JIN'ICHI KONISHI
EARL ROY MINER

A History of Japanese Literature

The Early Middle Ages, Volume 2

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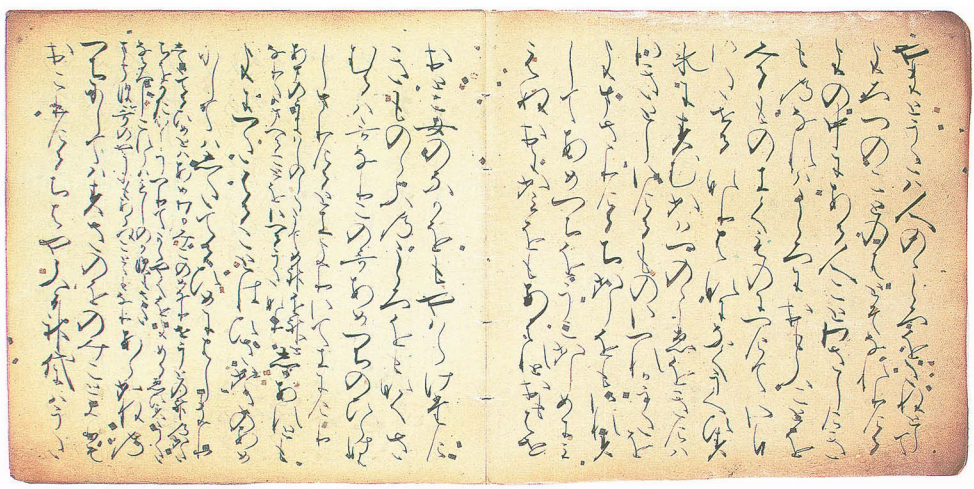
A HISTORY OF JAPANESE LITERATURE

VOLUME TWO

The Early Middle Ages



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A History of
Japanese Literature

VOLUME TWO
THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

By Jin'ichi Konishi

TRANSLATED BY
Aileen Gatten

EDITED BY
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IN MEMORIAM

Yoshikawa Kōjirō

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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

This second volume of Jin'ichi Konishi's *History of Japanese Literature* is integral with the other four volumes in offering a conception of the principles of Japanese literature as well as attention to the individual works that make up that history. There is a sense in which the conceptual elements are in advance of the current state of understanding of Japanese literature. Or at least some readers will wish to read parts by use of the table of contents or the index. There would be nothing unusual in that for a work of this kind and length. It remains true, however, that the whole work—the total argument—is necessary to the full understanding of any part. Those with knowledge of the Japanese literature of "the early middle ages" will therefore wish to devote more attention to the opening chapters than will readers with more specific or limited interests.

The translator and I have sought to meet the needs of various readers of this English version of the second volume. The Japanese version is being published more as a unit, and the author has therefore not felt it necessary to supply a preface to this volume. Given the quite separate publication of the volumes of this English version, however, there are things to be said that may be of use to readers of various kinds of interests.

The most important thing involves the long "General Introduction" to the first volume. From time to time the author, the translator, and I refer to that introduction. It is not the details but the principles of this volume that are illuminated by that introduction, and I cannot stress this enough. For example, not all specialist readers will be given to thinking that what is sometimes called "Heian literature" is that of the "Early Middle Ages." In fact, the author terms the period covered in this volume the "Chūsei Daiikki" ("The First Period of the Middle Ages"). The third volume will treat the "High Middle Ages" ("Dainiki") and the fourth the "Late Middle Ages" ("Daisanki"). For some reason, English usage for literary history seems to require the plural, "ages," after "middle." "First," "Second," and "Third Middle Age" just is not idiomatic, any more than "Early Middle Age" is appropriate for anything other than certain years of human life. If this explains our titles, the "General Introduction" in Volume One explains the principles on which the author's periodizing is based.

To provide an entry into the "Early Middle Ages," the author discusses, in Chapters 1 and 2, the legacy from the Archaic (Senkodai) and Ancient (Kodai) Ages treated in Volume One. In treating the nature of the literature of the Middle Ages in Chapters 3 and 4, he offers what amounts to an introduction to the two ensuing periods and volumes as well as to the period dealt with here.

Some readers will surely be interested to know the logic of inclusion and

exclusion in this *History*, in effect what the author understands by "Japanese literature." Once again, I must refer to the "General Introduction" in the first volume. Certain lesser matters are presented in the main text of this volume without comment by the translator or myself. Those are mostly of interest to specialists, who will understand most of these matters from context. Some very small details we have left for specialists to discover, if they wish, by checking in the Japanese edition. Written Japanese and written English being what they are, however, some details emerge clearly only in translation. A few examples will show what is involved. The author follows what he believes to be the best documented pronunciations or versions of titles, names, and so forth. For example, he uses *Tannomine Shōshō* rather than *Tōnomine Shōshō*, *Utsuho Monogatari* rather than *Utsubo Monogatari*, and *Yowa no Nezame (Monogatari)* rather than *Yoru no Nezame* (or other variants). In general, his usages are those of specialists in the literature involved, and we have established them either by his specification or by my acquaintance with his preferences.

My foreword to the first volume explains our usages in capitalizing and English romanizing of Japanese names, titles, and terms. I neglected to remark there that when the author gives ages for people, we have subtracted one year to bring the count into rough approximation with English calculation.

Certain kinds of information have been added to the Japanese version. Obviously the kinds include translations of titles, terms, poems, and other excerpts. Some things have been added by me in brackets to the main text. Much more has been added to the notes. In each instance, the provenance is specified. Notes added by the translator or myself are set entirely in brackets and conclude "—Trans." or "—Ed." Sometimes the translator or I have engaged with information supplied extratextually by the author. Such notes are not bracketed but conclude with "Auth., Trans." or "Auth., Ed." in brackets.

As with the first volume, I have greatly reduced the number of cross-references sprinkled throughout. We supply detailed indexes to each volume, whereas the Japanese version will have only one briefer index in the last volume. We have not been able to fill in blanks where the author refers to an as yet unexisting page in a future volume, and our references to the first volume are often to chapters. In fact, the shortest way for a reader is to refer to the index in that volume.

For background, for information, and for much of the terminology used in this second volume, there are three books to which a reader may turn. These are Helen Craig McCullough, *Ōkagami: The Great Mirror* (Princeton, 1980), William H. and Helen Craig McCullough, *A Tale of Flower-*

ing Fortunes (a wonderfully annotated translation of the *Eiga Monogatari*; Stanford, 1980); and Earl Miner, Hiroko Odagiri, and Robert E. Morrell, *The Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature* (Princeton, 1985).

The foregoing was written in December 1983. There have been delays in press, particularly before and after the manuscript entered the most capable hands of our copyeditor, Cathie Brettschneider, whom I thank with earnest appreciation.

Once again we are indebted to Shuen-fu Lin for checking matters Chinese.

