry we also revisit the antagonism between Prince Shôtoku's advancement of Buddhist doctrine and Emperor Tenji's support of belles lettres, which the preface had highlighted. This antagonism dissolves in Chizô's production of playfully defensive poetry:

翫花鶯	"Taking Pleasure in Flowers and Orioles"
桑門寡言晤	A monk has rarely time to chat –
策杖事迎逢	So leaning on my staff I busy myself to welcome you.
以此芳春節	In this season of fragrant spring
忽值竹林風	we are suddenly facing bamboo breezes.
求友鶯嬌樹	In search for their mates, orioles embellish the trees;
含香花笑叢	Filled with fragrance, blossoms make the bushes smile.
雖喜遨遊志	Though I enjoy letting my mind ramble freely,
還媿乏雕蟲	I'm still ashamed I fail in this "insect carving."[56]

[56] *Kaifûsô*, no. 8, 79–80.

Chizô enjoys "letting his mind ramble freely": this could simply mean that he goes on excursions in the company of other poetry-inclined courtiers and expresses his "mind" in poetry, based on the proverbial belief, first recorded in the "Canon of Shun" of the *Book of Documents*, that "poetry articulates one's intentions/mind 詩言志." The humble closure of the poem in which Chizô expresses shame for his poor poetic talent is also a tongue-in-cheek teasing of his companions and an easy excuse for potentially poor poetic performance. He obviously really enjoys writing poetry. Yet, in calling it by its rather derogatory name "insect carving," Chizô playfully condones the potential triviality of the enterprise, which in turn implies that a failure at "insect carving" is not so grave after all. The Eastern Han rhapsody author and scholar Yang Xiong (53 B.C.–18 A.D.) had deplored the literary pursuits of "insect carving" in his youth as a juvenile *faux pas* off the proper moral path. For Chizô failing in something morally despicable is a good excuse to enjoy indulging in it. Chizô is, however, aware of his duties as a Buddhist monk and his deviance from Prince Shôtoku's example of Buddhist "busy-ness" that does not leave time for literary pursuits.

According to the first line, monks just cannot afford chatting, especially not in verse. Yet, Chizô is all the happier to receive a visitor in this gorgeous springtime to *waste* his time with. Chizô convinces himself that his impulse to hang out with the guest rather than hold back, to recite and compose poetry rather than to stay silent as it befits a monk, is not misguided: the orioles, too, are "searching for friends." Again, friendship and poetic composition make for a proper couple. And letting one's "intention" ramble freely mimics both his outward movement into nature—encountering a nice spot to feast—and the imminent outward manifestation of the poet's mind in the poet's words, just as the poetics of the "Great Preface" to the *Classic of Poetry* had described it.

The Buddhist monk Chizô is presented as adept in the proper application of Daoist recipes as well as in the loosening of Confucian and Buddhist restraint against "insect carving." Chizô is the epitome of proper balance among all Three Teachings, and a figure through which the process of balancing can eloquently be exemplified. His crucial positioning in the anthology among members of the imperial family might be due to his success through such balance. But it also reflects, once more, the intention of the compiler to work through the connotations and implications of "wen" in various contexts, in Chizô's case of course through the meaning of "wen" in relation to his social status as a monk.

2.5 Conclusion to the *Kaifûsô*

The *Kaifûsô* constitutes the earliest attempt to make sense of the practice of Sino-Japanese literary composition within the context of the development of civilization and textuality on the Japanese archipelago in the seventh and eighth century. In this sense it is a monument to the regime of "wen" in gradually narrowing inflections. The *Kaifûsô* preface attempts to account for the rise of civilization in general, for writing in practice, and literature in particular.

Following up on the logic of the gradual unfolding of "wen" in its ever more specific historical inflections, the anthology and its preface decline the word "wen" through various fields of signification. In the biographies of Prince Ôtomo and Prince Ôtsu "wen" is coupled with "martial prowess," with a proper sense for the right company both poetically and politically. Also, "wen" is played off against the anxiety of literary superfluousness, of decline through lack of "substance." This was a way to work through Confucian prejudices against belles lettres. In the portrayal of the two princes and the one monk the playful tackling of such Confucian prejudices give literature a place in Buddhist discourse which Prince Shotoku could not provide and puts strings on Taoist counter-court reveling at poetic banquets.

It is a tightly woven argumentative plane on which the manifestation and viability of "wen" in the Japanese context is boldly tested out.

3. Besting the Sino-Japanese tradition: the *Kokinwakashû*'s universal "Way" (Ch. *dao*, J. *michi* 道) of poetry

3.1. Replacing the regime of "wen" with the realm of the "Way"

The *Kokinwakashû* 古今和歌集 (*Collection of Old and New Waka Poems*; hereafter *Kokinshû*) was the first imperially sponsored anthology of Japanese Poetry (*waka*). Compiled in 905 under the auspices of Emperor Daigo after a good century of imperial support for Sino-Japanese poetry, the collection was inevitably under great pressure to make a convincing argument for Japanese poetry, which lacked the public stature of its Sino-Japanese twin and rival.[57] One sign of the seriousness of this competition is that the *Kokinshû* has two prefaces: one written in Classical Japanese and a second one, in Sino-Japanese, which is in closer dialogue with Sino-Japanese and Chinese precedents.

Bolstering the status of Japanese *waka* poetry in the public arena meant devising a storyline for its development that could trump the narratives used to justify Sino-Japanese practice. Timothy Wixted has beautifully shown how the prefaces tapped into the psychology from the "Great Preface" to the *Classic of Poetry*. I would like to reinforce his point by arguing that the *Kokinshû* prefaces did so, first and most importantly, in order to break the hegemony of Sino-Japanese poetry at court.[58] The *Kokinshû* prefaces constructed a timeless and universal "Way" (Ch. *dao*,

[57] For a detailed account of how *waka* poetry gained public face in the half century preceding the *Kokinshû* see Helen McCullough, *Brocade by Night: Kokinwakashû and the Court Style in Japanese Classical Poetry* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1985), 231–92.

[58] John Timothy Wixted, "The *Kokinshû* Prefaces: Another Perspective," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 43.1 (1983): 215–38. Wixted's landmark article set out to reconstruct the Chinese background of the *Kokinshû* Prefaces, "Only one face of the Kokinshû prefaces, however, came to be viewed, for the prefaces themselves became the *terminus a quo* for most later Japanese discussion of poetics. The context of the original discourse was generally ignored." (217). Wixted is absolutely right that the *Kokinshû* has overwhelming be read in *forward* direction, that is as the first and thus source of 21 more imperial *waka* collections to come and the Prefaces' relation to Chinese precedents has been neglected. My paper intends to complement Wixted's argument by not just looking at Chinese precedents, but at the Sino-Japanese antecedents of the *Kokinshû* prefaces. After all, *waka* poetry did not have to compete for imperial favor against poetry or poetics from China, but against Sino-Japanese texts by their fellow countrymen.

J. *michi*) of poetic practice that transcended the historically conditioned regime of "wen" in the *Kaifûsô*. Second, having polemicized against contingent "wen" through the universality of the "Way," the authors of the prefaces proceeded to capture cosmogony as literary history. Although they gave up on the broad semantic spectrum to which the Sino-Japanese anthologies had laid claim in using "wen" as civilization, Confucian civility, literature and rhetorical flourish gradually unfolding in a slow evolutionary process, they made poetry into an even more powerful entity: they implanted it into a cosmological timeline reaching back to the very beginning of Heaven and Earth.

