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The Genesis of the *Kokinshū* Style

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Translator's Note

THE work of Konishi Jin'ichi was introduced to Western students by Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner in 1958 when they adapted and translated his article, "Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in Anthologies and Sequences of Japanese Court Poetry, A.D. 900–1350," for Volume 21 of this *Journal*. Since then Professor Konishi (b. 1915) has become well known abroad as a scholar of remarkable range and originality, the author of important contributions to the study of poetry, the Noh, linked verse, early songs, literary history, classical grammar, and other subjects. All of his researches have been enriched by an exceptional knowledge of the *Kokinshū* 古今集 (*Collection of Early and Modern Times*; ca. 905), the first imperially sponsored anthology of Japanese verse and the cornerstone of the literary tradition. In 1949 he published an annotated edition of the anthology, prefaced by a valuable introductory essay, and in the same year he startled the scholarly community with the article translated below, in which he set out to demonstrate that *Kokinshū* poems derived stylistically from Chinese prototypes.[1]

[1] The article was originally published under the title "*Kokinshū*-teki hyōgen no seiritsu 古今集的表現の成立" in *Nihon Gakushiin kiyō* 日本學士院紀要, 7.3 (Nov. 1949), 163–98. It was reprinted in Nihon Bungaku Kenkyū Shiryō Kankōkai, *Kokin wakashū* (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1976), pp. 151–78.

As Professor Konishi indicates in the article, the elegance and grace of the *Kokinshū* style had always been considered "quintessentially Japanese." It had been recognized that many Chinese literary works, particularly those of the Six Dynasties period, had entered Japan during the seventh, eighth, and early ninth centuries, but the possibility of a close relationship between Chinese poetry and the *Kokinshū* had never been seriously investigated. What seems a rather strange lack of curiosity is probably to be attributed in part to the kind of training received by *kokubungaku* ("national literature") specialists, who have not been expected to possess more than a modest acquaintance with Chinese literature, much less to acquire expertise in the art of deciphering Six Dynasties poetry.

Professor Konishi deviated from the norm early in his career by devoting years of study to Chinese poetry and poetics. His doctoral dissertation dealt with the *Bunkyō hifuron* 文鏡秘府論 (*Secret Treasury of Poetic Mirrors*), a ninth-century Japanese collection of excerpts from Six Dynasties and T'ang poetic treatises; and his massive *Bunkyō hifuron kō*, a study of the same work, won the Nihon Gakushiin Prize in 1951. As can be seen from inspection of the bibliography in Brower and Miner's *Japanese Court Poetry* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961), he has also published articles on such topics as the influence of Sung poetry in Japan and the Chinese contribution to the Japanese medieval aesthetic. He was thus ideally equipped to approach the subject of the present article, and he handled it brilliantly, marshalling his arguments with impressive erudition and a wealth of documentation. There can be little doubt that he makes his point.

"The Genesis of the *Kokinshū* Style" is an article of unique significance in the long history of *Kokinshū* studies. In Japan its stature has recently been recognized by its inclusion in the *Kokin wakashū* volume (1976) of *Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō sōsho*, a series which is reprinting outstanding research articles in the field of Japanese literature; in the West, readers of *Japanese Court Poetry* accept the Brower-Miner version of its thesis as a matter of course. The present translation has been undertaken primarily with a view to assisting students of Japanese poetry who, though wishing to read the article, may hesitate before Professor Konishi's forbidding array of *waka* and quotations from Six Dynasties collections, embedded in authorial prose that he

now describes as "pedantic." It is hoped that it may also be of some interest to others in the field of Japanese studies, to Chinese literature specialists, and to comparatists. In the belief that one does not tamper lightly with the text of a quasi-classic, adaptations have been kept to a minimum. An occasional illustrative poem has been omitted, and a few parenthetical remarks have been converted into footnotes (e.g., 13, 69–73, 75). The remaining footnotes, as well as references for poems quoted, have been supplied by the translator, who gratefully acknowledges financial support from the Center for Japanese and Korean Studies, University of California, Berkeley; research assistance from Yuet-fong Chung and Paul Panish; and suggestions and advice from John Jamieson and William H. McCullough.[2]

[2] The following abbreviations have been used.

BSRS *Bunka shūreishū* 文華秀麗集, ed. Nakamura Yasumasa 中村安政, *Kaifūsō*, *Ryōunshū*, *Bunka shūreishū*, *Keikokushū*, in *Nihon bungaku taikei*, Vol. 24 (Tokyo: Seibundō, 1933)

CHNPCS *Ch'üan Han san-kuo Chin nan-pei ch'ao shih* 全漢三國晋南北朝詩, ed. Ting Fu-pao 丁福保, 3 vols. (1916; facsimile rpt. Taipei: I-wen yin-shu-kuan, 1968)

CTS *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 全唐詩 (Peking: Chung-hua Press, 1960)

DK *Denshi kashū* 田氏家集, in (*Shinkō*) *Gunsho ruijū*, Vol. 6 ("Literature"; *kan* 130)

GSS *Gosenshū* 後撰集

KB *Kanke bunsō* 菅家文草, ed. Kawaguchi Hisao 川口久雄, *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū*, in *NKBT*, Vol. 72 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1966)

KeiKS *Keikokushū* 經國集, ed. Nakamura Yasumasa, *Kaifūsō*, *Ryōunshū*, *Bunka shūreishū*, *Keikokushū*, in *Nihon bungaku taikei*, Vol. 24 (Tokyo: Seibundō, 1933)

KKS *Kokinshū* 古今集

NK *Nihon kanshi* 日本漢詩, *Jōdaihen* 上代篇, ed. Saitō Shō 齋藤晌 (Tokyo: Gengensha, 1956)

NS *Nihon shiki* 日本詩紀, comp. Ichikawa Kansai 市川寬齋 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1911)

RUS *Ryōunshū* 凌雲集, ed. Nakamura Yasumasa, *Kaifūsō*, *Ryōunshū*, *Bunka shūreishū*, *Keikokushū*, in *Nihon bungaku taikei*, Vol. 24 (Tokyo: Seibundō, 1933)

SIS *Shūishū* 拾遺集

WH *Wen hsüan* 文選 (Taipei: Ch'i-ming Press, 1960)

ZKT *Zoku kokka taikan* 續國歌大鑑, comp. Matsushita Daizaburō 松下大三郎 (Tokyo: Chūbunkan, 1931)

Translation

In this article, the term "*Kokinshū* style" will mean the special characteristics by means of which we identify the *Kokinshū* and distinguish its contents from poems in the style of the *Man'yōshū* 萬葉集 or *Shinkokinshū*. Poems from the *Gosenshū* and *Shūishū* that exhibit the same characteristics will be treated as examples of the style; atypical *Kokinshū* poems will not.

Of the three periods to which *Kokinshū* poems are conventionally assigned—(1) the period of transition from the *Man'yōshū*, (2) the so-called period of the Six Poetic Geniuses, and (3) the period during which the anthology was compiled—the second was the one in which the *Kokinshū* style originated; the third, the one in which it reached maturity. The features of the style itself will be known to readers with an interest in Japanese literature, but I shall summarize them briefly for the purposes of the discussion that follows.

1. The conceptual approach is intellectual. In a typical *Kokinshū* poem, human life and the world of nature are not presented directly, but appear only after having been subjected to a process of ratiocination.

2. The boundary lines between the natural world and human experience are blurred. The poet does not focus on either a natural or a human phenomenon as such.

3. Whether the subject is nature or man, there is a strong tendency to treat it in terms of the passing of time.

4. The tone is subdued, elegant, and graceful.

It can be said that almost all modern scholars would accept this description. Our present concern, however, is not with the style's characteristics but with its origins.

The last datable poem in the *Man'yōshū* was written in 759. The Man'yō style survived during the first decades of the Heian period,[3] but the next fifty years[4] proved to be an era of overwhelming Chinese influence, and, consequently, a dark age for the *waka*; and the *Kokinshū* style was already in use when the *waka* regained prominence

[3] Reigns of Kanmu (781–806) and Heizei (806–9).

[4] Reigns of Saga (809–23) through Montoku (850–58).

during the third quarter of the ninth century. In other words, the transition occurred within a matter of five decades.

Numerous factors might conceivably have operated to produce the change. Kubota Utsubo 窪田空穂 has argued that the rise of the Fujiwara family in the early Heian period forced others to direct their energies into nonpolitical areas; that many of those others developed hedonistic and aesthetic interests; that although they often felt a strong sense of personal identity, they were impelled through fear of the Fujiwara to conceal the fact; and that the result was the growth of a critical, intellectual spirit. He adds that the fusion of the natural and human worlds, and also the tendency to approach a subject within the context of eternal time, resulted from the impact of the Buddhist doctrines introduced from China by Saichō and Kūkai at the beginning of the ninth century. He writes:

It is imagined that the *Kokinshū* style was strongly affected by the example of Chinese literature. That is a mistaken notion. If Chinese influence is indeed present, it is surprisingly minor. The significant impact can be said to have come from Buddhism. The predominance of Chinese literature lasted only from the reign of Emperor Kanmu at the outset of the Heian period to that of Emperor Junna [823–33]—a matter of four reigns. As soon as the revival of the hereditary principle barred the path to advancement through merit, there was no incentive to acquire the mastery of Chinese texts which had been the sine qua non under the merit system. At the same time, people turned to Japanese poetry as a pastime and a means of salving the sting of social inequities and disappointments, and to the new Buddhism as a means of rescuing themselves from those same inequities and disappointments. That, I should imagine, was the true state of affairs.[5]

Similarly, Yoshizawa Yoshinori 吉澤義則 has stated that pressure from Chinese literature during its Japanese heyday (reigns of Saga through Montoku) caused the *waka* to retreat from the public eye to the private world of romantic love. Chinese literature did not flourish in feminine society. The *waka*, used as a weapon in the verbal sparring that was an integral part of amorous intrigues, became a substitute for other forms of polite verbal exchanges, with the result that it lost its integrity and became a toy.

Tsurayuki wrote in the *Kokinshū* preface that only frivolous poems and ephemeral language appeared, and that the *waka* consequently found itself relegated to the obscurity of amorous exchanges. But Tsurayuki confused cause and effect. It was

[5] *Kokin wakashū hyōshaku*, 2nd ed. (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō, 1964), I, 43.

because the *waka* had become a vehicle for amorous exchanges that only frivolous poems and ephemeral language appeared; and the thing that forced the *waka* to disappear into the world of love affairs was the pressure of Chinese literature. Unless we interpret the situation in that way, we are guilty of inaccuracy.[6]

The views of Kubota and Yoshizawa are based on careful study, and much can be learned from them, but we may perhaps be allowed to question the conclusion that the emergence of the *Kokinshū* style was a development within the *waka* itself, rather than a result of Chinese influence. According to Kubota, some people have imagined that the *waka* was influenced by Chinese literature. I do not know who the authors of such opinions may have been, but I shall attempt to demonstrate in the following pages that they were correct.

TO SPEAK OF Chinese influence on Japanese literature is to introduce a broad subject. In the case of the *Kokinshū*, however, one can hazard the opinion that most of the influence came from the Six Dynasties *shih*. It is impossible to discern significant similarities between the *Kokinshū* style and the "old poetry" (*ku-shih* 古詩) of the Chou, Ch'in, and Han dynasties, or between *Kokinshū* poetry and that of High T'ang and later ages. It is the Six Dynasties *shih* (and the *shih* of early T'ang, which can be regarded as an extension thereof) whose shadow we discern behind the first of the Japanese Imperial anthologies.

Among the anthologies of Six Dynasties verse known to the early Heian Japanese were the *Wen hsüan* 文選 and *Ku-chin shih-yüan ying-hua* 古今詩苑英華, both compiled by Prince Chao-ming 昭明 (Hsiao T'ung; 501–31), and the *Yü-t'ai hsin-yung* 玉臺新詠, compiled by Hsü Ling 徐陵 (507–83). Presumably there were many others, since Fujiwara no Sukeyo's *Nihonkoku genzai shomokuroku* 日本國見在書目錄 (ca. 891) lists approximately forty works that seem to have contained Six Dynasties poems. The *Wen hsüan*, in particular, enjoyed the very highest esteem, and no man unable to quote from it was considered educated. Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu (775–826), the grandfather of Emperor Montoku, is said to have committed the entire anthology to memory. It was only natural, therefore, that Six Dynasties poetry should have enjoyed a vogue among early Heian literati.

[6] "*Man'yōshū* yori *Kokinshū* e," *Rekishi to chiri*, 11.1 (Jan. 1923), 17.

In order to demonstrate influence from the Six Dynasties *shih* on the *waka* in the *Kokinshū*, we must obviously compare the two, but as a preliminary it seems necessary to attempt a brief description of the Six Dynasties style, which has received no attention from earlier Japanese scholars.

Six Dynasties poetry is broadly divisible into works of the Wei-Chin period and works of the Sung-Ch'en period. A further division is also possible, as follows:

Early Period—First Period: Wei to early Western Chin (ca. 220-ca. 265)
Second Period: Mid-Western Chin to late Eastern Chin (ca. 280-ca. 400)
Late Period—Third Period: Sung to Ch'i (420–502)
Fourth Period: Liang to Ch'en (502–89)

The differences between the First and Second Periods, or between the Third and Fourth, are less conspicuous than those between Early and Late, but a four-part division seems useful as a means of indicating that differences do in fact exist. Since the Sui-early T'ang style can be subsumed under that of the Fourth Period, it will not be discussed separately.

In terms of authors, the First Period extends from the age of Wang Ts'an 王粲 (177–217) and Liu Cheng 劉楨 (d. 217) to that of Juan Chi 阮籍 (210–63) and Sun Ch'u 孫楚 (d. 293). In terms of style, it precedes the medievalization of the old manner inherited from Han times. Its best poet was perhaps Ts'ao Chih 曹植 (192–232), whose style is illustrated in the poem "For Ting I."

贈丁儀

初秋涼氣發　庭樹微銷落　凝霜依玉除　清風飄飛閣
朝雲不歸山　霖雨成川澤　黍稷委疇隴　農夫安所獲
在貴多忘賤　爲恩誰能博　狐白足禦冬　焉念無衣客
思慕延陵子　寶劒非所惜　子其寧爾心　親交義不薄

For Ting I

With the coming of autumn the air has grown cool;
Courtyard trees have begun to waste and fall.
Hard frost coats jade steps;
Fresh breezes swirl around lofty towers.
The morning's clouds fail to return to the hills;
Days of rain have made rivers and swamps.

Millet crops are abandoned in the fields;
What harvest is there for the peasant?
Those in high place tend to forget the humble,
For who is able to help everyone?
With white fox-fur to ward off winter,
Why think about those who have nothing to wear?
I admire the Viscount of Yen-ling:
He did not begrudge a precious sword.[7]
Please set your mind at ease:
I too shall prove a true friend.

(*WH*, 24.327)

Of course, this is not the pure Ch'in or Han style. Precedents for all the words endow the diction with rich overtones, and the ancient naiveté has been further attenuated by the use of historical allusion. Instead of making a simple, direct response to his subject, the poet exhibits an obvious consciousness of decorative effect, which stands between his perceptions and the manner in which he presents them. Such shaping of expression through a process of ratiocination is a characteristic of the medieval style. Here, however, the intent to embellish does not alter the basic orientation of the subject matter. It is for the purpose of giving a fresh, vivid quality to his depiction of autumn scenery that the poet alludes, in the line "Courtyard trees have begun to waste and fall," to Han Wu Ti's "The cinnamon twig has fallen and withered into nothingness,"[8] and, in "The morning's clouds fail to return to the hills," to "If floating clouds fail to return in the Eighth Month . . ." in the *Kuang ya* thesaurus.[9] Autumn

[7] Visiting his friend, the lord of Hsü, while en route to another state, Viscount Chi of Yen-ling saw that the lord coveted his valuable sword, and resolved to present it to him on his return journey. When he arrived in Hsü again, he found that the lord had died, so he deposited the sword at his grave.

[8] 桂枝落而銷亡. From a *fu* on the death of the beautiful Lady Li, in which the Emperor (140–86 B.C.) makes a fragrant cinnamon twig, dropping from its tree in autumn, a metaphor for the dead lady. (The leaves and young twigs of the cinnamon [*Cinnamomum cassia*] yield an oil used in perfumery.) *Han shu* (Peking: Chung-hua Press, 1962), 67.3953.

[9] Compiled by Chang I 張揖 (3rd century A.D.). The quotation is from an entry entitled "The Nine Paths Traversed by the Moon" in the section on celestial phenomena (*t'ien*): "If floating clouds fail to return [to the hills] in the Eighth Month, there will be no thunder in the Second Month" 八月浮雲不歸二月雷不行. Ch'ien Ta-chao 錢大昭, *Kuang ya shu-cheng* 廣雅疏證 (Tokyo: Seikadō Bunko, 1940), 9a.7.

remains the focal point of the conception, and ideas are expressed clearly, with no trace of deliberate distortion. Thus: "It has come to be the season when courtyard trees shed their leaves" (line 2); "The clouds that leave the hills in the morning show no tendency to return at dusk" (line 5); "Those whose status is high forget what it is like to live in poverty" (line 9); "[Like the Viscount of Yen-ling,] I would not begrudge you even a precious sword" (line 14). The artifice is confined to externals, and the directness of the *ku-shih* has not been lost.

Lu Chi 陸機 (261–303) can be considered the poet whose work best exemplifies the style of the Second Period, which extends roughly from Chang Hua 張華 (232–300) to T'ao Ch'ien (365–427). In that age, the progress toward medievalization is still tentative. (T'ao Ch'ien's style, in particular, preserves much of the *ku-shih* flavor.) But although there is no radical departure from the practice of the First Period, we may note the appearance of lines like the following.

情詩
居歡惜夜促　在慼怨宵長

Happy with you, I regretted the night's brevity;
Forlorn now, I hate the night's length.

Chang Hua, "Love Poem" (*WH*, 29.410)

明月篇
昔爲春蠶絲　今爲秋女衣

What was once the spring silkworm's thread
Is now a woman's autumn robe.

Fu Hsüan 傅玄 (217–78),
"Bright Moon" (*CHNPCS*, Chin 2.11a)

詠老
軟顏收紅藥　玄鬢吐素華

The young face loses its rosy blooms;
The dark temple-hair puts forth white flowers.

Lu Chi, "On Old Age"
(*CHNPCS*, Chin 3.18a)

合歡詩
目爲豔彩廻　心爲奇色旋

The eye is dazzled by gorgeous hues;
The heart is set awhirl by marvelous colors.

Yang Fang 楊方 (4th century), "A Poem on the Joy of Union" (*CHNPCS*, Chin 5.9b)

"Happy with you, I regretted the night's brevity" (example 1) is a conception that emphasizes intellectual distinctions: a certain cause has led to a certain effect. The consciousness of the poet and the operation of his powers of judgment have intervened between phenomenon and conception. In "What was once the spring silkworm's thread/Is now a woman's autumn robe" (example 2), the poet has not simply reproduced the reality before his eyes, but has set a phenomenon in a temporal perspective and viewed it as an aspect of change. The same approach is apparent in the second of the two lines below, from Lu Chi's "Poem on Hollyhocks in a Garden" (*WH*, 29.411).

園葵詩
豐條並春盛　落葉後秋衰

Their thick shoots flourished along with spring;
Their fallen leaves are the last to wither in autumn.

Further, the poet who says "white flowers" when he means "white hair" has drawn a type of comparison. The use of similes like the ones in the couplets below is a common enough device.

雜詩
青條若總翠　黃華如散金

The green branches resemble massed kingfisher wings;
The yellow flowers are like scattered gold.

Chang Han 張翰 (ca. 258-ca. 319), "Miscellaneous Poem" (*WH*, 29.413)

合歡詩
黃華如沓金　白花如散銀

The yellow flowers are like heaped gold;
The white blossoms are like scattered silver.

Yang Fang, "A Poem on the Joy of Union" (*CHNPCS*, Chin 5.9b)

But when a poet substitutes "massed kingfisher wings" for "green branches," or "scattered gold" for "yellow flowers," trusting to the reader to supply the connection, the discriminatory function assumes critical importance. Such metaphors are rare in the older style.

Similarly, when Yang Fang says, "The eye is dazzled by gorgeous hues," he objectifies a phenomenon and subjects it to dispassionate scrutiny. The conception—i.e., the expression—is not frank and straightforward.

In all four couplets, there is an indirection produced by a process of ratiocination that certain T'ang critics have labeled *i-p'ang* 倚傍 (obliquity). As explained in the *Shih ko* 詩格 of Wang Ch'ang-ling 王昌齡 (d. ca. 755) and the *Shih i* 詩議 of the monk Chiao-jan 皎然 (fl. mid-8th century), and as the graphs themselves indicate, the oblique style is one in which the poet "approaches from the side," taking a roundabout way instead of proceeding straight toward his objective.[10] The "bending" of the conception is caused by the intervention of the poet's critical faculties, but since critical faculties operate within the self, we can perhaps say that the *i-p'ang* style is a mode of expression produced by the interaction of the phenomenon and the ego.

This obliquity is one of the most conspicuous features of medieval Chinese poetry. In the Second Period, however, it is still so far from pervasive that we must search for examples. Even in poems like Lu Chi's below, the conceptual attitude remains that of the *ku-shih*; and the same general tendency appears in all the poetry of the period.

赴洛道中作

遠遊越山川　山川脩且廣　振策陟崇邱　安轡遵平莽
夕息抱影寐　朝徂銜思往　頓轡倚嵩巖　側聽悲風響
清露墜素輝　明月一何朗　撫几不能寐　振衣獨長想

Written on the Road to Lo-yang

Traveling afar, I cross mountains and streams;

[10] The *Shih ko* and *Shih i*, which survive only in greatly altered form, are quoted extensively in Kūkai's *Bunkyō hifuron* (ca. 820). For the use of the term *i-p'ang* by Wang and Chiao-jan, see Konishi Jin'ichi, *Bunkyō hifuron kō*, 3 vols. (Kyoto: Dai Nihon Yūbenkai Kōdansha, 1948–53), III, 167; III, 175; for the *Shih ko* and *Shih i*, ibid., I, 49–55.