I cannot omit expressions of gratitude to longtime friends at Princeton University Press. Herbert S. Bailey, Jr., who will be retired as Director when this book is published, is my oldest Princeton friend and indulgent publisher of many books, including the first, upwards of thirty years ago. Miriam Brokaw, born in Kyoto, is now retired as Editor and Associate Director. It is well known that her intelligent enthusiasm for books on Asian matters has made Princeton University Press a leader in that important area, and she is the real founder of the Princeton Library of Asian Translations. Jan Lilly, head of the design department, has again made me happy to be indebted to her artistry: this English version excels the Japanese in beauty and ease of use. Dr. Margaret Case, Asian Studies Editor, has worked successfully to gain a subsidy from the Japan Foundation. This book may not seem cheap, but it would be far more expensive without that subvention and subsidy funds generously appropriated by Princeton University Press. Her support deserves my earnest thanks.

Finally, to the scrupulous, patient author and to the skillful, painstaking translator, I express my deep gratitude. Jin'ichi Konishi has put up with letters and telephone calls. Aileen Gatten's care has awed me; her patience with my questions and retranslations arouse my gratitude, and her intelligent grasp of important issues make me wish to see her own ideas in print. I know of no other history of a national literature by a single person written on this scale. Aileen's and my responsibility as interpreters of this epic are awesome. If, as is sometimes said, Japanese take to their hearts those who fail in great enterprises, I shall personally feel more secure for work that no doubt should have been better done.

E.M.

AUTHOR'S ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are three reasons why I dedicate the second volume of my *History of Japanese Literature* to the late Professor Yoshikawa Kōjirō. First, his guidance enabled me, a specialist in Japanese literature, to observe my field from a Chinese literary standpoint. This volume would have been a very different creation without Professor Yoshikawa's exceptional kindness in giving me, a student unaffiliated with his own Kyoto University, nearly two years of strict training in Chinese literature. Second, the concepts of ga and zoku that form the basic framework of my *History* evolved from Professor Yoshikawa's ideas. He never systematized them as theories, but his wide-ranging interest in Chinese literature—which yielded translations of Yüan musical drama and Ming popular short stories as well as a textual revision of the *Shang Shu* and his commentary on Tu Fu's poetry—provided me with a practical application of the ga and zoku concepts. Third, Professor Yoshikawa inspired me to persist in a close reading of all texts, including historical accounts. Readers may find that my work contains an unusually large proportion of textual analysis for a history of literature. This approach gradually dominated my thought without Professor Yoshikawa's overt advocacy of the method. His emphasis on the close reading of texts was inherited from Ch'ing scholarly methodology and was put into practice long before the American New Critics broached their ideas. Although these three points apply to the entire *History*, they are particularly relevant to Volume Two, which explains why it is dedicated to Professor Yoshikawa.

This volume was written in 1982, during the first year of my appointment as a resident member of the Council of Scholars at The Library of Congress. The excellent collection of the Library and the generous assistance given me by its capable staff were surely instrumental in enabling me to complete the volume in the space of a single year. I express heartfelt thanks to Dr. Daniel J. Boorstin, the Librarian of Congress, and to Dr. Warren M. Tsuneishi, Dr. James H. Hutson, Mr. Hisao Matsumoto, and the staff of the Japanese Section. I would also like to thank Dr. Key P. Yang for his instruction in Korean linguistic matters.

The volume has been translated by Aileen Gatten and edited by Earl Miner. There are fundamental differences between Japanese and English that render translation from one language to the other difficult, and in this case the added presence of classical Chinese compounded the difficulty. We three have striven repeatedly to improve the English expression. A translation of this caliber would have been impossible without Aileen's delicate sense of language and firm grounding in the Japanese classics, and Earl's erudition and strong sense of responsibility. I cannot thank them

enough for their immense labor. I am also truly grateful to Professor Shuen-fu Lin of the University of Michigan, who not only supervised the romanization of Chinese names, titles, and terms, but also pointed out errors in my reading of certain Chinese poems.

The Japanese Ministry of Education has provided the funds for the English translation of *A History of Japanese Literature* in five volumes, and my research in the United States was carried out with the assistance of the Japan–United States Friendship Commission and the Japan Foundation. Without the joint support of the Japanese and United States governments, my project would never have been realized.

J.K.

TRANSLATOR'S ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank two organizations at the University of Michigan whose assistance and cooperation made my task much easier: the Center for Japanese Studies, especially its director, Professor John Campbell, and Ms. Elsie Orb; and the Asia Library, most particularly Mr. Weiying Wan, Mr. Masaei Saitō, and Ms. Choo-won Suh. I am also very grateful to the senior members of the trio who produced this book. Jin'ichi Konishi's imagination, patience, and formidable command of English, and Earl Miner's collegial assistance have added immeasurably to the quality of the translation.

PART ONE

Between the Ancient Age and the Middle Ages

SOME INITIAL ISSUES

The Middle Ages are defined here as the period during which the indigenous Yamato culture was transformed by the infusion of Chinese civilization. This definition leaves unanswered one significant question: since the receipt of Chinese culture was already a striking feature of the Ancient Age, should not its later half, at the very least, be designated part of the Middle Ages? There was indeed a great influx of Chinese culture into Japan in the seventh and eighth centuries, but its effect was a largely superficial one that did not essentially transform the indigenous Yamato culture. Literature during this period was characterized by the composition of much poetry and prose in Chinese, and by the recording of national histories, also in Chinese. This, however, did not represent a Sinification of indigenous Yamato literature, composed in the Yamato tongue, but was rather a fabrication by Japanese, *using the Chinese language*, of the features of composition and reception as practiced in culturally advanced China.

This in turn might occasion a counterquestion: if we see the sudden expansion of Hitomaro's chōka (long poems) with their frequent use of alternating parallelism as the result of contact with the fu (rhapsody, rhyme prose) form, should this not be deemed evidence of the permeation of Yamato literature by Sinified expression in the Ancient Age? Yes; but such magnitude and parallelism belong to the dimension of external form. In the Ancient Age, formal features did not serve as the direct impetus moving the recipient of a work: the hearer's emotions were aroused chiefly by the action of the kotodama (word spirit). This may give rise to a further question: are we then to regard Hitomaro's creation of fictive speakers, a technique also apparently inspired by fu, as another instance of external form? This question is concerned with design, and not, of course, with the dimension of external form. But this does not mean that the technique of a fictive speaker acted as a significant emotional impetus to recipients of the work. A great many people, after all, had been moved by Hitomaro's chōka long before the presence of fictive speakers was perceived.

When a recipient is moved by a given work, the key to its effect lies in the linkage between the composer's intended content and its expression through diction, setting, plot, motif, mode, tone, and imagery, a linkage that might be called the point of contact between content and form. This point, which I shall call the conceptual focus, performs a generative function through its creation of emotive expression. In the Ancient Age, the crucial conceptual focus of literature had not yet been permeated by Sinified expression. I consider the Middle Ages to be that period when Sinified expression came to transform the conceptual focus of indigenous Yamato

literature. The transformation was not sudden but developed gradually over a fairly long period. The ninth century in Japan is strongly characteristic of just such a transitional period. The ninth century, of course, is basically part of the Ancient Age; but in some respects it contains an undercurrent of phenomena that can only be seen as preparatory to movement into the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER 1

The Zenith of Poetry and Prose in Chinese

From the Six Dynasties Style to the T'ang Style

Although in ancient Japan the composition of poetry and prose in Chinese was clearly patterned on the Six Dynasties style, we ought not overlook the fact that there was also a marked acceptance of Early T'ang poetry in Japan from the eighth century on. The Six Dynasties and Early T'ang styles scarcely differ in expressive form, however, and both might appropriately be considered Six Dynasties in the broad sense of the term. This is not to say, of course, that differences would not appear if works of the two periods were subjected to detailed stylistic analysis. But the distinctions would be largely a matter of individual differences in poetic styles, between, say, the work of a Hsü Ling or Yü Hsin contrasted with that of a Wang Po or Lo Pin-wang. That is, it is difficult to discern important stylistic differences between Late Six Dynasties poetry and that of the Early T'ang. Thus it was only natural that the Japanese of the Ancient Age found it impossible to distinguish what subtle differences existed in poetic style. The Early T'ang poetry they encountered was, in essence, Six Dynasties-style poetry that had been composed in the Early T'ang period.

