

Preface to Poetry: Metaphorical Spaces in *Fusō kobunshū*⁽¹⁾

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Abstract

This paper explores the imagined power of metaphorical language to coordinate social and cosmological forces, especially the manner in which such language was utilized within the genre of Sinitic preface (*shijo* 詩序, or simply *jo* 序) writing during the latter half of the Heian period. Metaphorical language, along with the socio-cosmological conceptions enshrined therein, reveals itself in most genres of writing produced throughout the Heian period, especially poetry, both Sinitic and vernacular. My focus on Sinitic prefaces serves two ends: *first*, to foreground the literary and social importance of these understudied prefaces, and *second*, to show the remarkable degree to which these prefaces have been endowed with metaphorically pregnant language. For Heian literati, the prestige of composing a Sinitic preface was one of the highest marks of social and literary distinction. Our current understanding of Heian literature, although nuanced, is always open to reconsideration. A thorough study of Sinitic preface writing is necessary if we wish to gain a deeper, more nuanced picture of the complexity of Heian literature. The current paper is an invitation to just such a study.

As a means of emphasizing the tantalizingly unexplored nature of this particular field, I introduce a little known anthology of Sinitic prefaces bearing two titles, namely *Fusō kobunshū* 扶桑古文集 (Collection of Ancient Japanese Writings) and the more revealing *Waka manajoshū* 和歌真字序集 (Sinitic Prefaces to Vernacular Poetry), completed shortly after the middle of the twelfth century. A close analysis of the linguistic features and social context of two prefaces (nos. 22 and 11) forms the bulk of this discussion, insofar as these two prefaces, especially the second, provide us with revealing glimpses into the complex negotiation of metaphorical language prevalent in this genre.

Keywords: prefaces (*jo* 序)—*Fusō kobunshū* 扶桑古文集—*Waka manajoshū* 和歌真字序集—metaphor—Sinitic literature

Introduction

Presentation has always been an important feature of text production. Next to such material things as, say, binding style and paper quality, there is nothing quite as conspicuous as the preface. The world of English writing has witnessed the evolution of a magnificent tradition of preface writing. “No part of a book is so intimate as the Preface,” is a statement beyond much doubt.⁽²⁾ It is this very intimacy, coupled oft times with flourishes of well-crafted prose, that has succeeded in bequeathing to certain prefaces a reputation far more lasting than that of the various works to which they were at first prefixed. Prefaces, prologues, and epilogues of this sort possess a life of their own; they are specimens of fine writing admirable in their own right. King Alfred’s (847/849-899) lengthy preface to an Anglo-Saxon translation of Pope Gregory I’s (c.540-604) Latin ecclesiastical manual *Liber Regulae Pastoralis* (Pastoral Care, begun sometime around 591) remains a fascinating source of information concerning the state of Latin

(1) I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Dr. Mikael “Mickey” Adolphson (currently at the University of Cambridge), who first encouraged me to take up this rather untrodden avenue of investigation.

(2) Eliot, *Prefaces and Prologues to Famous Books*, “Introductory Note,” 3.

learning in ninth-century England.⁽³⁾ The Anglo-Saxon translation of Gregory's text, however, has long since been supplanted by more modern English translations. What was first intended as a paratext, something appearing alongside or around the main text, became at length a standalone text sufficient unto itself. While it is revealing, whenever possible, to consider prefaces in light of their paratextual relationship to parent texts, the current paper, due mainly to restrictions of space, deals with prefaces as texts in themselves, as standalone works of literature. As shall be made clear, this seems to be the manner in which Heian literati themselves dealt with prefaces.

Indeed, this situation in regards to the elevated status of prefaces was even more pronounced in the case of premodern China and Japan. On the China side, *Wenxuan* 文選 (J: *Monzen*, Selections of Refined Literature, early sixth century), an anthology of prose and poetry, being *the* continental exemplar par excellence upon which so many later anthologies—Chinese and Japanese alike—of Sinitic writing were based, contains a small collection of nine *xu* 序 (J: *jo*) or prefaces, all of which appear as standalone texts (fascicle 10). This is by no means a large number. Even so, the mere presence in this anthology of a section dedicated exclusively to prefaces is significant insofar as it served to enshrine prefaces as a separate genre of writing on the continent. This section would continue to grow in later anthologies. Another equally important—though less studied—continental anthology, Li Fang's 李昉 (925-996) *Wenyaun yinghua* 文苑英華 (J: *Bun'en eiga*, Precious Flowers from the Garden of Letters, 987), contains just over 100 standalone prefaces, divided into a number of subcategories, depending on the nature of the parent text to which these were first attached (fascicle 16-18). Following close upon the heels of this second anthology was a third by the name of *Tangwencui* 唐文粹 (J: *Tōmonzui*, Superb Letters of Tang), compiled in the year 1011 by Yao Xuan 姚鉉 (967-1020). This last anthology contains over 120 prefaces, some of them very lengthy, subdivided in a similar fashion as *Wenyaun yinghua* over a total of eight fascicles (fascicles 91-98). As may be gleaned from these three representative examples, the status of prefaces in China between the sixth and the tenth centuries continued to rise at a promisingly steady rate.

In Japan, too, we find the preface enjoying a no less prestigious reputation. Prefaces, written both in vernacular as well as Sinitic, and prefixed to early poetry anthologies compiled in the Nara and Heian courts have received ample attention, both in Japan and abroad. In particular, the two prefaces—one in the vernacular, the other in Sinitic—attached to *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 (Vernacular Poems Ancient and Modern, completed sometime around 905, or perhaps between 913-914) exerted remarkable influence over poetic discourse (*kagaku* 歌学) throughout the whole of the premodern period. Insofar as collections of standalone prefaces like those found in China are concerned, the earliest extant example in Japan is preserved in an anthology of Sinitic writing entitled *Keikokushū* 經国集 (Governing the Realm, 824), which contains a total of 51 Sinitic prefaces (fascicles 16-18). Incidentally, *Keikokushū* is the first Japanese anthology of Sinitic literature to give significant space to prose pieces, such as prefaces and examination questions (*saku* 策). It would seem that the purpose of this anthology was to preserve the finest samples of Sinitic letters, both prose and poetry, produced since the Nara period. Despite the presence of Nara-period writings in *Keikokushū*, it should be noted that a large portion of the pieces in this anthology was composed by the then retired Emperor Saga 嵯峨天皇 (786-842, r. 809-823), along with his privileged coterie of early Heian-period literati. This anthology, therefore, is much more representative of the early Heian period, especially of Emperor Saga's personal circle, than it is of the Nara period. It seems that the practice of collecting Sinitic prefaces and preserving them in larger anthologies was initiated in the early Heian court, in particular by Saga himself. This practice, in turn, was undoubtedly modelled after *Wenxuan*.

For several centuries after Saga's demise, the Heian court did not produce any imperially commissioned (*chokusen* 勅撰) anthologies of Sinitic writing. So far as Sinitic literature is concerned, the latter half of the ninth to the end of the tenth century might loosely be referred to as the period of private collections (*shikashū* 私家集). Fortunately, a number of standalone Sinitic prefaces have been preserved in at least two private collections of Sinitic writing. Miyako no Yoshika's 都良香 (834-879) *Toshi bunshū* 都氏文集 (Collected Works of Miyako no Yoshika) was completed sometime near the end of the poet's life or shortly thereafter. Of the original six fascicles that made up this collection only three are extant. One of these, fascicle 3, contains a small selection of prefaces composed by

(3) Pratt, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great*, 115-124.

Yoshika. Likewise, Sugawara no Michizane's 菅原道真 (845-903) *Kanke bunsō* 菅家文草 (Literary Drafts of the Sugawara family), compiled by the poet himself and presented to Emperor Daigo 醍醐天皇 (885-930, r. 897-930) in 900, contains 27 prefaces, all by Michizane himself (fascicle 7). I strongly suspect that the private collection of Sinitic writings by Shimada no Tadaomi 嶋田忠臣 (828-891), *Denshi kashū* 田氏家集 (The Shimada Family Anthology), most likely compiled sometime after his death, contained a sampling of prefaces. Unfortunately, *Denshi kashū* has come down to us in what appears to be a fragmentary form, and there is no saying for sure what exactly the lost fascicles might have contained. As it stands, all we have is 213 of the man's Sinitic poems—nothing more.