The mountains and streams are long and broad.
Lifting the whip, I mount high hills;
Drawing the reins, I follow grassy plains.
Resting at evening, I sleep embracing my shadow;
Going on in the morning, I journey with melancholy thoughts in my breast.
Pulling on the reins, I stop near a lofty crag;
Tilting my head, I listen to the mournful wind.
The pure dew has fallen as white radiance;
The full moon is dazzlingly bright.
Stroking my pillow, I try in vain to sleep;
Shaking out my garments, I sit alone with my endless thoughts.

(*WH*, 26.365)

The Third Period extends roughly from the age of Hsieh Ling-yün 謝靈運 (385–433) to that of Hsieh T'iao 謝朓 (464–99). Hsieh Ling-yün and T'ao Ch'ien were contemporaries, but whereas T'ao Ch'ien was a master in the old style, Hsieh pioneered the medieval mode of expression and consequently can be said to represent the style of the period.

登石門最高頂

晨策尋絶壁　夕息在山棲　疏峯抗高館　對嶺臨廻溪
長林羅戸穴　積石擁基階　連巖覺路塞　密竹使徑迷
來人忘新術　去子惑故蹊　活活夕流駛　嗷嗷夜猿啼
沈冥豈別理　守道自不携　心契九秋幹　目翫三春荑
居常以待終　處順故安排　惜無同懷客　共登青雲梯

Climbing the Highest Peak of Stone Gate Mountain

At dawn with my staff I seek the sheer cliffs,
At dusk I rest in my mountain shelter.
The leveled summit bears a lofty structure,
Facing peaks, commanding winding streams.
Long woods stretch beyond the gate;
Heaped rocks crowd close to the steps.
Rows of crags seem to block the road;
Bamboo thickets make the narrow path lose its way.
Those who come can never find their way;

Those who return lose their earlier track.
Rushing, gurgling, the current at dusk flows swift;
Keening, keening, the monkeys call at night.
This abstruse Truth—what other could there be?
I keep to the Way and naturally don't abandon it.
My heart is one with the evergreen pine;
My eye delights in the spring shoots.
Content with an ordinary life, I await my end;
Compliant, I accept my lot.
My one regret is the lack of a kindred spirit
To ascend with me the blue rungs of the clouds.

(*WH*, 22.302)

The precision of Hsieh's imagery surpasses anything in the previous period, but the reader senses critical faculties at work in "Rows of crags seem to block the road; bamboo thickets make the narrow path lose its way"—for example, in the verbs "seem" and "make." Granted that the conception is not quite oblique, neither is it simple and unaffected. The same can be said of this couplet by Hsieh:

於南山往北山經湖中瞻眺
石橫水分流　林密蹊絶蹤

Rocks lie in the way, the river splits its current.
The woods are dense; there are no tracks on the path.

"Viewing the Scenery while Crossing
the Lake on the Way from South
Mountain to North Mountain"
(*WH*, 22.303)

Reliance on reasoning is carried much further by other poets in couplets such as the following, which were probably composed in imitation of Hsieh's style.

首夏泛天池
葉軟風易出　草密路難披

The leaves are pliant; the wind passes through with ease.
The grasses are dense; it is hard to open a path.

Emperor Wu of the Liang (464–549),

"Floating on Celestial Pond at the
Beginning of Summer"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 1.7b)

夕出通波閣下觀妓
竹密無分影　花疎有異香

The bamboos are dense; their shadows join in one.
The flowers are sparse; their fragrance is rare.

Emperor Yüan of the Liang (508–54),
"Going Out in Evening to Watch
Dancing Girls Below T'ung-po Tower"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 3.4b)

折楊柳
葉密鳥飛礙　風輕花落遲

The leaves are dense; bird flight is checked.
The wind is light; flower fall is languid.

Emperor Chien-wen of the Liang
(503–51), "Breaking the Willow"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 1.22b)

詠薔薇
葉疏難蔽日　花密易傷風

The leaves are sparse; they block the sunlight with difficulty.
The flowers are dense; they are easily bruised by the wind.

Pao Ch'üan 鮑泉 (d. 552),
"Roses" (*CHNPCS*, Liang 12.20a)

春別
爭風競日常聞響　重花疊葉不通飛

We indeed hear echoes as he wrangles with the wind and
competes with the sun;
Yet rows of flowers and layered leaves block his flight.[11]

[11] The subject is a bird.

Hsiao Tzu-hsien 蕭子顯 (488–551),
"Spring Parting"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 10.4a)

Hsieh Ling-yün's own poetry also contains lines like these:

夜宿石門詩
鳥鳴識夜棲　木落知風發

Birds call; I realize that they are roosting for the night.
Trees shed; I perceive that the wind is rising.

"Staying the Night at Stone Gate
Mountain" (*CHNPCS*, Sung 3.12a)

過始寧墅
白雲抱幽石　綠篠媚清漣

White clouds embrace remote crags;
Green bamboo fawns upon[12] clear ripples.

"Passing through my Estate at Shih-
ning" (*WH*, 26.367)

The conception in the first of Hsieh's two couplets focuses on the relationship between cause and effect ("Since leaves are falling, I perceive that the wind has risen"), employing a pattern that recurs in the works of later poets. Thus:

喜雨
燕起知風舞　礎潤識雲流

Swallows rise; we perceive that the wind is dancing.
Foundation stones moisten; we realize that clouds
have rolled in.

Hsieh Chuang 謝莊 (421–66),
"Rejoicing in Rain" (*CHNPCS*,
Sung 2.11a)

登顏園故閣
衣香知步近　釧動覺行遲

[12] I.e., bends over.

From the scent of her robes, one perceived that she was
passing near;
From the motion of her bracelets, one sensed that
her walk was languid.

Emperor Yüan of the Liang, "Climbing
the Old Tower at Yen Garden"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 3.4b)

In Hsieh Ling-yün's second couplet, the clouds do not actually embrace the crags, nor does the bamboo fawn on the water. The poet has introduced a type of obliquity by personifying his images. The same device appears later in lines like the ones below.

望孤石
朱華抱白雲　陽條熙朔風

Red flowers embrace white clouds;
Sunlit branches sport in the north wind.

Pao Chao 鮑照 (d. 466), "Gazing at
Ku-shih" (*CHNPCS*, Sung 4.26b)

春閨怨
柳枝皆嬲燕　桑葉復催蠶

The willow branches all flirt with swallows;
The mulberry leaves again entice silkworms.

Wu Tzu 吳孜, "A Wife's Grief
in Spring" (*CHNPCS*, Liang 13.12b)

It is because Hsieh's example encouraged later poets to use such expressions that he can be called the pioneer of the medieval style.

The Fourth Period extends from approximately the age of Fan Yün 范雲 (451–503) and Shen Yüeh 沈約 (441–513) to the end of the Six Dynasties.[13] As can be seen from the poem below, by the representative author Yü Hsin 庾信 (513–81), conceptions now become much more elaborate.

[13] Strictly speaking, the Six Dynasties style persisted into early T'ang, which can therefore be included in this period.

望野

試策千金馬　來登五丈原　有城仍舊縣　無樹卽新村
水向蘭池泊　日斜細柳園　涸渚通沙路　寒渠塞水門
但得風雲賞　何須人事論

Gazing at the Fields

Whipping my thousand-gold-piece horse,
I climb Fifty-foot Plateau.
Walls there: the old prefecture;
No trees there: a new village.
Waters flow toward their haven in Orchid Pond;
Sunlight slants on Slender Willow Garden.
Parched shores border the sand-paths;
Dry ditches cut off the sluice-gates.
Let us simply celebrate the great deeds of ages past;
Why talk of mundane things?

(*CHNPCS*, Pei-Chou 2.14b)

We can probably assume that the term "thousand-gold-piece horse" (i.e., a horse worth a thousand pieces of gold) is employed for the sake of the parallel with "Fifty-foot Plateau." Even in the unlikely event that the poet's mount was so rare a beast, there would have been no need to state its precise value. If the second line of the couplet had not included a number, the horse in the first line would undoubtedly have been a horse of a different kind.

Such a departure from truth for the sake of form is a type of obliquity. Similarly, "the place where there are no trees is a new village" focuses on clever reasoning. Instead of stating the simple fact that the village is treeless, the author adds a rhetorical flourish by inserting a reason for its plight—namely, that not many years have elapsed since its founding. "Waters flow toward their haven in Orchid Pond," which implies that water flows because it seeks a place to stay, reminds us of a poem in *Kokin waka rokujō* (*ZKT*, No. 31082 [Late Autumn]):

Momijiba no	An anchorage, it seems,
Nagarete yodomu	For departing autumn—
Minato o zo	The river mouth where gliding leaves

Kureyuku aki no　　Of red and yellow
Tomari to zo miru　　Have come to rest.

To say, in effect, "since the water has dried up, dry shores merge with the sandy paths," is also to express a causal relationship. When that kind of oblique expression is carried a step further, it becomes a serious weakness. In the *Shih i*, Chiao-jan cites the following as examples of "vulgar ingenuity."[14]

樹蔭逢歇馬　　魚潭見洗船

When I find tree shade, I tether my horse;
When I see a pool good for fishing, my boat is washed clean.

(*CHNPCS*, Pei-Chou 2.14a)

隔花遙勸酒　　就水更移床

Across the flowers, from afar we urge each other to drink;
Near the water, again we move our seats.

(*CHNPCS*, Pei-Chou 2.1b)

Both couplets are by Yü Hsin, the first from "Returning to Rural Life" 歸田 and the second from "Pledging Brotherhood with Strangers at the Young Braves' Rendezvous" 結客少年場行. The reader would accept a boat stopping in a pool, but bringing a boat into a pool to be washed is too great a distortion. In "across the flowers," the speaker's position is ambiguous, and the conceit, like that of the boat, fails because of excessive artifice. The Fourth Period was an age in which obliquity was carried to the point of "vulgar ingenuity."

THE BRIEF account in the preceding section of this article has been intended as an outline of the salient characteristics of Six Dynasties poetry. Since I have proposed the Six Dynasties *shih* as the model for the *Kokinshū* style, I shall now attempt to prove the case by demonstrating, through concrete example, the features that the two share.

[14] *Su-ch'iao* 俗巧. Both couplets are quoted in *Bunkyō hifuron kō*, III, 149. In the first, *CHNPCS* has 酒 instead of 洗.

Although the general label "oblique" can be attached to the basic conceptual attitude underlying Six Dynasties poetry, obliquity is divisible into a number of fairly distinct elements. One of its characteristics is that the thing perceived is described not in the language of the moment of perception but in different, more highly contrived terms. For example:

登廬山望石門
瑤波逐穴開　霞石觸峯起

Charging the gap, shining waves gush forth;
Thrusting against the peaks, misty rocks rear up.

Pao Chao, "Climbing Mount Lu-shan to View Stone Gate"
(*CHNPCS*, Sung 4.13a)

發後渚
塗隨前峯遠　意逐後雲結

The road accompanies the peaks ahead into the distance;
My thoughts run after the clouds behind and cling to them.

Pao Chao, "Leaving Hou-chu"
(*CHNPCS*, Sung 4.88b)

In those lines, the contrived words are "charging," "thrusting," "accompanies," and "run after." The focus is on the cleverness with which the poet has been able to describe external phenomena, rather than on the phenomena themselves. The Chinese have traditionally emphasized form in preference to substance, but the practice was probably never carried to such extremes as in the Six Dynasties period. The above lines cannot, perhaps, be called oblique, but it was from such beginnings that intellectual conceptions like the following emerged.

望春詩
葉濃知柳密　花盡覺梅疎

The leaves have darkened; I perceive that the willows are dense.
The flowers have scattered; I realize that the plum trees are sparse.

Emperor Yüan of the Liang,
"Viewing Spring"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 3.11b)

夕逗繁昌浦
岸廻知舳轉　解纜覺船浮

The bank curves; I perceive that the bow turns.
The rope is untied; I realize that the vessel is afloat.

Liu Hsiao-ch'o 劉孝綽 (481–539),
"Stopping at Dusk by the Riverbank
in Fan-ch'ang"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 10.17a)

採蓮曲
風住疑衫密　船小畏裾長

The wind ceases; she wonders if it is because her robe is thick.
The boat is small; she worries about the length of her skirts.

Ch'en Shu-pao 陳叔寶 (553–604),
"Lotus-gathering Song"
(*CHNPCS*, Ch'en 1.2a)

巫山高
巖懸獸無跡　林暗鳥疑飛

The cliffs are sheer; beasts leave no tracks.
The woods are dark; birds hesitate to fly.

Fan Yün, "Mount Wu is High"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 6.1a)

對宴齊使
林寒木皮厚　沙迥雁飛低

The woods are cold; the bark on the trees is thick.
The sand stretches afar; wild geese fly low.

Yü Hsin, "Feasting with the Emissary
from Ch'i" (*CHNPCS*, Pei-Chou 2.18a)

When the poet says, "Because all the blossoms have scattered, I become aware that the plum trees are sparse," his primary object is not to hint at the splendor of the trees in full bloom, but rather to engage the reader's interest by a verbal trick. The intellectuality of the approach is also revealed by the important position assigned to words signifying use of the critical faculties, such as "perceive" and "realize." An identical technique is employed in Japanese poems like the following:

KKS 1018[15] (Miscellaneous Forms). Anonymous. "Topic unknown."

Akigiri no	Because the autumn mist
Harete kumoreba	Now clears, now gathers,
Ominaeshi	The brilliant beauty
Hana no sugata zo	Of the maidenflowers
Miekakure suru	Is now visible, now hidden.

An implied or explicit "because" is part of the basic structure. The conceptual pattern employed in *KKS* 1018—namely, that because of the disappearance of an obstacle of some kind, something hitherto unremarked by the poet has appeared—is also to be found in these lines by Hsü Chün-ch'ien 徐君倩:

別義陽郡
葉落看村近　天高應向秋

The leaves have fallen; I see that villages are close by.
The heavens look high; autumn must be approaching.

"Leaving I-yang Prefecture"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 11.17a)

When this attitude reaches the stage of Ch'en Hou-chu's "She wondered if it might be because her garments were thick that the wind seemed to have stopped blowing," logical argument is being pushed to extremes, and the reader is likely to dismiss the poem as frivolous. In Fan Yün's "Since there are cliffs everywhere, animals leave no tracks, even if they happen to visit the area," and in Yü

[15] Poems in Imperial anthologies of *waka* are identified by the numbers assigned them in *Kokka taikan*, comp. Matsushita Daizaburō and Watanabe Fumio 渡邊文雄 (Tokyo: Kawai Matsudaira, 1903).

Hsin's "Because the woods are cold, the tree bark has thickened," the attitude seems to be one of scientific observation, rather than of poetic appreciation. The emphasis on logic resembles the posture adopted in the following *waka*.

KKS 1061 (Miscellaneous Forms). Anonymous. "Topic unknown."

Yo no naka no	Were we to cast ourselves away
Uki tabi goto ni	Each time we despaired
Mi o nageba	Of life in this world,
Fukaki tani koso	However deep the valley
Asaku nariname	It would grow shallow.

Although less extravagantly, the couplet below also relies on the use of logic, which in this case employs a pattern that recurs in a *waka* by Minamoto no Muneyuki (d. 939)—i.e., a change in color results from a change in circumstance.

晩景遊後園
日移花色異　風散水紋長

The sun moves; the color of the flowers changes.
The wind blows; the ripples on the water lengthen.

Emperor Yüan of the Liang, "Evening Scenery, Visiting the Rear Gardens" (*CHNPCS*, Liang 3.10a)

KKS 24 (Spring, 1). Minamoto no Muneyuki. "Recited at the Kanpyō [or Kanbyō, 889–98] *utaawase*."

Tokiwa naru	Even the green
Matsu no midori mo	Of pine trees,
Haru kureba	"Ever unchanging,"
Ima hitoshio no	Has grown a shade brighter
Iro masarikeri	Now that spring is here.

Similarly, Wang Seng-ju's 王僧孺 lines below share a pattern with a *waka* by Minamoto no Masazumi (fl. late 9th to early 10th century): as a result of the disappearance of one condition, another prevails.

春思
雪罷枝卽青　冰開水便綠

The snow is done; the branches are turning green.
The ice thaws; the waters are emerald-hued.

Wang Seng-ju, "Spring Thoughts"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 6.14a)

KKS 12 (Spring, 1). Minamoto no Masazumi. "A poem for the Kanpyō *utaawase*."

Tanikaze ni	First flowers of spring—
Tokuru kōri no	Waves bursting forth
Hima goto ni	From every crevice
Uchiizuru namị ya	In the ice
Haru no hatsuhana	Melting in the valley breeze.

In the couplet below, the poet takes the position that objects seem particularly distinct when they are bathed in moonlight, a conception that reminds us of an anonymous poem in the *Kokinshū*.

七夕宴玄圃
月小看針暗　雲開見縷明

In little moonlight, the needle looks dark;
When clouds open, the thread looks bright.

Ch'en Shu-pao, "Feasting on the Evening
of the Double Seventh at Hsüan-p'u"
(*CHNPCS*, Ch'en 1.9a)

KKS 191 (Autumn, 1). Anonymous. "Topic unknown."

Shirakumo ni	Moon on an autumn night:
Hane uchikawashi	One can see the very number
Tobu kari no	Of wild geese
Kazu sae miyuru	Flying in close-winged ranks
Aki no yo no tsuki	Against white clouds.

Somewhat more fanciful conceptions of the same type produce such expressions as the following.

夜聽妓
情多舞態遲　意傾歌弄緩

Emotions surge; the dance grows languorous.
Hearts are full; the song's melody slackens.

Hsieh T'iao, "Listening to
Singing-Girls at Night"
(*CHNPCS*, Ch'i 3.18a)

The poet actually perceives only that the dancers' movements have grown languid and that the tempo of the song has slowed, but in an effort to add interest to his description he explains the reasons for the languor (the hearts of the performers are overflowing with emotion) and for the lagging melody (the performers wish to reveal their innermost thoughts)—purely imaginary reasons, invented as part of a verbal design. A familiar pattern ("Because the plum blossoms have scattered, I realize that the trees are sparse") is now being employed in a situation in which nonexistent causes are ascribed to stated effects. Such specious reasoning clearly merits the label oblique. In the *waka* below, there is no falsity in the statement that the Weaver Maid waits for autumn, but the fanciful explanation supplied (when autumn comes, fallen leaves will bridge the River of Heaven) places the poem in the same category as "Emotions surge; the dance grows languorous."

KKS 175 (Autumn, 1). Anonymous. "Topic unknown."

Amanogawa	Is it because
Momiji o hashi ni	A bridge of colored leaves
Wataseba ya	Will span the River of Heaven
Tanabatatsume no	That the Weaver Maid
Aki o shimo matsu	Waits for autumn?

In the examples above, the reasoning is conditional: "Because of X, Y results." A concessive pattern also occurs: "Although X, [nevertheless] Y."

詠薔薇
不搖香已亂　無風花自飛

Although they are motionless, their scent scatters;
Without wind, the petals fly of themselves.

Liu Yün 柳惲, "Roses"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 7.5a)

伏聞遊獵
無風樹卽正　不凍水還平

There is no wind; thus the trees stand straight.
Ice has not formed, yet the waters lie flat.

Yü Hsin, "Respectfully Hearing
of the Hunt" (*CHNPCS*, Pei-Chou 2.7b)

The aim of such lines is to give the reader a mild surprise by presenting him with a result contrary to the one that might logically have been expected. (In Yü Hsin's couplet, of course, there is also another design.) A comparable *waka* might be the following.

KKS 267 (Autumn, 2). Sakanoue no Korenori (fl. ca. 910). "Composed as an autumn poem."

Saoyama no	Light though the coloring be
Hahaso no iro wa	On the oaks
Usukeredo	At Saoyama,
Aki wa fukaku mo	How autumn itself
Narinikeru kana	Has deepened!

Sometimes the result may be stated first:

舟中望月
山明疑有雪　岸白不關沙

The mountains are bright; one wonders if it might have snowed.
The shore is white, but not because of sand.

Yü Hsin, "In a Boat, Gazing at the
Moon" (*CHNPCS*, Pei-Chou 2.21b)

In the above couplet, the poet first states a fact (the shore shines white) and then, by adding a disclaimer (the sand itself is not particularly white) invites the conclusion that the whiteness is moonlight. The same kind of "appended disclaimer" appears in the following *waka*.

KKS 305 (Autumn, 2). Ōshikōchi no Mitsune (fl. ca. 900). "Submitted when the former Emperor commanded him to compose a poem on the topic of a screen painting at the Teiji Palace: a man,

about to cross a stream, was shown as having pulled up his horse under a tree from which autumn leaves were scattering."

Tachidomari	Let me pause and gaze
Mite o wataramu	Before I cross:
Momijiba wa	Though colored leaves may fall like rain,
Ame to furu tomo	There is small fear
Mizu wa masaraji	Of rising waters.

Although the roles of the images are reversed, it might be noted in passing that the Japanese poem below, *KKS* 332, uses the same approach as Yü Hsin's couplet on moonlight and snow.

KKS 332 (Winter). Korenori. "Composed during a trip to Yoshino, when he perceived that snow had fallen."

Asaborake	As dawn begins to break,
Ariake no tsuki to	Almost might one think it
Miru made ni	The pale light of a morning moon—
Yoshino no sato ni	A film of fallen snow
Fureru shirayuki	At Yoshino Village.

The preceding expressions have merely indicated cause or reason, but the poet may go a step further by explicitly making Condition X a prerequisite to Result Y.

蓮舟買荷度
欲知船度處　當看荷葉開

If you want to know where a boat is passing,
You must look to see where the lotus leaves part.

Emperor Chien-wen of the Liang,
"Lotus-Boats Going after Lotuses"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 2.17a)

賦樂器名得箜篌
欲知心不平　君看黛眉聚

If you want to know whether she is annoyed,
Just look at how her penciled brows draw together.

Emperor Chien-wen of the Liang,

"Receiving 'Harp' When Poems on the
Names of Musical Instruments Were
to be Composed"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 2.17b)

擬沈隱侯夜夜曲
但問愁多少　便知夜短長

Simply ask how much I grieve;
Then you will know the length of the night.