During the Early T'ang (618-709) and the High T'ang (710-65) periods, the Chinese poetic style underwent a transformation into the most characteristically T'ang-style of lyric expression. Not only are Li Po (701-62) and Tu Fu (712-70) the normative poets of the High T'ang; they also occupy preeminent positions in the history of Chinese poetry. There is no indication, however, that the works of either poet were introduced into Japan during this period: the Japanese instead concentrated their efforts on importing the poetry of Po Chü-i (772-846), who flourished during the Middle T'ang period (766-835). Late T'ang (836-906) poetry received limited reception.[1] Moreover, parallel prose (p'ien-wen), the foremost prose style of the seventh century, had by the late ninth century been partially supplanted by prose (in the strict sense), san-wen.[2] Yet Han Yü (768-

[1] I have used Ogawa Tamaki's points of division of the T'ang into Early, High, Middle, and Late (Ogawa, 1958, 28-30).

[2] What we now call "prose" (Ch. san-wen; J. sambun) originally stood in opposition to parallel prose (p'ien-wen); prose writing that did not conform to the definition of parallel

824) and Liu Tsung-yüan (773-819), who established the plain prose style and are revered as great prose writers, were evidently not known in Japan, where Po Chü-i's prose served as the model. Today it strikes us as strange that the Japanese of this time were exposed to a T'ang literary corpus containing neither Li Po's and Tu Fu's poetry nor Han Yü's and Liu Tsung-yüan's prose. But that was indeed the case. It is our task not only to recognize the fact but to discover its significance as well.

The introduction of Po Chü-i's works into Japan was thus all the more important to Japanese literature, despite the fact that their introduction did not necessarily indicate adoption and assimilation by the Japanese. The earliest Japanese use of Po's poetry went no farther than the borrowing of diction; there were almost no Japanese able to appreciate the poet's expressive hallmarks. An even longer period would be necessary before the conceptual focus of his poetry was appreciated and given new life in Japanese compositions. It was not until their later years that Miyako Yoshika (834-79) and Sugawara Michizane (845-903) incorporated Po's conceptual focus into their poetry and prose. In their youth they had written parallel prose and shih in the Six Dynasties style. By the time Yoshika and Michizane became influenced by Po Chü-i, waka had already taken on medieval characteristics. The works written by Yoshika and Michizane during this period—in which Po's style came to pervade both their shih and their prose in Chinese—will be discussed later, in the section on the Middle Ages [ch. 6]. I would now like to consider Yoshika's and Michizane's earlier works.

Intellectual Conceptions of Shih

The three royally commissioned shih anthologies that were compiled in the first half of the ninth century were no doubt a manifestation of the confidence with which contemporary Japanese approached the composition of poetry and prose in Chinese. The numerical increase both in poems selected for inclusion and poets represented yielded collections incomparably more extensive than the *Kaifūsō* (751), compiled some sixty years earlier. The ninth-century compositions also show an appreciable rise in qualitative refinement. The proliferation of works and poets was to continue beyond this point, but the quality of the compositions hereafter tended to fall. The forty years bounded by the reigns of Saga (r. 809-23) and Nimmyō (r. 833-50) may well be called the zenith of poetry and prose composed in Chinese. In terms of the volume and quality of works com-

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prose was considered simple prose, san-wen. Parallel prose will be seen as prose in the broad sense of the word, and simple prose as prose in the strict sense.

posed in Chinese, this half-century remains unrivaled until the flowering of Gosan literature in the High Middle Ages.

From the first of the royal shih anthologies, the *Ryōun Shinshū* (814), through the second, *Bunka Shūreishū* (818), and the third, *Keikokushū* (827), the Japanese poetic style remains largely that of the Six Dynasties. This applies, however, only to internal expression, particularly the conceptual focus. Externally, these shih sensitively reflect several new trends developed during the T'ang period. These, as already noted elsewhere (Okada, 1929b, 119-21), are as follows: (1) an increase in the number of "modern" shih (chin-t'i shih), written in seven-character lines;[3] (2) the advent of mixed-meter shih (tsa-yen shih);[4] and (3) an increased number of long poems. Although the predominance of seven-character lines over those of five characters is one of the general characteristics of T'ang shih, the seven-character quatrain is rare in Early T'ang poetry, becoming common only with the Middle T'ang period. This is reflected in the Japanese shih anthologies. The same is true for the mixed-meter shih, that is, shih combining both long and short lines. It may also be worth noting that tz'u, mixed-meter verses set to music, were composed, albeit rarely, in Japan. The tz'u, like the seven-character quatrain, was evidently first composed in the Middle T'ang.[5] Saga Tennō's "Five Mixed-Meter Songs on Fishing," together with two matching songs composed by Princess Uchiko (807-47) and five by Shigeno Sadanushi (785-852; *Keikokushū* [=*KK*], 14:173), have as their prototype Chang Chih-ho's tz'u, "The Fisherman's Song," composed in 774.[6] Saga's exchange with Uchiko and Sadanushi is

[3] [This style of poetry is characterized by the regulation of tonal patterns and strict verbal parallelism, especially between important lines.—Trans.]

[4] [A five- or seven-character shih form that occasionally contains a three- or four-character line.—Trans.]

[5] The Yüeh-fu (Music Bureau) was abolished in the T'ang period, during the reign of Hsüan-tsung, but the banquet music (yen-yüeh) gathered by the Bureau was incorporated by the Singers' Guilds (non-government-sponsored entertainment establishments) that evolved in cities in the Middle T'ang period. Banquet music was influenced by active T'ang contact with Central Asia and India, and much Hsiung-nu music was incorporated into the genre. Lyrics evolved into a complicated form of mixed meter—long and short lines used together in a single piece—to correspond to the asymmetry of the music produced by the fusion of popular and Hsiung-nu song [Kishibe, 1960, 95-103]. This form is called "tz'u," "shih-yü," or "ch'ang-tuan-chu."

[6] Few tz'u survive from the mid-T'ang; Chang Chih-ho's "The Fisherman's Song" is one member of this small corpus. The tonal pattern of "The Fisherman's Song" is as follows (L denotes a level tone, D a deflected tone, E a position where either a level or a deflected tone is permissible, and R a level-tone rhyme):

E D L L D D R / E L L D D L R
L D D D L R / L L E D D L R

The songs by Saga, Princess Uchiko, and Sadanushi all conform to this pattern in terms of rhyme but do not preserve the tonal pattern. As this was their first experience with the tz'u form, they may have been as yet unfamiliar with tonal patterns.

believed to have taken place in 823, only forty-nine years later (Kanda Kiichirō, 1965, 7-12). We know from this that Japanese poetic circles in the early ninth century had gone beyond the poetry of the Early and High T'ang and turned their attention to Middle T'ang poetry.