In 1060, Fujiwara no Akihira 藤原明衡 (c.989-1066) compiled a private anthology consisting of the Sinitic writings of a large number of Japanese writers. To this anthology he gave the revealing title *Honchō monzui* 本朝文粹 (Superb Letters of Our Realm). While Akihira seems to have divided his gathered texts in accordance with the classification scheme found in *Wenxuan*, the actual content of each fascicle more closely resembles that found in the aforementioned *Tangwencui*. It is no coincidence, of course, that Akihira decide to call his anthology *Honchō monzui*, replacing the *Tang* (loosely, China) of *Tangwencui* with *Honchō* (loosely, Japan), retaining the final *wencui/monzui* (superb letters). Remember, too, that *Tangwencui* was completed in 1011, while Akihira's *Honchō monzui* was completed only half a century after that. Considering the fact that it took some time for *Tangwencui* to reach Japan, the anthology would have been considered a piece of modern writing in Akihira's time, and hence the perfect model for an innovative man eager to present his readers with a number of new genres of Sinitic writing. Most interesting for our present discussion is the sheer number of prefaces contained in *Honchō monzui*: over 150 prefaces in four fascicles (fascicles 8-11), thirty more than the number of prefaces preserved in *Tangwencui*. This is a remarkable number, especially considering that *Honchō monzui* contains a total of some 420 pieces of writing. Prefaces alone occupy over one-third of the entire anthology. By way of comparison, the relative weight of prefaces in *Tangwencui*, with its total of some 2,000 pieces of writing, amounts to little more than one-twentieth of the whole.

In the world of Sinitic writing, even more so—*much* more so, in fact—within the Heian court than on the continent, the preface enjoyed a prestige unsurpassed by any other Sinitic genre, aside, of course, from the classic poem 詩 (Ch: *shi*; J: *shi*), and, to a much lesser degree, the rhapsody 賦 (Ch: *fu*; J: *fu*). Satō Michio, whose work on poems composed around thematic verses (*kudaishi* 句題詩) is rife with political considerations, rightly refers to these prefaces as the very substance, the *raison d'être*, of a scholar's existence.⁽⁴⁾ This is most obviously the case throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when Heian courtiers seem to have exerted a great deal of energy collecting and composing large numbers of prefaces, the vast majority of which were written expressly for small collections of poems, vernacular and Sinitic, presented at any number of public gatherings. As was the case with *Tangwencui* and *Honchō monzui*, these prefaces were preserved not as paratexts but as more-or-less independent texts. Most of the prefaces found in *Honchō monzui*, for example, are in effect orphans, their parent texts—most of which would have been collections of poems—having long since been lost to us.

So long as we limit ourselves to the bulk of secondary scholarship on eleventh- and twelfth-century (that is, late Heian) Sinitic preface writing in Japan, our attention is bound to be directed to the content and immediate influence of *Honchō monzui*. Further investigation, however, reveals a number of relatively unexplored texts. One of these is an anthology of Sinitic prefaces likely compiled sometime just after the middle of the twelfth century. This work has been given two alternative titles: the extant handwritten manuscript of this work has been registered as *Waka manajoshū* 和歌真字序集 (Sinitic Prefaces to Vernacular Poetry), while the typeset edition has been given the name *Fusō kobunshū* 扶桑古文集 (Collection of Ancient Japanese Writings).⁽⁵⁾ This latter title will be used throughout our

(4) Satō, "Shijo to kudaishi," 16. On the topic of *kudaishi*, see, in English, Wiebke Denecke, "'Topic Poetry is All Ours': Poetry Composition on Chinese Lines in Early Heian Japan," in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 67:1 (June 2007), 1-49.

(5) Not a great deal of scholarship is to be found regarding this document. So far as I can tell, there is nothing in English. Both the facsimile as well as the typeset editions of this document have been published through the Historiographical Institute at Tokyo University: for the facsimile edition, see, Fujiwara Shigeo 藤原重雄, *Waka manajoshū* 和歌真字序集, in Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo, ed., *Heian Kamakura kiroku tensekishū* 平安鎌倉記録典籍集, Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo in'ei sōsho, volume 2 (Tokyo: Yagi shoten. 2007); for the typeset edition, see "*Fusō kobunshū*" 扶桑古文集, in *Tōkyō daigaku shiryō hensanjo* 東京大学史料編纂所報 2 (1967), under the final section entitled *shiryō shōkai* 史料紹介, 1-15. The facsimile edition contains a short bibliography (p.

discussion, unless referring explicitly to the handwritten manuscript, in which case the title *Waka manajoshū* will be adopted. Probably copied sometime in the early thirteenth century, this manuscript—the only extant manuscript of this text—takes the form of a long scroll. A number of letters addressed to Ōe no Hiromoto 大江廣元 (1148-1225), one of Minamoto no Yoritomo's 源頼朝 (1147-1199) closest vassals, have been glued together side-by-side, on the reverse side of which the *Waka manajoshū* has been copied. Among these missives, one clearly shows the date Anzen 安元 2 (1176), while another is proposed to date from Kenkyū 建久 7 (1196). A colophon appended to *Waka manajoshū* gives the date of completion of this document as Ōhō 応保 2 (1162). This must be the date of some older copy, and not that of our manuscript, for it is obvious that the latter, having been written on the reverse side of the aforementioned letters only *after* they had been gathered (sometime after they had been received, and consequently deemed no longer useful) and pasted together, cannot have been composed any earlier than the end of the twelfth century.⁽⁶⁾ Therefore, what we have is apparently a late twelfth-century (or perhaps even later) copy of a manuscript that was itself completed in 1162, less than two decades after the latest preface (dated at 1144) in the document was originally presented. The man who authored/presented this last preface was an aristocrat by the name of Fujiwara no Masanori 藤原雅教 (1113-1173) who was still alive when the 1162 version of *Waka manajoshū* was completed.

In its current, incomplete, form, the *Fusō kobunshū* contains twenty-nine prefaces, all written in Sinitic, some for banquets in which vernacular poems (*waka* 和歌) were recited, others for events in which Sinitic poems (*kanshi* 漢詩) were presented. The earliest preface (no. 22) in this anthology was composed by an aristocratic scholar by the name of Ōe no Chisato 大江千里 (n.d.) sometime around the beginning of the tenth century. This seems—at least at first sight—to be a stray addition, considering the next earliest preface (preface no. 25) was composed sometime shortly before Kankō 寛弘 8 (1011), while the latest (preface no. 29) contains the date Tenji 天治 2 (1144). That is to say, aside from Chisato's preface, the remaining twenty-eight pieces were composed within a period of about a century and a half of each other. Roughly speaking, the largest concentration of prefaces occurs between the years 1099 and 1112, with a total of nine prefaces composed during this period. In the appendix to this paper, I have included a table containing all prefaces found in *Fusō kobunshū*, rearranged in chronological order, including such information as composer and venue. The manuscript as we have it does not arrange these prefaces in chronological order. Precisely what sort of standards the compiler or compilers of this manuscript employed when arranging these prefaces remains uncertain.

In most cases, what we do know for certain is the historical occasions that prompted these prefaces: public banquets (*kōen* 公宴). These banquets commonly consisted of drinking, feasting, music, and poetry composition continuing into the wee hours of the night. Poems composed during these occasions were promptly collected and, in many cases, preserved for posterity in larger literary anthologies, such as the aforementioned *Honchō monzui* 本朝文粹, and its sequel *Honchō zokumonzui* 本朝続文粹 (Essential Letters of Our Realm, Continued, completed sometime after 1140), both of which were completed before the 1162 version of *Waka manajoshū* was compiled. Only the most socially prominent men of letters were given the privilege of writing prefaces for individual banquet poetry sessions. The preface was not only an introduction detailing the circumstances under which a given banquet had occurred, but a poetic work of literary refinement unto itself. Again, that compilers of mid-Heian literary anthologies viewed these prefaces with utmost admiration is evident when one considers that, in most anthologies, only the prefaces were included—the poems to which such prefaces were appended have either been lost or preserved in other, less public (and therefore, in their time, less prestigious) anthologies.