Emperor Chien-wen of the Liang,
"Imitating Lord Shen's
'Night After Night' "
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 1.25a)

With regard to the second couplet, "If you want to know whether she is annoyed," we can probably assume, first, that the author's original perception was merely that the performer's brows were knit in apparent annoyance, and, second, that he recast his material in a conditional mode to make the poem more interesting. *KKS* 302 below, though phrased in negative terms, employs a similar technique.

KKS 302 (Autumn, 2). Korenori. "Composed near the Tatsuta River."

Momijiba no	Were it not that colored leaves
Nagarezariseba	Glide downstream,
Tatsutagawa	Who would know that autumn
Mizu no aki o ba	Had visited the waters
Tare ka shiramashi	Of the Tatsuta River?

There is also a tendency to go beyond the mere statement of a logical proposition by making the reasoning turn on a fine point or delicate perception. Both the Chinese couplet below, in which the subject is a beautiful woman, and the *waka*, *SIS* 14, say to the reader, "It was because someone scented a fragrance that he perceived his error."

敬酬劉長史詠名士悅傾城
遙見疑花發　聞香知異春

Gazing from a distance, one wondered if a flower had bloomed;
Scenting her perfume, one perceived that it was not the fragrance of spring.

Liu Huan 劉緩 (fl. ca. 549),
"Responding to Senior Historian Liu's Poem, 'Great Men Delight in Fatal Beauties'" (*CHNPCS*, Liang 12.1b)

SIS 14 (Spring). Mitsune. "For a folding screen during the Engi era [901–23]."

Furu yuki ni	Blossoms of the plum:
Iro wa magainu	Though I mistook their hue
Ume no hana	For the whiteness
Ka ni koso nitaru	Of falling snow,
Mono nakarikere	Nothing else resembles their scent!

Or the poet may approach his subject from the opposite point of view.

KKS 34 (Spring, 1). Anonymous. "Topic unknown."

Yado chikaku	I shall plant no more plum trees
Ume no hana ueji	Next to my house,
Ajiki naku	For it is vexing indeed to think their fragrance
Matsu hito no ka ni	The scented sleeves
Ayamatarekeri	Of one whom I await.

Again, we have lines like these:

梁塵
依帷濛重翠　帶日聚輕紅　定爲歌聲起　非關團扇風

On the curtains, a dark green film;
In the sunlight, a light red shimmer.
Surely it is the singer's voice that stirs it up,
And not the breeze of the round fans.

Emperor Chien-wen of the Liang,
"Rafter Dust" (*CHNPCS*, Liang 2.20a)

Avoiding the noun "dust," which is his subject, the poet simply says, "It hovers deep green on the curtains; it floats light red in the sunlight. The cause of its motion is not the wind from the round fans, but rather the skill with which the song is sung." The mannered wit of this composition, which draws on old tales about Yü Kung 虞公 and Han O 韓娥,[16] recalls a line quoted earlier—"Emotions surge; the dance grows languorous"—but here the dust itself, the subject that the poet goes to such lengths to describe, is nothing but a fiction conjured up for the sake of an allusion. A similar attitude underlies the *waka* below:

KKS 1044 (Miscellaneous Forms). Anonymous. "Topic unknown."

Kurenai ni	Deep red
Someshi kokoro mo	Though your heart be dyed,[17]
Tanomarezu	I cannot trust it—
Hito o aku ni wa	For satiety, like lye,
Utsuru chō nari	Will surely make it fade.

Like the imaginary green and red dust particles, the "heart dyed red" is a fiction, suggested to the poet's mind by the word *aku*.

The two *waka* below make use of the same brand of false logic.

SIS 514 (Miscellaneous, 2). Mitsune. "Reply."

Saoshika no	Perhaps it may be
Shigaramifusuru	That the bottom leaves
Akihagi wa	Have become the top
Shitaba ya ue ni	On autumn bush-clover
Narikaeruramu	Twisted and flattened by a stag.

SIS 515 (Miscellaneous, 2). Mibu no Tadamine (d. ca. 920?). "Reply."

Akihagi wa	Merely because branches next to the earth
Mazu sasu e yori	Are first to turn yellow

[16] Two famous singers of antiquity, both of whom are said to have had voices capable of lifting dust from the rafters.

[17] "Though you are very much in love." The poem puns on *aku* (lye and tire of, be satiated) and *utsuru* (fade and change).

Utsurou o	On the bush-clover in autumn,
Tsuyu no waku to wa	You will not conclude, I hope,
Omowazaranamu	That dew springs from the ground.

Both poems purport to answer the question, "Why is it that the bottom leaves of the bush-clover are the first to turn yellow, even though dew falls from above?"[18]

The lines below, though less transparently improbable, also hypothesize about cause and effect.

美人晨粧
散黛隨眉廣　臙脂逐臉生　試將持出衆　定得可憐名

Powder-blacking widens her brows;
Rouge follows the contours of her cheeks.
If she is allowed to appear before others,
Surely she will win praise for her beauty.

Emperor Chien-wen of the Liang,
"The Beauty's Morning Toilet"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 2.13a)

詠畫屛風詩
昨夜鳥聲春　驚鳴動四隣　今朝梅樹下　定有詠花人

Last night bird voices announced spring;
Their singing startled the neighborhood.
This morning underneath the plum trees
Surely there must be people writing blossom poems.

Yü Hsin, "Poem on a Folding Screen
with Pictures" (*CHNPCS*, Pei-Chou 2.22b)

The Chinese *ting te* 定得 ("surely she will win") and *ting yu* 定有 ("surely there must be"), like *ting wei* 定爲 ("surely it is") in "Rafter Dust," are stock expressions, of which the Japanese counterpart may be said to be the interrogative particle *ya* plus the conjectural suffix *ramu* or the conjectural suffix *mu*, as in the poem below.

KKS 720 (Love, 4). Anonymous. "Topic unknown."

[18] The question is put in *SIS* 513. Dew and rain were believed to produce autumn colors.

Taezu yuku	Were the ceaseless flow
Asuka no kawa no	Of the Asuka River
Yodominaba	To turn sluggish,
Kokoro aru to ya	People would be sure to think
Hito no omowamu	The bottom deep.[19]

The same kind of speculative pose appears in many other *waka*. For example:

KKS 328 (Winter). Tadamine. "A poem for the Kanpyō *utaawase*."

Shirayuki no	In the mountain abode
Furite tsumoreru	Where fallen snow lies deep,
Yamazato wa	The drifts will be melting soon,
Sumu hito sae ya	And he who dwells there, lonely and sad,
Omoikiyuramu	Even he must surely be ready
	To melt into nothingness.[20]

GSS 321 (Autumn, 2). Ono no Yoshiki (d. 902). "Composed as an autumn poem."

Aki no ike no	Surely it will touch
Tsuki no ue kogu	Cinnamon-tree branches—
Fune nareba	The pole of the boat
Katsura no eda ni	Rowing over the moon
Sao ya sawaramu	On an autumn lake.

Another type of oblique expression states a conclusion instead of describing or speculating about a result.

別宋常侍

遊人杜陵北　送客漢川東　無論去與住　俱是一飄蓬

A traveler north of Tu-ling
Seeing a guest off to east of the Han River:
Whether it be the one who goes or the one who stays;
Both are like tumbleweeds in the wind.

[19] Puns on *yodomu* (stagnate and be in arrears, be remiss [in visiting]) and *kokoro* (deep river bottom and love [for another]) yield a second meaning: "If my visits were to become infrequent, she would surely believe that I loved another."

[20] There is a pun on *kiyu* (melt) and *omoikiyu* (feel lonely and sad).

Yin Shih 尹式, "Parting from Attendant Sung" (*CHNPCS*, Sui 3.12b)

和陰梁州雜怨
君言妾貌改　妾畏君心移　終須一相見　併得兩相知

You say my face will be different;
I fear your heart will have changed.
We must meet once again,
And both learn the truth.

Teng K'eng 鄧鏗, "Echoing Yin Liang-chou's 'Plaints' " (*CHNPCS*, Liang 13.13a)

Yin Shih's last two lines call to mind the *waka* below, in which those who leave and those who return are arrested at a common point, "meeting."

GSS 1090 (Miscellaneous, 1). Semimaru (fl. early Heian?). "Observing people coming and going while he was living in the hermitage he had built near Ōsaka Barrier."

Kore ya kono	This is that very
Yuku mo kaeru mo	Ōsaka Barrier,
Wakarete wa	Where those who go and those who return
Shiru mo shiranu mo	Take different paths;
Ōsaka no seki	Where friends and strangers meet.

The poem by Teng K'eng—you are worried and I am uneasy, but both of us will be able to breathe freely after we meet face to face—makes the reader feel as though the author were solving simultaneous equations. The same taste for the self-evident appears in a *waka* by Mitsune.

GSS 1195 (Miscellaneous, 2). Mitsune. "Sent during the Engi era, in the hope of having it reported to the Emperor, to someone who was then a Chamberlain."

Yume ni dani	If I can be happy
Ureshi to mo miba	In a fleeting dream,
Utsutsu nite	Far better that

Wabishiki yori wa — Than misery
Nao masarinamu — In the world of reality.

We also find it in *shih* like these:

春別應令
日暮徙倚渭橋西　正見涼月與雲齊
若使月光無近遠　應照離人今夜啼

At sunset I linger west of the Wei Bridge;
The cool moon is just level with the clouds.
If moonlight makes no distinction between near and far,
Surely it must shine tonight on the tears of the one who has departed.

Emperor Yüan of the Liang,
"Spring Parting: Written on Command"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 3.12b)

春別
銜悲攬涕別心知　桃花李花任風吹
本知人心不似樹　何意人別似花離

I swallowed my grief and wiped away tears
As I parted from my dear friend.
The blossoms of the peach and plum
Allow the wind to blow them as it will.
I realize that the human heart
Is not like a tree—
Yet how strangely man's leavetaking
Resembles the scattering of the flowers!

Hsiao Tzu-hsien, "Spring Parting"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 10.4a)

The first poem, which draws a conclusion on the basis of the proposition that moonlight shines everywhere, reminds one of *waka* like the following.

KKS 880 (Miscellaneous, 1). Ki no Tsurayuki (ca. 868-ca. 945). "Composed when Mitsune called on me, explaining, 'The moon is delightful here.' "

Katsu miredo	Much as it pleases me
Utoku mo aru kana	To see the moon,[21]
Tsukikage no	We cannot be intimate,
Itaranu sato mo	For there is no house, I fear,
Araji to omoeba	Which its light fails to visit.

SIS 176 (Autumn). Mitsune. "On a folding screen during the Engi era."

Izuko ni ka	In what place
Koyoi no tsuki no	Might tonight's moon
Miezaramu	Be invisible?
Akanu wa hito no	How impossible it is to satisfy
Kokoro narikeri	The human heart![22]

The pattern underlying Hsiao Tzu-hsien's lines—"It is illogical that, although thus-and-so is not the case, such-and-such should nevertheless happen"—is conceptually identical with the hackneyed technique employed in *waka* like the following.

KKS 381 (Parting). Tsurayuki. "Composed when I parted with someone."

Wakare chō	The thing called parting
Koto wa iro ni mo	Is no dye;
Aranaku ni	Why then does it torture us
Kokoro ni shimite	By soaking deep
Wabishikaruramu	Into our hearts?

KKS 727 (Love, 4). Ono no Komachi (fl. ca. 850). "Topic unknown."

Ama no sumu	I am not a guide
Sato no shirube ni	To the villages
Aranaku ni	Where seafolk dwell.
Uramimu to nomi	Why then must people keep demanding

[21] "Moon" also functions as a metaphor for Mitsune, giving the poem two levels of meaning.

[22] The author criticizes those who are not satisfied with viewing the moon at their own houses.

Hito no iuramu To be shown the shore?[23]

GSS 286 (Autumn, 2). Ise (fl. ca. 877–940). "Reply [to a poem accusing her of unfaithfulness]."

Kokoro naki I am not the leaves of a plant,
Mi wa kusaba ni mo Devoid of feeling.
Aranaku ni Why then must I be mistrusted
Aki kuru kaze ni By the wind
Utagawaruramu That comes in autumn?[24]

GSS 314 (Autumn, 2). Anonymous. "Topic unknown."

Ōzora ni My sleeve is not the only thing
Waga sode hitotsu Under the sky.
Aranaku ni Why then must the melancholy dew
Kanashiku tsuyu ya Take care to fall
Wakite okuramu On nothing else?

SIS 855 (Love, 4). Anonymous. "Topic unknown."

Waga yado wa My dwelling is not
Harimagata ni mo The Sea of Harima.
Aranaku ni Why then must that person
Akashi mo hatede Take his leave
Hito no yukuramu Before it grows light?[25]

The same kind of "rational lyricism" may also appear in other forms:

寒閨
纖腰轉無力　寒衣恐不勝

The slender waist has grown frailer still;
Perhaps she will be unable to support her winter robes.

[23] Since *ura mimu*, "wishing to see the shore," is homophonous with *uramimu*, "feeling angry," the last two lines also mean, "Why do men insist on being angry with me?"

[24] "The leaves of plants change color in autumn, but my heart does not change." "Wind" is a metaphor for the lady's lover.

[25] The first three lines function as a *jo* 序 (introduction) for *akashi* (grow light), which is homophonous with Akashi, at the eastern end of the Sea of Harima.

Liu Huan, "Cold Boudoir"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 12.2b)

古意
明月雖外照　寧知心內傷

Although a bright moon shines outside,
How can he see the pain inside my heart?

Shen Yüeh 沈約, "Thinking of Old Times"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 4.12b)

遙見美人採荷
不辭紅袖濕　唯憐綠葉香

She does not stop when her red sleeves get wet;
She cares only for the scent of the green leaves.

Liu Hsiao-ch'o, "From Afar I Watch
a Beauty Gathering Lotus Leaves"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 10.22b)

The exaggeration in Liu Huan's couplet—"Because of an excess of A, even B may result"—is paralleled in a *waka* by Tsurayuki.

KKS 103a (Spring, 2).[26] Tsurayuki. "A poem for the Kanpyō *utaawase*."

Tsukikage mo	On a night
Hana mo hitotsu ni	When moonlight and blossoms merge,
Miyuru yo wa	One may perhaps seek
Ōzora o sae	Even to break off
Oramu to zo suru	A piece of the sky.

The lines by Shen Yüeh and Liu Hsiao-ch'o resemble the following Japanese poems.

GSS 323 (Autumn, 2). Anonymous. "For a poetry contest at the house of Prince Koresada."

[26] A poem inserted immediately after *KKS* 103 in several *KKS* variant texts. See Ozawa Masao 小澤正夫, ed., *Kokin wakashū*, in *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*, Vol. 7 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1971), pp. 424, 426.

Aki no yo no
Tsuki no hikari wa
Kiyokeredo
Hito no kokoro no
Kuma wa terasazu

Bright though it be
On an autumn night,
Moonlight cannot illumine
The hidden recesses
Of the human heart.

KKS 133 (Spring, 2). Ariwara no Narihira (825–80). "Sent to someone with a spray of wisteria blossoms, picked in spite of the falling rain on the last day of the Third Month."

Nuretsutsu zo
Shiite oritsuru
Toshi no uchi ni
Haru wa ikuka mo
Araji to omoeba

Though I got drenched,
I was determined to pluck them,
Fearful that of the year
Few spring days
May remain.

SIS 182 (Autumn). Mitsune. "Topic unknown."

Tsuyukekute
Waga koromode wa
Nurenu tomo
Orite o yukamu
Akihagi no hana

Laden with dew,
They may well drench my sleeves—
Yet I shall go on
Picking sprays
Of bush-clover blossoms.

Modification of the same pattern produces lines like the following, which contain an implicit request or demand.

看新婦
所悲高駕動　環珮出長廊

What saddens my heart is that the splendid carriage moves,
And girdle jewels leave the long corridor.

Ho Sun 何遜, "Looking at the New Wife"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 9.12b)

The poet is ending a description of a beautiful bride: her carriage moves up and she leaves the long corridor, vanishing from sight. In this final couplet he hints at his desire to watch her longer, but although he speaks of "the thing that saddens me," of course he is not really unhappy; he merely simulates emotion in order to emphasize the lady's charm. A similar attitude has shaped the *waka* below.

KKS 872 (Miscellaneous, 1). Yoshimine no Munesada [Archbishop Henjō] (816–90). "Composed on seeing the Gosechi dancers."

Amatsukaze	Blow, winds of heaven!
Kumo no kayoiji	Close the path
Fukitojiyo	That leads through the clouds
Otome no sugata	And detain for awhile
Shibashi todomemu	These fair maidens.

One characteristic shared by Six Dynasties poetry and the *Kokinshū* style is the use of figurative language, as in the couplet below. (For other Six Dynasties examples, see pp. 66–78).

和湘東王首夏
臥石藤爲纜　山橋樹作梁

A prostrate rock: creepers become ropes.
A mountain bridge: a tree serves as crossbeam.

Emperor Chien-wen of the Liang,
"Echoing the Prince of Hsiang-tung's
'Early Summer' " (*CHNPCS*, Liang 2.10a)

There are innumerable examples in the *Kokinshū*.

KKS 43 (Spring, 1). Ise. "On plum blossoms near water."

Haru goto ni	Each spring, it seems,
Nagaruru kawa o	I shall confuse reflections in the flowing stream
Hana to mite	With blossoms, and drench my sleeve
Orarenu mizu ni	Seeking in vain to break off
Sode ya nurenamu	A spray of water.

KKS 56 (Spring, 1). Sosei (fl. ca. 859–923). "Composed as he looked out toward the capital during the season when the cherry trees were in full bloom."

Miwataseba	Seen from afar,
Yanagi sakura o	A spring brocade—
Kokimazete	Willows and cherry trees
Miyako zo haru no	Interwoven
Nishiki narikeru	In the Imperial capital.

KKS 301 (Autumn, 2). Fujiwara no Okikaze (10th century). "A poem for the Kanpyō *utaawase*."

Shiranami ni	Autumn leaves
Aki no ko no ha no	Afloat on white waves—
Ukaberu o	Almost they seem
Ama no nagaseru	Boats deserted by fisherfolk,
Fune ka to zo miru	Drifting with the currents.

KKS 324 (Winter). Ki no Akimine. "Composed on the Shiga Pass road."

Shirayuki no	Now that a blanket
Tokoro mo wakazu	Of white snow
Furishikeba	Has fallen everywhere,
Iwao ni mo saku	Flowers are blooming, it seems,
Hana to koso mire	Even on rocks.

Sometimes a condition is attached to a figure of speech.

雜曲
舞衫廻袖勝春風　歌扇當窗似秋月

Her dancing-robe's swirling sleeves outdo the spring breeze;
Her song-fan against the window resembles the autumn moon.

Hsü Ling, "Miscellaneous Song"
(*CHNPCS*, Ch'en 2.2b)

It may seem overly meticulous that a poet, having made up his mind to compare a round fan to the moon, should proceed to attach a condition—when it is by the window—but the same device is not unusual in Japanese poetry.

GSS 2 (Spring, 1). Mitsune. "Composed on the first day of spring."

Haru tatsu to	That my eye should perceive flowers
Kikitsuru kara ni	Where snows lie unmelted
Kasugayama	On Kasuga Mountain—
Kieaenu yuki no	Is it because I have heard
Hana to miyuramu	Of the coming of spring?

SIS 167 (Autumn). Ise. "His Majesty commanded me to compose a

poem about the trees he had had planted in front of Teiji Palace."

Uetatete	Those blossoms
Kimi ga shimeyuu	On thick-planted trees—
Hana nareba	Is it because it is my lord
Tama to miete ya	Who ropes them off
Tsuyu mo okuramu	That dewdrops should seem beads?

The comparison of dew to beads was a commonplace of Chinese poetry, and conventionalization led to direct substitution, as in the lines below, without the poet's considering it necessary to add an explanatory "resembles" or "seems to be." The result was a full-fledged kenning.

山齋

圓珠墜晩菊　細火落空槐

Round beads drop from the late chrysanthemums;
Slender flames scatter from the bare pagoda tree.[27]

Yü Hsin, "Mountain Study"
(*CHNPCS*, Pei-Chou 2.14b)

In the *waka* below, the poet's choice of diction has probably been motivated in part by a desire to avoid repetition of the word "hair," but his "snow" is directly analogous to Yü Hsin's "round beads."

SIS 1158 (Miscellaneous, Autumn). Tsurayuki. "Late in the Twelfth Month, regretting the end of the year."

Mubatama no	To my hair,
Waga kurokami ni	Black as leopard-flower berries,
Toshi kurete	Year-end has come—
Kagami no kage ni	Fallen snow
Fureru shirayuki	On the image in the mirror.

Sometimes a comparison may be embellished by a slight additional flourish. In the following lines, for example, the poet professes to be in a state of mental confusion.

[27] I.e., from friction sticks made of the tree's wood (used as fire starters in winter).

詠梔子花
疑爲霜裏葉　復類雪封枝

One wonders if they might be leaves coated with frost.
Again, they resemble branches enveloped in snow.

Emperor Chien-wen of the Liang,
"On Gardenia Blossoms"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 2.18a)

The verb *i* 疑 (wonder) in such *shih* can probably be equated with the phrase *ka to zo miru* in Japanese poetry.

As in Ho Sun's lines below, where "night flower" and "new moon" both function also as metaphors for a beautiful woman, a relatively complex effect is produced by direct substitution between natural and human images, rather than between two natural images.

詠倡家
羅帷雀釵影　寶瑟鳳雛聲　夜花枝上發　新月霧中生

On sheer silk curtains, the silhouette of a peacock-hairpin;
From a precious zither, the strains of "Phoenix Chick."
A night flower blooms on the branch;
A new moon emerges from the mist.

Ho Sun, "A Singing-Girl House"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 9.12b)

In the following lines, the "flower-wind" is the lady herself (the "bewitching figure"), hidden behind beaded blinds.

傷美人
珠簾向暮下　妖姿不可追　花風暗裡覺　蘭燭帳中飛

The beaded blinds are lowered at dusk,
And the bewitching figure is beyond reach.
A flower-wind is felt in the darkness outside;
A fragrant candle flickers inside the curtains.