The Japanese poetic circles of this time were not yet ready to concern themselves with the tonal patterns of T'ang shih. The "modern" shih form, with its regulated pattern of level and deflected tones, was established in the Early T'ang period by Shen Ch'üan-ch'i (?656-714) and Sung Chih-wen (?656-712); Japanese poets of the eighth century were incapable of assimilating the technique. The *Kaifūsō* contains a few compositions by Fujiwara Umakai (?694-737) and Isonokami Otomaro (d. 750) that conform to the tonal patterns of the "modern" shih (Okada, 1929b, 86-87), but as a rule tones are disregarded. Nearly all the poetry selected for inclusion in the three royal shih anthologies, on the other hand, either preserve the tonal patterns of the "modern" form or endeavor to do so; only a few egregious violations appear. In the space of roughly sixty years, then, the Japanese shih became significantly more Sinified.

Much the same can be said for mixed-meter shih. Its composer was not hampered by tonal pattern requirements, as with the "modern" shih, but was obliged to exercise care in the arrangement of the long and short lines and in varying the end-rhymes. This posed a set of problems different from those found in verse of more set forms. Once such formal restrictions had been rendered fairly routine by the acquisition of sufficient poetic technique, an orientation toward longer shih apparently evolved. Eighth-century Japanese poets had enough to do simply in settling upon poetic creation conforming to formal shih regulations, and as a result only rather small-scale creations were put forward. By the ninth century, however, Japanese poets were able to resolve matters of tone, rhyme, parallelism, and line arrangement without much expenditure of effort; and it is at this point that large-scale poetic creations seem to have first appeared. The terms "long" and "large-scale" are relative, of course, in the Japanese context: these shih are a part of a literature possessing as one of its principal characteristics a tendency toward brevity of form. Thus no Japanese shih can rival in length Tu Fu's "Poem Composed on an Autumn Day at the K'ui Provincial Office" (*To Shōryō Shishū* [= *TSS*], 19:1394), or Po Chü-i's "Matching Poem on a Dreamt Springtime Excursion" (*Po Hsiang-shan Shih-chi* [= *PSC*], 12:1919), both of which encompass two hundred lines. At their longest, most Japanese shih are thirty or forty lines long; Kūkai's (774-835) "Poem on an Excursion to the Mountains, Written in Envy of the Immortals" (*Seireishū* [= *SRS*], 1:159-65) is his longest at 106 lines. Kūkai's poem is written in five-character lines; "Pleasures of a Mountain Retreat" (*SRS*, 172-74), another shih by Kūkai, is in the mixed-meter form and is fifty lines long. These exceptionally lengthy

poems probably resulted from Kūkai's individual need for an external form of heroic proportions with which to express his poetic conceptions.

Given this information, it might appear that ninth-century Japanese poets discarded the Six Dynasties style and skipped over the poetry of the High T'ang to absorb what was for them the newest style, that of Middle T'ang poetry. This view depends, however, on one's definition of style. If we disregard formal aspects like prosody—be it five-character, seven-character, or mixed—and rhythmic configurations based on level and deflected tones, and define style instead as characterized by the composer's grasp of concrete expression in manifesting his poetic intention—or, in other words, by the conceptual focus—then it cannot be said that ninth-century Japanese poets fully absorbed the newest poetic styles of the T'ang.

Instead, the Six Dynasties style continued to serve as the main means of poetic expression. One example of this is "A Summer's Day Visit to the South Lake of My Brother, the Crown Prince" (*Ryōun Shinshū* [= *RUSS*], 155). This shih was written by Saga Tennō (786-842), an important ninth-century poet and the driving force behind a policy of rapid acceptance of Chinese culture.[7]

Na *liang* ch'u ERH nan *ch'ih* li
Chin HSI fan *chin* pi SHUI wạn
An YING chien *chih* yang LIU ch'u
T'an *hsiang* wen TE chi *he* hṣiẹn
Feng *lai* ch'ien P'U shou *yen* yüan
Niao SAN hou *lin* yü MU hṣiẹn
T'ien HSIA kung *yen* chen WAN kuo
He *lao* yü I fang *Shang* ṣhạn

By the crown prince's southern lake, I revel in the cool,
And wash off all my cares at the azure water's edge.
I discover willows in the bank's reflected image;
The fragrant depths yield a scent of caltrop, and of lotus.
A breeze comes to the pondside, taking the mists afar;
Birds scatter to the rear forest, desiring a peaceful evening.
The people all request the spread of justice to their lands:
Why fly off to Mount Shang in search of Counselor-sages?[8]

The tonal arrangement of this shih preserves the rules of alternating level

[7] [In the following transliteration, italics denote level-tone characters, and capitals denote deflected-tone characters. Dots under words indicate rhymes.—Trans.]

[8] That is, with you to help me in affairs of state, I need not look elsewhere for wise counselors. [Auth., Trans.]

and deflected tones in the second and fourth characters of each line, and of keeping both the second and sixth characters of each line in either a level or a deflected tone. The poet also obeys the injunction against having three consecutive level tones in the fifth, sixth, and seventh characters of a line. Only one violation of the rules occurs, in line six, where the level-tone fourth character "lin" ("forest") is isolated by the deflected-tone third and fifth characters. Nevertheless this faithful an adherence to the standards of regulated verse would probably have ensured its acceptance by a Chinese audience. The rhyming characters, though ending in a sound range between -uăn and -ʌn, were regarded as equivalent rhymes.[9] The parallelism of lines three and four and lines five and six also follows the norms of regulated verse. In formal terms, then, this shih does not differ in the least from T'ang Chinese poems. Saga's poem differs in this respect from eighth-century Japanese shih. If its vocabulary harks back in general to Six Dynasties precedents, the poem clearly is unlike eighth-century Japanese shih in its use of words like "fan-chin" (cares), employed in poetry of the High T'ang,[10] and "te," a colloquial particle found often in T'ang shih[11] (Kojima, 1979, 1404).

Ninth-century Japanese shih must therefore be regarded as bearing a strikingly close formal relation to T'ang poetry; in the dimension of content, however, the old Six Dynasties style shows not the least sign of retreat. The central aim of Saga's shih, a regulated verse, is to achieve antitheses in the center four lines; but their conceptual focus is thoroughly rooted in the Six Dynasties style. The intent of the line, "I discover willows in the bank's reflected image," is that the speaker sees one of the banks of the lake reflected in the water, and therefore knows the location of the willows without looking directly at them. The concept takes the form of a reasoning process: "I have discovered A because of B." A corresponding example appears in these lines from a poem by Emperor Yüan of Liang (508-54) on "Viewing Spring Scenery" (*Liang Yüan-ti Chi*, 2767): "Leaves are dense: the willows' mass discovered, / Plum blossoms gone: sparse branches are revealed." The speaker knows from the dense growth pattern of the leaves that many willow branches are hanging before him, and he realizes, only after all the blossoms have fallen, how sparsely a plum tree's branches grow. The poet's intent in both cases is not framed in the usual descriptive mode, wherein a given situation is stated just as it is seen: here the intent is linked to a reasoning process involving cause and effect, to form what might be called an expository-descriptive mode. This

[9] Estimated T'ang pronunciation (Tōdō-Kobayashi, 1971, 66-67, 72-73).