Gustav Heldt, in the introduction to *The Pursuit of Harmony*, a monograph dealing with public Heian poetry competitions and socio-political motivations behind the editorial processes involved in poetry anthologies, has elo-

7-8) of the relevant Japanese scholarship on this document. Special mention should be made here of three articles that are particularly relevant to any discussion of *Fusō kobunshū*: Ōsone Shōsuke 大曾根章介, "Wakajo shōkō" 和歌序小考, in *Nihon kanbungaku ronshū* 日本漢文学論集, volume 1, 588-605 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoten, 1998); Satō Michio 佐藤道生, "Shijo to kudaishi" 詩序と句題詩, in *Nihon kangaku kenkyū* 日本漢学研究, volume 2, 15-33 (Tokyo: Zuiboku shobō, 1998); Yamazaki Makoto 山崎誠, "Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui ni tsuite" 平安朝佚名詩序集拔萃について, in *Chūsei gakumonshi no kitei to tenkai* 中世学問史の基底と展開, 813-948 (Osaka: Izumi shoin, 1993).

(6) I must thank Dr. Kondō Shigekazu, formerly of the Historiographical Institute (Shiryō hensanjo 史料編纂所) at Tokyo University, for all his help in regards to gaining access to the original manuscript of *Waka manajoshū*.

quently summarized the relevant issues involved in an examination of this sort. The public presentation of poetry at ritualized banquets, wherein the words of a superior were mirrored and thereby reaffirmed, acted as a means of generating an atmosphere of harmony. Cosmological concepts involving the interpenetration of celestial and terrestrial forces—generally, heaven and man—channeled through the performative power of verse, could serve as potent means of political legitimization.⁽⁷⁾ Public poetry recital was a form of ritual. Rituals, whether religious or secular—it makes little difference—help provide a degree of stability in socio-political relations, while investing certain actions with symbolic meaning. Though standardized behavior forms a defining facet of ritual, these rituals, far from being merely static or rigid conventions, were inherently dynamic, powerful agents of social construction.⁽⁸⁾

My own approach is saturated with an interpretation of Heian cosmology that places exceptional importance on the *perpetual coordination of heterogeneous forces*. An interplay of complementary forces—celestial and terrestrial, divine and secular, superior and inferior, masculine and feminine—results in the production of a myriad of heterogeneous, that is, fundamentally incongruent phenomena, any number of which could theoretically be harmonized through, for example, the exchange of poems or artifacts between two complimentary parties acting in a ritualized context. Such harmonization served a twofold purpose, simultaneously differentiating and unifying, reaffirming the dominant hierarchy while gesturing toward a potential re-coordination of various elements within this same hierarchy. Focusing on the socio-political aspect of this cosmology reveals a predominance of the former, that is, an incessant need to reaffirm hierarchical roles, to assert dominance, resulting in acts of *exclusion*. On the other hand, focusing on the literary aspect brings to light a predominance of the latter, namely, a ceaseless series of provocative gestures and counter-gestures aimed at blurring these boundaries, in order that a more *inclusive* web of relationships might thus prevail. Throughout this paper, the word harmonization should be understood as embracing both of these mutually beneficial trends.

In line with my current approach, I have very deliberately selected two prefaces (nos. 22 and 11) from *Fusō kobunshū*, insofar as both of these prefaces provide us with exceptionally rich instances of the manner in which skilled authors sought to coordinate heterogeneous forces through the vehicle of metaphorical imagery. Preface no. 22, written sometime near the beginning of the tenth century, foregrounds the transformative efficacy of metaphorical language. As shall be made clear below, there is an important difference between what we refer to as metaphor, on the one hand, and simile, on the other. Whether or not a writer uses terms such as ‘like’ or ‘as’ does make a difference. Sinitic prefaces composed by Heian courtiers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries more often than not refrain from employing simile. Instead, they speak in purely metaphorical terms, as though the transformations they describe were actually taking place before their eyes. By contrasting preface no. 22 (early tenth century) with preface no. 11 (late eleventh century), it will be seen just how far these Heian writers came in terms of their ability to create metaphorical spaces in which, so it seems, real transformative efficacy was enshrined. For all intents and purposes, it certainly does appear that these writers expected their prefaces to *do* something. Metaphorical language was used in a quasi-magical manner, such that transformations taking place within the literary space of the preface were supposed to result in analogous reverberations throughout the real world.

Ōe no Chisato’s Preface: Metaphorical Signifiers

As mentioned above, the earliest preface (no. 22) included in *Fusō kobunshū* was written by Ōe no Chisato 大江千里 (n.d.), who, in Kanpyō 寛平 6 (894), was ordered by Emperor Uda 宇多天皇 (867-931, r. 887-897) to compile and present an anthology of vernacular poetry composed variously by himself and other members of the Ōe family. An honored Chisato promptly produced a sampling of more than one hundred poems, many of which are essentially vernacular adaptations of earlier continental Chinese poems, fittingly entitled *Kudai waka* 句題和歌 (Vernacular Poems on Sinitic Topical Verses, n.d.).⁽⁹⁾ As may be understood from the nature of this anthology, Chi-

(7) Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 2, 11, 35.

(8) Knottnerus, *Ritual as a Missing Link*, 2-4, 17.

(9) Regarding the date and details of Uda’s imperial order to Chisato, see *Nihon kiryaku*, Kanpyō 6 (894) 4/22; see also the preface to *Kudai waka*, quoted in *Dainihon shiryō*, 1:2, 145-6).

sato was a man whose poetic world, like that of his contemporaries, was one in which the warp of vernacular poetry and the woof of Sinitic versification were seamlessly and creatively interwoven. The Sinitic preface preserved in *Fusō kobunshū* and attributed to Chisato was composed to commemorate a gathering held in late spring at the Pond Pagoda (Chitei 池亭). As the headnote of this preface reveals, a total of fourteen poems—vernacular or Sinitic, we cannot tell—were presented at the gathering in question. This event was, it would seem, hosted by a certain prince who, in virtue of having been appointed to the prestigious post of minister of ceremony (*shikubukyō* 式部卿), was known to his fellow aristocrats by the Siniticized moniker Prince of Ceremony, or Rihō 吏部王, where *rihō* is the continental equivalent of the Japanese *shikibu*. While the identity of this Prince of Ceremony remains uncertain, the most likely candidate here is Prince Shigeakira 重明親王 (906-954), fourth son of Emperor Daigo, who was granted the post of minister of ceremony sometime before Tenryaku 天曆 5 (951), which is more than half a century after Chisato is supposed to have submitted his family anthology to Emperor Uda.⁽¹⁰⁾

[*Fusō kobunshū*, preface no. 22]

[A gathering hosted by a member of the] family of the imperial prince.⁽¹¹⁾

On the third day of the third month, at the Pond Pagoda Gathering of the Prince of Ceremony. Fourteen poems, complete with preface.

Ōe no Chisato

It so happened one evening near the end of spring that a drove of exquisitely comely maidens—as fine as any Cathay ever sported!—were spending the night watch together in the Pond Pagoda, [that most scenic haunt] of our grand Prince of Ceremony. Now, there are two little islands in the midst of this pond. [Come spring] gathered upon the center of these islands may be found a whole host of blossoming trees and fragrant grasses; along their coasts, standing there side by side, are evergreen pines and boulders of marvelous form. Wisteria vines drape their purple fronds over emerald-green pines with their five-needled leaves; cherry blossoms brush their blushing petals against the jade-green tendrils of willow trees standing six in a row. Clusters of [yellow] coltsfoot reflect their hues upon the waves; moonlight through the pines shimmers along the coastline. A meandering bridge zigzags its way between these two neighbouring islands; balustrades winding their way [along this bridge] mark out a path across the pond for our sovereign's boat.

Not a single man was to be found here; only numbers of refined ladies [graced the scene]. There were [for instance] four young serving girls all clad in yellow-green, treading upon bejewelled sandals, looking like the green willow branches and the yellow nightingale; there were [moreover] eight mature consorts, dressed in dark-red, draped in purple embroidery, looking like the flowers of the wisteria and the stamens of cherry blossoms. Now tuning the bridges of their zithers, they sang among themselves of the intimate nightingales; now decorating themselves with flowers of the meadow, they secretly charmed [even] the fluttering butterflies.