Emperor Chien-wen of the Liang,
"Lamenting over the Fair One"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 2.7b)

A similar couplet:

鏡
月生無有桂　花開不逐春

A moon appears in which there is no cinnamon tree;
A flower opens, but it will not follow spring.

Yü Hsin, "The Mirror" (*CHNPCS*, Pei-Chou 2.24a)

A moon is reflected in the mirror, but it lacks a cinnamon tree; likewise, a flower has bloomed, but it will not fade with the passing of spring. Needless to say, both are metaphors for a beautiful woman.

"Flower" as a metaphor in this sense poses no problem of intelligibility, since we have been prepared for it by lines such as the following, from a poem by Prince Chao-ming.

林下作妓詩
泉將影相得　花與面相宜

The spring-water and their reflections enhance one another;
The flowers and their faces are well matched.

"A Poem on Singing-Girls, Composed Under the Trees" (*CHNPCS*, Liang 1.16b)

In the *Kokinshū*, as was noted earlier (page 64), the metaphorical interplay between the world of nature and human life emerges as a major stylistic feature. For example:

KKS 62 (Spring, 1). Anonymous. "Composed during the height of the cherry blossoms, when someone called who had not visited her for a long time."

Ada nari to	They are called evanescent,
Na ni koso tatere	These cherry blossoms—
Sakurabana	Yet they have waited
Toshi ni mare naru	For someone whose visits
Hito mo machikeri	Are months apart.

A man who doubts a lady's chastity has kept away from her house for a long time. When he finally calls during the height of the cherry blossom season, she defends herself in verse, saying, in effect, "I am said to be fickle, but you can see how constant I am." Here the cherry blossoms become a metaphor for the poet herself.

The following poems, all from the "Love" sections of the *Kokinshū* and *Gosenshū*, are among many others that might be cited.

KKS 588 (Love, 2). Tsurayuki. "Sent to someone in Yamato."

Koenu ma wa	Until I go there,
Yoshino no yama no	I must continue
Sakurabana	Merely to hear from others
Hitozute ni nomi	Of the cherry blossoms
Kikiwataru kana	On Yoshino's hills.

KKS 710 (Love, 4). Anonymous. "Topic unknown."

Ta ga sato ni	Your song tells me
Yogare o shite ka	That you sleep only here,
Hototogisu	*Hototogisu.*
Tada koko ni shimo	From whose house
Netaru koe suru	Do you absent yourself at night?

KKS 722 (Love, 4). Sosei. "Topic unknown."

Sokoi naki	Do waters clamor
Fuchi ya wa sawagu	In a bottomless pool?
Yamagawa no	The mountain stream's
Asaki se ni koso	Shallow current—
Adanami wa tate	That is where noisy waves rise!

GSS 541 (Love, 1). Anonymous. "Sent to a lady."

Karehatsuru	I will not reproach
Hana no kokoro wa	The flowers
Tsurakarade	For having withered.
Toki suginikeru	I alone must bear the blame;
Mi o zo uramuru	I, who suffered time to pass.

GSS 699 (Love, 2). Anonymous. "Although he had thus sent [a poem accusing her of heartlessness—*GSS* 698], she had no leisure in which to reply, since she was in the service of an Imperial personage; but the next morning she sent this, attached to a carnation."

Oku tsuyu no	Though you think it
Kakaru mono to wa	Evanescent as dew,

Omoedomo	Nothing is slower to wither
Karesenu mono wa	Than the blossom
Nadeshiko no hana	Of the wild carnation.

GSS 778 (Love, 3). Anonymous. "After someone with whom she had been intimate had stopped visiting her, she happened to hear his voice, but then heard no more. She sent him this."

Kari ga ne no	Now for the last time
Kumoi haruka ni	I have heard the cry
Kikoeshi wa	Of the wild goose
Ima wa kagiri no	Far away
Koe ni zo arikeru	In the realm of the clouds.

GSS 835 (Love, 4). Anonymous. "Sent by a lady when a man with whom she had sometimes chatted had stayed away for a long time."

Takasago no	Because I knew nothing
Matsu o midori to	Of its yellowed
Mishi koto wa	Lower needles,
Shita no momiji o	I took it to be green—
Shiranu narikeri	The Pine of Takasago.

The same kind of interplay between nature and human life appears in Wu Chün 吳均 (469–520), "A Poem for Tu Jung-ch'eng":

贈杜容成

一燕海上來	一燕高堂息	一朝相逢遇	依然舊相識
問余來何遲	山川幾紆直	答言海路長	風駛飛無力
昔別縫羅衣	春風初入帷	今來夏欲晚	桑扈薄樹飛

One swallow came over the sea;
One swallow rested by a lofty hall.
One morning they met by chance
And recognized each other as old intimates.
You asked me, "Why were you so slow in coming?
How crooked were the mountains and streams?"
I answered, "The route by sea was long.
The wind blew; I lacked the strength to fly.
When we parted before, women were sewing garments of thin silk,

And the first spring breezes filled the curtains.
Now when I come again, summer is moving toward its end;
Hawfinches fly among the trees."

(*CHNPCS*, Liang 8.7b)

It might be mentioned that Wu Chün's treatment of the passing of time ("When we parted . . .") suggests a similar poem in the *Kokinshū*.

KKS 2 (Spring, 1). Tsurayuki. "Composed on the first day of spring."

Sode hijite	On this first day of spring
Musubishi mizu no	Breezes must be melting the ice
Kōreru o	That has bound the waters
Haru tatsu kyō no	I once scooped up,
Kaze ya tokuramu	Drenching my sleeve.

Since the Chinese are less preoccupied with the passing of time than the Japanese, the attitude expressed in Wu Chün's poem is relatively uncommon. There are numerous poems like the two quoted below, but their principal aim is interesting treatment.

旦發青林
草雜今古色　巖留冬夏霜

Grasses mix the colors of present and past;
Precipices retain the frosts of winter and summer.

K'ung Chih-kuei 孔稚珪,
"Setting Out from Ch'ing-lin at Dawn."
(*CHNPCS*, Ch'i 4.4b)

別詩
昔去雪如花　今來花如雪

Then, when I left, the snow was like flowers;
Now, when I return, the flowers are like snow.

Fan Yün, "A Song of Parting"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 6.5a)

In the poem quoted below, Hsüeh Tao-heng 薛道衡 (540–609)

takes the passing of time as his subject, which is not the same as placing a subject in a temporal perspective.

歲窮應教
故年隨夜盡　初春逐曉生

The old year ends with the night;
The new spring is born at break of day.

Hsüeh Tao-heng, "Year's End:
Written at the Prince's Bidding"
(*CHNPCS*, Sui 2.14b)

Similarly, Pao Chao's poem below is primarily concerned with whether or not a relationship can be resumed, rather than with tracing the flight of time.

贈故人
春冰雖暫解　冬水復還堅　佳人捨我去　賞愛長絶緣

Although ice melts for a time in spring,
The water freezes again in winter.
But my dear one has left me for good;
The precious tie is forever severed.

Pao Chao, "Sent to an Old Friend . . ."
(*CHNPCS*, Sung 4.14b)

It appears, therefore, that the tendency to treat a subject by focusing on its temporal aspect may be an independent Japanese development. But it should be noted that Chinese poems like the ones quoted above, although not inspired by a sense of the significance of time, may nevertheless have seemed to Japanese readers to possess a temporal quality, and may consequently have encouraged Japanese poets to develop the temporal approach more fully. In that sense, we are perhaps justified in perceiving a similarity to Six Dynasties poetry even in the many *Kokinshū* conceptions that resemble Tsurayuki's "On this first day of spring."

Another significant *Kokinshū* characteristic is the tendency to indulge in word play. The trait appears in diverse forms, one of which might be called the numerical conceit.

KKS 257 (Autumn, 2). Fujiwara no Toshiyuki (d. ca. 901). "Composed for a poetry contest at the house of Prince Koresada."

Shiratsuyu no	How may it be
Iro wa hitotsu o	That white dew,
Ika ni shite	Single-colored,
Aki no ko no ha o	Dyes the leaves on autumn trees
Chiji ni somuramu	A thousand hues?

Such a poem seeks to appeal to the reader by exploiting his interest in figures. A Chinese counterpart:

望織女
寸情百重結　一心萬處懸

The inch-square heart is knotted a hundredfold;
The devoted heart is suspended from ten thousand places.[28]

Fan Yün, "Gazing at the Weaver Maid"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 6.3b)

A taste for figures also appears in Pao Chao's "number poems" (poems incorporating numbers).

The poem below is based on a graph play, i.e., on the combination of *yama* 山 (mountain) and *kaze* 風 (wind) to yield *arashi* 嵐 (tempest).

KKS 249 (Autumn, 2). Fun'ya no Yasuhide (fl. ca. 860–80). "A poem from the poetry contest at Prince Koresada's house."

Fuku kara ni	Because the plants and trees in autumn
Aki no kusaki no	Wilt before its blast—
Shiorureba	That must explain, to be sure,
Mube yamakaze o	Why a wind from the mountains
Arashi to iuramu	Is called a "tempest."

The same kind of play with dismembered graphs occurs in a type of Chinese verse known as the "separating and joining poem" (*li-ho shih* 離合詩). As far as I have been able to determine, "Separating and Joining to Make Commandery and Name,"[29] by K'ung Jung

[28] Both lines are intended to convey mental anguish.

[29] 離合作郡姓名字詩. A puzzle poem concealing the author's name and address: "K'ung Jung, [*tzu*] Wen-chü 文舉, of the principality of Lu." *CHNPCS*, Han 2.14a.

孔融 (153–208), is the oldest extant example, but the heyday of the form was probably the late Six Dynasties period. Since K'ung Jung's poem is complicated by the occurrence of an old simplified graph (*zokuji* 俗字), the following pair of poems by Hsieh Hui-lien 謝惠連 (397–433) is presented to illustrate the technique.

離合詩二首

放棹遵遙塗　方與情人別　嘯歌亦何言　肅爾凌霜節
夫人皆薄離　二友獨懷古　思篤子衿詩　山川何足苦

Two Separating and Joining Poems

Like a boat adrift, they will follow distant ways;
It is time to part with dear ones.
Singing a song: what words are there?
Shrinking, they endure the season of frosts.

Both wives face separation;
The two friends think only of old times.
When love has the fervor of the "Your Collar" poem,[30]
How can mountains and rivers cause difficulties?

(*CHNPCS*, Sung 3.23a)

When 方 is taken away from 放 and 肅 from 嘯, and when the two remaining parts are combined, the result is 各. When 二 is taken from 夫, and a portion corresponding to 山 from 思, and when the remaining parts are combined, the result is 念. Thus *ko-nien* 各念 (thoughts of various people, individual thoughts) is concealed in Hui-lien's two poems, just as (a second) *arashi* is concealed in *KKS* 249.

The poem below conceals the word *kakitsubata* (iris) in the initial syllables of its lines.[31]

KKS 410 (Travel). Narihira. "Once Narihira was traveling toward the eastern provinces with one or two friends. When the party reached a place in Mikawa Province called Eight Bridges, they

[30] The poem describes a girl's longing for her lover, who wears a blue collar. "Blue, blue, your collar; aching, aching, my heart . . ." *Shih ching* 91.

[31] *Ha*, *ba*, and *wa* (*KKS* 440 below), written with the same *kana* symbol, were originally identical in sound.

dismounted to sit under the trees, attracted by the sight of some clumps of iris blooming beside the river. Narihira composed this poem, his object being to express sentiments suitable for a traveler, while beginning each line with the appropriate syllable from the word *kakitsubata.*"

Karakoromo	I have a beloved wife,
Kitsutsu narenishi	Familiar as the skirt
Tsuma shi areba	Of a well-worn robe,
Harubaru kinuru	And thus this distant journeying
Tabi o shi zo omou	Fills my heart with grief.

In China there is a somewhat comparable type of poem, the *chien-ch'u shih* 建除詩, in which each line, or, alternatively, the first line of each couplet, begins with the graph used for the name of one of the deities associated with the cyclical signs known as the "twelve branches" (*jūnishi*). The quotation below is from one of many examples.

建除詩

建旗出燉煌　西討屬國羌　除去徒與騎　戰車羅萬箱

Raising their banners, they left Tun-huang;
Turning westward, they chastised their vassals the Ch'iang.
They drove back footsoldiers and cavalry;
Ten thousand chariots were deployed.[32]

Pao Chao, "A *Chien-Ch'u* Poem"
(*CHNPCS*, Sung 4.22a)

Another conspicuous feature of the *Kokinshū* is the inclusion of a category of poems called "Names of Things." Since the compilers devoted the whole of Book Ten to such poems, they apparently found them intriguing. The example below conceals the phrase *kichikō no hana* (blossoms of the bellflower [*Platycodon grandiflorum*]).

KKS 440 (Names of Things). Ki no Tomonori (d. ca. 907?). "Blossoms of the bellflower."

[32] The names of the first two of the twelve deities, Chien and Ch'u, appear at the beginning of lines 1 and 3. Those of the other ten follow in order in the remainder of the poem (not quoted).

Aki chikō	Autumn approaches the fields,
No wa narinikeri	And now the leaves
Shiratsuyu no	Begin to color—
Okeru kusaba mo	Yes, even those
Iro kawariyuku	Where white dew clings.

In the late Six Dynasties period, there was a vogue for poems of the same type—known as "miscellaneous names poems" (*tsa-ming shih* 雜名詩)—in which names of medicines, plants, animals, persons, places, etc. were inserted. They seem to have reached the peak of their popularity around the reign of Emperor Yüan of the Liang (r. 552–55). The following example is one of sixteen in the *Collection of Emperor Yüan of the Liang.*

獸名詩

豹韜求秘術　虎略選良臣　水涉黃牛浦　山過白馬津
摧鋒上狐塞　畫像入麒麟　果下新花落　桃枝芳樹春
王孫及公子　熊席復橫陳

Animal-Name Poem

"Leopard Scabbard" seeks out secret arts;
"Tiger Strategy" selects good ministers.
By water, they cross to Yellow Ox beach;
By mountain, they pass through White Horse ford.
To crush the foe, they climb to the Fox border;
Their portraits are hung in Unicorn Hall.
Under the fruit trees, new blossoms fall;
With peach blossom branches, fragrant trees bring spring,
And young nobles and young gentlemen
Stretch out on bearskin mats.

(*CHNPCS*, Liang 3.6b)[33]

[33] "Leopard Scabbard" is the name of one of the six chapters in the military treatise *Liu t'ao* ("Six Scabbards"), traditionally attributed to Lü Wang 呂望 of the Chou period. "Tiger Strategy" presumably refers to the use of "tiger ministers" (*hu ch'en* 虎臣), i.e., men capable of serving as a lord's "teeth and claws." "Fox border" means the border of the barbarian state called Hu 狐 (written with the graph for "fox"), situated in what is now Sinkiang Province. "Unicorn Hall" was the name of a Han palace building in which pictures of meritorious subjects were displayed. *Kuo-hsia* 果下, "under the fruit trees," can also mean "pony."

Unlike *kana*, which are phonetic symbols, Chinese graphs are not amenable to semantic shifts. A 豹 is always a leopard; and it is impossible for a Chinese poet to insert another meaning based on homophony, as in the example of the Japanese *aki chikō* and *kichikō*. But in both cases there is the same desire to incorporate the name of a specific thing in one's poem, and in both the technique represents a conspicuously oblique treatment of the main subject.

The oblique approach is not limited to individual poems of the type quoted in the preceding pages. It also appears as what might be called "replicative obliquity." In his *Shih ko*, Wang Ch'ang-ling quotes the two poems below, labeling the second "oblique."[34]

方塘涵清源　細柳夾道生

Square banks hold a fresh spring;
Slender willows frame the road.

方塘涵白水　中有鳧與雁

Square banks hold clear water;
In it there are wild ducks and geese.

In other words, Wang considers appropriation of an earlier poet's language to be a type of obliquity. If a critic believes that poetry ought to express deeply felt emotion, he will naturally regard dependence on someone else's phrases as a non-serious approach to composition. But it must be noted that Wang's appraisal represents a point of view that prevailed during the height of the T'ang period and later, when great emphasis was attached to the expression of personal thoughts and emotions. Six Dynasties poets were not particularly interested in that aspect of their art—or rather it would be more precise to say that they seem to have delighted in employing ready-made expressions. For example, an old ballad, "Meeting in the Narrow Way," contains the following lines.

相逢狹路間
大婦織羅綺　中婦織流黃　小婦無所作　挾瑟上高堂

The eldest wife is weaving gauze damask;
The middle wife is weaving pale yellow silk.

[34] *Bunkyō hifuron kō*, III, 167.

The youngest wife has nothing to do;
Clasping a zither, she ascends to the high hall.

(*CHNPCS*, Han 4.4b)

Six Dynasties imitations sprang up like mushrooms. The quotations below represent only poems that appear in the *Yü-t'ai hsin-yung*. If other collections were to be examined, the total would probably be even larger.

擬相逢狹路間
大婦織紈綺　中婦縫羅衣　小婦無所作　挾瑟弄音徽

The eldest wife is weaving elegant cloth;
The middle wife is sewing a gauze robe.
The youngest wife has nothing to do;
Clasping a zither, she makes beautiful sounds.

Hsün Ch'ang 荀昶, "Imitating 'Meeting in the Narrow Way'" (*CHNPCS*, Sung 5.8b)

擬三婦豔
大婦掃玉墀　中婦結羅帷　小婦獨無事　對鏡畫娥眉

The eldest wife is dusting a jade box;
The middle wife is tying gauze curtains.
Only the youngest wife has nothing to do;
Facing the mirror, she draws moth eyebrows.

Shen Yüeh, "Imitating 'The Three Wives are Beautiful'" (*CHNPCS*, Liang 4.2b)

相逢行
大婦刺方領　中婦抱嬰兒　小婦尚嬌稚　端坐吹參差

The eldest wife is embroidering a square collar;
The middle wife is holding the baby.
The youngest wife, still youthful and appealing,
Sits primly playing the flute.

Chang Shuai 張率, "Meeting" (*CHNPCS*, Liang 7.2a)

三婦豔
大婦弦初切　中婦管方吹　小婦多姿態　含笑逼清巵

The eldest wife begins to touch the strings;
The middle wife starts blowing her flute.
The youngest wife is very graceful;
Smiling, she approaches the clear wine-bowl.

Wu Chün, "The Three Wives are Beautiful" (*CHNPCS*, Liang 8.3b)

擬長安有挾邪行
大婦理金翠　中婦事么鬟　小婦獨閑暇　調笙遊曲池

The eldest wife is arranging necklaces of gold and jade;
The middle wife is using a tiny bodkin.
Only the youngest wife is at leisure;
Playing the pipes, she relaxes by the curved pond.

Emperor Wu of the Liang, "Imitating 'Ch'ang-an Has Narrow Twisting Lanes'" (*CHNPCS*, Liang 1.1b)

三婦豔
大婦留芳褥　中婦對華燭　小婦獨無事　當軒理清曲

The eldest wife lingers in the fragrant quilts;
The middle wife faces the painted candles.
Only the youngest wife has nothing to do;
Beside the balustrade, she practices high-pitched songs.

Wang Chün 王筠, "The Three Wives are Beautiful" (*CHNPCS*, Liang 10.8b)

三婦豔
大婦縫羅裙　中婦料繡文　惟餘最小婦　窈窕舞昭君

The eldest wife is sewing a gauze skirt;
The middle wife is embroidering.
Only the youngest wife is left,
Gracefully performing the Chao-chün dance.

Liu Hsiao-ch'o, "The Three Wives are Beautiful" (*CHNPCS*, Liang 10.14b)

In *Shih i*, Chiao-jan attaches the label *su* 俗 (low style, vulgarity) to poems of this type. "The term *su*," he says, "as it has been used both in the past and in our own day, means the incorporation into a poem of lines like 'The youngest wife has nothing to do; clasping a zither, she makes beautiful sounds.' "[35] His comment, like Wang Ch'ang-ling's remarks on obliquity, criticizes Six Dynasties poets for their disregard of genuine feeling, an attitude discernible not only in their choice of diction, but in their metaphors and similes as well. As soon as someone compares willow branches to threads, the figure becomes a convention.

春思
楊柳亂如絲　綺羅不自持

The willow twigs are tangled like silken threads,
And I in my fine robes have lost all composure.

Shen Yüeh, "Spring Thoughts" (*CHNPCS*, Liang 4.17a)

戲作謝惠連體
桃花紅若點　柳葉亂如絲

The peach blossoms are red; they resemble dots.
The willow leaves tangle; they are like silken threads.

Emperor Chien-wen of the Liang, "Done in the Style of Hsieh Hui-lien" (*CHNPCS*, Liang 2.8b)

折楊柳
楊柳亂成絲　攀折上春時

The willows tangle; they make silken threads.
People pull and break them at the beginning of spring.

Emperor Chien-wen of the Liang,

[35] Quoted in *Bunkyō hifuron kō*, III, 174. For a discussion of Chiao-jan's conception of *su*, see ibid., II, 446–48.

"Breaking the Willow"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 1.22b)

送別
東風柳線長　送郎上河梁

In the east wind the willow threads are long;
Seeing my man off, I mount the river bridge.

Fan Yün, "The Farewell"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 6.3b)

折楊柳
高樓十載別　楊柳擢絲枝

In this stately house, for ten years I have been parted from you.
At the willow tree, I select a silken twig.

Liu Miao 劉邈, "Breaking the Willow"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 11.12a)

詠春近餘雪應詔
絲條變柳色　香氣動蘭心

Threadlike catkins change the willows' appearance;
Fragrant scent animates the orchid's heart.

Yü Hsin, "On Lingering Snow as Spring Approaches: Composed in Response to an Imperial Command"
(*CHNPCS*, Pei-Chou 2.22a)

The willow-thread comparison is almost a matter of course in the *Kokinshū* and related anthologies.

KKS 26 (Spring, 1). Tsurayuki. "Composed when he was commanded to present a poem."

Aoyagi no	Now in spring,
Ito yorikakuru	Season of tender green willows'
Haru shimo zo	Twisted threads,
Midarete hana no	The tangled blossoms
Hokorobinikeru	Have burst their coats.