[10] A further example appears in "Thinking of Lu Sung on a Summer Night" (*Ch'üan T'ang-shih* [= *CTS*], 191:1957), by Wei Ying-wu (736-?90).

[11] "Te" does not function as an indicator of potential but instead expresses a continuation of the state indicated by the preceding verb.

signifies that the composer does not state a matter outright but instead makes an indirect approach through a reasoning process involving auxiliary circumstances. This kind of expression is termed "oblique" (i-p'ang) by Wang Ch'ang-ling (698-?755) in his *Shih-ke* (*Poetics*; Konishi, 1951a, 227).

Oblique expression does not appear in the first stage of the Six Dynasties period (from Wei up to the commencement of the Western Chin). It began its development in the second stage of the Six Dynasties period (mid-Western Chin through the end of the Eastern Chin), rapidly came into use by the third stage (Liu Sung through Southern Ch'i), and was further refined in the final stage (Liang through Ch'en). If we call the first and second stages Early Six Dynasties, and the third and fourth Late Six Dynasties, then the latter period is characterized by oblique expression. Because mature Six Dynasties expression is exemplified by obliqueness, we are justified—when there is no danger of misunderstanding—in calling oblique expression the distinctive feature of the Six Dynasties style (Konishi, 1949b, 153-55). As I have observed, Early T'ang poetry was an extension of Late Six Dynasties verse; thus, when oblique expression appears in Early T'ang compositions, it may be treated as an instance of the Six Dynasties poetic style.

Consider Saga's lines, "The fragrant depths yield a scent of caltrop, and of lotus" (i.e., the speaker knows by the fragrance wafting from the depths of the lake that both caltrop and lotus are in bloom); "A breeze comes to the pondside, taking the mists afar" (i.e., a breeze disperses the mist, suddenly giving a greater view beyond the side of the large pond); and "Birds scatter to the rear forest, desiring a peaceful evening" (i.e., once the birds have flown there, the forest, at dusk, grows quiet). All share a common feature, although they display it with varying degrees of clarity: all contain, at the base of their expression, a conceptual pattern, "Because of A, I have realized B." Unless this concept is grasped, the reader cannot possibly sense the effect Saga's lines have as poetry. This pattern represents a major conceptual focus characteristic of poetic styles in the Late Six Dynasties period through the Early T'ang.

The example provided above by Emperor Yüan's couplet could be amplified indefinitely by other, similar cases (Konishi, 1949b, 156-65). Early T'ang shih perpetuate this conceptual pattern: Wang Po (647-75) writes, in "Suburban Pleasures" (*Ch'üan T'ang-shih* [= *CTS*], 56:676), "The rain lifts: flowers are lustrous, moist; / Winds sweep by: leaves give scanty shade." Here an expressive effect similar to that of Emperor Yüan's couplet is achieved without recourse to such explanatory terms as "discovered" and "revealed," through the exercise of greater technical refinement. Saga's three lines display an equal level of expertise. Nor was Saga the only Japanese poet to possess a Sinified conceptual focus: it was wide-

spread among contemporary and later poets. A shih by Wake no Hiroyo (fl. ca.785-805), "Matching a Poem on 'Falling Plum Blossoms' " (*KK*, 11:158), contains these lines, for example: "Pistils are sparse: soon we shall see fruit; / Leaves are delicate, and the shade's still slight." The intent—that because the plum blossoms have fallen, fruit is forming around the stamens, and that the trees give little shade because of the relative paucity of leaves—closely resembles Emperor Yüan's couplet, quoted earlier: "Leaves are dense: the willows' mass discovered; / Plum blossoms gone: sparse branches are revealed." Hiroyo's lines, moreover, demonstrate far greater observational detail. Hsieh T'iao (464-99), in a couplet from his "On Moving to a Place of Convalescence: My Garden, a Poem Sent to My Family" (*Hsieh Hsüan-ch'eng Chi*, 3:289), employs direct expression in his choice of the expository "I see" and "I know," but his concept is otherwise identical in pattern to Hiroyo's: "Leaves hang low: I see the dew lies heavy; / The cliff is gone: I know the clouds are dense."

It is not my intent to maintain that Japanese shih poets in the ninth century regarded these Six Dynasties couplets as either authoritative or appropriate for adaptation. Heretofore, whenever scholars of Japanese literature have happened upon Chinese shih diction analogous to that in a Japanese shih, they have tended to label the Japanese shih diction a borrowing or transposition from the Chinese. Yet it is only in exceptional instances that a given expression can be shown to have been based on specific diction. Hsieh T'iao's diction finds analogous expression in a couplet from T'ao Ch'ien's (365-427) "Source of the Peach Blossoms" (*Tō-shi = Tō Emmei Shishū*, 6:449): "Plants in bloom: I know the season's harmony; / Trees in decline: I see the wind's severity." A further instance is found in "A Visit to Counselor Hsieh's Villa" (*Chiang Li-ling Chi*, 2:2865), by Chiang Yen (444-505): "Clear air: I know wild geese are flying in line; / Abundant dew: I hear well the monkeys' cries." "The Heights of Mount Wu" (*Yüeh-fu Shih-chi*, 17:239), by Fan Yün (451-503), does not contain phrases like "I know" and "I hear": "Towering crags: no trace of a wild beast; / A gloomy wood: birds confused in flight." "Entertainment for the Ch'i Envoy" (*Yü K'ai-fu Chi* [= YC], 2:3775), by Yü Hsin (513-81), provides another such example: "The forest is cold: bark on trees grows thick; / The long beach curves: a flock of geese flies low." Both Saga and Hiroyo absorbed the conceptual pattern that is common to all the above examples, "Because of A, (I now know of) B." The question of whether they had recourse to specific Chinese phrasing therefore requires little consideration.

Because it provides the best illustration of Late Six Dynasties poetic style, the conceptual focus based on reasoning has been discussed here. But this does not mean that it is the sole characteristic of the Six Dynasties style. The central feature of the Six Dynasties style is its stance of intellec-

tual appropriation, as typified by the conceptual focus based on reasoning. In describing scenery, for instance, a Six Dynasties poet will not say, "This is beautiful scenery" but will instead present a description resulting from intellectual observations of what scenery should be like. It is the recipient's task to decide whether or not the scenery is beautiful. This is the stance taken by Kuwabara Haraaka (789-825) in his "Poem on the Topic, 'Water Likened to Cloth Hung Out to Dry,' Composed at the Reizen Palace" (*Bunka Shūreishū* [= *BSS*], 3:295).