Each and every one in attendance offered up elegant verses as charming as the flowers [then] in bloom; together [with their verses] they have left for posterity an accurate record of this our truly fruitful age.⁽¹²⁾ I, Ōe no Chisato, but a passing guest [unworthy of being numbered among the formal attendants at this magnificent gathering], have, for my part, taken the liberty of here recording a few details pertaining to the occasion in question.

(10) For the date of Prince Shigeakira's appointment to minister of ceremony, see *Seikyūki*, Tenryaku 5 (951) 11 (probably erratum for 12)/5 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 1:9, 780).

(11) In the original manuscript, this bit—親王家—has been written in a smaller script, and was almost certainly added later as a sort of descriptive label directed at the reader. It is unlikely that this was part of Chisato's original preface.

(12) There is a play on words at work in this little couplet. The phrase *kashi* 花詞, appearing in the first part of the couplet, means literally flower-words, that is, verses as elegant and beautiful as flowers, while the corresponding phrase *jitsroku* 實録, appearing in the second half of the couplet means simultaneously accurate record and, in virtue of the resonance between *ka* 花, flower, and *jitsu* 實, fruit, a record of fruitful things or times.

親王家 三月三日吏部王池亭会 十四首 大江千里
并序

晚春寓直吏部大王池亭者、趙姬吳娃。如于於是池中有二嶋。嶋中攢生樹花芳草、岸邊雙立貞松奇巖。紫藤厭五葉之碧松、紅櫻接六株之翠柳。款冬映波、松月照岸。嶋岸相介巨鴈齒之橋、池欄相通飛龍頭之船。

即無一男子、唯有數女郎。童女四人着翹塵曳玉履、擬青柳黃鶯之姿。長姬八人服蘇芳被紫繡、擬藤花桜藥之色。或調於箏琴之柱、自韻闕々之鶯。或裝於草木之花、暗媚翻々之蝶。

各獻花詞、共敘實錄。行客大江千里聊記之而已。

Chisato's preface is a real *tour de force* of scenic description. Interestingly, for all its attention to detail, his preface lacks any concrete description regarding the historical circumstances surrounding this event or of its participants—articles present, as a rule, in Heian prefaces, of the sort, for example, preserved in *Honchō monzui*.⁽¹³⁾ Chisato's preface might be seen as an example of a transitional period in the genre, when conventions of composition had not yet been firmly established.

Despite its lack of historical detail, Chisato's preface offers a superb example of the manner in which tenth-century poets used prefaces as a means of constructing imagined metaphorical spaces in which readers were invited to participate in a deliberate double vision. In particular, Chisato employs a certain telling phrase, occurring in the first couplet, translated above tentatively as “look like.” The young serving girls *look like* green willow branches and yellow nightingales; the older consorts *look like* purple wisteria blossoms and purple-pink cherry blossom stamens. In the original, for both instances of “look like,” we find the character 擬, which is usually read phonetically as *gi* (or, in verb form, as *gisu*), though in this case it seems more appropriate to read it semantically as *omou*, which might be rendered here by the more casual (and much less poetic) phrase “you would think (they looked like)...,” or “(they) looked for all the world (like)...” This 擬 (*gisu/omou*), while rendered above in the language of simile—‘like’ or ‘as’—is, in fact, more akin to metaphor: what this character suggests is close to a process of anthropomorphism, though in the opposite direction, namely, the human women are being visualized as flowers. This character 擬 is significant, for it reinforces the cosmological function of poetry, that is, the coordination of the terrestrial—natural phenomena and the march of the seasons—with the terrestrial—female participants at the banquet. Chisato creates a metaphoric space in which these women are temporarily transformed into, or at least intimately coordinated with, the various phenomena with which they are being associated. The act of coordination, of metamorphosis, is being carried out before our eyes. For the duration of this poetic act, and each successive recitation thereafter—including the recitation within this very paper—these women *become* flowers and birds. Poetic transformation within metaphorical spaces is, as LaMarre puts it, a conscious complication (or doubling) of vision, facilitating the simultaneous emergence of various patterns and rhythms. Once our vision has been sufficiently complicated, once we are able to see a number of images simultaneously superimposed atop one another, we begin to sense, indeed, participate in, the resonance between terrestrial and celestial forces.⁽¹⁴⁾

Chisato, as we have seen, claims there was not a single man at the banquet. Of course, that is not completely true. Chisato, for one, was permitted to attend—otherwise he is reporting on mere hearsay. Furthermore, if parallels between this and the other poetry competitions of 913 and 921 discussed above hold true, there were most likely a large number of men present. Perhaps Chisato is referring strictly to the garden, replete with a pond and two islands, in which he quietly observes these women singing and frolicking about. “Now tuning the bridges of their zithers, they sang among themselves of the intimate nightingales,” and so on, if taken literally, certainly suggests the presence of men somewhere within earshot—unless he is imagining things for the sake of presenting a charming fiction. Poetic transformation occurs more profoundly in this couplet, when the women now *become* nightingales and butterflies. These women are not said to resemble or look like these things; they become them. Metaphoric space permits a rapid succession of metamorphoses, the psychological effect of which is neither alarming nor frightful.

(13) This decision on Chisato's part to omit any details that would lead us to a clearer understanding of the concrete historical circumstances surrounding this gathering is puzzling, and has been duly noted by Ōsone, “Wakajo shōkō,” 590.

(14) LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan*, 172-179.

Much like in a dream, we observe the change in our mind's eye as something perfectly natural, and perhaps even as *necessary*. These women, by being transformed in this manner, simultaneously serve as a locus of cosmological and sexual harmony. If, by extended acquaintance with Heian poetry, we become attuned to such cosmological rhythms, Chisato's poetic words begin to have a much stronger, more immediate psychological impact. His metaphors, far from being mere word-play, take on a *reality* unique to metaphoric spaces such as these.

One Preface, Five Poets: Communally Constructed Metaphorical Spaces

Let us turn our attention from Chisato's early preface to another, no. 11 in our manuscript, composed about a century and a half later, in the spring of Jōtoku 承德 3 (1099). This preface is unique insofar as it is the work of five men. Even more so than Chisato's preface, this group piece, precisely because it is a group composition, demonstrates to what heights the practice of constructing communal metaphorical spaces could soar. Special attention must be paid to the underlined verses, both in the translation as well as the corresponding sections of the original, as these will form the basis of the ensuing discussion.

[*Fusō kobunshū*, preface no. 11]

Vernacular poems composed together in late spring on the Sinitic thematic verse "The garden is buried in falling flowers." Preface included.⁽¹⁵⁾ Held at the previous mansion.⁽¹⁶⁾

暮春同詠「落花埋庭」和歌 加小序 同前殿

Taira no Suketoshi [n.d.], *san'i*⁽¹⁷⁾

Composed on the third month in the third year of Jōtoku [1099]⁽¹⁸⁾

On this day, five or six of us like-minded men took it upon ourselves to lament the imminent passing of spring, to which end we, loyal and learned companions that we are, set our gaze over the vernal scene before us. It was at this time that we spied the falling blossoms bidding adieu to their branches, only to cover the garden in an airy film of rouge. As floating willow [hoary] catkins scattered here and there, snow upon the smooth sand grew ever more vivid; as the cascading colors of apricot petals fluttered about, a rainbow of dancing dust glowed an even brighter red. Come, I pray you, let us act in accordance with custom and each recite a vernacular poem!

散位平祐俊

承德三年三月

斯日也、我黨五六計輩。憐九春之欲暮、伴三益而眺望。于時、落花辭朶、輕粧埋庭。柳絮飄兮紛々、平沙之雪添艷。杏艷落兮片々、遊塵之虹增紅者也。請課習俗、各詠和歌而已。

(15) The term for preface here is *shōjo* 小序, literally, short preface. In comparison to prefaces composed for Sinitic poems, those written for vernacular poems tended to be shorter in length. Historically, whereas the former were simply referred to as poem prefaces (*shijo* 詩序), the latter were known as substitute prefaces (*jodai* 序代 or 序題), that is, substitutes insofar as they were later developments modeled after the long-established, and therefore more genuine prefaces for Sinitic poems. Being relatively short compositions, these substitute prefaces were also known as short prefaces (*shōjo*). For a more detailed consideration of this term, see Ōsone, "Wakajo shōkō," especially 588-589.