KKS 27 (Spring, 1). Archbishop Henjō. "On the willows near Saidaiji Temple."

Asamidori	New-green
Ito yorikakete	Twisted threads
Shiratsuyu o	Piercing beads
Tama ni mo nukeru	Of transparent dew—
Haru no yanagi ka	Willows in spring.

GSS 58 (Spring, 2). Ise. "Spring sentiments."

Aoyagi no	From what mountain
Ito yorihaete	May a warbler come to don
Oru hata o	This raiment woven
Izure no yama no	Of tender green willows'
Uguisu ka kiru	Plaited threads?

GSS 67 (Spring, 2). Fujiwara no Morotada (d. 969). "Sent to a lady."

Aoyagi no	If you must persist
Ito tsurenaku mo	In twisting my heart
Nariyuku ka	As though it were threads
Ika naru suji ni	Of tender green willows,
Omoiyoramashi	What then am I to do?

SIS 32 (Spring). Anonymous. "Topic unknown."

To mo sureba	Not yarn
Kaze no yoru ni zo	But unkempt strands
Aoyagi no	Will likely result
Ito wa nakanaka	When breezes twist threads
Midaresomekeru	Of tender green willows.[36]

SIS 33 (Spring). Ōnakatomi no Yoshinobu (921–91). "On a folding screen."

Chikakute zo	It is when one is near
Iro mo masareru	That the color is best.

[36] The poem plays on the implicit contrast between the willow branches and the neat yarn produced when a woman twists silk threads together.

Aoyagi no	You must move close
Ito wa yorite zo	When viewing threads
Mirubekarikeru	Of tender green willows.

SIS 35 (Spring). Anonymous. "Topic unknown."

Hanami ni wa	Blossom-viewing,
Murete yukedomo	They go in throngs—
Aoyagi no	Yet not one
Ito no moto ni wa	Comes to stand beneath threads
Kuru hito mo nashi	Of tender green willows.

My point here is not that there are Six Dynasties precedents for the phrase *aoyagi no ito*, "threads of tender green willows," but rather that the two groups of poets shared a strong predilection for stereotyped conceptions. The following poems by Tsurayuki show the same tendency operating within the works of a single individual.

KKS 42 (Spring, 1). Tsurayuki. "After a good deal of time had passed, I again stopped at a house where I had once been accustomed to spend the night whenever I made a pilgrimage to Hatsuse. The master of the house said to me, 'As you see, there is a perfectly good place to spend the night here.' I broke off a spray of blossoms from a nearby plum tree and recited this poem."

Hito wa isa	I know nothing
Kokoro mo shirazu	Of the human heart,
Furusato wa	But at this familiar dwelling
Hana zo mukashi no	The scent of the plum
Ka ni nioikeru	Is the fragrance of old.[37]

Tsurayukishū, *ZKT* 17542. "A party of men on horseback, approaching what appears to be someone's old home, breaks off sprays of cherry blossoms."

Furusato ni	Though you bloom,
Sakeru mono kara	Cherry blossoms,
Sakurabana	At an old dwelling,

[37] "I don't know whether or not the master's heart has changed, but at least his garden smells the same."

Iro wa sukoshi mo	No hint of decay
Arezu zo arikeru	Mars your beauty.

Tsurayukishū, *ZKT* 17640. "On seeing blossoms at my old home."

Ada naredo	Evanescent though they be,
Sakura nomi koso	Cherry blossoms alone
Furusato no	Remain the same
Mukashi nagara no	As in days gone by
Mono ni wa arikere	At the old dwelling.

Kokin waka rokujō, *ZKT* 32161. "Old home."

Mishi goto mo	Things are not
Arazu mo aru kana	As once I saw them:
Furusato wa	At the old dwelling,
Hana no iro nomi	Only the color of the blossoms
Asezu zo arikeru	Is still unfaded.

Instead of applying a modern value judgment to this phenomenon and dismissing it as conventionalization, we should concern ourselves with its significance, recognizing that poets of the *Kokinshū* age followed preexisting literary models in preference to saturating their poems with the "truth" of immediate experience, and that poems like Tsurayuki's are manifestations of the fondness for obliquity that he and his contemporaries shared with Six Dynasties poets.

Although various specific characteristics of Six Dynasties poetry appear in *Kokinshū* poems, they can all be subsumed under the single heading of obliquity. All are alike in that the subject is approached in a roundabout way instead of by means of a direct response to personal experience. The detour may take any one of a number of forms—clever comparison, reliance on a preexisting mode of expression, wordplay—but there is a uniform avoidance of direct engagement with experience. That is the quality which, in my view, the *Kokinshū* style owes to Six Dynasties poetry (particularly that of the Fourth Period). It should be noted, however, that in citing comparative examples I have not intended to suggest any given Chinese poem as the *source* of a specific Japanese poem. In the past, considerable scholarly effort has gone into attempts to demonstrate examples of direct borrowing, but my concern has been to trace a general

resemblance in conceptual attitudes. In cases like the following, it is enough to know that conceptual similarity exists; the question of whether or not there is direct imitation is relatively unimportant.

詠春風
可聞不可見　能重復能輕

Though it can be heard, it cannot be seen.
Sometimes it blows hard; again it is gentle.

Ho Sun, "Spring Wind"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 9.14a)

SIS 450 (Miscellaneous, 1). Mitsune. "Topic unknown."

Ōzora o	I spend my days
Nagame zo kurasu	Gazing at the sky—
Fuku kaze no	For the wind,
Oto wa suredomo	Though it makes a sound,
Me ni shi mieneba	Is quite impossible to see.

烏棲曲
繡帳羅帷隱燈燭　一夜千年猶不足
惟憎無賴汝南雞　天河未落猶爭啼

Embroidered curtains and gauze drapes shut out the lamplight;
If the night lasted a thousand years, it would still be too short.
How one hates the pesky Ju-nan roosters
Trying to outcrow one another before the Milky Way goes down!

Hsü Ling, "Crow Perch Ballad"
(*CHNPCS*, Ch'en 2.2b)

KKS 634 (Love, 3). Anonymous. "Topic unknown."

Koikoite	Long have I yearned,
Mare ni koyoi zo	And tonight at last
Ōsaka no	We meet again.
Yūtsukedori wa	May the Ōsaka fowl
Nakazu mo aranamu	Refrain from crowing!

In order to identify a specific Chinese source for a *waka*, we need a certain amount of objective verification, but conclusive evi-

dence is seldom available. Dispassionately viewed, many so-called instances of direct influence seem to represent the disposition of over-zealous scholars to find borrowings wherever they look. Such shaky parallels, no matter how great their numbers, are unlikely to establish the existence of a pervasive relationship between the *Kokinshū* style and Six Dynasties poetry. Of course, I shall be delighted if it becomes possible some day to buttress my case by proving that specific *Kokinshū* poems are based directly on specific Six Dynasties poems, but such proof is not essential. My purpose is simply to show that the obliquity characteristic of the *Kokinshū* age is also characteristic of the late Six Dynasties period. Taken separately, some of the correspondences suggested in this section may seem arbitrary or farfetched, but the reader who considers all the evidence will perhaps agree that *Kokinshū* and late Six Dynasties poets shared a preference for obliquity, and that it was that conceptual attitude which led in turn to stylistic similarities.

I HOPE TO have shown in the foregoing pages that the general characteristics of the *Kokinshū* style are also those of late Six Dynasties poetry, but it is impossible to claim a direct relationship without a clear demonstration of the manner in which influence was transmitted. It therefore becomes necessary to investigate the extent to which the Six Dynasties style was assimilated in Japan while the *Kokinshū* mode of expression was developing. As was stated at the outset, the shift from the style of the *Man'yōshū* to that of the *Kokinshū* took place during the fifty-year period spanned by the reigns of Emperors Saga, Junna, Ninmyō, and Montoku—an age during which the *waka* was in eclipse and the composition of Chinese *shih* enjoyed an unprecedented vogue. The successive compilation of three Imperial anthologies of Chinese verse by Japanese authors[38] attests to the *shih*'s popularity. But the point of particular interest here is the resemblance between Heian *shih* and Six Dynasties poetry (especially poetry of the Fourth Period).

All the Six Dynasties characteristics examined in the preceding sections are clearly identifiable in Japanese *shih* composed during the

[38] *Ryōunshū* (814), *Bunka shūreishū* (818), *Keikokushū* (827) (see note 2).

reigns from Saga to Montoku. For example, the conception embodied in the lines below, by the Japanese poet Wake no Hiroyo (fl. ca. 785-early 9th century), is very close to that of the couplet by Emperor Yüan of the Liang which was quoted earlier (p. 79).

奉和落梅花
藥疎實漸見　葉細蔭猶微

The flowers have become sparse; the fruit is visible.
The leaves are slender; their shadows are slight.

Wake no Hiroyo, "Respectfully Echoing 'Falling Plum Blossoms' " (*KeiKS*, p. 293)

望春詩
葉濃知柳密　花盡覺梅疎

The leaves have darkened; I perceive that the willows are dense.
The flowers have scattered; I realize that the plum trees are sparse.

Emperor Yüan of the Liang, "Viewing Spring"

The lines below are similar in concept. A clever pose is obviously the common characteristic: because one situation exists, another results.

移病還園示親屬
葉低知露密　崖斷識雲重

The leaves droop; I perceive that the dew is thick.
The cliffs are sheer; I can tell that the clouds are piled deep.

Hsieh T'iao, "Communicating with Relatives after Returning Home on Grounds of Illness" (*CHNPCS*, Ch'i 3.11a)

One is reminded of the following *waka*.

KKS 256 (Autumn, 2). Tsurayuki. "On seeing autumn leaves at Otowayama while I was making a pilgrimage to Ishiyama."

Akikaze no	Unceasing has been the autumn wind's sound
Fukinishi hi yori	Since the day when first it blew,
Otowayama	And thus at Otowayama
Mine no kozue mo	Color stains treetops
Irozukinikeri	Even on the peaks.

In the preceding poems, there is still an element of observation, but in the example below, the author, Fujiwara no Sekio (805–53), deliberately plays games with fictional statements in order to allude to the "rafter dust" mentioned earlier (p. 88).

奉和詠塵
牀中隨電影　梁上洗歌聲

On the bed, it follows the lightning's glare;
On the rafters, it laves the singing voice.[39]

"Respectfully Echoing 'Dust' "
(*KeiKS*, p. 335)

Sekio, who lived during the height of the enthusiasm for Chinese verse, was also a *waka* poet.

KKS 291 (Autumn, 2). Sekio. "Topic unknown."

Shimo no tate	Frail indeed, it seems,
Tsuyu no nuki koso	Are warp of frost and woof of dew,
Yowakarashi	For mountain brocades
Yama no nishiki no	Are woven
Oreba katsu chiru	Only to scatter.

Sekio's conceit—calling autumn leaves "mountain brocade," and suggesting that the frost and dew, instead of dyeing the leaves (as they were ordinarily thought to do), have formed the fabric's warp and woof—is precisely what might have been expected from the author of "On the rafters, it laves the singing voice."

One of Sekio's contemporaries, Ono no Takamura (802–52), composed the following *waka*.

[39] When lightning illuminates the room, the dust on the bed shows up; when the singer sets the dust on the rafters to dancing, the moving particles, like the waters of a stream, bathe the voice (which the poet treats as a tangible object).

KKS 335 (Winter). Takamura. "Plum blossoms under fallen snow."

Hana no iro wa	Though your blossoms disappear—
Yuki ni majirite	Their color
Miezu tomo	Blent with snow—
Ka o dani nioe	Send forth, at least, your fragrance,
Hito no shirubeku	That others may know you are here.

Takamura's conception, which resembles a line by Emperor Yang of the Sui—"The spring wind bears the night plum blossoms"[40]—seems appropriate for a man who also the author of the following Chinese couplet.

秋夜詣祖廟
牀嫌短脚蚩聲鬧　壁厭空心鼠孔穿

Beds should not have short legs: cricket voices are strident.
Walls should not be hollow: rat holes break through.

Ono no Takamura, "Visiting the Ancestral Tomb on an Autumn Night" (*NS*, p. 86)

A poet is straining desperately for originality when he says, "I dislike sleeping in a short-legged bed because the crickets chirping near my ears are so noisy."

In the lines below, there is nothing remarkable about endowing flowers with the human capacity to smile.

渉信濃坂
巖冷花難笑　谿深景易曛

The crags are cold; it is hard for the flowers to smile.
The ravine is deep; it is easy for the sunlight to be darkened.

Sakanoue Imatsugu, "Crossing Shinano Hill" (*RUS*, p. 132)

But to explain that flowers find it hard to smile (i.e., bloom) because the cliff is unfriendly—i.e., because it stubbornly refuses to

[40] 春風含夜梅. From "Setting Up Lights and Ascending the South Tower by Night" 建燈夜升南樓 (*CHNPCS*, Sui 1.5b).

let them approach—is to follow the formula employed by Fan Yün in a couplet quoted earlier (page 80):

巫山高
巖懸獸無跡　林暗鳥疑飛

The cliffs are sheer; beasts leave no tracks.
The woods are dark; birds hesitate to fly.

Fan Yün, "Mount Wu is High"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 6.1a)

And reasoning becomes intrusive in lines like these:

送春
送春不用動舟車　唯別殘鶯與落花

When we see off spring, there is no need to move a boat or carriage;
We simply say farewell to the late warbler and the fallen flowers.

Sugawara no Michizane (845–903),
"Saying Farewell to Spring"
(*KB* 391)

賦烟花曲水紅
動枝動浪皆應惜　所以慇懃恐暮風

Each moving branch and moving wave calls forth regret:
It is because I greatly fear the evening wind.

Michizane, "Haze and Blossoms: the Winding Waters are Red" (*NS*, p. 182)

春惜櫻花
何因苦惜花零落　爲是微臣職拾遺

Why do I feel such bitter pangs when the flowers wither and fall?
Because it is this humble person's office to gather things up.

Michizane, "Regretting the Passing of the Cherry Blossoms in Spring" (*KB* 384)

Michizane's first statement, "We do not need boats and carriages in order to send off spring," turns entirely on the graph *sung* 送, "send off." It has no direct relationship to departing spring. There is also an excess of "reasoning" in the statement, "Every shaking branch and undulating wave distresses me, because each signifies the rise of the wind that ushers in the evening." The poet does not really feel distressed by each movement; he is merely utilizing the branch and wave imagery as a means of expressing his reluctance to see the day draw to a close. The third couplet—"Why am I so terribly distressed by the sight of falling blossoms? Because it is this humble person's office to gather things up!"—strikes us as something that might be said by a teller of comic stories (*rakugo*).[41]

A comparison of Michizane's three couplets with the three *waka* below reveals a common tendency to sidle up to a subject by means of fanciful or untrue statements.

KKS 572 (Love, 2). Tsurayuki. "A poem for the Kanpyō *utaawase*."

Kimi kouru	But for the tears I shed,
Namida shi naku wa	Yearning for you,
Karakoromo	The breast of my robe
Mune no atari wa	Would flame
Iro moenamashi	With the fires of love.

KKS 88 (Spring, 2). Ōtomo no Kuronushi (ca. 830–920?). "Topic unknown."

Harusame no	May they perhaps be tears—
Furu wa namida ka	Those gently falling showers of spring?
Sakurabana	For there is no one
Chiru o oshimanu	Who fails to grieve
Hito shi nakereba	When cherry blossoms scatter.

KKS 1012 (Miscellaneous Forms). Sosei. "Topic unknown."

Yamabuki no	Who may you be, you robe
Hanairogoromo	Yellow as *yamabuki* blossoms?

[41] "Gather up" is the literal meaning of *shūi* 拾遺, a Chinese-style alternative name for *jijū* 侍從 (gentleman-in-waiting), Michizane's Court office at the time. The couplet can be construed to mean that Michizane is unhappy because each passing spring fails to bring him promotion.

Nushi ya tare	Though I ask,
Toedo kotaezu	You will not answer.
Kuchinashi ni shite	Are you a "no-mouth"?[42]

More is involved than simple misrepresentation of fact. Even when a statement is truthful, the poet's attitude is disingenuous and his conception dishonest. In the lines below, for example, the subject is "premature spring"—i.e., a solar-calendar first day of spring (*risshun*) occurring before the end of the old lunar year, rather than on or after the First of the First Month, as was usually the case. The poem is merely a bit of clever reasoning, containing no indication of honest emotional response to the experience of encountering spring.

立春　在十二月廿六日
偏因曆注覺春來　物色人心尙冷灰
誣告浪從氷下動　暗思花在雪中開

Relying solely on the calendar, we learn that spring has come.
The colors of things and the hearts of men are still like cold ashes.
Yet we proclaim unreasonably that water must be stirring under the ice;
We feel vaguely that blossoms must be about to open in the snow.

Michizane, "The First Day of Spring: Composed on the Twenty-sixth of the Twelfth Month" (*KB* 278)

Can we not surmise that acquaintance with such poems may have led to the composition of the following *waka*?

KKS 1 (Spring, 1). Ariwara no Motokata (888–953). "Composed when the first day of spring came during the old year."

Toshi no uchi ni	Spring has come
Haru wa kinikeri	Before New Year's Day.

[42] The poem puns on *kuchinashi* ("no mouth" and "gardenia," the fruit of which yields a yellow dye).

Hitotose o	When the year is the same,
Kozo to ya iwamu	Shall we say "last year"?
Kotoshi to ya iwamu	Or shall we say "this year"?

It does not matter particularly whether Motokata was imitating Michizane. The important point is the existence of a common conceptual attitude—a common posture.

In the couplet below, the statements are completely factual.

奉和清涼殿畫壁山水歌
玄鶴雲中飛不去　白鷗水上浴猶乾

The black crane flies among the clouds but fails to depart;
The white gull bathes upon the waters and still remains dry.

Kuwabara no Haraka (fl. early 9th century),
"Respectfully Echoing 'A Landscape
Painting on a Wall of the Seiryōden' "
(*KeiKS*, p. 342)

No matter how many years may elapse, the crane in the picture will not fly away, nor will the gull bathing in the water get wet. But there is a falseness in the very fact of the poet's exaggerated insistence on the truth. The conceptual attitude can be said to resemble that of the following *waka.*

KKS 931 (Miscellaneous, 2). Tsurayuki. "On flowers in a screen painting."

Sakisomeshi	Unchanging colors!
Toki yori nochi wa	Can it be that spring
Uchihaete	Has tarried in the world
Yo wa haru nare ya	Since first these flowers
Iro no tsune naru	Began to bloom?

Falsity stemming from excessive literalness also appears in lines like these:

後夜聞佛法僧鳥
間林獨坐草堂曉　三寶之聲聞一鳥

In the quiet grove I sit alone in my thatched hut at dawn:
From a single bird, all of the Three Jewels.

Kūkai (774–835), "Toward the End of Night, I Hear the 'Buddha-Dharma-Sangha' Bird."[43]

殘雪伴寒松
六出無香聞處怪　千條混色見時驚

The six petals lack fragrance; when we try to smell them
we think it strange.
The thousand twigs mix colors; when we look at them
we are startled.

Miyoshi no Kiyoyuki (847–918),
"Lingering Snow and Cold Pines"
(*NS*, p. 208)

Kūkai's conceit—"Although the Buddha, the Dhārma, and the Sangha constitute a trinity, the 'Three Jewels,' they strike the ear as a single voice"—is grounded in the "counting consciousness" discussed earlier. The complaint in the second poem—"Although snowflakes are called six-petaled blossoms, they have no fragrance"—was probably suggested by lines like the following.

詠雪
三農喜盈尺　六出舞祟花

Farmers' joy: foot-high drifts;
Six-petal dance: flowers in the sky.

Hsü Ling, "On Snow"
(*CHNPCS*, Ch'en 2.5b)

郊行値雪
雪花開六出　氷珠映九光

Snow flowers open their six petals;
Ice beads mirror the nine radiances.[44]

Yü Hsin, "Encountering Snow

[43] Watanabe Shōkō 渡邊照宏 and Miyasaka Yūshō 宮坂宥勝, ed., *Sangō shiiki*, *Seireishū*, in *NKBT*, Vol. 71 (1965), p. 453. The Buddha-Dharma-Sangha bird (*buppōsō*), a small owl (*Otus scops japonicus*), was so called from the sound of its characteristic hoot.

[44] I.e., shine brilliantly.

on a Visit to the Countryside"
(*CHNPCS*, Pei-Chou 2.16a)

A similar conception appears in Yü Hsin's "The Mirror," which was quoted earlier (p. 102).

鏡
月生無有桂　花開不逐春

A moon appears in which there is no cinnamon tree;
A flower opens, but it will not follow spring.

(*CHNPCS*, Pei-Chou 2.24a)

If the conceit in Kiyoyuki's poem is reversed, becoming "Where there are flowers, there is bound to be fragrance" instead of "We have flowers but no fragrance," the pattern that emerges is the one in the following *waka*.

KKS 41 (Spring, 1). Mitsune. "Plum blossoms on a spring night."

Haru no yo no	How foolish of the darkness
Yami wa ayanashi	On this spring night!
Ume no hana	Though it may hide the blossoms
Iro koso miene	Of the flowering plum,
Ka ya wa kakururu	Can it conceal their scent?

Mitsune's pattern may seem the opposite of Kiyoyuki's, but the two are basically identical.

There are also "plausibly logical" poems in which the authors attempt a lyrical approach. For example:

翫梅花
隨處有梅惣可憐　不如獨立月明前

Plum blossoms everywhere: all are delightful.
Yet nothing matches a single tree, blooming alone in the moonlight.

Michizane, "Enjoying Plum Blossoms"
(*KB* 376)

鶯
若有遺音長不絶　明年可奏早梅前

If any notes remain—if all be not forever ended—
May he sing next year in front of the early plum!

Michizane, "The Warbler" (*KB* 397)

In such poems, the focal point is a rational judgment of some kind: "As a result of various comparisons, X has proved to be the best," or "If thus-and-so is the case, such-and-such an action is to be desired or accepted." The same pattern appears in *waka* like the following.

KKS 1095 (Songs of the East). Anonymous. "A song of Hitachi."