The radical novelty of the *Kokinshû* prefaces in comparison to the prefaces to the previous Sino-Japanese anthologies was not the reception of new Chinese sources that had reached Japan in the meantime or on a forceful assertion of complete independence of the indigenous tradition from Chinese precedent. Instead, the crucial difference was a clever shift in the choice of canonical Chinese subtexts—in particular the "Great Preface" to the *Classic of Poetry*. The most effective step in this scheme was to capitalize on a niche left by the focus on "wen" in the Sino-Japanese anthologies, namely the *Kaifûsô* and the three imperial Sino-Japanese collections compiled at the behest of Emperors Saga and Junna in the first decades of the ninth century. "Wen" failed to give a psychological account of poetic creativity. Yes, "wen" was certainly a powerful concept to evoke in one and the same breath the invention of writing, the establishment of Confucian-style governance, and the emergence of literary production and rhetorical sophistication. But *why write* in the first place? The *Kokinshû* compilers' found their best opportunity to exploit that blind spot in the preface to the *Classic of Poetry*, with its psychological explanation of the unfolding of poetry from the latency within the heart into words manifest in the world, as paraphrased in Masafusa's piece above. It allowed them to sketch a vision of the nature and history of Japanese *waka* poetry not only on par with Sino-Japanese poetry, but psychologically and historically surpassing it.[59]

The Sino-Japanese preface opens:

夫和歌者	Japanese *waka* poetry
託其根於心地	takes root in the soil of one's heart
發其華於詞林者也	and spreads its flowers into a Forest of Words.
人之在世	While in the world
不能無為	people cannot be idle.
思慮易遷	Thoughts and concerns easily change,

[59] Mark Morris has forcefully made the point that the adoption of what is usually considered an "expressive" theory of poetic production is in fact an argumentative strategy to bolster the position of Japanese poetry against that of Sino-Japanese poetry: "An enduring cultural solipsism reads this preface as an incitement to lyric expressivity. It is no such thing. Tsurayuki was in the opening comments defending Japanese poetry—yamato uta, his nostalgically calculated anachronism for what was called waka—in competition with Chinese poetry, the form that had all but crowded waka out of the social milieux of the powerful, and arguing that waka was as natural as song to a bird and socially useful." Mark Morris, "Waka and Form, Waka and History," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 46.2 (1986): 555. Martin Svensson Ekström has criticized a reading of the "Great Preface" that sees poetry as a spontaneous and natural expression from the perspective of the Chinese tradition, arguing that both the rest of the Preface and the tradition associated with the transmission of the Preface turn against such a reading. Martin Svensson Ekström, "A Second Look at the Great Preface on the Way to a New Understanding of Han Dynasty Poetics," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 21 (Dec 1999): 1–33.

哀樂相變	sorrows and pleasures alternate.
感生於志	As impressions arise in the intent mind,
詠形於言	song takes shape in words [...]
若夫春鶯之囀花中	It is just like the spring warbler singing among blossoms
秋蟬之吟樹上	or the autumn cricket chirping in the treetops:
雖無曲折	though nothing forces them to do so,
各發歌謠	they each put forth their song.
物皆有之	All creatures do it,
自然之理也	it's a natural principle.[60]

It is significant that the image of vegetal growth is chosen to convey the process of how a poem becomes manifest, or "grows," because it facilitates a convenient figural flow between nature and the mind, and enables the "interiorization" of nature into psychological processes—"every creature has its song."

The preface describes Japanese poetry as the response to a natural scene in resonance with the inner metaphorical landscape of "seeds and blossoms" shared by all living creatures and growing forth into a "forest of words." This naturalistic account was a powerful counter-vision to the regime of "wen" propagated in the Sino-Japanese anthologies. It replaced culture and history with nature and psychology, and, concomitantly, "wen" with "the Way."

The last section of the Sino-Japanese preface vividly shows this powerful replacement of "wen" with "the Way" and, consequently, of the previous hegemony of Sino-Japanese poetry with the wish for a future flourishing of Japanese poetry. After lamenting the decline of *waka* poetry and describing the emperor's desire of "resurrecting the since long abandoned Way" the preface closes on this powerful gesture, a majestic leap to secure *waka* poetry eternity in the face of Sino-Japanese "wen":

適遇和歌之中興	If Japanese poetry should meet with a new revival
以樂吾道之再昌	we will delight in the resurrection of Our Way.
嗚呼人丸既沒	Alas, with Hitomaro long dead,
和謌不在斯哉	is Japanese poetry not here with us/ contained in this?![61]

This is a brilliant overwriting of *Analects* 9.5, in which Confucius, when surrounded by enemies in Kuang, exclaims, "Although King Wen is dead, is not our cultural heritage (*wen*)[62] present in me? 文王既沒文不在茲乎." The logic of replacement is as follows: Hitomaro, the unrivalled poet-saint anthologized in the first Japanese anthology, the *Man'yôshû* 万葉集, replaces King Wen; "this Way of *waka* poetry" replaces the "Zhou cultural heritage (wen)"; and "Confucius" as the curator of this tradition is replaced with both the contemporary Japanese poets at Emperor Daigo's court and the *Kokinshû* itself. The "Way of *waka* poetry"—a notion that was brought

[60] Kojima Noriyuki and Arai Eizô (comm.), *Kokin wakashû*. SNKBZ (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1989), 338–40. See also Katagiri Yôichi, *Kokinwakashû zenhyôshaku* (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1998), 279. My translation has benefited from Leonard Grzanka's translation of the Sino-Japanese Preface in Laurel Rasplica Rodd, *Kokinshû: A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1984), 379–85.

[61] *Kokinwakashû*, 348.

[62] "Wen" is here a serious pun on the name of King Wen, the embodiment of the virtuous rule of the Zhou dynasty mentioned later in the passage.

to its full consequences only later in the medieval period—resides both in the collection offered to the throne and in the poet-compilers who put it together.[63]

3.2 Borrowing cosmology for the creation of poetogony

A second strategy that both prefaces of the *Kokinshû* use to turn tables on the longer-standing status of Sino-Japanese poetry is to tell the beginning of Japanese poetry through the cosmogonic narrative borrowed from the earliest Chronicles, in particular the above-mentioned *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀. The *Nihon shoki* opens on the following phrase:

> In old times Heaven and Earth were not yet split, Yin and Yang forces not yet divided.[64] They formed a chaotic mass like an egg,[65] of limitless obscurity and containing seeds. 古天地未剖, 陰陽不分, 渾沌如鶏子, 溟涬而含牙.[66]

Using the opening lines from the *Nihon shoki* as rhetorical template to tell the history of literature was sensible, because this Sino-Japanese historical chronicle that recorded events on the archipelago from the beginnings up until the reign of Empress Jitô (r. 690–697) was a canonical precedent for writing about origins. It also provided an ultimate, because cosmological, leap towards sanctioning poetic practice not just within human society but within the universe.

The two *Kokinshû* prefaces stage the poetic beginning with effective variations. The Japanese preface claims

63 This clever assertion of the Japanese "Way of poetry" over the Sino-Japanese culture of "wen" bears an uncanny resemblance to the way the *Laozi* and early Daoist traditions attempted to dislodge their Confucian rivals: although the date of the *Laozi* is still hotly disputed and tradition, going back at least to Sima Qian's biography in Sima Qian's *Records of the Grand Historian*, has it that *Laozi* might have preceded Confucius or at least have been his contemporary, on rhetorical grounds the relation between the *Analects* and *Laozi* is clear: while the *Analects* are not concerned with attacking values propagated in the *Laozi*, the *Laozi* is replete with polemics against the Confucian tradition. I would argue that claiming a timeless natural "Way" against the Confucian historical consciousness of civilization and against the importance of ritual and ethical values was one way in which the *Laozi* could also conveniently claim precedence over the Confucian tradition. The concept of "the Way"—a term that plays only a minor role in the *Analects*—was an attractive niche to exploit and this move was obviously effective enough so that the later traditions associated with the *Laozi* came to be called "Daoism." The structural parallel between the rhetorical struggle for precedence of Daoism over Confucianism with the *Kokinshû* prefaces's polemics against the Sino-Japanese tradition is important for two reasons: first, it confirms my argument that the replacement of "wen" with "the Way" was indeed part of a struggle over precedence and fought out through a rhetoric of disinheritance. Second, the structural parallel allows us to extend the argument further by sustained analogy. I argue that the second strategy to dislodge the authority of Sino-Japanese literature was to plot literary history onto a narrative of Daoist cosmology which the *Nihon shoki* in turn had borrowed from the *Huainanzi* 淮南子, a syncretic text of the first century B.C. heavily relying on Daoist rhetoric. It is fascinating to trace inner-Chinese strategies of disinheriting earlier traditions and examine how they are put to similar use in the Japanese case. I would argue that the *Kokinshû* prefaces used a polemical scheme of disinheritance prefigured in the struggle between early Daoists and Confucians in a domestic quarrel to argue for the precedence of *waka* over *kanshi* poetry.