(16) This final sentence, written in smaller script in the manuscript, was likely inserted by the editor as an explanatory note to the reader. The previous mansion, *zenden* 前殿, likely refers to the Toba Mansion 鳥羽院, the venue of preface no. 10.

(17) The term *san'i* 散位 refers to a courtier who, while holding a court rank, yet lacks an official post in the court bureaucracy. This need not necessarily signify that the courtier in question was a petty official unable to secure a post, as even men of the prestigious third rank sometimes went without a post.

(18) This, too, is written in smaller script in the manuscript, and seems to serve as an interlinear gloss indicating the exact date of an otherwise ambiguous "on this day" 斯日.

Ōe no Iekuni [n.d.], vice-governor of Tosa [modern-day Kōchi]

[Indeed] at this [very] time, when spring was quickly drawing to a close, we betook ourselves to dally amidst that lovely vernal scene, where falling blossoms were on the verge of covering the charming garden. Back and forth we tread, our bejewelled sandals peeking out from amidst the red; falling blossoms flutter up and down—O, the color of green moss turns snow-white! When the heart is thus incited so to sing, the will is at a loss to halt its movement. And so, here is my poem.⁽¹⁹⁾

土州別駕大江家國

時也、春將闌而遊勝地、花漸落而埋幽庭。行々重行々、珠履之擊穿紅、漠々復漠々、綠苔之色變雪者歟。志之所之、欲罷不能。其詞曰。

Fujiwara no Atsumitsu [1063-1144], *san'i*

On this the third [and last] month of spring, [we sit gathered here] in a garden where myriad blossoms are falling all around us. Those bright hues [that once bejewelled] these woods are now fading; those fragrances [that once were so sweet] now linger but faintly throughout this garden. Motley petals follow the footsteps of men in bejewelled sandals coming and going; drifting blossoms vie for brilliance with men clad in brocade garments on their way to the banquet. Sighing and lamenting [the passing of vernal beauty] is not enough: what can a man like me do [to soothe his heart] but sing out in verses!

散位藤原敦光

三月漸暮之天、百花旁落之地。林間艷少、庭上句餘。珠履往還之人、雜藥隨步。錦衣趨拜之客、輕葩爭粧。不足嗟歎、聊以詠歌而已。

Fujiwara no Aritada [n.d.], junior assistant of the ministry of justice

This is the third moon [i.e., late spring] of the year, and here we are already halfway through the month! A warm wind is blowing now through the woods; falling blossoms are covering up the garden. Vivid red blossoms flutter about—mist upon the surface of sand glimmers so brightly; powdered pigments scattered here and there—snow upon the mossy hair glows a pure white! All that is left for us men to do now [sorrowful as we are to watch the spring passing us by] is compose a handful of prefaces and intone some of those vernacular songs of thirty-one syllables.

刑部丞藤原有忠

三月之天、仲旬之候。暖風渡林間、落花埋庭上。紅艷粉飛、沙面之霞爛々。粉粧散乱、苔髮之雪皚々者也。聊綴兩三首之序、作卅一字之詠而已。

Fujiwara no Nagazane, former honors student in the faculty of letters at the imperial university

Flowers, we all know, are bound to fall every spring; gardens, we know well, grow more sombre as the year wears on. Look upon that powder with its dark and light hues, its vivid and fading shades; see how [before

(19) Iekuni's vernacular poem should, by all rights, have appeared immediately after his preface. Unfortunately, none of the poems from this gathering survive.

our very eyes] it covers the white sands and green mosses about this garden. I knew not that waves, churning atop one another, could roll without a sound, nor that snow, lingering over from last year, could effuse such a fragrance. I, this dull fellow, am secretly vexed within, having thus been invited to compose a vernacular poem. [Even so,] here are my verses.⁽²⁰⁾

前文章得業生藤原永實

花者每春亂落、庭者追年彌幽。以彼濃淡淺深之粧、埋此白砂青苔之色。不知波暈而無聲歟、又不知雪宿而有匂歟。蒙竊惑、請課和歌。其詞曰。

Looking at the preface alone, we are able to glean the following information: this was a gathering of five or six men; it was held sometime in the middle of the third lunar month, in the third year of Jōtoku 承德, that is, 1099; the poems presented on this occasion were vernacular verses; these poems were composed around the Sinitic thematic topic “the garden is buried in falling flowers” (*rakka niwa wo umu* 落花埋庭). That is all we are told. Two Heian diaries, *Chūyūki* 中右記 (Diary of Munetada, 1138) and *Honchō seiki* 本朝世紀 (Records of an era in our land, 1159), contain entries mentioning an event that may be closely related to this banquet.⁽²¹⁾ *Chūyūki* tells us that on the twenty-eight day of the third month of 1099, a royal archery contest was held. On this same day, a playful mock archery contest, involving small toy bows and arrows, was held in the Rear Palace (Kōkyū 後宮), along with various other festivities, including *kemari* 蹴鞠 (a type of dignified kickball played by Heian aristocrats), music, and a royal gathering in which vernacular poems were presented.⁽²²⁾ Though we might be tempted to equate this latter gathering with the banquet of preface no. 11, a similar, more descriptive entry in *Honchō seiki* shows a number of discrepancies. Namely, the author of the preface to the poetry gathering in the Rear Palace is given as Fujiwara no Masaie 藤原正家 (1026-1111), a high-ranking official of the fourth rank lower grade, and a university professor who served as imperial tutor to Emperor Horikawa 堀川天皇 (1079-1107, r. 1086-11107). Preface no. 11 does not list Masaie among its five authors. Furthermore, the Sinitic thematic verse selected for the gathering is given as “The wind is silent, the flowers fragrant” (*kaze shizuka ni shite hana kōbashi* 風靜花芳), which, of course, does not match that of preface no. 11. The former chief minister along with those beneath him were in attendance at this extravagant occasion.⁽²³⁾ In contrast to this, the event described in preface no. 11 was attended by no more than five or six literati—hardly an extravagant affair.

Taira no Suketoshi 平祐俊 (n.d.), the first author listed in preface no. 11, seems to have been somehow involved with the civil ministry (*minbushō* 民部省), having been granted the junior fifth rank lower grade in Ōtoku 応徳 3 (1086).⁽²⁴⁾ If he ever had an official position in the civil ministry, he was no longer holding any such position when this preface was written; in the *Fusō kobunshū*, Suketoshi is designated as *san'i* 散位, that is, one who, though holding a rank, lacked an official position. The third author, Fujiwara no Atsumitsu 藤原敦光 (1063-1144), is also listed as *san'i* at the time of this event, though he later climbed the political ladder, serving as imperial tutor. Two other authors in this group, Fujiwara no Aritada 藤原有忠 (n.d.) and Ōe no Iekuni 大江家國 (n.d.), remain unknown to us; there is nothing substantial regarding these men in the historical record. The final author, Fujiwara no Nagazane 藤原永實 (?-1119) is listed as a former *monjō tokugōshō* 文章得業生, a title referring to a university scholar in the faculty of letters whose exceptional academic achievements granted him a seat at the state examination—essentially the

(20) The first portion of this line—“I, this dull fellow, am secretly vexed within”—is slightly odd in the original. The manuscript has *mō hisoka ni madoinu* 蒙竊惑, while the editors of the typeset edition have understandably inserted an interlinear gloss that reads: “Perhaps a character has been lost here?” My own translation is tentative.

(21) I have translated *Chūyūki* as *Diary of Munetada*, considering *chūyū* is an abbreviation for Naka no mikado 中御門 (family name) and *udaijin* 右大臣 (minister of the right), which denote the house and station respectively of Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠 (1062-1141).

(22) For the details of this banquet, see *Chūyūki*, Kōwa 1=Jōtoku 3 (1099) 3/28 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:5, 337).

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

(24) *Misokui joi burui* 御即位叙位部類, Horikawa-in, Ōtoku 3 (1086) 12/16 (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:1, 22, 26).

fast road to political success. The date of this man's death, Gen'ei 元永 2 (1119) 11/12, is recorded in *Sonpi bunmyaku* 尊卑分脈 (Collected genealogies, late 14th c.). This same entry gives his rank as junior fourth rank lower grade, and his official post as senior secretary (*dainaiiki* 大内記), a position limited to graduates from the faculty of letters.⁽²⁵⁾ It seems that, among the five men who composed short prefaces, Nagazane alone held a position of substantial power at the time of this event.