Tsukubane no	Shade though there be—
Konomo kanomo ni	Here, there, everywhere—
Kage wa aredo	On Tsukuba Mountain,
Kimi ga mikage ni	Yet is there none
Masu kage wa nashi	To surpass your grace.[45]

KKS 78 (Spring, 2). Tsurayuki. "A poem composed after the departure for home of a friend who had come to call; inserted in a spray of cherry blossoms and sent to the friend's house."

Hitome mishi	Try waiting until tonight,
Kimi mo ya kuru to	Cherry blossoms,
Sakurabana	For a visit from the admirer
Kyō wa machimite	Who barely glimpsed you—
Chiraba chiranamu	Then scatter if you must.

Other "judgments" follow a different pattern: "Although it would seem that X would be the case, in actual fact it is *not* the case—which, on second thought, is quite natural."

秋月夜
寫鏡徒憐秋扇圓　承袖攬之不盈手

Capturing its image in the mirror, I yearn in vain
for the round autumn fan;[46]

[45] The poem, which puns on *kage* ([1] [tree]shade, [2] appearance, [3] grace, favor), may be construed either as a love poem or as a compliment to the Emperor or some other superior.

[46] The moon.

Catching its light on my sleeve, I try to gather it up,
but nothing fills my hand.

Shigeno no Sadanushi (785–852),
"A Moonlit Night in Autumn"
(*KeiKS*, p. 344)

If moonlight is replaced by water, we have a poem like Ise's below.

KKS 43 (Spring, 1). Ise. "On flowering plum trees near a stream."

Haru goto ni	Shall I each spring
Nagaruru kawa o	Confuse the flowing stream
Hana to mite	With blossoms, and drench my sleeve
Orarenu mizu ni	Seeking in vain to break off
Sode ya nurenamu	A spray of water?

If the "logical naturalness" is a bit weaker and less direct, the result resembles these lines by Michizane:

秋天月
一生不見三秋月　天下應無腸斷人

Might we but go through life without seeing the autumn moon,
No one in the world would know true misery.

Michizane, "Moon in the Autumn Sky"
(*KB* 195)

When autumn becomes spring, the result may be a *waka* like this:

KKS 53 (Spring, 1). Narihira. "On cherry blossoms: composed at Nagisa House."

Yo no naka ni	If this were but a world
Taete sakura no	To which cherry blossoms
Nakariseba	Were quite foreign,
Haru no kokoro wa	Then perhaps in spring
Nodokekaramashi	Our hearts might know peace.

The conceptions below, while less relentlessly logical, are still dependent on reason.

重陽日侍宴同賦黃菊殘花欲待誰
紅林盡處曾無盡　綠葉頹時猶不頹

Although the red leaves in the woods ought to have disappeared,
they have not disappeared;
Although it is time for the green leaves to fade, they have not faded.[47]

Shimada Tadaomi (828–91?),
"In Attendance at the Double Ninth
Banquet: Composing with Others on the
Topic 'For Whom Do the Lingering
Yellow Chrysanthemums Wait?' "
(*DK*, 3.360)

夏日陪幸左大將藤原冬嗣閒居院
松蔭絶冷午時後　花氣猶熏風罷餘

The pine shade is very cold; the hour of noon has passed.
The flower scent is still fragrant; it lingers after the wind has stopped.

Sadanushi, "On a Summer Day,
Accompanying His Majesty
to the Kankyoin[48] Residence
of the Major Captain of the Left,
Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu"
(*RUS*, p. 134)

The discovery of the principle of change-vs.-permanence—"Although everything else changes, X remains constant"—also appears in *waka*.

KKS 250 (Autumn, 2). Yasuhide. "A poem for a poetry contest at the house of Prince Koresada."

Kusa mo ki mo	Every grass and tree
Iro kawaredomo	Changes color,
Watatsumi no	But autumn never visits
Nami no hana ni zo	The flowers
Aki nakarikeru	Of the ocean waves.

[47] "As though to pay homage to the Emperor on this auspicious occasion, the autumn leaves linger on the boughs and the color of the evergreens remains fresh." Cf. *KKS* 24 (p. 82 above).

[48] Another name for Fuyutsugu's famous Kan'in Mansion, situated south of Nijō and west of Nishinotōin in the capital.

A slight change in the pattern of Sadanushi's second line can produce a similar *waka.*

KKS 234 (Autumn, 1). Mitsune. "Composed and presented to His Majesty during a maidenflower contest at Suzaku Palace."

Ominaeshi	Though it be invisible
Fukisugite kuru	To human eyes,
Akikaze wa	By its scent we know it—
Me ni wa mienedo	The autumn wind blowing
Ka koso shirukere	From the place where maiden-flowers bloom.

Finding the incorporeal in the corporeal is another kind of "plausibility" conceit. In the couplet below, the figure of departing Spring is perceived in a few petals.

和藤神策大將閉門好靜花鳥馴人不勝感興什
葉暗寸餘綠　花殘數片春

The leaves are darkening; only a little fresh green lingers.
The flowers are dying; only a few petals of spring remain.

Sadanushi, "Echoing Poems . . . Composed in Seclusion by the 'Marvelous Strategems' Fujiwara Major Captain"[49] (*KeiKS*, p. 309)

A more explicit statement appears in a poem by Tsurayuki:

SIS 76 (Spring). Tsurayuki. "For a folding screen at the Crown Prince's palace during the Engi era."

Kaze fukeba	The direction taken by departing spring
Kata mo sadamezu	Must be the one
Chiru hana o	Toward which the blossoms scatter,
Izukata e yuku	But how diverse are their courses
Haru to ka wa mimu	When breezes blow!

[49] "Marvelous Strategems" translates *shinsaku* 神策, which appears to be either the officer's nickname or an unorthodox Chinese-style alternative name for the Konoefu (Imperial Bodyguards). See Morohashi Tetsuji, *Daikanwa jiten* (Tokyo, 1955–60), 8.451, No. 24643.226.

When "plausibility" leads all the way from incorporeality to personification, lines such as the following may result.

惜櫻花
此花嫌早落　爭奈賂春風

If these blossoms object to scattering early,
They must somehow bribe the spring wind.

Tadaomi, "Lament for the
Cherry Blossoms" (*DK*, 1.345)

Tadaomi's poem, with its implicit demand on a personified wind, closely resembles the *waka* below.

KKS 91 (Spring, 2). Munesada. "Composed as a spring poem."

Hana no iro wa	Though jealous haze
Kasumi ni komete	Begrudge us the sight
Misezu tomo	Of the flowers' beauty,
Ka o dani nusume	Steal us the scent, at least,
Haru no yamakaze	Spring breeze from the hills.

In conceptions of this type, with their emphasis on plausibility, the poet's response to his subject is channeled into devious paths by the employment of logic—a phenomenon in which the obliquity characteristic of Six Dynasties verse is clearly apparent.

When the poet's "clever judgments" operate in the area of comparisons, the result is the so-called *mitate*, or figure of speech, which, as we have seen, was much used in the Six Dynasties period, and which also appears prominently in early Heian Chinese poetry. The most obvious pattern is one in which the poet states unequivocally that a resemblance exists between two things.

月夜言離
思君一似雲間影　夜夜相隨到遠鄉

My thoughts of you are exactly like the celestial moon's rays:
Night after night they will accompany you until you reach the distant land.

Haraka, "Speaking of Separation
on a Moonlit Night" (*BSRS*, p. 164)

失題
白雲似帶圍山腰　青苔如衣負巖背

White clouds girdle the hills like sashes;
Green moss mantles the cliffs like a robe.

Miyako no Arinaka (late 9th century),
"Title Missing" (*NS*, p. 212)

A *waka* of the same type:

KKS 73 (Spring, 2). Anonymous. "Topic unknown."

Utsusemi no	How like a man's
Yo ni mo nitaru ka	Cicada-husk life!
Hanazakura	Even as we behold
Saku to mishi ma ni	The cherry in bloom,
Katsu chirinikeri	Its petals scatter.

The phrase *nitaru ka* in this poem is quite possibly a direct translational equivalent of the Chinese *ssu* 似.

Sometimes the resemblance is obliquely stated through use of the graph *i* 疑 (suspect, be dubious about, wonder).

詠雪
疑是天中梅柳地　雨師風伯獵玄花

I wonder if there is a plum and willow land in the sky,
Where gods of rain and wind chase celestial blossoms.

Fujiwara no Michio, "On Snow"
(*RUS*, p. 120)

奉和聖製江上落花詞
澄潭祇視彩浪起　水底初疑白雲過

In the clear pools, one sees only colored waves rising;
Gazing at the river bottom, one wonders at first if a cloud might be passing.

Ki no Miyori, "Respectfully Echoing
His Majesty's Poem, 'Fallen Blossoms
on the River'" (*NS*, p. 81)

紫藤
高閣藤花次第開　疑看紫綬向風廻

At the lofty building, wisteria blossoms are gradually opening:
One wonders if one might be watching purple seal-cords[50]
turning in the breeze.

Michizane, "Purple Wisteria" (*KB* 395)

月影滿秋池
自疑荷葉凝霜早　人道蘆花過雨餘

I wonder if frost might have formed early on the lotus leaves;
Someone else says, "The reed-flowers have survived the rain."[51]

Sugawara no Atsushige (d. 926),
"Moonlight Fills the Autumn Pond"
(*NS*, p. 213)

Several *waka* cast in the same mold were quoted in the preceding section. We might note here two others which make use of an expression, *ka to* [*zo*] *miru* (I wonder if I am seeing, I think I must be seeing), which can be considered the Japanese equivalent of Michizane's *i k'an* 疑看, and which, it seems, may have been suggested by Chinese example.

GSS 155 (Summer). Anonymous. "Topic unknown."

Toki wakazu	White *unohana* blooming
Tsuki ka yuki ka to	All along the hedge—
Miru made ni	Were it not for the season,
Kakine no mama ni	One might think one were seeing
Sakeru unohana	Moonlight or snow.

SIS 65 (Spring). Anonymous. "Topic unknown."

Ashihiki no	Blossoms of the cherry
Yamaji ni chireru	Scattered on paths

[50] Symbols of high office. The poem in its entirety compliments the Fujiwara ("Wisteria Plain") family.

[51] I.e., the moonlight makes it look as though white flowers were still blooming on the reeds.

Sakurabana	In the foot-wearying hills—
Kiesenu haru no	One wonders if one might be seeing
Yuki ka to zo miru	Unmelted spring snow.

There are so many *waka* of the same type that I shall not attempt an exhaustive listing. It might be pointed out, however, that one of them is extremely close to Miyori's poem above.

KKS 293 (Autumn, 2). Sosei. "Composed on the topic of a picture of autumn leaves floating down the Tatsuta River, painted on a folding screen belonging to the Nijō Empress when she was known as the Lady Mother of the Crown Prince."

Momijiba no	Deep red
Nagarete tomaru	Must be the waves
Minato ni wa	Rising in the river mouth
Kurenai fukaki	Where floating autumn leaves
Nami ya tatsuramu	Have come to rest.

There is also a pattern in which *i* 疑 and *ssu* 似 are combined. For example:

神泉苑九日落葉篇
繞叢宛似莊周蝶　度浦遙疑郭泰舟

When they circle the bushes, they resemble Chuang Chou's butterfly;
As they cross the distant inlet, one wonders if one might be seeing
Kuo T'ai's boat.[52]

Kose no Shikihito (fl. ca. 823),
"A Poem on Falling Leaves, Composed
on the Ninth Day in the Shinsen'en"
(*BSRS*, p. 210)

The juxtaposition is not fortuitous, but rather an imitation of a conventional Six Dynasties mode of expression. The following are only a few of many precedents that might be cited.

和司馬博士詠雪
凝堦夜似月　拂樹曉疑春

[52] When the scholar Kuo T'ai (2nd century) set out for home, crowds of literati came with their carriages to see him off, but he left in a small boat with only one close friend. Seen from a distance, the floating leaves remind the poet of the scholar's tiny craft.

It freezes on the steps; the night seems moonlit.
It brushes the trees; the dawn is like spring.

Ho Sun, "Echoing Professor Ssu-ma's 'Snow'" (*CHNPCS*, Liang 9.13a)

秋日遊昆明池
魚潛疑刻石　沙暗似沈灰

The fish lie submerged; one wonders if they might be stone images.
The sand is dark; it resembles sunken ashes.

Hsüeh T'ao-heng, "Visiting K'un-ming Lake on an Autumn Day" (*CHNPCS*, Sui 2.13a)

西門豹廟
鶴飛疑逐舞　魚驚似聽琴

The cranes fly; one wonders if they might be seeking to dance.
The fish are startled; they seem to hear the zither.

Yü Hsin, "The Hsi-men Pao Shrine" (*CHNPCS*, Pei-Chou 2.17a)

奉和春夜應令
月皎疑非夜　林疎似更秋

The moonlight is bright; one wonders if it can really be nighttime.
The leaves on the trees are sparse; it is as though the season were again autumn.

Yü Chien-wu 庾肩吾 (487–550), "By Imperial Command, Respectfully Echoing 'Spring Night'" (*CHNPCS*, Liang 7.11a)

芳樹
枝低疑欲舞　花開似含笑

The branches dip; one wonders if they are about to dance.
The flowers open; they look as though they were smiling.

Fei Ch'ang 費昶, "The Blooming Tree"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 12.15a)

Another pattern combines *i* 疑 and *pu kuan* 不關 (unrelated, having nothing to do with).

春日侍神泉苑賦得春月
窗外曲鉤疑卷箔　空中懸鏡不關臺

Outside the window, there is a curved hook; one wonders
if it might be a roll of silver foil.
In the sky, there is a hanging mirror, but it has nothing
to do with any stand.

Shikihito, "Composed on Being Assigned
the Topic 'Spring Moon' While
in Attendance at the Shinsen'en
on a Spring Day" (*BSRS*, p. 204)

The lines below by Yü Hsin, which were quoted earlier (page 85), suggest that Shikihito was relying on a Six Dynasties convention, rather than on his own powers of invention.

舟中望月
山明疑有雪　岸白不關沙

The mountains are bright; one wonders if it might have snowed.
The shore is white, but not because of sand.

Yü Hsin, "In a Boat, Gazing at the
Moon" (*CHNPCS*, Pei-Chou 2.21b)

A bit of elaboration leads to designs like the following.

冷然院各賦一物得水中影
看花疑有馥　聽葉不鳴風　一鳥還添鳥　孤叢更向叢

When one looks at the flowers, one wonders if they might be fragrant;
But when one listens to the leaves, one hears no rustling in the wind.
A single bird—yet a bird accompanies it;
A lone shrub—yet it faces a shrub.

Kuwabara Hirota, "On Being Assigned
'Reflections in the Water' When Everyone

Composed Poems about Things at Reizei Palace" (*BSRS*, p. 202)

Hirota's third line—in addition to the single bird, there appears another identical bird—is close to a *waka* by Tsurayuki.

KKS 881 (Miscellaneous, 1). Tsurayuki. "On the reflection of the moon in a lake."

Futatsu naki	I had thought it unique,
Mono to omoishi o	That beautiful moon—
Minasoko ni	Yet here is another,
Yama no ha narade	Not at the mountain rim,
Izuru tsukikage	But rising from watery depths.

The exaggeration in Hirota's first line—the reflection of the flowers in the water is so lifelike that one almost expects it to be fragrant—reminds the reader of a line by Wang Hsün 王訓: "So heavy are her hair ornaments that she can barely walk";[53] and the falsity of the second—I listen to the leaves but hear no sound of wind—corresponds to that of the *waka* below, on the subject of a waterfall painted on a folding screen.

KKS 930 (Miscellaneous, 2). Sanjō no Machi (fl. ca. 850). "Composed during the reign of Emperor Montoku, when His Majesty, having noticed a picture on a folding screen in the office of the ladies-in-waiting, said to the ladies in attendance, 'The waterfall is interesting. Make it the topic of a poem.' "

Omoiseku	Is it a cataract
Kokoro no uchi no	Of misery
Taki nare ya	I dam within my heart?
Otsu to wa miredo	Though we see the fall
Oto no kikoenu	No sound is heard.

The attribution of motion to objects in a painting also appears in these lines by Tadaomi:

題扇上畫松
隨扇搖枝葉　疑是風入松

[53] 叙重步難前. From "The Dance: Composed on Command" 應令詠舞 (*CHNPCS*, Liang 10.8a).

When someone makes the boughs and needles move with the fan,
I can but wonder if a wind might have entered the pines.

Tadaomi, "On Pines Painted on a Fan"
(*DK*, 1.345)

The use of the graph *sui* 隨 (follow) in that sense—i.e., apparent motion of a fixed object in response to external motion—was probably inspired by Six Dynasties examples like the couplet below.

月半夜泊鵲尾
月光隨浪動　山影逐波流

The moonlight moves with the waves;
The reflection of the mountains flows with the current.

Liu Hsiao-ch'o, "Mooring at Ch'iao-wei
on the Night of the Fifteenth"
(*CHNPCS*, Liang 10.22a)

Sometimes *i* 疑 appears in conjunction with the approximately synonymous *ya* 訝. Thus:

夏夜對渤海客同賦月華臨淨夜詩
窗疑懸瀑布　庭訝蹈晴沙

One wonders if there might be a waterfall outside the window;
One feels that people must be walking on sunlit sand in the courtyard.

Tadaomi, "A Poem Recited While
Composing on a Summer Night with
Guests from P'o-hai[54] on the Topic
'Moonlight Shining on a Clear Night' "
(*DK*, 2.350)

水鷗
飛疑秋雪落　集訝浪花韻

When they fly, one wonders if snow might be falling in autumn;
When they settle together, one feels that whitecaps must be uttering cries.

[54] A Tungusic state (700–926) in the area of eastern Manchuria, the Soviet Maritime Province, and northern Korea.

Michizane, "Seagulls on the Water"
(*KB* 171)

Kaneko Hikojirō states that Michizane was the first Japanese author to combine *i* 疑 and *ya* 訝 in a Chinese poem, and that in doing so he imitated the following lines from Po Chü-i's "Autumn Snow."[55]

和劉郎中望終南山秋雪
草訝霜凝重　　松疑鶴散遲

It seems that thick frost must be covering the grasses;
One wonders if the cranes might have delayed their departure from the pines.

"Gazing at Autumn Snow on the Chung-nan Mountains . . ."

It should be noted, however, that Tadaomi was Michizane's teacher, and also that Po Chü-i was not the only T'ang poet to combine the two verbs in a couplet. There is an example in the works of Tu Fu, a poet whose known predilections lead us to suspect that a still earlier precedent exists:

奉觀嚴鄭公廳事岷山沱江畫圖
直訝杉松冷　　兼疑菱芡香

One feels that the cedars and pines must truly be cold;
One wonders too if the water-chestnuts and floating heart might be fragrant.

Tu Fu, "Viewing a Picture of the Min Mountains and T'o River . . ."
(*CTS*, 4.2485)

The existence of the following couplet by Emperor Chien-wen of the Liang also makes it seem that the technique probably originated in the Six Dynasties period.

[55] Kaneko Hikojirō 金子彦二郎, *Heian jidai bungaku to Hakushi monjū* (Tokyo: Baifūkan, 1943), p. 94. Possibly as the result of a copyist's error, Michizane's second line in the *NKBT* edition of *KB* reads 談 instead of 訝; also 匂 instead of 韻. For Po's poem, see *CTS*, 7.5057.

七夕
洛陽疑劒氣　成都恠客星

At Lo-yang they wonder if it might be a sword-spirit;
At Ch'eng-tu they suspect it of being a new star.[56]

"Seventh Night" (*CHNPCS*, Liang 2.14b)

There are also figurative expressions in which *ssu* 似 and *i* 疑 do not appear, as in the examples below (flying swans, startled cranes, willow leaves).

九月九日侍宴神泉苑···得秋山
落泉曝布懸飛鵠　晴雨收絲閉薄虹

The waterfall bleaches its cloth[57]—suspended flying swans.
The passing shower gathers its silken threads; it shuts off the pale rainbow.

Sugawara no Kiyokimi (770–842),
"On Being Assigned 'Autumn Hills' . . .
While in Attendance at the Shinsen'en
Banquet on the Double Ninth"
(*RUS*, p. 129)

冷然院各賦一物得瀑布水
驚鶴偏隨飛勢至　連珠全逐逆流頹

Startled cranes, intently following their comrades in flight, reach the earth;
Strings of beads, embroiled in countercurrents, break into bits.

Haraka, "On Being Assigned 'The
Waterfall' at Reizei Palace . . ."
(*BSRS*, p. 202)

奉和春閨愁
雙蛾眉上柳葉顰　千金笑中桃花歇

[56] The subject is the moving Weaver Maid star (Vega). For the allusions, see Suzuki Torao 鈴木虎雄, tr., *Gyokudai shin'eishū* 玉臺新詠集 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1953–56), II, 409; also Edward H. Schafer, "The Sky River," *JAOS*, 94 (1974), 404.

[57] Stretches in a white expanse. A stereotyped expression, rendered literally to preserve the association with "silken threads."

On the twin brows, the willow leaves are furrowed;
From the bewitching smile, the peach blossoms have vanished.

Shikihito, "Respectfully Echoing
'Springtime Grief in the Wife's Chamber' "
(*BSRS*, p. 176)

We have already seen that such comparisons convey a strong Six Dynasties flavor, and that they figure prominently in the *Kokinshū* style. When this type of conception is carried a step further, the reader may be at a loss to understand what is being compared.

奉試賦得隴頭秋月明
珠華浮雁塞　練色照龍城

Bead flowers float at Wild Goose Pass;
White light illumines Dragon Fortress.

Fujiwara no Reisho 藤原令緒,
"The Autumn Moon Shines Brightly
at Lung-shan: Composed for an
Examination . . ."
(*KeiKS*, p. 323)

奉試賦得隴頭秋月明
水底沈鈎碎　葉中尋落星

At the bottom of the river, there are sunken fragments of a hook;
Among the leaves, they seek a fallen star.

Chi Eichō 治顥長, "The Autumn Moon
Shines Brightly at Lung-shan: Composed
for an Examination . . ."
(*KeiKS*, p. 324)

夏夜對渤海客同賦月華臨淨夜詩
半破銀鍋子　排空踵日車

Half broken, a silver cooking pan
Charges through the sky in pursuit of the sun's chariot.