64 This opening phrase is an almost literal quotation from chapter of chapter 2 of the *Huainanzi*.

65 Quotation from the third century text *Sanwu liji* 三五曆紀 by Xu Zheng fragments of which survive in the Chinese encyclopedias *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 and *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽.

66 Kojima Noriyuki et al., comm., *Nihon shoki* SNKBZ (Tokyo: Shôgakkan, 1994–), 18. My translation has benefited from Aston's translation in *Nihongi. Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to 697 A. D.* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1956), XX 1–2.

> Such songs came into being when heaven and earth first appeared. However, legend has it that in the broad heavens they began with Princess Shitateru, and on earth with the song of Susano-o no mikoto. In the age of the awesome gods, songs did not have a fixed number of syllables and were difficult to understand because the poets expressed themselves directly, without polish. By the time of the age of humans, beginning with Susano-o no mikoto, poems of thirty-one syllables[67] were composed.[68]
> この歌、天地の開闢初まりける時より、出来にけり。しかあれども、世に伝はる事は、ひさかたの天にしては、下照姫に初まり、あらかねの地にしては、素盞烏尊よりぞ、起こりける。ちはぶる神世には、歌の文字も定まらず、素直にして、事の心分き難かりけらし。人の世と成りて、素盞烏尊よりぞ、三十文字あまり一文字は、詠みける。

The Sino-Japanese preface states

> But in the Seven Generations of the Age of the Gods the times were unsophisticated and people were simple. Feelings (*jô* 情) and desires (*yoku* 欲) were not distinguished and Japanese poetry had not yet been created. Thereafter, when the god Susano-o reached Izumo, poems of thirty-one syllables appeared for the first time.[69] This was the creation of the current "envoy."[70] After this, everybody—whether the Grandson of the Heavenly Gods or the Daughter of the God of the Sea—would convey their feelings through Japanese poetry.[71] When we reach the Human Age, this custom flourished tremendously. The "long poem," the "short poem," the "head-repeated poem" (*sedôka* 旋頭歌), and the "mixed root poem" (*konponka* 混本歌): the various forms were not just of one type, but the original strand gradually diversified.[72]
> 然而神世七代，時質人淳，情欲無分，和歌未作・逮于素盞烏尊到出雲國，始有三十一字之詠・今反歌之作也・其後雖天神之孫，海童之女，莫不以和歌通情者・爰及人代，此風大興. 長歌短歌旋頭混本之類，雜體非一，源流漸繁・

Poetry starts on different trajectories in the two prefaces. The Japanese preface advances a much stronger claim: poetry is as old as the cosmos and it came to be transmitted among the gods since Princess Shitateru and on earth after Susano-o, the notoriously rebellious son of the divine creator couple Izanami and Izanagi and brother of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu, the ancestor of the Japanese imperial family, was expelled from heaven to the land of Izumo due to his misbehavior. In the Sino-Japanese preface poetry does not go back to the beginning of time, but only starts with Susano-o. The preface effectively overwrites its rhetorical templates. Where the cosmogony of the *Nihon shoki* states that "Yin and Yang forces were not yet divided" the poetogony of the Sino-Japanese preface proudly translates Yin and Yang into poetic currency: "Emotions and desires were not yet distinguished." In the same way as Masafusa had translated Chinese literary history into an allegorical

67 That is *waka* poems.

68 *Kokinwakashû*, 5. Translation from Rodd, *Kokinshû*, 35–36.

69 Both in the *Kojiki* and in the *Nihon shoki* the first poem in *waka* form (31 syllables: 5/7/5/7/7) is by Susano-o, when he comes down to earth at Izumo.

70 The envoy (*hanka* 反歌) was a *waka* poem (also called *tanka* or "short poem") appended as a coda to a long poem.

71 According to the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon shoki* the Grandson of the Heavenly Gods did not heed the warning of his wife, the Daughter of the God of the Sea, not to look at her during childbirth. Seeing her transform into a sea creature, he fled in terror, while she returned to the sea. The Chronicles record their poetic exchanges.

72 *Kokinwakashû*, 340. For explanations of these forms see below.

"Realm of Poetry," the *Kokinshû* preface established a realm of poetogony that could not fail to be both temporally and psychologically superior to that of Sino-Japanese literature.

The preface also takes on the phrase "human 'wen' (civilization/writing/letters) had not yet been created," which the *Kaifûsô* had appropriated from the history of civilization given in the *Wenxuan* preface, and replaces "wen" and Sino-Japanese poetry with its rival twin genre of *waka* poetry: "Japanese poetry had not yet been created." In the words of the Sino-Japanese preface enriched by the undertones of its subtexts Japanese poetry becomes the synecdoche for writing *per se*. While giving up the claim to the earliest possible rise of Japanese poetry, the preface elevates it almost more powerfully by making it into the rhetorical placeholder—in lieu of "wen"—for all of human civilization, writing, and literature.

The divergent narratives of the two prefaces make sense within their respective linguistic repertoires: the Japanese preface was hardly bound by rhetorical precedents, because its composition dated itself to the very period that saw the rise of Japanese prose writing in the late ninth to early tenth century. Thus it could afford laying claim to the earliest possible beginning for poetry and making the creation of poetry and of the cosmos coextensive. The Sino-Japanese preface, because it is linguistically closer to Literary Chinese discourse and therefore also held more accountable for justifying its enterprise within that tradition, is accordingly more timid about ultimate claims for the earliest origin of poetry and insists on a history of invention on the Chinese model from the *Wenxuan* preface. Yet, tuning in to the statement in the *Nihon shoki* about the Yin and Yang forces it constructs in an equally powerful gesture a cosmology of poetry, in which the *stuff* of poetry, namely the as yet undivided "feelings" and "desires," are already there, although poetic composition has not yet been created. This move "poeticizes" the cosmic substances and forces and claims the existence of poeticity even before its proper beginning. Poetry *avant la lettre* is the immodest claim of a storyline that only at first glance seems to be encumbered by the seeming modesty of its rhetorical model, the *Wenxuan* preface.

Another striking difference between the prefaces is that the Japanese preface puts greater emphasis on the duality of beginnings. It has poetry start in the moment of the emergence of doubleness, the splitting of Heaven and Earth. This image of the beginning of poetry puts the Japanese preface—in sharp distinction to the Sino-Japanese preface—on a trajectory of repeated moments of doubleness. The first repetition of doubleness occurs in the passage about Susano-o. While the Sino-Japanese preface only mentions Susano-o as the one who established the *tanka* form of 31 syllables in the human realm, the Japanese preface, according to the rhetoric of the initial split of Heaven and Earth, couples Susano-o with a female mate, Princess Shitateru, who establishes poetry in the heavenly realm.

I would suggest that the repetition of the rhetorical figure of doubleness in the Japanese preface might reflect a self-consciousness of fledgling prose writing in Japanese. We should not forget that the Japanese preface is a very early piece of Japanese prose literature: although the first preserved tale, the *Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* (*Taketori monogatari* 竹取物語), might slightly predate the *Kokinshû* prefaces,

the first *kana* diary, the Tosa Diary (*Tosa nikki* 土佐日記) by the same author as the preface—Ki no Tsurayuki—dates to 934. And prefaces to previous *waka* collections like the *Newly Compiled Collection of Myriad Leaves* (*Shinsen Man'yôshû* 新撰万葉集; 893) or to poetic treatises such as the *Kakyô hyôshiki* 歌経標式 (772) were written in Sino-Japanese, not in Japanese. Thus, the rhetorical figure of doubleness in the Japanese preface seems to admit to its existence as a young "duplicate" tradition developing in dependence on and competition with the previously imperially sanctioned Sino-Japanese tradition of writing poetic prefaces or treatises. Also, it is much more gender-sensitive and needs a proper parental couple for all things.