The extravagant banquet, complete with games, music, and vernacular poetry recitation, and held in the Rear Palace—the event recorded in *Chūyūki* and *Honchō seiki*—must be viewed as distinct from the more modest banquet attended by this handful of relatively low-ranking gentlemen. Whereas the former is recorded as having occurred on the twenty-eighth day of the third month, the latter, according to Aritada's use of the phrase “the middle of the month,” seems to have been held sometime between the eleventh and the twentieth day of this same month. That these banquets occurred within ten odd days of each other may be coincidental, though it seems reasonable to assume some relationship between the two events—though what exactly that relationship was is by no means clear. What we might say with confidence is this: whereas the grand banquet and festivities of the twenty-eighth day were organized and attended by high-ranking nobility, and held within the Rear Palace, the banquet mentioned in preface no. 11 was a small-scale, relatively private affair. By “private” here is meant simply *somewhat more removed*—both politically as well as cosmologically—from the court. That is not to say this banquet was insignificant. An interlinear gloss appearing beside the title of this preface indicating the venue states that this event was held at the same mansion as the previous banquet. If this gloss is referring to the previous preface (no. 10), the venue would have been none other than the Toba Mansion (Toba'in 鳥羽院), a villa frequented by, among others after him, Retired Emperor Shirakawa 白河天皇 (1053-1129, r. 1073-1087, cloistered rule 1087-1129). During the Kōwa 康和 years (1099-1103) alone, two dozen processions led by this retired emperor to the Toba Mansion are recorded, five instances of which occurred on the second or third day of the first month of each year.⁽²⁶⁾ This mansion, located several kilometers south of the capital (see **figure 1**), and therefore also known appropriately as the Villa South of the Capital (Jōnan rikyū 城南離宮), is mentioned, either directly or indirectly, as the venue for poetry gatherings in at least eight prefaces in our *Fusō kobunshū* (preface nos. 4, 2, 11, 15, 10, 9, 27, 13). A venue of this nature, therefore, far from being insignificant, possessed well-pronounced socio-political nuances. Consequently, the banquet described in preface no. 11, though ostensibly less extravagant than that held in the Rear Palace several days later, was charged with its own deeply felt political connotations. That this set of five short prefaces was selected as worthy of preservation in the *Fusō kobunshū* is ample evidence of its high reception.

The significance of the Kōwa years deserves some attention here. As Mikael Adolphson has observed, Emperor Shirakawa's sudden rise to dominance within the court began sometime after 1100. Two of the most influential Fujiwara chieftains, Morozane 藤原師実 (1042-1101) and his son, Moromichi 藤原師通 (1062-1099), died within two years of one another, leaving the latter's young son, Tadazane 藤原忠実 (1078-1162), to manage Fujiwara political affairs at court. Shirakawa, though technically retired, was able to keep Tadazane under thumb, effectively quelling the once seemingly unconquerable Fujiwara bloc.⁽²⁷⁾ A sudden surge, therefore, of royal processions, many to the Toba Mansion, as well as poetry banquets during the Kōwa years may be explained by Shirakawa's unprecedented

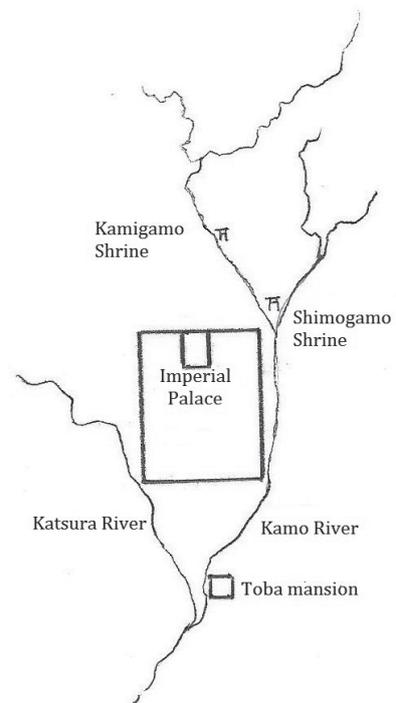


Figure 1. Location of the Toba mansion.

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⁽²⁵⁾ *Sonpi bunmyaku* 尊卑分脈, Fujiwara uji, Sadatsugu no mago (*Dainihon shiryō*, 3:23, 115).

⁽²⁶⁾ Various entries in *Dainihon shiryō*, 3:5-6.

⁽²⁷⁾ Adolphson, *Gates of Power*, 75-81.

rise to power over his Fujiwara rivals. These celebratory occasions served to legitimize Shirakawa's newly obtained authority.

Let us now turn our attention to the content of these five short prefaces, focusing on the way in which a mutual metaphorical space is created wherein cosmologico-aesthetic elements are effectively expressed. Again, the Sinitic thematic verse around which these literati composed their poems was “The garden is buried in falling flowers.” As each man has endeavoured to capture the essence of this theme, the final product is a concatenation of mutually provocative verses. I would now ask my readers to momentarily return to the translation of preface no. 11 and read over the underlined sections once more. These verses are rich in metaphorical language that may be difficult to understand at first glance. Fear not—the following commentary ought to provide ample clarification.

First, Suketoshi transforms fallen willow blossoms, scattered here and there, into bright snow upon smooth sand, a poetic term for the smoothly raked pebbles of a garden. Likewise, apricot petals fluttering about in midair are here transformed into an earthly rainbow of dancing red dust. As my translation will have conveyed, Suketoshi does not use any phrases that might hint at metaphorical usage—not a single “look like” or “seems to be.” A more straightforward version of this couplet might read as follows: “Floating willow blossoms scatter here and there, shimmering vividly *like* snow upon the garden; falling apricot petals flutter about *like* a rainbow of dancing red dust.” The use of “like” would then indicate that these fallen willow blossoms are not real snow, but *resemble* snow. Likewise with apricot petals: they have not formed themselves into a real rainbow, but somehow *resemble* one. Suketoshi, by doing away with “looks like” or “resembles,” draws a more intimate connection between the various heterogeneous elements of his comparisons; the transformation seems more effective for want of such tell-tale indicators of metaphoric usage. In like manner, then, the metaphorical transformations conjured up by the other four men in this series are made more efficacious, in virtue of being more immediately experienced, at least in the imagination. Within this shared metaphoric space, willow blossoms do not merely resemble snowflakes—they *become* snowflakes; dancing apricot petals do not merely look like a rainbow—they *become* a rainbow. It is crucial that these things be allowed to actually become something new, if the cosmological significance is to be fully realized. Within this couplet we see two parallel constructs: one of space, one of color. Apricot petals, transformed into a rainbow, are suspended above, while willow blossoms—the downy seeds that fall from the catkins—transformed into fallen snow, are settled below. The rainbow glows red, while the snow shines white. Consider, too, the subtle inversion of spatial motion here: snow, having fallen from above, has settled quietly upon the ground, whereas dust, having been gathered up from the earth, now floats momentarily in the air. We have before us a poetic coordination of celestial and terrestrial elements, fundamentally heterogeneous powers set into a relationship of alternating spatiality. In terms of color, the white willow blossoms/snow grow ever more vivid; the apricot petals/rainbow glow a brighter red. This relationship is one of mutual provocation, in which both elements are positively affected. Being the first in this series of miniature prefaces, Suketoshi's efficacious poetic imagery sets the scene for the piece as a whole.

Iekuni responds to his companion's verses with a couplet depicting the toes of bejewelled sandals peeking out from amidst a carpet of scattered red petals, and falling blossoms dotting the green moss with flecks of white. Here we find a discrepancy with the manuscript. In the first line of Iekuni's couplet, the character translated as “peeking out” is written as 撃, which is usually given the semantic reading *sasageru*, meaning “to lift” or “to raise upwards.” This same manuscript (see **figure 2**) contains a gloss at the bottom of the page, which would have us understand this character as an erratum for 声 (*koe*), “sound” or “voice.”⁽²⁸⁾ Ōsone happens to follow this gloss.⁽²⁹⁾ Admittedly, the original character, if read as *sasageru*, is problematic; it does not go well with sandals. If, on the other hand, in accordance with this latter gloss (*koe*), we substitute my tentative translation—“peeking out”—with “sound,” we end up with the following rendition: “Back and forth we tread, *the sound of* our bejewelled sandals *heard through* the red; falling blossoms flutter up and down—the color of green moss turns snow-white,” or something of that sort. That the sound of sandals should be heard amidst floating petals is not exceptionally poetic, unless we are to imag-

⁽²⁸⁾ *Waka manajoshū*, 13.