> Range on range, mountains soar steep within the grounds;
> The waterfall, a single length, spreads like hanging cloth.
> In alarm cranes fly to us, fast as scattering droplets,
> And the spray, a string of pearls, breaks in the countercurrent.
> Sun is shining near the crags, and yet rain is falling;
> Above the rocks, a cloudless sky, but always we hear thunder.
> Long have I heard of the immortals' world; now I see it here;
> Why need we then abstain from rice, and visit Mount T'ien-t'ai?[12]

In a line like "Sun is shining near the crags, and yet rain is falling," the poet seeks to introduce the irrationality of rain falling while the sun is shining, and then to have the recipient solve the problem by concluding that the "rain" is in fact the scattering spray from the waterfall. The significance of "Above the rocks, a cloudless sky, but always we hear thunder" also lies in its intent, which is to stimulate the solution that the "thunder" is actually the sound of a seething torrent. Both lines can only be termed instances of paradoxical reasoning. A plainer phrasing would turn them into similes—the scattering spray is like rain, the sound of the water is like thunder. In addition, however, the creation of a surprised sense that "this should not be" is the poet's chief aim.

When essential comparative elements are abstracted from a simile and presented in isolation, they form a conceit: this is what appears in the third and fourth lines of Haraaka's shih. Cranes fly in alarm toward the speaker: here the foaming torrent of water is compared to white cranes in full flight. Similarly, a string of white pearls caught up and dispersed in a countercurrent represents a comparison of the waterfall's spray to scattered pearls. Such conceits, together with poetic concepts based on reasoning, represent a kind of oblique expression found frequently in Late Six Dynasties shih. A couplet from Yü Hsin's "Matching a Poem on 'Dance' " (*YC*, 2:3769) compares a dancer to a phoenix and a crane: "The phoenix dances round: mirrors are all but filled; / The crane glances back: towns-

[12] [One was to abstain from meat, fish, and grains in preparation for visiting Mt. T'ien-t'ai in China, an abode of immortals.—Trans.]

folk are enraptured." When the dancer moves in a circle, mirrors seem able to reflect only her figure, and when she looks over her shoulder, the townspeople are fascinated indeed. A more expository conceit is found in a couplet from "On Gardenia Blossoms" (*Liang Chien-wen-ti Chi*, 2:2695), by Emperor Chien-wen of Liang (503-51): "Might they not be leaves wrapped in frost, / Or are they more like snow-covered branches?" The poet's "might they not be" ("i-wei") corresponds in feeling to the Japanese "ka to zo miru," a phrase used in waka during the *Kokinshū* period. Instances of "i" used in counterbalance with "ssu" ("resembles," "like") are more common, as in the case of this couplet from Ho Hsün's (d. 518) "Matching Professor Ssu-ma's Poem on 'Snow'" (*Ho Chi-shih Chi*, 3299): "Frozen to the steps at night, it resembles moonlight; / Swept from the trees at dawn, it might be spring blossoms."

Further examples abound, including a couplet from "An Autumn Excursion to K'un-ming Pond" (*Hsüeh Ssu-li Chi*, 3979), by Hsüeh Tao-heng (539-609): "In the depths, fish that might be carved from stone; / The sand is dark, like ashes deep submerged." Similarly, in ninth-century Japan, Kose no Shikihito (fl. ca. 823) included this couplet in his "On Falling Leaves in the Shinzen Gardens, Ninth Day of the Ninth Month" (*BSS*, 3:313): "They flutter to the grass, just like Chuang Tzu's butterfly; /[13] As they blow across the bay, they might be Kuo T'ai's boat."[14] Another shih by Shikihito, "On the Topic, 'Spring Moon,' a Poem Composed During a Royal Excursion to the Shinzen Gardens on a Spring Day" (*BSS*, 3:298), contains this couplet: "The crescent outside my window makes it seem the blinds are up; / A mirror hangs in the heavens without the aid of a stand."[15] Shikihito's concept may be based on a similar juxtaposition between "seem" and "without" ("pu-kuan," lit. "has no relationship") that is made by Yü Hsin in these lines from "Viewing the Moon From a Boat" (*YC*, 2:3779): "The mountains are bright, and seem covered with snow; / The shores are white without the presence of sand." Six Dynasties poetic diction, then, is clearly reflected in ninth-century Japanese shih.

As time went on, the technique of reasoning in verse became increasingly intellectualized. Poets tended to concentrate on the dexterity with which they grasped a subject rather than on the subject itself, with the result that their poetry inevitably imparted a sense of vacuity. The intent of

[13] [A famous episode in *Chuang Tzu* concerns one of the great philosopher's dreams. Chuang Tzu dreamt that he was a butterfly; but when he awoke he wondered whether he had indeed dreamt of being a butterfly, or whether he was actually a butterfly that was dreaming it was Chuang Tzu.—Trans.]

[14] A writer and poet of the Latter Han period, who when he left the capital of Loyang was given a grand send-off and was accompanied in his boat by the Governor of Hunan (*Hou Han Shu*, "Kuo T'ai Chuan"). [Auth., Trans.]

[15] [Ancient Japanese mirrors were first imported from China or Korea. Made of metal alloy, they were polished on one side and embossed in design on the other. Of various shapes and commonly round, they lacked handles. They were placed on stands for use, and the polished side came to be covered with a cloth.—Trans., Ed.]

Haraaka's shih, quoted above, on the artificial mountains and waterfalls constructed in the gardens of the Reizen Palace, is focused on a poorly reasoned exposition: the speaker, seeing before him so splendid a mountain landscape, no longer perceives any need to abstain from rice and other grains in preparation for a pilgrimage to see the immortals of Mt. T'ien-t'ai.[16] Empty logic notwithstanding, the shih was composed in situ, before a natural scene, and as such retains some descriptive elements. Yet Haraaka was also the composer of lines like the following, from his "Matching His Majesty's Poem on Landscape Frescoes in the Seiryōden" (*KK*, 14:171): "Black cranes fly through the clouds but do not disappear; / White gulls bathe in the water, yet remain dry." The poet presents an irrational scene of flying cranes that never recede from sight and bathing gulls that are always dry. His witty intent is to have the recipient solve the paradox by realizing that this is the normal state of things for birds in a fresco; here we have a variant of the concept discussed earlier, "Because of A, (I know) it is B." In this case, however, the poet's intent has become too far removed from nature and is now a purely conceptual matter.

Related conceptual features appear in a waka (*Kokinshū* [=*KKS*], 17:931) by Ki no Tsurayuki (?868-?945), "On Flowers Painted on a Folding Screen":

Sakisomeshi	Ever since the day
Toki yori nochi wa	That they first came into bloom,
Uchihaete	Has the world remained
Yo wa haru nare ya	Everlastingly in spring?—
Iro no tsune naru.	For their colors never fade.

Such conceptualization enjoyed great popularity among ninth-century shih poets, as is seen by the following couplet, written by Kuwabara Hirota (dates unknown) in his "Poem Composed at the Reizen Palace on the Assigned Topic, 'Reflections in the Water' " (*BSS*, 3:296): "I see flowers that might well have a scent; / And listen to the leaves: no sound of wind." The first line—signifying that the speaker expects fragrance to emanate from flowers reflected in the water—is, while somewhat overstated, nonetheless based more or less on the speaker's received impressions. The intent of the second line, however—that the leaves make no sound when they move, despite the speaker's efforts to hear them rustle in the wind—represents totally conceptual logic quite devoid of true feeling.

This feverish conceptualizing has parallels in waka.