The phase after the establishment of poetry is also treated differently in the two prefaces. Seemingly in response to the *Wenxuan* preface, which devotes much space to accounting for various literary genres and their history, the Sino-Japanese preface creates a scenario of genre diversification—a theme blatantly absent from the Japanese preface. Both prefaces declare *waka* (or *tanka*) poetry as the both most primeval and most mature standard form of poetry. This claim is confirmed by the collection itself which clearly establishes *waka* as the orthodox form, and relegates other verse forms, such as long poems (chôka 長歌) that had been so prominent in the mid-eight century *Man'yôshû*, into the ragbag book 19 under the heading of "miscellaneous forms" (*zattai* 雑体).

In suggestive contrast to the collection's agenda to reduce the diversity of poetic forms and to enshrine solely the *waka* form, the Sino-Japanese preface develops a rhetoric of genre diversification in response to the *Wenxuan* preface and tells the story inverse to its historical development. Once upon a time, so goes the myth that is invented to cement the authority of the *waka* form, there was primeval *waka* poetry which then branched out into various miscellaneous forms such as "long-verse poetry" (like waka based on sequences of pentasyllabic and heptasyllabic lines), and irregular "sedôka" 旋頭歌 (literally "head-repeated poem"). In this context the mention of the obscure and unidentified form of a "mixed root" poetry (*konponka* 混本歌) is a clear sign that Ki no Yoshimochi 紀淑望 (–919), the author of the Sino-Japanese preface, wanted to add more rather than fewer items to flesh out a rhetoric of genre diversification in the Japanese context.

Japanese poetry reaches a new stage when it is practiced by emperors. The Japanese preface says

> The "Naniwa Bay" poem celebrates the beginning of a reign.[73] The Asaka Mountain poem was composed by a waiting woman trying to pique someone's interest. These two songs are considered the father and mother of poetry, and are used as the first texts for calligraphy practice.[74]
> 難波津の歌は、帝の御初め也。安積山の言葉は、采女の、戯れより詠みて、この歌は歌の父母の様にてぞ、手習ふ人の、初めにもしける。

[73] This refers to a poem Emperor Nintoku (first half of fifth century) composed when in Naniwa to celebrate the arrival of spring and the beginning of his reign. "At Naniwa Bay/the trees are dressed in blossoms/the winter-shrouded/trees are now dressed in blossoms/to tell the world spring has come." Rodd, *Kokinshû*, 37.

[74] *Kokinwakashû*, 6. Rodd, *Kokinshû*, 37.

The Sino-Japanese preface states

> Then we come to poems such as the "Naniwa Bay" poem offered by Emperor [Nintoku] or the "Tominô River" poem in response to Crown Prince [Shôtoku][75]: Sometimes the situation is divine and miraculous, or the inspiration verges on the deeply obscure. But when looking at poems of high antiquity, many keep to a diction of pristine substance. They had yet to become pleasure for the eye and ear, serving only as sources of moral instruction.[76]
> 至如難波津之什獻天皇。富緒川之篇報太子。或事關神異。或興入幽玄。但見上古哥。多存古質之語。未爲耳目之翫。徒爲教戒之端。

The differences in the two prefaces point again to a different literary repertoire. The figure of doubleness dominates once more the Japanese preface: Emperor Nintoku's poem is coupled with the courtesan poem and, in parallel to the gender complementary of their authors, the poems are called "father and mother of poetry" in a historical as well as biographical sense. From a historical perspective, they are both firsts of their kind in the history of *waka* poetry and from the perspective of an individual's biography they are also the first poems the Heian elite will use as calligraphic models when starting to learn how to write.

At this point the different treatment of time in the two prefaces becomes even more pronounced. Overall the Sino-Japanese preface gives a historical timeline in which the first and next, the earlier and the later are clearly marked and add up to a linear timeline: first the age of the gods, and then Susano-o, whereupon we reach the human age and the stage of increasing genre diversification. In contrast, the Japanese preface lacks linear progression and is more appropriately described as a parataxis of double beginnings: there is the time when Heaven and Earth were separated, there is Princess Shitateru's and Susano-o's transmission of poetry in the divine and human realm respectively. There is the "imperial beginning" of *waka* with Emperor Nintoku and the courtesan, which in turn is the ontogenetic beginning of writing, the "father and mother" of calligraphy training. Chronological succession is only suggested in the preface by the paratactic succession of paragraphs and by the familiarity of the reader with the historical accounts in the *Nihon shoki*. Beyond that, poetry in the Japanese preface has these multiple "beginnings" that are arranged as different qualitative aspects of poetry, not so much as successive stages of an historical evolution. I would suggest that the Japanese preface's choice of universal parataxis over historical progression contributes to the overall agenda of both *Kokinshû* prefaces to compete with historical "wen" through a timeless "Way."

[75] According to the *Nihon shoki* the Prince offered his robe to a starving beggar by the roadside. When the Prince heard that the beggar had died he was grieved and sent messengers to his grave. But there was no corpse, only the robe folded on the coffin. From this everybody understood that the beggar had not been an ordinary man, but praised the Prince all the more for his ability as a sage to recognize other sages. *Nihon shoki* XXII 21/12/1–2. The poem alluded to is preserved in *Japan's Records of the Miraculous* (*Nihon ryôiki* 日本靈異記).

[76] *Kokinwakashû*, 340.

3.3 Rewriting the advent of writing

In the *Kaifûsô* the advent of writing had been described in enticingly conflicting fashion. In perfect accordance with the *Nihon shoki* writing is described as having reached Japan in the form of diplomatic documents and Confucian Classics through the Korean peninsula during the time of Emperor Ôjin. Yet, the use of hexagrams to describe actions of earlier emperors claimed a "hexagrammatic literacy" before that time. Also, by alluding to Chinese legends that presented writing as an imitation of natural patterns, writing was by implication always already there so that its advent in Japan was treated as a discovery of something pre-existing. Consequently, the role of writing as a revolutionary new and foreign technology could completely be downplayed, a strategy pursued in the Japanese preface.

The Japanese preface does not deal with the advent of writing. Several passages touch upon writing or imply it, but in a tangential fashion that convinces the reader of the marginality of the issue. When the God Susano-o establishes the 31-syllable *tanka* as the standard form of Japanese poetry the expression 31 "written characters" (文字 *moji*) is used with such naturalness that translators tend to give it a "weak" reading as "syllables" to suggest oral recitation rather than written transmission. Also, the mention of Emperor Nintoku's and the courtesan's Poems as texts for calligraphic practice *assumes* rather than *explains* the advent of writing. More forcefully, writing as a mode of preservation beyond death is given high praise:

> Hitomaro is dead, but poetry is still with us. Times may change, joy and sorrow come and go, but the words of these poems are eternal, endless as the green willow threads, unchanging as the needles of the pine, long as the trailing vines, permanent as birds' tracks. Those who know poetry and who understand the heart of things will look up to the old and admire the new as they look up to and admire the moon in the broad sky.[77]
> 人麻呂亡く成りにたれど、歌の事留まれるかな。たとひ時移り、事去り、楽しび悲しび行く交ふとも、この歌の文字あるをや。青柳の糸絶えず、松の葉の散り失せずして、真栄の葛、永く伝はり、鳥の跡、久しく留まれらば、歌の様を知り、事の心を得たらむ人は、大空の月を見るがごとくに、古を仰ぎて、今を恋ひざらめかも。

Writing is a strategy against impermanence and oblivion and confirms the value of the anthology. And, in a nice reversal of the legend of Cang Jie's discovery of writing through observation of bird track patterns, the description of the historical advent of writing is turned into the vehicle of a metaphor of its future influence: "Letters of these poems—like the tracks of birds they remain." In this metaphorical form that exceeds their historical origin while preserving their symbolic power, writing seduces future readers of the collection to "look up to the old and admire the new," in short to read the *Ko-kin-waka-shû*, the "Collection of Old and New Waka Poems." Again, we see a strategy to transplant themes from Chinese or Sino-Japanese precedents into a new temporal realm to override the historical through the universalized.