⁽²⁹⁾ Ōsone, “Wakajo shōkō,” 603.

ine the air so full of petals that those walking about in the garden cannot see, but only hear one another. Interesting though this image may be, it does not accord well with the second verse, which revolves around a juxtaposition of *color*, in harmony with Suketoshi's couplet. If, however, we understand this problematic character as referring to some part of the sandal—perhaps the tip, i.e., that which is “raised up”—we might interpret the verse as follows: “our bejewelled sandals *peeking out* from amidst the red.” In this way, the color, whatever that may be, of their sandals is juxtaposed against that of fallen petals. Sandals are dyed red and moss is colored white. The red in Iekuni's poetic vision corresponds to the rainbow of red dust glittering over the garden described by Suketoshi. Just as Suketoshi saw the sand/pebbles of the garden turn white with fallen willow blossoms/snow, so, too, does Iekuni observe the moss as it becomes ermined with petals/snow. Though ambiguity of interpretation remains, it is clear that Iekuni has utilized his literary powers as a means of coordinating his verses with those of Suketoshi.

Third in line is Fujiwara no Atsumitsu, who, elaborating upon the imagery of color, gives us a picture of many-colored petals following behind the footfalls of sparkling, bejewelled sandals, of drifting blossoms competing for brilliance with vibrant brocade garments. Whereas the previous two couplets set up juxtapositions of color—red/white, green/white—Atsumitsu's verses introduce a mutual provocation of color. Colorful petals upon the ground follow behind equally colorful sandals; vibrant petals falling through the air vie with equally vibrant garments. These fallen petals, anthropomorphized into sentimental lovers, follow behind the men's sandals out of a longing to get closer to those shimmering hues. The airborne blossoms, transformed into bands of eager suitors, strive fervently to impress those brocade garments with their own native hues. Rhetorically, this might be referred to as personification. However, in line with what has been said above, Atsumitsu's metaphor should not be taken merely as a rhetorical trick. Insofar as this metaphor occurs within a mutually constructed metaphorical space, the petals are not merely personified, but transformed—truly *anthropomorphized*—into sentimental beings, fawning upon and alluring these refined gentlemen. This is a crucial turn of events. Now we have natural phenomena transformed into emotional beings partaking in the sensitivities of man. Atsumitsu has succeeded in introducing a far more intimate relationship between the surrounding natural phenomena and his fellow banquet-goers; celestial and terrestrial elements are set ever closer together that a more complete interpenetration might take place. As the level of intimacy grows, so too does the emotional impact. Atsumitsu closes his preface with “Sighing and lamenting [the passing of vernal beauty] is not enough: what can a man like me do [to soothe his heart] but sing out in verses!”

After Atsumitsu comes Aritada, another Fujiwara nobleman. Echoing imagery found in the first two prefaces, he shows us red blossoms transformed into glimmering mist drifting through the garden, and powdered pigments—fallen petals—transformed into snow upon the moss. Juxtapositions of color are once again brought to the fore, though “powdered pigments” and “mossy hair” are also suggestive of a lingering anthropomorphic element. More importantly, however, is the gradual loss of focus, or blurring effect, found in this couplet. What were until now clearly recognizable petals and blossoms become, in the eyes of Aritada, a more nebulous sort of red vividness, for that would be the direct translation of *kōen* 紅艶, which I have, for clarity's sake, rendered as “vivid red blossoms.” In the next line, this self-same red vividness is referred to as a glimmering mist; flower petals have been transformed into an amorphous vapour of brilliant hue. That is to say, the original phenomena have given way to their more essential quality—color—whereby the harmonious coordination of these juxtaposed heterogeneous elements can be more easily accommodated.

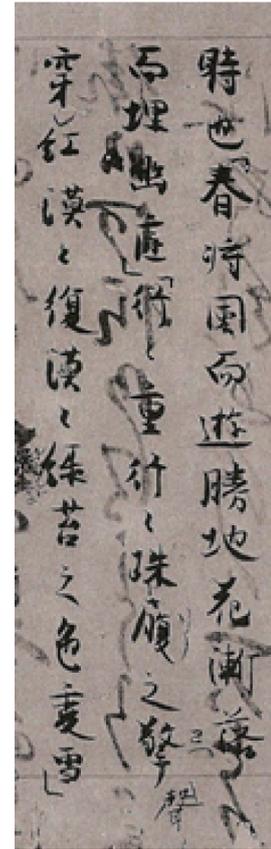


Figure 2. Section from *Waka manajoshū*, showing the problematic gloss for 攀 in Iekuni's preface (bottom of the second line).

Transformation within this mutually created metaphoric space has come a long way. To return wholeheartedly to the more concrete, focused sort of imagery found in the previous four (mini-)prefaces in this group might seem redundant. Nagazane, our final participant, conscious of his duty as concluder of this series, courteously summarizes his fellows' verses as follows: "Look upon that powder with its dark and light hues, its vivid and fading shades; see how [before our very eyes] it covers the white sands and green mosses about this garden." The word powder here, of course, refers to flower petals. This passing description thus supplied, Nagazane proceeds to encapsulate the deeper sentiments of all present with the following words: "I knew not that waves, churning atop one another, could roll without a sound, nor that snow, lingering over from last year, could effuse such a fragrance." This "I knew not" would perhaps be better translated as "What surprise I felt when noting that..." considering the feeling here is one of newfound wonder, not ignorance. This is yet another interesting turn of events. Not color, but sound and fragrance now come to the foreground. Flower petals drifting through the air and blossoms fallen to the ground are respectively transformed into churning waves and snow upon the garden—waves, nevertheless, that move without a sound; snow that miraculously effuses a sweet fragrance.

As noted above, a return to the more concrete images found throughout the previous prefaces in this series might seem redundant, yet that is just what Nagazane is doing, though in a very interesting way. By calling our attention to the curious incongruities of soundless waves and fragrant snow, he reminds us that though flower petals have indeed been transformed into waves and snow, rainbows and mist, these new forms retain certain properties of their original nature, that is, as flowers. This is not a simple transformation from one state to another, but a *temporary synthesis* of heterogeneous properties, such that the product of this metamorphosis is something truly new, worthy of wonder. I say "temporarily" deliberately, for the fundamental character of Heian cosmology lies in a perpetual movement, an endless realignment of mutually provocative elements. The series can never be finalized; nothing can be permanent. Nagazane, then, whether consciously or unconsciously—it matters not—has opened up this series to new possibilities, concluding by means of a new beginning: this protean flower/wave/snow continues to offer up new and interesting combinations of heretofore unrealized qualities. The potential for further transformation is preserved; fluctuation between various forms is encouraged.

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

Conclusion

Our above examination of two prefaces (no. 22 and 11) from *Fusō kobunshū* has emphasized the (imagined) transformative efficacy, actualized through the vehicle of metaphorical language, of Sinitic prefaces composed throughout the latter half of the Heian period. Communally constructed metaphorical spaces couched within these prefaces served to promote harmony between poet/author, reciter/presenter, host, and audience. That is to say, a *cosmology* entailing mutual provocation between heterogeneous elements is repeatedly regenerated and reinforced by means of certain rhetorical or *aesthetic* techniques, the most effective of which seems to be metaphorical expression. While it is through metaphor that various forces are harmonized, this phenomenon is not simply a matter of words. Metaphor is not employed as an end in itself, for the sake, say, of rhetorical beauty. For the authors of these prefaces, the power of metaphorical language transcended the rhetorical, exerting influence on the real world at large. Metaphorical transformations exhibit bursts of movement wherein, in LaMarre's words, "emotions emerge in alignment with specific signs and sensations," wherein the "spatiotemporal nexus of celestial and terrestrial events" can be more clearly contemplated.⁽³⁰⁾ The prefaces in *Fusō kobunshū* are, I would argue, exceptionally provocative examples

⁽³⁰⁾ LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan*, 52-58.

of the power of poetic metamorphosis. Prefaces of this sort deserve to be studied alongside and granted the same literary status as the poetry of the same period.