[16] Meat was of course to be avoided. [See n. 12.—Ed.] The staples of the ascetic's diet were apparently wild plants and pine needles. The practice of eschewing grains to acquire wisdom is mentioned in the *Montoku Jitsuroku* for 29.VII.854 (6:63); thus this line probably reflects contemporary beliefs.

During his reign, Tamura once visited the common room used by ladies-in-waiting and viewed the paintings on some folding screens there. "That waterfall scene is charming," he said to his attendants. "Let it be your topic for a waka." Sanjō no Machi complied with the poem,

Omoiseku	Might this not be
Kokoro no uchi no	A pent-up waterfall of thoughts
Taki nare ya	Within the human heart?
Otsu to wa miredo	For we see the torrent fall
Oto no kikoenu.	And yet no sound comes to our ears.

(*KKS*, 17:930)

Tamura is another name for Montoku Tennō (r. 850-58), and Sanjō no Machi (d. 866; a sobriquet—her given name was Shizuko) was one of his concubines.

Poetic concepts involving a reasoning process were thus popular among both shih and waka poets in the mid-ninth century. A further instance is provided by Ono no Takamura (802-52) in this couplet from one of his shih: "I hate short-legged beds: the crickets sing too lustily; / I loathe hollow walls: mice chew great holes in them."[17] Here the poet's intent is that beds with short legs are hateful because the shorter they are, the closer the speaker is to the noise of chirping crickets; and that hollow walls are undesirable because they are easily gnawed into by rodents seeking shelter. The rationality of the statement is, indeed, too rational, paradoxically evoking a sense of vacuity. Since the shih treats of a visit to an ancestor's tomb, its scene would be more normally described thus: the speaker, spending an autumn night on a short-legged bed, hears the constant song of crickets; and the walls of the tomb, long left untended, contain mouseholes.

Takamura's design, which makes his shih couplet overly logical, is also characteristically present in his waka.

On Plum Blossoms in a Snowfall.
By Takamura

Hana no iro wa	Men cannot see
Yuki ni majirite	The color of the blossoms, a color
Miezu to mo	Mingled now with snow,

[17] The poem does not survive in its entirety. This couplet was selected for inclusion in the *Wakan Rōeishū* (*Collection of Japanese and Chinese Songs*; 1:329). The title of the shih is "A Visit to an Ancestral Tomb on an Autumn Evening."

Ka o dani nioe
Hito no shiru beku.

But only let them breathe the fragrance,
And all must know the plum trees
are in flower.[18]

(*KKS*, 6:335)

The first half of the waka is a rather more reasoned version of the concept embodied in Fan Yün's couplet, "When I left, snow fell like blossoms; / Now I return, and blossoms fall like snow" (*Gyokudai Shin'ei* [= *GDSE*], 10:649, "Pieh-shih"). The second half of the waka contains formal elements similar to those in the second line of a couplet by Emperor Yang of Sui (569-618): "Moonlight seems to still the stream's flow; / A spring breeze bears the scent of night plum" (*Sui Yang-ti Chi*, 3872, "Climbing the South Tower on the Night of the Lantern Festival"). Although not apparently based on any specific shih, Takamura's waka undoubtedly possesses the wittiness of Six Dynasties verse.

The Japanese poetic stance in the second half of the ninth century was similarly one of reveling in logic for its own sake. Shimada Tadaon (828-91) writes, in "Watching a Spider Spin a Web" (*Denshi Kashū*, 1:346): "Who wove these threads without recourse to a loom? / In the autumn cold, dewdrops are strung like rosary beads." It is a common conceit to perceive the elements of a spider's web as threads; but when the speaker asks his rhetorical question—who made the warp and woof of the threads intersect so well without using a loom?—his intent lies in anticipating a witty design. The second line is similar in concept to a waka by Fun'ya Asayasu (fl. ca. 902):

Composed at a Poetry Match
at the House of Prince Koresada

Aki no no ni
Oku shiratsuyu wa
Tama nare ya
Tsuranukikakuru
Kumo no itosuji.

Pure droplets of dew,
Settling in an autumn field,
Might very well be pearls
Strung upon and hanging from
A spider's single line of thread.

(*KKS*, 4:225)

Another of Tadaon's shih, "The Night Wind Is Cold" (*Denshi Kashū*, 1:342), contains this couplet: "Our ruler's mercy fills the land, a hearth-

[18] [The translation is by Brower and Miner, 1961, p. 187.—Trans. It must have been by reading waka by men adapting to it the Six Dynasties "conceptual focus" that women like Sanjō no Machi who read no Chinese also wrote in a "Chinese" vein.—Ed.]

fire burning bright: / When winter comes I shall not shrink from wearing thin robes." Not only does the speaker compare his sovereign's benevolence to a hearth-fire, he adds that his lord's warm concern will enable the speaker to wear light clothing even in winter. Tadaon probably took particular pride in these lines.

We may give the term "fabricated logic" to a poetic assertion, structured along conceptual lines, that is superficially plausible but essentially illogical or, at times, vacuous. In the second half of the ninth century, during Tadaon's lifetime, the fashion of fabricated logic in Japanese shih was at its height. One of his pupils, Michizane, also reveled in fabricated logic prior to his adoption of Po Chü-i's poetic style. "Solitary Amusement in the Twelfth Month" (*Kanke Bunsō* [= *KB*], 1:2), composed when Michizane was fourteen years old, contains the lines, "Ice covers the water: I hear no lapping of the waves; / Snow powders the forest: I look, and find the trees in bloom." The couplet was eventually included in the *Wakan Rōeishū* (1:387) and may be considered one of Michizane's representative works. The intended conceit of perceiving snow on branches as plum blossoms is found also in waka, such as Tsurayuki's poem,

Composed on the Topic "Winter"

Yuki fureba	When snowflakes fall,
Fuyugomoriseru	Each and every bush and tree
Kusa mo ki mo	Now in its winter sleep
Haru ni shirarenu	Comes abloom with flowers
Hana zo sakikeru.	Unrecognizable to Spring.

(*KKS*, 6:323)

The first line of Michizane's couplet, "Ice covers the water: I hear no lapping of the waves," is fabricated logic: a lake that is completely frozen over naturally has no waves, and the addition of "I hear no lapping of the waves" to the line goes beyond the bounds of reason into those of vacuity. Fabricated logic appears in Tsurayuki's waka when he adds his comment, "Haru ni shirarenu" ("Unrecognizable to Spring"), to the conceit of snow and blossoms.

Fabricated logic persists in Michizane's adult compositions and is particularly conspicuous in his formal pieces. Let us consider a shih believed to have been composed in 880, when Michizane was thirty-eight, "On the Topic 'Flowers in the Rain,' Given to All Who Attended the Palace Banquet in Early Spring" (*KB*, 2:85).

Blossoming faces smile, each fluttering to the ground;
How can we not speak of the plum fragrance braving the rain?

The dancers think their gauze sleeves are moist from their exertions;
Our flowered robes perchance are wetted by waves of our lord's mercy.[19]
In surprise I look for musk deer pacing the spring marsh,
And seek to comfort warblers now bereft of their night's lodging.[20]
O five-petaled flower, take no pride in the rain's blessings,
For all the realm rejoices in its abundant measure.