In stark contrast to the Japanese preface, the Sino-Japanese preface makes the advent into a major issue, actually into *the main reason* why the reviving of Japanese poetry for which the prefaces argue becomes necessary in the first place. The pas-

[77] *Kokinwakashû*, 17. Rodd, *Kokinshû*, 47.

sage is all the more significant as it lacks any correlate in the Japanese preface:

> Since the time of Prince Ôtsu Chinese poems and poetic expositions came to be composed. Poetic talents admired this practice and succeeded each other. They imported those Chinese characters and transformed our Japanese customs. The ways of the people were completely changed, and Japanese poetry gradually declined. Yet we still had the Illustrious Master Kakinomoto [no Hitomaro] who upheld memories of the divine marvels and who alone strode unrivalled between past and present.[78]
> 自大津皇子之。初作詩賦。詞人才子。慕風繼塵。移彼漢家之字。化我日域之俗。民業一改。和哥漸衰。然猶有先師柿本大夫者。高振神妙之思。獨歩古今之間。

The *Nihon shoki* also credits Prince Ôtsu with the beginning of poetic composition in Sino-Japanese.[79] Similarly, the compiler of the *Kaifûsô* did not hide his sympathies for Prince Ôtsu's literary talent, although he gave moral and chronological priority to Prince Ôtomo and his poetry. However, Ki no Yoshimochi conflates the advent of writing with the beginning of Sino-Japanese poetic composition. The *Kaifûsô* preface had kept these two moments clearly apart. Writing and books were imported by Korean envoys during the reign of Emperor Ôjin (ca. fifth century), while poetic composition started under Emperor Tenji (r. 668–671). This temporal conflation allowed to imagine a notion of unblemished Japanese oral poetry devoid of any Chinese contamination and refused to acknowledge that any transmission of Japanese poetry had from the outset been conditioned by the Chinese language and its textual archive.

More startling than the temporal conflation is the hostility of the statement. This is not just a Platonic campaign against writing as an onslaught onto the power of orality and memory—the previous passage from the Japanese preface had actually sung the praise of writing's power to rescue writers from oblivion. This is a campaign against the "corruption" through *Chinese* customs and writing *in particular*. Why did the Sino-Japanese preface advance this strong attack? Did not its closer linguistic proximity to Chinese make the attack seem more schizophrenic, after all, than if the Japanese preface had touched upon this sensitive issue? I argue that this was precisely the point. If a preface to a Japanese poetry anthology wanted to make its case to an audience accustomed to the public prevalence of Sino-Japanese poetry it was best to make this plea strategically in the language of public authority, even if that implied assaulting the Chinese language of which Sino-Japanese was a hybrid form. Besides the strategic advantage of broaching the topic in the Sino-Japanese preface, it was also a matter of *necessity*, not just of choice. The Japanese preface could *afford* making the advent of writing into a non-issue. There was no direct precedent that demanded to be redressed or at least addressed. The Sino-Japanese preface, in contrast, faced not just Chinese precedent, but had, more importantly, to engage the treatment of writing in the previous Sino-Japanese anthologies. The violent attack on Prince Ôtsu and on the corruption through Chinese influence in the Sino-Japanese preface is a powerful argument against calling the preface the "Chinese Preface

[78] *Kokinwakashû*, 342.
[79] *Nihon shoki* XXX 1/10/3.

to the *Kokinshû*" as has been customary. This title makes an attack on Chinese writing in a "Chinese Preface" improperly and ludicrously masochistic, disregarding that the preface's author was enmeshed in the *Lebenswelt* of Heian Japan and not Tang China, and it neglects the intricate dynamic that in reality unfolds between Japanese and Sino-Japanese modes of textuality and their respective powers to enlist Chinese and Sino-Japanese precedents for their own strategic purposes.

3.4 Building a new time universe: the *Kokinshû* refracted in two Long Poems (*chôka*) from Book 19[80]

The poem by Emperor Nintoku to which the prefaces refer as an "imperial beginning" constitutes also a natural beginning. As a spring poem it marks the beginning of the year and of a new cycle of the seasons. The *Kokinshû* is indeed the first anthology that uses seasonal time as its overarching principle of arrangement.

Although some books of the *Man'yôshû* show patterns of seasonal arrangement the *Kokinshû* was the first anthology to be arranged in such strict and systematic fashion around a core of seasonal books. Contemporary Chinese anthologies were not arranged by seasons or topics, most of the Tang anthologies were actually rather randomly arranged by author.[81] The four Sino-Japanese anthologies that preceded the *Kokinshû* were either arranged by historical chronology such as the *Kaifûsô* and the first imperially commissioned Sino-Japanese anthology, the *Ryô'unshû* (814). The second imperial anthology, the *Bunka shûreishû* 文華秀麗集 (818), followed thematic categories—such as "travel poems," "banquet poems," or "poems on history," but did not include the seasons among them. The third and last Sino-Japanese imperial anthology relied on the model of the *Wenxuan* and was ordered by genre. Thus, from the point of view of early tenth century compilation practices, the *Kokinshû*'s structure is highly anomalous and demands an explanation. Not only are the seasons used as topical categories, but within each seasonal book the poems follow a more or less continuous timeline of beginning, thriving, and ending of each season created through "progression and association" of individual poems, as Konishi Jin'ichi has termed it.[82] As the seasons progressed fine triggers of seasonal associations such as certain birds, animals, or plants moved meticulously through the seasonal progression of each book. Nothing has become more intuitive and "natural" than the centrality of the seasons for writing, reading, and compiling poetry in Japan, and it is therefore extremely hard to call into question what since the tenth century has established itself as one of the basic tenets of Japanese poetry. Yet, from the per-

[80] Scholars have long been puzzled by the fact that the Long Poems in the *Kokinshû* range under the heading of "tanka," "Short Poems." Tokuhara Shigemi has recently advanced an orginal hypothesis, arguing that the Long Poems all state the authors' feelings and complaints (述懐 *jukkai*) and that they therefore use the self-deprecatory term of "short, minor poems" in deference to Emperor Daigo. Given that two of the Long Poems are by the compilers of the *Kokinshû* and that Mibu no Tadamine's poem is particularly plaintive, this hypothesis seems quite convincing. See Tokuhara, *Kokinwakashû no enkei* (Ôsaka: Izumi shoin, 2005), 305–17.
[81] On Tang anthologies see Pauline Yu, "Poems in Their Place: Collections and Canons in Early Chinese Literature," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 50.1 (1990): 183–96. For a collection of surviving Tang anthologies see Fu Xuancong, ed., *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian* (Xi'an: Shanxi renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996).
[82] See his by now classical article, "Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in anthologies and Sequences of Japanese Court Poetry, A.D. 900–1350,"*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 21 (1958).

spective of the *Kokinshû* Age we have to ask why the compilers singled out the four seasons as the major structure of the anthology. Why were the seasons not just one among many other topic headings, but made up more than a third of the collection? And why were they so prominently placed at the beginning? What was at stake in the choice of such an unprecedented arrangement?

In the context of the voluminous scholarship on the *Kokinshû* it is astonishing how little the arrangement of the collection has come into question. In the same way as the prefaces, the anthology tends to be read in forward direction, along the lines of its reception history. Even articles specifically devoted to the structure of the imperial anthologies hardly address how the *Kokinshû* came to be arranged the way it is.[83] I would like to advance a partical hypothesis for the unprecedented choice of arrangement. In light of my argument so far, the choice of the *Kokinshû* compilers to give such prominence to the seasons perfectly matches their strategy to compete with the "wen" of Sino-Japanese anthologies with the help of the "Way" of Japanese poetry. The argument of the prefaces and the topical arrangement of the anthology can be considered two faces of the same coin. Seasonal time implied circular time without specific ends or beginnings and, although the Japanese preface locates the beginning of poetry at the beginning of time, cosmogony and poetogony intersect in this moment of an eternal past in the age of the gods, which is circularly timeless rather than temporally linear. The notion of time confirmed by the *Kokinshû*'s practice of suppressing the particular historical context of the composition of the individual poems, of decontextualizing them in order to reinsert them into the anthology's seasonal time frame. The collection's structure, like the prefaces' argument, created a new time universe according to which Japanese poetry could be located outside of historical time and could be construed as the medium of an eternal psychological present of future generations of poets to come.