While this paper has ventured a few comments regarding some of the more obvious sociohistorical circumstances surrounding those events and figures that inspired the production of these prefaces, a great deal more still remains to be said. Most pressing, surely, is the need for an understanding of the broader picture. Why was the *Fusō kobunshū* compiled in the first place? What were the sociopolitical circumstances surrounding its production? Which individuals were involved in its production? More specifically, who was its intended audience? In this relation, we ought to consider three facts: First, a quick look at the list of authors for these prefaces (see appendix) reveals a preponderance of members of the Fujiwara clan, especially those belonging to or having intimate connections with the Sekkanke 摂関家, or central lineage of the Northern Branch (Hokke 北家) of the Fujiwara clan. Second, there is a very conspicuous concentration of prefaces composed between the years 1099 and 1112, corresponding more-or-less with the Kōwa era (1099-1103), during which time Retired Emperor Shirakawa (retired 1087-1129) struggled most fiercely against Fujiwara supremacy. Third, the latest preface found in this anthology is dated to the year 1144, while the anthology itself seems to have been compiled, at the latest, no more than a decade or two after that. During this latter period, Retired Emperor Toba 鳥羽天皇 (1103-1156, r. 1107-1123) succeeded in reinstating erstwhile ousted members of the Fujiwara clan within the very heart of his newly restructured cloistered government, and had taken as his highest ranking consorts daughters of prominent Fujiwara men.

It seems probable, considering the above facts, that the compiler (or compilers) of *Fusō kobunshū* was a Fujiwara himself, or, at very least, an ardent champion of the Fujiwara revival—someone who, bolstered by Toba's support of the Fujiwara cause, was himself eager to reassert the intimate involvement of that clan in court politics, especially during the time of Retired Emperor Shirakawa. The concentration in this anthology of prefaces from the Kōwa years would, in this light, function as a political appeal to Toba and his circle foregrounding the continued presence and influence of Fujiwara members even, or especially, during those years when the clan was ostensibly suffering under Shirakawa's rule. For all we know, *Fusō kobunshū* may well be a paean to Fujiwara power. Whatever the case, a broader investigation into the social environment underpinning this anthology, as well as a complete translation of its contents, is in order. Moreover, the complex relationship of these prefaces, *precisely as paratexts* of collections of vernacular poems, poems which were, in turn, the products of specific public banquets, deserves serious investigation. Finally, it is worth exploring any possible relationship between *Fusō kobunshū* and *Honchō zokumonzui*, the latter having been compiled in 1140, only four years before the latest preface preserved in the former. Explorations of these and other related issues pertaining to *Fusō kobunshū* will both enlarge and deepen our understanding of Heian literature, especially the continued role of Sinitic writing well into the latter half of the Heian period.

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APPENDIX

Chronological arrangement of prefaces found in *Fusō kobunshū*

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

No.	Date of composition	Season	Author	Venue
22	3/3, year unknown (prob. early 10 th c.)	Spring	Ōe no Chisato 大江千里 (n.d.)	Pond Pagoda of Rihōō 吏部王池亭
25	8/? , before Kankō 8 (1011)	Autumn	Minamoto no Michinari 源道濟 (n.d.)	Western countryside 西郊
8	Kannin 2 (1018) 9/16	Autumn	Yoshishige no Tamemasa 4 慶滋為政 (n.d.)	Koichijō Mansion (Ōi River) 小一条院 (大井河)
19	3/9, before Chōryaku 3 (1039)	Spring	Ōe no Kinyori 大江公資 (?-1040)	Unnamed temple 寺
26	Likely Jiryaku 1 (1065)	Autumn	Fujiwara no Akihira 藤原明衡 (?-1066)	Shirakawa Mansion (Kan'in Pagoda) 白河院 (閑院亭)
16	3/2, between Enkyū 2-5 (1070-1073)	Spring	Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041-1111)	Prince's Palace 東宮
5	Enkyū 5 (1073) 2/20	Spring	Minamoto no Tsunenobu 源經信 (1016-1097)	Iwashimizu Shrine, Naniwazu Temple 岩清水神社, 難波津仏閣
28	7/? , before Jōhō 1 (1074)	Autumn	Sugawara no Ariyoshi 菅原在良 (1041?-1121)	Pagoda of Letters (<i>buntei</i>) of the Rihōō 吏部大王文亭
23	Kanji 1 (1087)	Spring	Fujiwara no Atsumoto 藤原敦基 (1046-1106)	Mansion of the Daiō 大王之邸第
4	10/? , between Kanji 2-7 (1088-1093)	Winter	Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041-1111)	Abode of Retired Emperor [Shirakawa] 太上皇仙居
2	Kanji 8 (1094) 8/15	Autumn	Minamoto no Tsunenobu 源經信 (1016-1097)	Toba mansion 鳥羽院
6	Eichō 1 = Kahō 3 (1096) 1.22	Spring	Minamoto no Toshifusa 源俊房 (1035-1121)	Jōtōmon Mansion 上東門第
11	Jōtoku 3 = Kōwa 1 (1099) 3/?	Spring	Taira no Suketoshi 平祐俊 (n.d.), Ōe no Iekuni 大江家国 (n.d.), Fujiwara no Atsumitsu 藤原敦光 (1063-1144), Fujiwara no Aritada 藤原有忠 (n.d.), Fujiwara no Nagazane 藤原永実 (n.d.)	Toba mansion 鳥羽院

15	Kōwa 3 (1101) 8/?	Autumn	Fujiwara no Yukimori 藤原行盛 (n.d.)	South of the Capital (Abode of the Retired Emperor) 城南 (太上皇之仙居)
10	Kōwa 3 (1101) 10/27	Winter	Fujiwara no Tadamichi 藤原尹通 (1081-1122)	Toba mansion 鳥羽院
17	Chōji 1 (1104) 4/29	Summer	Fujiwara no Atsumune 藤原敦宗 (1042-1111)	Seii Palace 青圀
18	Chōji 1 (1104)	Summer	Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041-1111), on behalf of Ki no Yukiyasu 紀行康 (n.d.)	Secretariat of the Prince's Palace 春宮藏人所
9	Chōji 1 (1104) 4/?	Summer	Fujiwara no Munemitsu 藤原宗光 (n.d.)	Toba mansion 鳥羽院
20	Chōji 2 (1105) 3/4	Spring	Fujiwara no Sanekane 藤原実兼 (1085-1112)	Seii Palace 青圀
27	3/?, before Tennin 1 (1108)	Spring	Fujiwara no Reimei 藤原令明 (1074-1143)	Villa south of the Capital 城南別業
21	9/9, before Ten'ei 3 (1112)	Autumn	Fujiwara no Sanekane 藤原実兼 (1085-1112)	Seii Palace 青圀
7	Hōan 5 (1124) intercalary 2/12	Spring	Minamoto no Arihito 源有仁 (1103-1147)	Shirakawa Mansion 白河院
12	Tenji 2 (1125) 5/5	Summer	Fujiwara no Hirokane 藤原廣兼 (n.d.)	Mansion of the Retired Emperor 仙院
1	3/3, between Tenji 2-Daiji 1 (1125-1126)	Spring	Fujiwara no Atsumitsu 藤原敦光 (1063-1144)	Unknown
3	Daiji 5 (1130) 9/5	Autumn	Fujiwara no Sanemitsu 藤原実光 (1069-?)	Abode of the Retired Emperor 太上皇仙洞
29	Tenji 2 (1144) 3/4	Spring	Fujiwara no Masanori 藤原雅教 (1113-1173)	Abode of the Retired Emperor 太上皇仙洞
13	Date unknown	Spring	Fujiwara no Munekane 藤原宗兼 (n.d.)	Toba mansion 鳥羽院
14	Date unknown	Summer	Ōe no Iekuni 大江家国 (n.d.)	Unknown
24	8/?, year unknown	Autumn	Fujiwara no Morimoto 藤原盛基 (n.d.)	Palace of the Third Prince 三宮 [Sukehito 輔仁 (1073-1119)]