Tadaomi, "A Poem Recited While
Composing on a Summer Night with

Guests from P'o-hai on the Topic 'Moonlight Shining on a Clear Night' "
(*DK*, 2.350)

It is only after reflection that "bead flowers" (moonlight), "sunken fragments of a hook" (the fragmented image of the sickle moon), and "silver cooking pan" (the moon) become intelligible. The element of "logic" in such lines is admittedly rather slight, but in the couplet below we have a case in which a poet, employing a technique that might be called reverse comparison, deliberately rejects a conventional simile (the resemblance of frosted surfaces to white leaves) and goes out of his way to inform us that what appears to be leaves is in fact nothing of the kind.

和菅祭酒賦朱雀衰柳
寒霜著樹非眞葉　霏雪封枝是僞花

Winter frost forms on the trees: those are not real leaves.
Fallen snow clings to the branches: those are false flowers.

Tajihi no Kiyosada, "Echoing Sugawara no Saishu's Poem, 'Bare Willows Along Suzaku Avenue' " (*NK*, p. 128)[58]

It may be objected that *fei* 非 (are not) is simply a negative, just as *pu fen* 不分 (not different) in the first line below is a negative, but the degrees of elaboration in the two couplets are surely very different.

冬日汴州上漂驛逢雪
不分瓊瑤屑　來沾旅客巾

Indistinguishable from fragments of precious jade,
They come to wet the traveler's turban.

Kiyokimi, "Encountering Snow on a Winter Day . . ." (*RUS*, p. 129)

Lines like these also exhibit a high degree of elaboration:

[58] *Saishu* was a Chinese-style alternative title used of the head of the University (*Daigaku no kami*). The position was held at various times by numerous members of the Sugawara family, including Kiyokimi, the author of the next couplet.

自隱岐歸作
請君愛菊須看我　白在鬢頭黃在衣

If you like chrysanthemums, please be sure to look at me:
There is white on my head and yellow on my robe.[59]

Takamura, "Returning from [Exile in] Oki" (*NS*, p. 87)

夜風寒
地滿皇恩爐滿火　逢冬曾不畏衣輕

The land is filled with the Emperor's grace as a hearth is filled with fire:
Though winter comes, there is no need to worry about thin garments

Tadaomi, "The Night Wind is Cold' (*DK*, 1.342)

觀禁中雪
仙宮不日銀臺立　御苑非時絮柳牽

At the fairy palace, silver towers spring up overnight;
Over the Imperial park, cotton willow-catkins fly out of season.

Tadaomi, "Observing Snow at the Imperial Palace" (*DK*, 1.344)

見蜘蛛作網
不因機杼是誰絲　秋寒綴露牽珠貫

Whose silk threads are these, woven without a shuttle?
Autumn, chilling patches of dew, draws a thread through beads.

Tadaomi, "Watching a Spider Spin a Web" (*DK*, 1.346)

侍中局賦秋陽曝菊花
應惜暗宵投碧玉　且知明主獻黃金

[59] Yellow was the color worn by a man with no Court rank. See *Imakagami*, in *Nihon koten bungaku zensho*, Vol. 53 (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1957), p. 333, where, incidentally, Takamura's poem appears as a *waka*.

They are reluctant indeed to cast jasper and jade into the dark night;
Instead they wisely make offerings of yellow gold to their bright lord.

Tadaomi, "Composing Poems in the
Chamberlains' Office on the Topic 'An
Autumn Sun Blazing Down on
Chrysanthemums in Bloom' "
(*DK*, 1.346)

All are extremely contrived superimpositions of clever "logic" on analogies. "Autumn, chilling patches of dew, draws a thread through beads" employs a conception identical with one in a *waka* by Fun'ya no Asayasu (fl. ca. 900).

KKS 225 (Autumn, 1). Fun'ya no Asayasu. "Recited at a poetry contest at the house of Prince Koresada."

Aki no no ni	Threaded and hung
Oku shiratsuyu wa	With spider webs—
Tama nare ya	Might they perhaps be beads?
Tsuranukikakuru	White drops of dew
Kumo no itosuji	In autumn meadows.

Orchids and chrysanthemums are compared to yellow gold by Chang Cheng-chien 張正見 and Michizane:

賦新題得蘭生野徑
莫言閒逕裏　遂不斷黃金

Do not say that in the quiet path
There will always be yellow gold.

Chang Cheng-chien, "Taking a New Topic,
I Draw 'A Path in the Orchid Meadow' "
(*CHNPCS*, Ch'en 2.22b)

九日侍宴同賦菊散一叢金
不是秋江練白沙　黃金化出菊叢花

This is not white silk, glossed by the autumn river,[60]

[60] I.e., "These are not white chrysanthemums." "White silk" is a metaphor for white chrysanthemums.

But yellow gold, transmuted into the flowers of clustered chrysanthemums.

Michizane, "Attending on His Majesty at the Ninth-Day Banquet, I Join in Composing on the Topic 'Chrysanthemums Scatter into a Heap of Gold'" (*KB* 460)

Comparisons like these also occur:

元慶七年冬美濃大雪，以詩紀之
庭望玉人無脛到　林知琪樹有時加

One watches white-jade men in the courtyard, arriving without legs;
One perceives white-jade trees in the grove, added by the season.

Tadaomi, "Commemorating a Heavy Snowfall in Mino Province in the Winter of the Seventh Year of Gangyō [883]" (*DK*, 2.352)

客居對雪
立於庭上頭爲鶴　居在爐邊手不龜

When I stand in the courtyard, my head becomes a crane,
But when I sit near the hearth, my hands are not tortoises.

Michizane, "Encountering Snow in a Travel Lodging" (*KB* 276)

Demonstrating the depth of a snowfall by saying, "Someone has come without legs" is an exercise in wit; and the verbal trick that balances "crane" with "tortoise" (used in the sense of "chapped," "cracked by the cold") resembles the play on *tsumu* (pinch, pluck) in the *waka* below.

KKS 1017 (Miscellaneous Forms). Anonymous. "Topic unknown."

Aki kureba	What man can pass
Nobe ni tawaruru	Without pinching
Ominaeshi	One of the maidenflowers
Izure no hito ka	Fluttering in the meadows
Tsumade mirubeki	Now that autumn has come?

As we have noticed, one of the special characteristics of the *Kokinshū* style is the tendency to view phenomena in a temporal perspective. The same attitude appears in Heian *shih*. In the following lines, the poet treats the passing of time by focusing on the point at which old and new meet—a device also employed in *KKS* 168.

奉和除夜
新年欲到故年去　新故相連四氣和

The new year is about to arrive; the old year departs.
New and old are linked; the four seasonal atmospheres
are in harmony.

Sadanushi, "Respectfully Echoing
'New Year's Eve' " (*KeiKS*, p. 326)

KKS 168 (Summer). Mitsune. "Composed on the last day of the Sixth Month."

Natsu to aki to	Do cool winds blow on but a single side
Yukikau sora no	Of the celestial road
Kayoiji wa	Where departing summer
Katae suzushiki	And approaching autumn
Kaze ya fukuramu	Pass one another?

In some Heian *shih*, continuity is presented within a context of change.

奉和觀新燕
海燕新來度春天　差池羽翼如往年

Swallows from the sea, newly come, cross the spring sky;
Now high, now low, their wings are as in bygone years.

Saeki no Nagatsugu (770–828),
"Respectfully Echoing 'Watching Newly
Arrived Swallows' " (*BSRS*, p. 198)

奉和春日作
容顏忽逐年序變　花鳥恒將歲月新

Human faces change swiftly with the passing years;
Flowers and birds are always new in their seasons.

Fujiwara no Mamoru (d. 857),
"Respectfully Echoing 'Spring Day' "
(*NS*, p. 82)

花前有感
年年花發年年惜　花是如新人不新

Year by year the flowers bloom; year by year I treasure them.
The flowers appear to be reborn, but there is no rebirth for man.

Tadaomi, "Moved by the Sight of Blossoms"
(*DK*, 3.357)

Such lines bear a certain resemblance to Yü Hsin's "Imitating 'Singing My Feelings,' " but they are probably closer to *waka* like the two anonymous poems below.

擬詠懷
残月如初月　新秋似舊秋

The waning moon is like the waxing moon;
The new autumn resembles the old.

Yü Hsin, "Imitating 'Singing My Feelings' "
(*CHNPCS*, Pei-Chou 2.10a)

KKS 210 (Autumn, 1). Anonymous. "Topic unknown."

Harugasumi	Now above autumn mists
Kasumite inishi	They cry again—
Karigane wa	The wild geese
Ima zo naku naru	That disappeared
Akigiri no ue ni	Into spring haze.

KKS 28 (Spring, 1). Anonymous. "Topic unknown."

Momochidori	Spring, with its myriad
Saezuru haru wa	Caroling birds,
Monogoto ni	Renews all living things,
Aratamaredomo	Yet I alone
Ware zo furiyuku	Grow older still.

We noticed earlier that the *Kokinshū* style also embraces a high

incidence of word plays. In *Bunka shūreishū* we find an example of the "separating and joining poem" (*li-ho shih*), discussed above on pp. 107 ff.

在邊贈友

班秩邊城久　夕來夢帝畿　衿沾異縣淚　衣緩故鄉闈
弦望年頻改　弓鞍力稍非　綿綿千里路　帛素寄雙飛

Long have I served in this remote outpost;
When evening comes, I dream of the Imperial capital.
My collar is wet with a local official's tears;
My robe loosens as I pine for the chambers of home.
Crescent moon, full moon: the years fly by;
My prowess with bow and saddle has gradually vanished.
Long, long is the thousand-league road;
I entrust my message to a wild goose.

Ono no Minemori (778–830), "Sent from the Provinces to a Friend" (*BSRS*, p. 166)

The poem conceals the word *kinsen* 琴線 (*ch'in hsien*), "zither strings," "sensitive feelings."[61]

There are also Chinese poems by Japanese authors which use "separating and joining" to explain graph structure. In *Honchō monzui* 本朝文粹 we find

字訓詩

禾失曾知秩　中心豈忘忠　里魚穿浪鯉　江鳥度秋鴻
火盡仍爲燼　山高自作嵩　色絲辭不絶　凡蟲泣寒風

A "Graph-Explaining" Poem[62]

When *rice disappears*, we realize the value of a *stipend*;
In our *innermost hearts*, how might we forget *loyalty*?
The *village fish* is the *carp* that penetrates the waves;
The *river bird* is the *wild goose*, crossing autumn skies.
When a *fire burns out*, then it becomes *charred wood*;
When a *mountain is tall*, it naturally becomes a *great peak*.

[61] Possible sources for 琴線 include 班, 衿, 綿, and 沾.

[62] A poem in which the first two graphs in each line combine to form the fifth graph in the same line. Kojima Noriyuki 小島憲之, ed., *Kaifūsō*, *Bunka shūreishū*, *Honchō monzui*, in *NKBT*, Vol. 69 (1964), p. 354.

The words of *genius* never *die*;
But *all insects* cry in the cold *wind*.

Kiyohara no Sanetomo (fl. ca. 835–50)

The pattern of direct equations employed by Sanetomo is closer to the one in *KKS* 249, quoted earlier ("That must explain, to be sure, why a wind from the mountains is called a 'tempest' "), than to the technique of the usual "separating and joining poem."

We also find attempts to compose *chien-ch'u* poems, referred to on p. 109, *Keikokushū*, contains a poem by Chi Fumio which begins as follows.

建酉星初轉　除濕金正王
滿江鴻翼正　平陸菊叢香

In the Eighth Month the Dipper stars begin to turn;
Moisture is expelled, and metal becomes the ruler.
By the full river the wild goose folds its wings;
On level ground, clustered chrysanthemums are fragrant.

(*KeiKS*, p. 322)

Word plays of that type, which appear to have been fairly popular, may have suggested experiments like Narihira's "Karakoromo" poem, quoted on page 109, in which the initial syllables of the lines combine to form the word *kakitsubata*.

As we have seen, another conspicuous *Kokinshū* trait is repetition of conceptions and forms of expression. The same phenomenon appears in Heian *shih*, where, for example, *i* 疑 (suspect, wonder) and *wu* 誤 (mistake) occur together in innumerable couplets.

敬和源十七奇才歩月詩
誤行積雪嫌投歩　疑蹈晴沙恐汚光

Deceived into thinking that I must be walking on a blanket of snow, I hesitate to step forward;
Wondering if I might be treading on sunlit sand, I fear to stain the radiance.

Tadaomi, "Respectfully Echoing 'Walking in the Moonlight' . . ."
(*DK*, 3.356)

冬夜對月憶故人
山疑小雪微微積　水誤新氷漸漸生

Gazing at the hills, I wonder if a light snow might be spreading its thin mantle;
Gazing at the water, I am deceived into thinking that new ice is gradually forming.

Michizane, "Watching the Moon on a Winter Night, I Remember Old Friends" (*NK*, p. 151)

賦雨夜紗燈
晴誤穿雲星乍見　秋疑冒雨菊新開

I mistake it for a star, appearing suddenly through clouds in the clearing skies;
I wonder if it might be a chrysanthemum, bursting into bloom despite the autumn rain.

Michizane, "A Gauze La... on a Rainy Night" (*KB* 380)

風中琴
誤雲驚別鶴　疑野拂幽蘭

I am deceived into feeling that clouds will be startled by "Parted Cranes";
I wonder if "Hidden Orchids" in the meadows might be blown away.

Michizane, "The Zither in the Wind" (*KB* 401)[63]

東山小雪
誤雲猶宿澗　疑鶴未歸田

I mistake it for a cloud, lodged in the gorge;
I wonder if the cranes have not yet returned to the rice-fields.[64]

[63] The couplet incorporates the names of two old tunes for the zither, which the poet professes to recognize as the wind agitates the strings.

[64] From the hills.

Michizane, "Light Snow in the Eastern Hills" (*KB* 487)

Similar pairs occur in many Six Dynasties poems. For example:

和崔侍中從駕經山寺
塔疑從地湧　蓋似積香成

One wonders if the stupa might have sprung from the earth;
The roof seems made of layers of incense.

Hsiao Chüeh 蕭慤, "Echoing Palace Attendant Ts'ui's 'Accompanying the Emperor, We Pass a Mountain Temple' " (*CHNPCS*, Pei-Ch'i 16a)

南苑逢美人
洛浦疑廻雪　巫山似旦雲

The Lo River goddess might be taken for swirling snow;
The Wu Mountain lady resembles morning clouds.

Ho Ssu-ch'eng 何思澄, "Meeting a Beautiful Woman in the South Garden" (*CHNPCS*, Liang 12.13b)

The *i* 疑/*ssu* 似 combination was inherited by T'ang poets, as the following lines show.

宿溫城望軍營
煙疎疑卷幔　塵滅似銷氛

The smoke disperses; one wonders if someone might have rolled up a curtain.
The dust vanishes; it is as though vapors had been dispelled.

Lo Pin-wang 駱賓王 (d. 684), "Gazing at the Military Camp during an Overnight Stay at Wen-ch'eng" (*CTS*, 2.858)

The Heian pattern may be presumed to have derived from such sources. I have not found examples of the *i* 疑/*wu* 誤 combination in

Six Dynasties poems, but it appears likely that some kind of Six Dynasties precedent exists. It is also probable that the verb *ayamatsu*, used in the *waka* below and many others, represents a direct translation of *wu* 誤.

KKS 34 (Spring, 1). Anonymous. "Topic unknown."

Yado chikaku	I shall plant no more plum trees
Ume no hana ueji	Next to my house,
Ajiki naku	For it is vexing indeed to think their fragrance
Matsu hito no ka ni	The scented sleeves
Ayamatarekeri	Of one I await.

KKS 60 (Spring, 1). Tomonori. "A poem for the Kanpyō *utaawase.*"

Miyoshino no	How easily
Yamabe ni sakeru	One mistakes them for snow—
Sakurabana	Cherry blossoms
Yuki ka to nomi zo	Flowering in the hills
Ayamatarekeru	Of fair Yoshino.

KKS 269 (Autumn, 2). Toshiyuki. "When the Emperor ordered him to compose a poem about chrysanthemums during the Kanpyō era."

Hisakata no	These chrysanthemums we see
Kumo no ue nite	Above the clouds
Miru kiku wa	Of the firmament—[65]
Amatsu hoshi to zo	How easily
Ayamatarekeru	We mistake them for stars!

KKS 274 (Autumn, 2). Tomonori. "Composed on the topic 'A person waiting for someone near chrysanthemums in bloom.' "

Hana mitsutsu	When, gazing at flowers,
Hito matsu toki wa	I wait for someone,
Shirotae no	How easily
Sode ka to nomi zo	I mistake the blossoms
Ayamatarekeru	For white sleeves!

[65] I.e., in the grounds of the Imperial Palace.

GSS 1119 (Miscellaneous, 1). Ise. "Reply."[66]

Fururu mi wa	That others mistake me
Namida no uchi ni	For Nagara Bridge—
Miyureba ya	Is it because
Nagara no hashi ni	Tears engulf
Ayamataruramu	This aging body?

SIS 92 (Summer). Tsurayuki. "During the Engi era, on a seasonal folding screen."

Kami matsuru	How easily one mistakes them
Yado no unohana	For white paper offerings—
Shirotae no	Wild hydrangeas
Mitegura ka to zo	In a garden
Ayamatarekeru	Where men worship the gods.

SIS 1068 (Miscellaneous, Spring). Fujiwara no Kuniaki (fl. early 10th century). "Composed in the Engi era, when the courtiers composed poems during a wisteria-blossom banquet at the Wisteria Court."

Fuji no hana	Wisteria blossoms—
Miya no uchi ni wa	Here within the Imperial Palace,
Murasaki no	How easily
Kumo ka to nomi zo	One mistakes them
Ayamatarekeru	For purple clouds![67]

I hope to have demonstrated above that during the years from around 810 to 860 the Japanese *shih* absorbed many features of the Six Dynasties style (especially that of the Fourth Period), and that, as with *Kokinshū waka*, its typical mode of expression was oblique. As was mentioned at the outset, the transition from the *Man'yōshū* style to that of the *Kokinshū* is recognized to have been completed during the same so-called period of overwhelming Chinese influence. If we agree that obliquity is the distinguishing characteristic of *Kokinshū*

[66] A response to a melancholy poem by Empress Onshi, the consort of ex-Emperor Uda, written when the former sovereign became a monk. Nagara Bridge was a symbol of age.

[67] Purple clouds were considered auspicious. (*Murasaki no kumo* was an alternative name for the Imperial Palace.)

poetry, the logical inference seems to be that Six Dynasties influence entered the *waka* by way of the early Heian *shih*.

But before making a final commitment to that position, we must investigate one last problem, namely, the relationship between the *Kokinshū* and Po Chü-i. In the past, there have been numerous reports of alleged adaptations of lines from Po in *Kokinshū* poems, which, if accurate, would indicate influence from him.

My own opinion is that Po's poetry probably had no significant effect on the *Kokinshū* style, especially as regards conceptual attitude. When reexamined, most of the "borrowings" turn out to be doubtful cases. It is admittedly impossible to furnish conclusive evidence of lack of influence, but since both sides in such arguments are forced to rely heavily on subjective judgments, there seems little to be gained from debate; and I do not propose to undertake an exhaustive investigation of the merits of individual claims.

In support of the view that Po Chü-i did not contribute significantly to the *Kokinshū* style, it can be shown that none of Po's distinctive characteristics is present in poems where borrowing from him has undeniably occurred. As earlier scholars have noted, the two *waka* below are probably based on lines from two of Po's poems.

Tsurayukishū, *ZKT* 17580. "A lady in someone's house comes out to the blinds and looks at fallen snow on the trees."

Matsu ga e ni	White snow on pine branches:
Tsuru ka to miyuru	Though one might think it
Shirayuki wa	Cranes,
Tsumoreru toshi no	Rather is it a symbol
Shirushi narikeri	Of accumulating years.

和劉郎中望終南山秋雪
草訝霜凝重　松疑鶴散遲

It seems that thick frost must be covering the grasses;
One wonders if the cranes might have delayed their departure from the pines.

Po Chü-i, "Gazing at Autumn Snow on the Chung-nan Mountains . . ." (*CTS*, 7.5057)

KKS 165 (Summer). Archbishop Henjō. "Seeing dew on lotus leaves."

Hachisuba no	How is it that the lotus leaf,
Nigori ni shimanu	Untainted by impurity,
Kokoro mote	Yet practices deceit—
Nani ka wa tsuyu o	For it would have us think
Tama to azamuku	Dewdrops beads.

放言

草螢有耀終非火　荷露雖圓豈是珠

Though the fireflies in the grass glitter, they are not, after all, flames;
Though the dewdrop on the lotus is round, how can we call it a bead?

Po Chü-i, "Expressing Myself Freely"
(*CTS*, 7.4874)

Clever conceits like these—I mistook the snow on the pine trees for cranes that seemed to be perched there permanently; because the dewdrop on the lotus is round, can we conclude that it is a bead?—are not typical of Po's personal style, which usually avoids devious techniques in favor of the directness and simplicity that were characteristic of a certain trend in mid-T'ang poetry. Because Li Po and Tu Fu, the poets of the golden age of T'ang, had soared to overwhelming heights of greatness, the mid-T'ang poets who followed them found it difficult to establish their own identities, and an anti-traditional movement consequently gathered momentum, motivated by the desire to discover new values in the popular and commonplace. Po Chü-i, as the movement's leader, could scarcely have championed artificial conceptions of the Six Dynasties type. His style nevertheless underwent changes in the course of his career, and some of his youthful writings were comparatively ornate, reflecting aesthetic standards modeled after those of the Six Dynasties. As he grew older he departed from the ideal of perfect goodness and perfect beauty[68] and cultivated the smooth, light style for which he became famous. He remained a remarkably versatile writer, some-

[68] Praised by Confucius in *Analects* III, 25. (See James Legge, *The Chinese Classics* [1893; rpt. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960], I, 164.) "Perfect beauty" implies a highly polished, ornate style.

times employing novel conceptions in a manner reminiscent of Hsü Ling and Yü Hsin, but his general conceptual attitude was the reverse of oblique. *Kokinshū* authors, however, ignored the main body of his work and chose to imitate only the scattered Six Dynasties elements. Their literary preferences were already so completely identified with those of the Six Dynasties that it was impossible for them to accept Po's directness and simplicity.