The impression that reconfiguration of time plays an important role in the anthology's arrangement and poetological framing is strongly confirmed by two long poems in book 19. Poems 1002 and 1003 were written by two of the *Kokinshû* compilers, Ki no Tsurayuki (ca. 868–945), the author of the Japanese preface, and Mibu no Tadamine respectively. Their titles suggest that they were submitted as versified "tables of contents" together with the collection or an earlier form of the collection.

[83] See for example Honda Yoshihiko, "Buritsu yori mita kaku chokusen wakashû no tokushoku," *Heian bungaku kenkyû* 30.6. (1963): 25–41. The classic study of the *Kokinshû*'s structural arrangement, Matsuda Takeo's *Kokinshû no kôzô ni kansuru kenkyû* (Tokyo: Kazama Shobô, 1965) devotes only a handful out of its mighty 700 pages to the origin of the topical categories, focusing otherwise on the internal arrangement within the topical categories. Apparently the seasonal arrangement of the *Kokinshû* appears so "natural" that it does not call for explanation. However, Ozawa Masao has carefully traced various influences on the *Kokinshû*'s arrangement by seasonal categories, such as the seasonal arrangement of books 8 and 10 of the *Man'yôshû*, the partial seasonal arrangement of several poetic contests since 893, and the seasonal arrangement of two anthologies that preceded the *Kokinshû*, namely the *Shinsen Man'yôshû* and the *Chisatoshû*. The *Shinsen Man'yôshû* 新撰万葉集(893), attributed to Sugawara no Michizane, juxtaposes *waka* poems with their transpositions into Sino-Japanese quatrains. *Kudai waka* 句題和歌(or *Chisatoshû* 千里集, 897) by Ôe no Chisato juxtaposes Chinese couplets, mostly by Bo Juyi and his friend Yuan Zhen, with their transposition into Japanese *waka* poems. See Ozawa Masao, "Chokusen wakashû no budate no seiritsu," *Kokugo kokubungaku hô* 9 (1959.1): 16–25. Although the existence of partial precedents is of importance, it still does not explain why the *Kokinshû* adopted its revolutionary topical arrangement that proved to become wildly successful. For a handy list of the seasonal topical categories in the *Man'yôshû* and in various early Heian poetry contests see Helen McCullough, *Brocade by Night: Kokinwakashû and the Court Style in Japanese Classical Poetry*, 541–47.

Thus, although they are included among the poems of the collection their relationship to the collection is as metatextual as the prefaces'. As poems on a collection of poems, they are even more directly metatextual than the prose prefaces, yet as long poems they are at cross-purposes with the *Kokinshû*'s enshrinement of the short *waka* form. There is a cognitive dissonance between the form of these metapoems and the indirect argument of the collection *against* longer or irregular forms, a vestigial number of which is rather randomly assembled into Book 19. Certainly, a versified table of contents for a collection with over a thousand poems demanded the long form for purely practical reasons. But the writing of a table of contents in poetic form was completely unprecedented, so that the compilers' creative choice to do so must have been boldly intentional, but certainly also self-conscious enough to perceive the contradiction with their overall principles of compilation.

Yet, from the perspective of the *Kokinshû*'s agenda of asserting the public stature of Japanese poetry against the authority of Sino-Japanese poetry, the choice of the long-verse form was perfectly logical. The long-verse tradition as preserved in the *Man'yôshû* had developed sophisticated registers of encomiastic court poetry and it represented a past public stature of Japanese poetry that the *Kokinshû* compilers intended to revive in spirit, if not in their genre politics. Certainly, Hitomaro wrote seemingly "private" long poems such as the one about the death of his wife, but the set of poems on his excursion to Yoshino in the imperial retinue was precisely the kind of register needed for a solemn poem addressed to Emperor Daigo when submitting this first imperially commissioned anthology of Japanese poetry. Hitomaro had made Yoshino into the place that symbolized eternal rule over eternal land by a divine lineage. Empress Jitô, to whom the poems were addressed, was just the current embodiment of this timeless authority. Kasa no Kanamura (fl. before 733), an important court poet under the devout Buddhist Emperor Shômu and Empress Genshô continued Hitomaro's encomiastic tradition, and made Yoshino's function as a site, where present imperial splendor intersected with an ever-present divine past in an unblemished primeval landscape even clearer:

山川を	Mountain and river
清みさやけみ	Are so clear, so limpid pure,
うべし神代ゆ	All men can see the reason why
定めけらしも	This site was chosen from the Age of Gods.[84]

In his long poem Tsurayuki applies this time regime, which legitimates the present through its connection to the eternal divine past, to poetry. In the Japanese preface Tsurayuki had used the cosmogony of the *Nihon shoki* to tell the history of poetry. In this poem he echoed the great long-verse poets from the *Man'yôshû* in their praise of the present embodiment of the divine lineage in order to tell a history of poetry:

ちはやぶる	Since the age of the
神の御世より	Awesome gods never ceasing
くれ竹の	During reigns profuse
世世にも絶えず	As the joints of black bamboo

[84] Kojima Noriyuki et al., eds., *Man'yôshû* SNKBZ (Tokyo: Shôgakkan, 1994–) VI 907–912. Translation by Edwin Cranston in *A Waka Anthology, volume I: A Gem-glistening Cup* (Stanford UP: Stanford, 1993), 295 ff.

天彦の　　Men have sung with thoughts
音羽の山の　　Entangled by the spring mists
春がすみ　　That drift over Mount
思ひみだれて　　Otowa [...][85]

The opening statement that poetry has existed since the age of the gods is combined with the poetic psychology of response to an outer stimulus that the prefaces had appropriated from the "Great Preface" to the *Classic of Poetry*. And historical evolution is merged with psychological disposition in people's response to the seasons: the spring mists over Mount Otawa produce spring poems. This opening leads directly into a narrative rendering of the topical categories of the *Kokinshû*, starting with spring in book 1 and the seasons and concluding on the poems for court occasions of Book 20. Tsurayuki further tells about the commission of the collection, the hardships of the compilation process and his personal sacrifice, and the anxieties of a compiler who might miss poems worthy to be included. Tsurayuki's connection of circular seasonal time—replicated by the anthologies' topical categories—with the linear timeline of a poetic cosmology (claimed in both prefaces) is further evidence that the various time regimes pervading the *Kokinshû* are inherently linked and join forces to challenge the dominance of the Sino-Japanese regime of "wen."

Mibu no Tadamine's poem is not an extension of the agenda of the prefaces. In some ways it seems to challenge it. Tsurayuki's poem is overtly programmatic: it connects the time regimes proposed in the prefaces and the arrangement of the collection and it goes through the list of topical categories. Tadamine's poem is much more loosely connected to the collection as a whole and stylistically quite experimental. Edwin Cranston notes that the poem's tendency to reach syntactic closure on the short rather than the long line is far removed from the language of *Man'yôshû* long poems. In contrast, the poem brims over with the ambiguous phonetic puns and pivot words (*kakekotoba* 掛詞) that are so characteristic of *Kokinshû*-style poetry. This is already obvious in the opening of the poem in which Tadamine expresses his gratitude towards earlier poets for saving the poetic voice from falling silent and "sinking into Mute Marsh."

Hitomaro in particular ensures according to Tadamine that poetry, the "leaves of his words," will stay on until the end of time:

くれ竹の　　Length upon length
世世の古言　　Ages of the ancient songs
なかりせば　　Like black bamboo
伊香保の沼の　　By their measures have saved us
いかにして　　From sinking silent
思ふこころを　　Into Mute Marsh, unable
述ばへまし　　To speak all our hearts.
あはれ昔へ　　Ah, how long ago it was!
ありきてふ　　Once there was a man
人麿こそは　　Known as Hitomaro, so they say
うれしけれ　　Of happy fame:
身は下ながら　　Though his state was low,
言の葉を　　He lifted high
天つ空まで　　The leaves of his words until

[85] *Kokinwakashû*, 302. Rodd, *Kokinshû*, 340.

聞えあげ　　They swept the heavens
末の世までの　　And left their imprint on the world
あととなし　　To the last age.[86]

Tadamine cannot help expressing his pride at being selected as a compiler to "follow in Hitomaro's dust" and describes his ravishment with the help of the following odd image:

これを思へば　　When I think of this, I feel
淮南に　　Like the Huai-nan beast
薬けがせる　　That befouled the elixir,
けだものの　　So the story goes,
雲に吠えけむ　　And afterward howled in the clouds.
心地して　　I think of nothing,
千千のなさけも　　Hold as naught the thousand joys
思ほえず　　And sorrows of life:
ひとつ心ぞ　　With a single heart for the honor
誇らしき　　I brim with pride.

The "Huai-nan beast" refers to a dog and a rooster that drank a magical potion made by the Prince of Huai-nan and, inebriated, flew off into the clouds beyond the imperial palace. The image is rather comic, making the poet into a thief and his selection as compiler a case of fraud. It becomes immediately clear that his pride at being selected as compiler is just the favorable side of his deep indignation over his demotion from the Inner Palace Guards to the Gate Guards. From here on the poem turns into a personal lament over his advancing age, greying hair, and low position. Personal bemoaning of age and low status had a firm place in the public idiom of Sino-Japanese poetry. Depending on the situation it could be a gracious gesture of humility and understatement, or a more urgent plea for imperial attention and promotion, which is certainly the case with Tadamine's poem. He vividly illustrates his decrepit life situation by describing the inclement natural conditions to which he is being exposed throughout the seasons. The *Kokinshû* prefaces and Tsurayuki's long poem had singled out the seasonal changes as creative triggers of poetic productivity, but Tadamine lashes out at them for their various inconveniences:

九重の　　When I was within the walls,
なかにては　　Ninefold encircled,
あらしの風も　　I never heard the loud crashing
聞かざりき　　Of stormwinds blowing.
今は野山し　　But now the moors and the mountains
ちかければ　　Lie close at hand,
春はかすみに　　Wherefore in spring I am covered
たなびかれ　　By the trailing mist,
夏はうつせみ　　And in summer the locusts
なき暮し　　Cry on till dusk
秋は時雨に　　In autumn to the chilly rains
袖をかし　　I lend my sleeve,
冬は霜にぞ　　And in winter am besieged
せめらるる　　By the cold hoarfrost.

[86] *Kokinshû* XIX 1003, 304–305. The translation of Tadamine's poem is by Edwin Cranston. Cranston, *Grasses of Remembrance, vol. II* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 646–48. The poem is also preserved in *Kokin waka rokujo* IV:2506.

Tadamine's creative juices are not stimulated by nature, but he is frankly miserable under the onslaught of the seasons. The final intensified lament elevates his ennui and his wrinkled face to poetic heights: if one's days span "like the bridge of Nagara" and one's wrinkles are "like the waves of Naniwa" both reader and poet are rewarded with some comic relief, while visiting these beautiful places in their minds:

身はいやしくて	What a misery to be old
年たかき	If one's station is low,
ことの苦しさ	And only one's count of years is high!
かくしつつ	So in this fashion,
長柄の橋の	Like the bridge of Nagara
ながらへて	I span the days
難波の浦に	While the waves of Naniwa,
立つなみの	Rising in the bay,
なみの皺にや	Roll like the sea of wrinkles
おぼほれむ	In which I drown.

At this plaintive point of culmination Tadamine reintroduces the effects of the magic potion mentioned above to help move towards a denouement that solves his personal misery and also manages to infuse this hitherto larmoyant poem with an inkling of encomiastic praise of the emperor, who after all, we should not forget, was the recipient of these verses.

さすがに命	Yet life for all of that
惜しければ	Is a precious thing:
越の国なる	Though my head become as white
白山の	As White Mountain
かしらは白く	Rising in the Land Across,
なりぬとも	The land of Koshi
音羽の滝の	Let me have the magic potion
音にきく	One hears rumors of
老いず死なずの	Echoing like Echo Falls,
くすりもが	Not to grow old or die:
君が八千世を	Let me regain youth and
若えつつ見む	The thousand years of our lord!

Tadamine does not covet the potion of immortality for selfish purposes. Instead, his regaining of youth will ensure that he can continue to praise the emperor for his next thousand years. Given that Tadamine has taken no time for imperial praise until this hastily encomiastic closure, we can of course not be sure whether the emperor really would have wanted to listen to a thousand more years of Tadamine's poetic lamentation. But the closure shows Tadamine's desire to end on a polite bow and promise of future poetic service.

3.5 Conclusion to the *Kokinshû*

Even if Tadamine's erratic long poem opposed, almost parodied, the stimulus theory of the prefaces in his private lament, it is clear that both prefaces, the arrangement of the collection, and the two long poems all work towards a framing of time that is seasonal, circular and that conditions a universal psychology of poetic response. I would certainly not argue that the sole motivation for developing such a novel

framing of time was to challenge the conception of time implied in Sino-Japanese anthologies such as the *Kaifûsô*. But it could not avoid doing so. Replacing the Confucian regime of "wen" with a "Way" of *waka* poetry was a powerful move to make. It placed poetry at the beginning of the cosmos, not within the gradual development of human civilization. It brought poetic composition into the reach of all sentient beings, not just a scribal elite trained in the reception and production of "wen," and included even animals into the "natural principle" to burst forth in song. Fujiwara Katsumi has recently described the shift from the Sino-Japanese anthologies to the *Kokinshû* prefaces as a "depoliticization" and a step towards a universal emotional psychology based on people's response to seasonal changes.[87] Yet, Takigawa Kôji has shown that the very choice of the seasonal arrangement had at the same time highly political undertones, because it harked back to the "Monthly Ordinances" Chapter (月令 *Yueling*) from the *Record of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記), which outlined the ideal harmony of imperial rule with the cosmos and with agricultural production.[88] Thus, the *Kokinshû* constructed a notion of the seasons based on the universalized psychology of response to seasonal changes, but also connected this universal notion to the Japanese emperor's local claims to power through his familiarity with and following of the seasonal cycle.

The rearrangement of temporal framing marks also a difference between the two prefaces, a thorny subject of investigation. Scholars are easily caught between the Scylla of hermeneutical paralysis ensuing from the impossibility of assessing the countless minute, possibly trivial, differences and the Charybdis of reductive overcompensation that tries to dissolve them into all-encompassing master schemes. In other words, the question has been how to straddle the hermeneutic gap between the host of minute variations and an overarching pattern of difference amenable to explanation. I agree in principle with Thomas LaMarre who has projected the complementary modes of "hare 晴れ" (in its most basic sense "bright," "shining towards the outside," thus official, solemn) and "ke 褻" ("intimate," "hidden," thus private and sentimental) onto the Sino-Japanese and Japanese preface respectively.[89] These terms have been part of poetic discourse since the Late Heian Period and translated into various spheres of Heian reality.[90] They functioned as a bipolar model for "formal" and "informal" writing style, in fashion and clothing, for the type of occasion of public or private composition and even to mark the diurnal cycle of "day"—associated with bright Yang—versus "night," which was associated with dark

[87] See the record of the roundtable discussion in celebration of the 1100th anniversary of the *Kokinshû* in the special issue "Kokinshû 1100 nen" of *Bungaku* 6.3 (2005): 2–24.