Not all of the lines borrowed from Po contained Six Dynasties elements. Many lacked them, as may be seen from the examples below.

Kanpyō utaawase, *ZKT* 35355. Ise. "A spring poem."

Mizu no ue ni	Is it perhaps dyeing
Aya orimidaru	All the hill's greens—
Harusame ya	The spring rain
Yama no midori o	Weaving patterns
Nabete somuramu	On the surface of the lake.

早春憶微之
沙頭雨染班班草　水面風驅瑟瑟波

To the sandbanks the rain brings its dye, dappling the grasses;
Across the water's surface the breeze hurries, gently raising waves.

Po Chü-i, "Remembering Wei-chih in Early Spring" (*CTS*, 7.5003)

Narihirashū, *ZKT* 16137. Narihira. "Breaking off wisteria blossoms in the rain on the last day of the Third Month."

Nuretsutsu zo	Wisteria blossoms!
Shiite oritsuru	Though I got wet,
Fuji no hana	I insisted on picking them,
Haru wa kyō o shi	Mindful that with today
Kagiri to omoeba	We bid farewell to spring.

三月三十日題慈恩寺
惆悵春歸留不得　紫藤花下漸黃昏

Though I regret that spring should depart, I cannot detain it:
Twilight falls as I linger under the purple wisteria blossoms.

Po Chü-i, "The Thirtieth Day
of the Third Month: on the Topic
'Tz'u-en Temple'" (*CTS*, 7.4830)

The two *waka* have adapted non-oblique lines to the requirements of the oblique style. Po Chü-i's first couplet describes an actual scene without intentional artifice: the rain falling on the sandbanks dyes the plants; the breeze hurrying across the water gently raises waves. But Ise's *waka* contains figurative language involving weaving and dyeing: the rain that weaves patterns/damasks[69] on the surface of the water dyes the plants on the hills. In other words, the poem focuses on the idea that rain either weaves or dyes, depending on where it falls—certainly a conception based on the use of reason.

Similarly, there is no appreciable artifice in Po's other description from nature: on the day when spring departs in spite of the poet's desire to detain it, dusk falls quietly while the lonely poet lingers beside the wisteria blossoms. But Narihira's poem adds an intrusive element of reason: because today is the last day of spring, the poet has made a point of picking the flowers, even though he has had to get wet.

It was only in externals that *Kokinshū* poets borrowed from Po Chü-i. The mental processes by means of which they converted his lines into Japanese verse remained faithful to the Six Dynasties oblique spirit. The two *waka* below, typical of many alleged imitations of Po's work, merely borrow vocabulary, such as *ts'ao-lü* 草縷 (grass thread) and *lao lai* 老來 (old age comes).[70] Their basic ideas—"Although there is no thread, something is strung" and "It is because something comes from snowy mountains that something else whitens"—are totally unrelated to Po's two poems.

GSS 307 (Autumn, 2). Tsurayuki. "During the Engi era, on being commanded to compose a poem."

Aki no no no	Grasses in autumn fields
Kusa wa ito to mo	Do not resemble

[69] *Aya*, "pattern," can also mean "damask." The image appears to derive from such precedents as "The wind comes: the water makes patterns" 風至水廻文 (Yü Tan 庾丹, "Gazing Afar from an Autumn Bedchamber" 秋閨有望 [*CHNPCS*, Liang 12.19a]).

[70] If *ts'ao-lü* and *lao lai* should happen to turn up in Six Dynasties poems, it would probably be necessary to drop the claim of influence from Po.

Mienaku ni	Strands of thread–
Oku shiratsuyu o	Yet white dewdrops
Tama to nukuramu	Lie strung on them like beads.

天津橋
柳絲嫋嫋風繰出　草縷茸茸雨剪齊

Willow threads, pliant and long: the wind reels them out.
Grass threads, thick and luxuriant: the rain shears them level.

Po Chü-i, "T'ien-tsin Bridge"
(*CTS*, 7.5099)

Kanpyō utaawase, *ZKT* 35485. "A winter poem."

Yuki no uchi no	Old age must indeed
Miyama kara koso	Come from deep mountains
Oi wa kure	Where snow abounds:
Kashira no shiroku	Only observe
Naru o mazu miyo	How our heads grow white.

鏡換杯
鏡裏老來無避處　樽前愁至有消時

In the mirror there is no escape when old age comes;
Before the wine cask there is temporary respite when sadness approaches.

Po Chü-i, "Exchanging Mirror for Winecup" (*CTS*, 7.5058)

It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the conceptual approach characteristic of *Kokinshū* poetry was in no sense the result of an "enlightenment" brought about by acquaintance with Po Chü-i's works.

The same can be said of early Heian poetry in Chinese. The poets of the age composed in the Six Dynasties style, not in that of Po Chü-i. Po's *Collected Works* (*Wen chi* 文集) probably reached Japan in 838, during the reign of Emperor Ninmyō,[71] but it is unlikely that

[71] *Montoku jitsuroku*, entry of Ninju 1 (851), Ninth Month, Twenty-sixth Day (*kinoto hitsuji*). Saeki Ariyoshi, ed., *Rikkokushi* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1940–41), VIII, 50. If

they became well known until the reign of Emperor Seiwa (r. 858–76). In any case, they had no immediate effect on poetic practice. The roots of the Six Dynasties style had struck deep, leaving no space to accommodate new arrivals. What the composers of early Heian *shih* took from Po were merely Six Dynasties elements or isolated words; his example exerted almost no effect on the traditional conceptual approach. When examined in their entirety, even the poems of Sugawara no Michizane, the man who is said to have come closest to Po's style, resemble Po's works much less closely than we might expect. It was probably because Michizane's contemporaries were so fully committed to the Six Dynasties approach that the suggestion of Po's manner in Michizane struck them as a notable peculiarity. (The extent to which Michizane himself made use of the Six Dynasties oblique style will be apparent from the numerous examples of his work cited earlier.)

No poetry composed in the Heian era can be said to reflect the essence of Po's style. For most authors of Heian *shih*, the influence was only skin-deep. A very small number approached Po's flesh, but the bones of their compositions all came from the Six Dynasties. Furthermore, Po's greatest popularity came after the beginning of the gradual decline in Japanese ability to read and write Chinese with facility; and for that reason, also, his poetry was far less influential than the Six Dynasties style in which native literati had long since been thoroughly indoctrinated.

There seems to be an inclination to view a new poetic style as a phenomenon that sweeps everything before it during the age in which it appears, but it is invariably those at the center of intellectual life who appraise the style's worth and make active use of it. Their contemporaries on the intellectual and geographical fringes make no real effort at adoption and assimilation. Ch'ang-an was the center from which new poetic trends emerged. Japan was a peripheral area, in which the influential mode was always one that had been current in China during the preceding age; and the situation was similar in other countries within the Chinese cultural sphere. *Bunka shūreishū*

Gōdanshō (early 12th century) is correct in saying that Emperor Saga (786–842; r. 809–23) possessed a treasured copy of the *Collected Works*, the book may have arrived earlier, but it should be noted that it was not compiled until 824. *Gōdanshō*, in (*Shinkō*) *Gunsho ruijū*, Vol. 21 ("Miscellaneous"; *kan* 486), 4.315.

contains poems in the characteristic Six Dynasties style by Wang Hsiao-lien 王孝廉, who came to Japan in 815 as an ambassador from P'o-hai:

春日對雨
主人開筵在邊廳　客醉如泥等上京
疑是雨師知聖意　甘滋芳潤洒羈情

The host holds a banquet at the distant office;
The guests, gloriously drunk, await the journey to the capital.
I wonder if the rain master might have divined the Imperial will:
With sweet drops and fragrant moisture, he washes away the cares of travel.

"On a Spring Day, Watching the Rain"
(*BSRS*, p. 160)

在邊亭賦得山花
芳樹春色色甚明　初開似笑聽無聲
主人每日專攀盡　残片何時贈客情

Bright indeed are the spring hues of the fragrant trees:
Coming into bloom, they seem to laugh, yet we listen in vain for their voices.
Daily our host picks the branches bare:
When might a gift of left-over petals comfort the traveler's heart?

"Composing at a Frontier Station,
I Draw 'Mountain Blossoms'"
(*BSRS*, p. 168)

Wang's oblique style—Can it be that the official in charge of precipitation has read the Imperial mind? Is that why he rejoices the traveler's heart with this welcome rain? The spring blossoms look as though they were laughing, but of course we hear nothing—is almost identical with that of the Japanese poets who were composing in Chinese during the first quarter of the ninth century.

The Japanese, isolated in an intellectual and geographic backwater, had embraced Six Dynasties aesthetic principles with a commitment too firm to be easily shaken. That commitment was responsible for the evolution of the *Kokinshū* style, and for the use by

Kokinshū poets of oblique techniques which were diametrically opposed to the characteristic directness and simplicity of Po Chü-i.

IF IT CAN be agreed that the *Kokinshū* style was based on late Six Dynasties poetic practice, we must obviously revise the opinion, quoted at the outset, that the style owed nothing to Chinese influence. It also becomes necessary to reconsider certain related problems.

We may first reexamine the theory that the *waka* degenerated into excessive floweriness and wit because it had retreated from public view into the private world of romantic intrigue. I have no quarrel with the statement itself, which seems undoubtedly correct. But is it valid to argue that the *waka* was cut off from Chinese literature because it lost its public character, and that it therefore developed an independent style? Since half the people involved in love affairs were men, the relegation of the *waka* to romance did not mean that it lost all connection with the male sex, and since the principal education of the Heian gentleman was in Chinese subjects, there was no reason for the *waka* to become isolated from Chinese literature. The introduction of a stiff Chinese poem into an amorous exchange would naturally have been considered inelegant and unromantic, but ladies must have been delighted to receive *waka* cast in the indirect, witty mode characteristic of the *shih*.

Tsurayuki's statement, "Nothing but shallow poems and ephemeral words appeared, and poetry thus vanished except among lovers," was not a complete reversal of cause and effect. It is probably right to say that the retreat of the *waka* to the boudoir encouraged shallowness, but we should not overlook the fact that the *waka* became an important element in love affairs precisely because witty Chinese modes of expression suited the fencing about the truth that characterized the romantic intrigues of the day. The retreat of the *waka*, on the one hand, and the Six Dynasties example, on the other, worked together in a mutally influential relationship to produce the *Kokinshū* style. It was clearly pressure from the *shih* that relegated the *waka* to the realm of love, but the *shih* itself was the primary factor in the evolution from the Man'yō style to that of the *Kokinshū*. I find it impossible to believe that the *Kokinshū* style came into existence because women lived in a world apart from Chinese literature.

Let us next examine the contention that the Fujiwara despotism cooled the enthusiasm of others for the Chinese studies required of aspirants to official careers, and that the consequent flight to the *waka* produced an independent poetic style. The *Kokinshū* style took shape during the age of the Six Poetic Geniuses—i.e., during the reigns of Emperors Seiwa (r. 858–76), Yōzei (r. 876–84), and Kōkō (r. 884–87). But we have seen that there was already an oblique tendency in *waka* composed by Fujiwara no Sekio and Ono no Takamura, both of whom died around 850; and it therefore seems appropriate to assign the style's origins to the great age of Chinese influence, which lasted from the reign of Saga (r. 809–23) to that of Ninmyō (r. 833–50). Since access to office was on a competitive basis during the first half of the ninth century, with no single group monopolizing political power, it becomes difficult to support the position that an escapist spirit was responsible for the *Kokinshū* style. At the same time, it is true that the style does reflect the spirit and social conditions of the age. An examination of the relationship between Six Dynasties society and Six Dynasties poetry will help to clarify the point.

It is natural to assume that there must have been great social instability during the post-Han era in China, when, as the name Six Dynasties indicates, the nation was governed by a series of temporary regimes. But although royal houses suffered vicissitudes, the lower social levels preserved their stability; and although nominal political authority passed from one ruler to another, actual power stayed in the same aristocratic class.[72] A change in the ruling house merely replaced one figurehead with another. Society as a whole, confronted by no fundamental revolution, was free to preserve its old way of life, and it found meaning and value in doing so. The importance attached to family trees and genealogical expertise was symbolic of the psychology of the age, which approved the heritage of the past and sought to make it the determining factor in the shaping of the future.

In literary composition, the psychology manifested itself as respect for modes of expression discovered by earlier writers, and as a con-

[72] "During the Six Dynasties period, the nobility came to occupy a central position, a development which was of fundamental importance to the whole history of medieval China." Naitō Konan 内藤湖南, *Chūgoku chūko no bunka* (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1947), p. 129.

viction that stylistic excellence consisted in imitation of precedents. It fostered a style which was characterized by the use of referents (in other words, one of obliquity), and which stressed the form of statements, rather than their content. Respect for precedents naturally led to the question, "How did earlier writers express this?" The question "What shall I say?" did not arise, since the problem was to find a means of expressing a concept already present in the author's mind. But the concept itself was unlikely to be strikingly original. A *Zeitgeist* that places a premium on the heritage of the past cannot accommodate a desire for radical change. And attention inevitably focuses on form when the urge to say something new is absent.

There can be no literary composition if respect for the past leads to a complete disregard of the freshness which is the lifeblood of style. If content is hackneyed and form is dictated by precedent, the writer seeking freshness has no choice but to strive for a limited degree of originality within the confines imposed on him, and his style will then be most successful if he employs understated wit to achieve subtly novel effects. Such, we may conjecture, were the circumstances responsible for the development of the oblique style in the late Six Dynasties period.

Examination of the relationship between the *Kokinshū* style and its age reveals a remarkable parallel to the state of affairs just described. The political situation in Heian Japan differed, of course, from that in Six Dynasties China, but Heian poets, like their Six Dynasties counterparts, lived a settled life and adopted an approving, conservative attitude toward the past. The structure of Heian society achieved stability during the reign of Emperor Saga, when the nobility, in particular, gained so much political power that they were able to establish themselves as a distinct ruling caste. We may infer that security and stability soon came to be important values, creating an intellectual environment hostile to innovation. If a writer sought freshness, his only possible course was to try to express a familiar idea in a subtly original way—in other words, to assign priority to form rather than to substance.

We find, for example, the phenomenon of the *kudaishi* 句題詩, a poem in Chinese taking as its topic a line from an earlier Chinese poem. In such compositions the subject matter was predetermined,

leaving only form to be considered. The oldest known *kudaishi* are probably two composed by Emperor Saga,[73] but it was during the reign of Ninmyō that such compositions suddenly achieved so immense a popularity that the word *shi* 詩 came to mean *kudaishi*, making it necessary to devise a special name, *mudaishi* 無題詩 (poems without topics),[74] for other poems in Chinese. The craze eventually led to the composition of *kudai waka*, Japanese poems on quotations from Chinese poems,[75] a development that not only steeped the *waka* in the techniques of the *shih*, but also, and more significantly, encouraged *waka* poets to concentrate on form rather than on content, and to develop an attitude toward poetry that finally relegated it to the status of a plaything, denying it independent value. *Denshi kashū*, Shimada Tadaomi's personal poetry collection, contains the following lines, to which Tadaomi has added the note, "Recently there is much talk that poets serve no useful purpose."

春日假景訪同門友人
儒家間道詩無用　王法新行酒莫潘

Among Confucianists it is said that poetry is of no use;
Royal law, newly prescribed, forbids wine in excess.

"Taking Advantage of a Spring Day,
I Visit a Scholar Friend" (*DK*, 1.344)

It was by no means traditional for Confucian scholars to consider poetry worthless. They recognized it as useful in the government of the state, the family, and the self. "My children," Confucius is reputed to have said, "why do you not study the Book of Poetry? *The Odes* serve to stimulate the mind. They may be used for purposes

[73] "Composed with Others at the Double Ninth Banquet in the Shinsen'en on the Topic 'In Autumn There is a Bountiful Harvest'" 重陽節神泉苑同賦三秋大有年 (*RUS*, p. 103); "Composing, I Draw 'The Autumn Moon is Bright at Lung-shan'" 賦得隴頭秋月明 (*BSRS*, p. 207).

[74] The term *mudaishi* did not mean a poem with no topic at all, but one in which the topic was something other than a line from an earlier poem. See *Honchō mudaishi*, in (*Shinkō*) *Gunsho ruijū*, Vol. 6 ("Literature"; *kan* 128), 1.228–318, a collection which contains such titles as "On Spring Snow," "On an Imperial Visit to the Byōdōin," "On Peonies," etc.

[75] The principal extant collection of *kudai waka* is *Ōe no Chisato shū*, a collection of Japanese poems composed by the Confucian scholar Ōe no Chisato (fl. late 9th to early 10th century), most of which are based on lines from Po Chü-i.

of self-contemplation. They teach the art of sociability. They show how to regulate feelings of resentment. From them you learn the more immediate duty of serving one's father, and the remoter one of serving one's prince."[76] Its value was particularly stressed during and after the Six Dynasties period. That a Japanese writer of the mid-ninth century should nevertheless have branded it as worthless can perhaps be interpreted as an admission of the extent to which it had been isolated from its true nature by excessive attention to form.

The resemblance between the *Kokinshū* and Six Dynasties styles might conceivably be explained on the basis of environmental similarities, especially if no direct contact could be demonstrated. But since educated men in the Heian period normally studied Six Dynasties poetry (the *Wen hsüan* was used as an elementary text at the University from 798 on), and since those same men were the ones who composed in Japanese, it seems best to assume direct influence. The *kudaishi* itself originated in Six Dynasties China, as is apparent from titles in the *Yü-t'ai hsin-yung* like "Receiving the Topic 'Desert Night: the Moon Shines Bright' While in Attendance at a Banquet" 侍宴賦得龍沙宵月明 (Liu Hsiao-wei 劉孝威, *CHNPCS*, Liang 11.6b) and "Receiving the Topic 'The Wanderer Travels: He Has Not Returned'" 賦得蕩子行未歸 (Chu Ch'ao-tao 朱超道, *CHNPCS*, Liang 13.5b). I believe there can be no doubt of the existence of direct Six Dynasties influence on the Heian *shih*, and through it on the *Kokinshū* style. Cultural similarities between the two societies may be presumed to have played a significant facilitating role.

In considering the influence of Six Dynasties poetry on the *Kokinshū*, we have concentrated on the oblique approach—the poet's tendency to deal with his subject indirectly, particularly through the use of witty "reasoning." There has been no discussion of minor borrowings of words and phrases, or of imitation of specific ideas. I do not mean to contend that the oblique attitude was the only significant element in Six Dynasties poetry to affect Japanese writers. One feels that Six Dynasties influence was extremely far-reaching in such subtler areas as the general character and flavor of literary expression. Although it eludes precise description, an unmistakable "Six Dynasties feeling" pervades *waka* like the two below.

[76] *Analects* XVII, 9. Translation from Legge, I, 323.

KKS 84 (Spring, 2). Tomonori. "On scattering cherry blossoms."

Hisakata no	On this spring day
Hikari nodokeki	Bathed in the sun's
Haru no hi ni	Mild radiance,
Shizugokoro naku	Why do blossoms scatter
Hana no chiruramu	With unquiet hearts?

GSS 94 (Spring, 3). Anonymous. "Beside a pond in spring."

Haru no hi no	Willow brows:
Kage sou ike no	First to appear
Kagami ni wa	In the pond-mirror
Yanagi no mayu zo	Where images are reflected
Mazu wa miekeru	On a spring day.

But such elusive resemblances invite abstract and subjective argument, and I have therefore confined myself to the subject of conceptual attitude.

The foregoing rather discursive remarks can be summarized as follows.

1. The central characteristic of the *Kokinshū* style is a conceptual attitude that circles around a subject with witty conceits instead of approaching it directly.

2. Such "curved" conceptions, called "oblique" in T'ang poetic treatises, are the most striking characteristic exhibited by the poetic style of the fourth Six Dynasties period. In that respect, therefore, the style of the *Kokinshū* is identical with that of Six Dynasties poetry.

3. The transition from the Man'yō style to that of the *Kokinshū* took place within a period of approximately fifty years, from the reign of Emperor Saga to that of Emperor Montoku, i.e., during the so-called period of overwhelming Chinese influence. Poems composed in Chinese by Japanese authors during those years bore a close resemblance to those of late Six Dynasties authors. It therefore seems appropriate to conclude that the *Kokinshū* style resulted from assimilation into the *waka* of the Six Dynasties obliquity affected by Heian *shih* poets during the period of overwhelming Chinese influence.

4. The oblique style of the Six Dynasties period emerged from a spirit (fostered by special social conditions) which affirmed and sought to maintain the heritage of the past. Early Heian society and

intellectual life exhibited characteristics identical with those of their Six Dynasties counterparts. Consequently, it would not have been difficult for early Heian writers to accept the Six Dynasties style; rather, it is likely that they welcomed it with enthusiasm.

If these conclusions are correct, they raise important issues. First, will it not be necessary to question the purity of what is called "Japanese beauty"? The elegant beauty of Heian poetry has been considered quintessentially Japanese (a feeling I have shared), but may it not contain a rather large admixture of Chinese elements? Since the *Kokinshū* style exerted a deep and pervasive influence on all Heian poetry, it follows that there must have been a very considerable later influence from the Chinese style and spirit that may be said to have formed that style's basis.

One may, of course, view the matter from the opposite angle. Certain Chinese elements heretofore regarded as significant influences on Japanese poetry—for example, the works of Po Chü-i—prove to have had surprisingly little impact. This is not a categorical denial of Po's influence. In my view, his poems were indeed assimilated, but in a manner significantly different from the one postulated in earlier studies. I hope to deal with that subject on another occasion, but at any rate it may be said that the time has come for a reexamination of all the Chinese texts for which direct and intimate influence has been claimed.

The whole matter of Chinese influence on Japanese literature requires new investigation; and one of the foundation stones of such research must be the identification of whatever Chinese elements are present in the *Kokinshū*. Regardless of the validity of my own findings, there would appear to be no room for argument on that point.