[88] Takigawa analyses the opening sequence of the first book of the *Kokinshû* and explores, why the second poem, which, significantly, is by the compiler Ki no Tsurayuki, chooses to echo the phrase from the "Monthly Ordinances" Chapter: "In the first month of spring, the eastern wind melts the ice." Takigawa argues convincingly that this allusion, which is hardly referred to in Tang poetry, connected the cycle of seasonal time to Confucian ideas of ideal governance of the people based on the virtue of an emperor who rules in harmony with the cosmic and agricultural seasons. See Takigawa, "*Kokinwakashû* no chokusensei ni tsuite—niban Tsurayuki uta no ichi wo megutte," *Waka bungaku kenkyû* 70 (1995): 1–13.

[89] Thomas LaMarre, "Two Prefaces, Two Modes of Appearance," in his *Uncovering Heian Japan: An Archeology of Sensation and Inscription* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 143–60.

[90] For the wide range of meanings of this conceptual couple see *Ôchogo jiten*, ed., Akiyama Ken (Tokyo: Tôkyô daigaku shuppankai, 2000), 355. In the realm of poetry, it appears that the terms were used in judgments of *utaawase* since the Late Heian period.

Yin forces. However, this master trope bears a striking resemblance to the cliché that equates Sino-Japanese literature with the official and ceremonious and Japanese literature with the private and amorous, despite the fact that La Marre constantly emphasizes that he argues on esthetic, not ethnolinguistic grounds.

Yet, there are more important reasons to resist the attraction of this master trope. First, it frankly does not help to explain many of the differences we have encountered: the later beginning of poetry in the Sino-Japanese preface, the dominance of the paratactic and qualitative over the linear and temporal in the Japanese preface. Second, and most poignantly, the scheme of *"hare"* and "ke" might fail as an explanatory tool precisely because the prefaces try to *overcome* this very dichotomy or at least to reallocate the stakes. They want to lay claim to *"hare"* that had been in the hands of Sino-Japanese poetry and do so with various *ke*-related strategies that are transformed in the process into a new, *ke*-ified version of "hare." I argue that these two problems are solved by an approach that sees the two prefaces as parts of different literary repertoires. The Japanese preface as the first preface to an imperially commissioned anthology in Literary Japanese stands on more virgin ground generically, whereas the Sino-Japanese preface had to position itself both within the Chinese tradition of anthology production and the previous 150 years of Sino-Japanese compilation practice. Blatant differences between the prefaces, such as the denigration of Prince Ôtsu and Chinese writing, which appears only in the Sino-Japanese preface, make perfect sense from the perspective of the model I have proposed that analyzes difference through literary repertoire and tradition. And it shows the *Kokinshû* in a history of the same challenge the *Kaifûsô* had to face a century and a half earlier: telling a history of poetry in Japan that could stand with and stand up against the history of Chinese literature.

4. Outlook

We can gaze back over the two anthologies we have surveyed: The *Kaifûsô*, the first Sino-Japanese poetry collection attempted to come to grips with the explosion of textual production in 7th and 8th century Japan and sketched a history of literature along the polysemantic paths of the Chinese concept of "wen" and soothes the advent of writing in Japan through "hexagrammatic literacy" and the use of Chinese claims of writing as a cosmic emanation. Then, the early tenth century *Kokinshû*, the first imperially sponsored collection of Japanese *waka* poetry, which made a case for Japanese poetry against the rival Sino-Japanese tradition by challenging the regime of "wen" through a universal "Way" of poetic composition and that empowers the Japanese tradition in a grand narrative of a "poetogony." The *Kokinshû* is almost exclusively read "forward in time," that is as the first of, and the model for, the 21 Japanese imperial anthologies to come, and not within its historical context, namely as an extremely bold—brilliant and desperate—attempt to bring Japanese poetry to the fore against previous dominance of the Sino-Japanese tradition.

Strategies for building and asserting traditions circle within cultures, across cultures, and within cultures that channel much of their legitimizing discourses through a reference culture. Collecting a wide variety of those strategies and their aftermath

can help us make our own case for reading literature cross-culturally and comparatively. And we can envy those after us who will be able to take *us* out of our own historical frame and judge whether and potentially how we succeeded.

In conclusion I would like to place our examination of two early Japanese anthologies of poetry within broader questions of "chronopolitics." In *Time and the Other* Johannes Fabian uses this term to criticize the practice of Western anthropologists to represent other cultures in an "ethnographical present," strip them of their historicity, and depict them either as paradisiacal or as primitive in order to subordinate them to Western cultural hegemony: "anthropology emerged and established itself as an allochronic (i. e. not simultaneous/synchronic) discourse. It is a science of other men in another Time."[91] Fabian emphasizes the uncanny tension between the immediacy of the encounter with members of other cultures during fieldwork that contrasts so starkly with the distance created through the chronopolitics of anthropological writing. He decries chronopolitics that builds "temporal fortresses" to serve hegemonic interests and calls instead for practices built on "coevalness."

Our case studies become particularly intriguing in the light of Fabian's critique of the representation of the anthropological other as suspended in an eternal present. Fabian sees this strategy as a ploy of Western researchers collaborating with Western hegemonic interests to assert their superiority over non-textual cultures. However, if we extend Fabian's study to premodern literate societies and particularly to those which existed in ambiguous symbiosis with older reference cultures, the suspension of one's own identity into an eternal present could actually be advantageous. Fabian's model does not foresee that a chronopolitics of timelessness can actually benefit the weaker side, not the hegemonic power. In the case of the *Kokinshû* we could say that the Japanese enthusiastically "self-ethnologized" themselves in order to *overcome history within writing*. Yet, rather than advancing a critique of Fabian's poignant argument this paper tried to show how crucial a role "chronopolitics" plays in the representation of oneself and the other, and what surprising results further explorations of its intricate strategies in premodern textual cultures might yield in the future.

[91] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia UP, 1983), 143. On this issue see also James Clifford's article "On Ethnographic Allegory" in Clifford and George Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

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Semiotic-Structural Aspects of Ono no Komachi's Poetry: An Attempt at Re-Interpretation

by
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1. Theoretical Positioning

1.1. Critical background: possibilities for a re-Interpretation of Ono no Komachi

Although what follow are strictly text-centered analyses of poetic texts, let us begin with some hard facts.[1] A person referred to by the name of Ono no Komachi 小野小町 appears for the first time in the Japanese poetry anthology the *Kokin Wakashû* 古今和歌集 (Collection of Ancient and Modern Poems, A.D. 905–914), issued on imperial command and compiled by Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之, Ki no Tomonori 紀友則, Ôshikôchi no Mitsune 凡河内躬恒 and Mibu no Tadamine 壬生忠岑. This, however, is based on the premise that the private collection the *Komachi Shû* 小町集 (The Komachi Collection, late tenth century-early eleventh century), which contains an additional ninety-seven poems apart from the eighteen poems in the *Kokin Wakashû* attributed to Komachi, and the lyrical narrative the *Ise Monogatari* 伊勢物語 (The Tales of Ise, mid-tenth century) which include two (five) of Komachi's poems, are

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I use the following abbreviations:

HJAS	*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
Ise M	*Ise Monogatari* (Tales of Ise, mid-tenth century)
KKS	*Kokin Wakashû* (Collection of Ancient and New Poems, 905–914)
KM	*Komachi Shû* (The Komachi Collection, end tenth century-beginning eleventh century)
MN	*Monumenta Nipponica*
MYS	*Man'yôshû* (Collection of a Myriad Leaves, ca 759)
SNKBT	Shin Koten Bungaku Taikei (The New Iwanami Series of Classical Japanese Literature)

Japanese names are given with the family name followed by the given name. Exceptions to this are the names of Japanese writers whose works have been published outside Japan, with their names given in the Western order in the publication.

Japanese names and terms are romanized according to the Hepburn system used in *Kenkyûsha's New Japanese-English Dictionary*, which is based on English consonants and Italian and German vowels. The only typographical alteration is the use of a circumflex rather than a macron to indicate long vowels. In order to make it easier to understand, modern orthography has been used except when there is wordplay involved.