The sole statement relative to nature here is that plum blossoms in the rain are beautiful. Although the conceit of plum blossoms as dancing girls is not an uncommon conception, fabricated logic is clearly discernible in Michizane's invention of anthropomorphoid plum blossoms dressed in gauze, who mistakenly attribute the dampness of their costumes to perspiration from dancing. This is fabricated logic, because everyone in Michizane's audience is aware that no one is in fact making this mistaken surmise.

It is, moreover, utter fabrication to maintain that the splendid formal dress of the participants is drenched by the waves of the sovereign's benevolence and virtue: the gentlemen are presumably indoors and would not be the least bit damp. The speaker, who is only too well aware of this, notifies his audience with the word "perchance" and so informs one and all of the fabrication. The next line, "In surprise I look for musk deer pacing the spring marsh," is again a conceit, albeit one that is deliberately exaggerated. Its effect is similar to that of fabricated logic. It is assumed that both composer and recipients have temporarily forgotten their knowledge that plum blossoms have a subtle scent. No one, moreover, would actually conclude that, when rain has scattered the plum blossoms, one must comfort warblers who now have no place to nest: the idea that warblers nest in plum trees is a conventionalized poetic fiction. Behind the fabricated logic is an intent probably held jointly by composer and recipients, the wish that the plum blossoms will not let themselves be scattered by the rain. The closing lines, "O five-petaled flower, take no pride in the rain's blessings, / For all the realm rejoices in its abundant measure," is also fabricated logic. The warblers have no particular cause for pride either.

Intent based on fabricated logic is also found in works like this anonymous waka:

Kakikurashi	If rain must fall,
Koto wa furanan	Let it pour from storm-black clouds,
Harusame ni	And let spring rains

[19] [The sovereign's benevolence is conventionally compared to waves, as in this line, or rain, as in lines 7 and 8.—Trans.]

[20] [The warbler conventionally lodges among plum blossoms. When they fall, the warbler has nowhere to spend the night.—Trans.]

Nureginu kisete	Be to blame in their wet clothes
Kimi o todomen.	That I keep you here with me.[21]

(*KKS*, 8:402)

Again, the assumption is that both composer and recipient know there is no reason for rain to wear clothing: the poet's design is to make a personified spring shower "wear wet clothes" ("nureginu kisete"), that is, be held accountable for the speaker's own wishes. If "Harusame ni / Nureginu kisete" were replaced by the more literal "Harusame ni / Yue o owasete," the waka would very nearly lose its *Kokinshū*-style effect.

Fabricated logic gradually disappeared from Michizane's compositions as he absorbed Po Chü-i's poetic style. Even in his later years, however, certain events and circumstances occasioned the use of fabricated logic in his poetry. The following couplet, for example, is found in a poem probably written in 895, when Michizane was fifty-one, "On the Topic, 'Misty Flowers Are Reflected, Winding Waters Are Crimson,' Assigned to All Who Attended a Banquet on the Third Day of the Third Month in the Shinzen Gardens" (*KB*, 5:383): "Trembling branches, tossing waves, both are most distressing; / Thus in all sincerity I fear the evening wind." When wind shakes the branches, blossoms fall, and when the wind makes waves rise, the sake cup floating on the water comes dangerously close to capsizing: thus states the speaker, and yet no one is likely to believe that he seriously fears the wind. This is a deliberately assumed fear. And although not so evident as in Michizane's poem on "Flowers in the Rain," fabricated logic is again present. The poet in fact wishes to express his regret that evening is drawing nigh and, with it, the banquet by the winding waters is ending. This is fabricated logic on a level, perhaps, with that of this waka by Lady Ise (d. ca. 939):

On Plum Blossoms at the Water's Edge

Haru goto ni	Every year in spring,
Nagaruru kawa o	I fancy that the flowing stream
Hana to mite	Bursts into bloom:
Orarenu mizu ni	Shall I wet my sleeves in grasping
Sode ya nurenan.	Watery stems that will not break?

(*KKS*, 1:43)

It goes beyond reason to assert that plum blossoms reflected in the water will have branches that cannot be broken off.

[21] [The idiom "nureginu kisete," "to shift blame onto someone else," is literally translated, "make [the rain] wear wet clothing."—Trans.]

Another example of fabricated logic occurs in the final couplet of Michizane's "Lamenting the Falling Cherry Blossoms in Spring" (*KB*, 5:384), also thought to date from 895: "Why do I lament so bitterly the blossoms' fall? / Because this humble person occupies the post of Gleaner." This is fabricated logic on a high plane and involves the introduction of wordplay. "Gleaner" (Ch. Shih-i; J. Shūi) is the T'ang term for the Japanese court position Jijū, usually translated as "Chamberlain" or "Gentleman-in-Waiting." Michizane was awarded this post on the fifteenth of the Twelfth Month, 894. Since "gleaner"—one who gathers up things that have fallen or been dropped—is the literal meaning of his title, the speaker is upset to see the blossoms fall. Michizane's intent in this couplet resembles the wordplay that is one of the chief characteristics of the *Kokinshū* style. The following waka by the priest Sosei (fl. ca. 859-97), for example, puns on the word "kuchinashi," which means both "kerria" and "no mouth":[22]

Yamabuki no	Tell me, robe the color of
Hanairogoromo	A golden kerria rose,
Nushi ya tare	To whom do you belong?—
Toedo kotaezu	No answer did I receive,
Kuchinashi ni shite.	For there was no mouth to speak!

(*KKS*, 19:1012)

These examples demonstrate undeniably that, while evolving in the direction of T'ang verse, ninth-century Japanese poetry—shih and waka alike—retained a conceptual focus characteristic of the Six Dynasties style.

The Achievement of Kūkai: Part One

The noteworthy characteristics of ninth-century Japanese shih—which is to say the principal poetic trends—have just been described. This does not mean, however, that every composition dating from the ninth century was the product of an oblique conceptual focus. Neither does the fact that something is in the mainstream necessarily signify that it possesses great literary value. The *Genji Monogatari (The Tale of Genji)* is exceptional among Japanese prose fiction narratives, yet it possesses the highest literary value; similarly, Zeami's nō plays and Shinkei's linked verse cannot be seen as part of a contemporary mainstream. The poetry of Kūkai—or

[22] ["Kerria," by extension, signifies its fruit, which was used as a yellow dye for clothing.—Trans.]

Kōbō Daishi—definitely has no place in the stylistic mainstream of ninth-century Japanese shih, but its literary merit is nonetheless very great.

Kūkai's central concern was more with prose than with shih, and one cannot say that his shih are better than his prose. Yet Kūkai's shih, compared with those of his ninth-century countrymen, are nevertheless works of the first rank. Shinzei (800-60), Kūkai's senior disciple and the compiler of the *Seireishū*, includes this passage in his preface to the collection:

> In his "Poem on an Excursion to the Mountains, Written in Envy of the Immortals," Kūkai writes, "High in the mountains the winds easily grow strong; / The deep sea waters are difficult to gauge," and in his shih titled, "Viewing the Shinzen Gardens on an Autumn Day," he writes, "High towers of marvelous skill are not the work of man; / A mirror-lake, deep and clear, swallows the sunlight." Each couplet displays excellent metaphorical expression as well as an enormous substantial force. They excel both as works of art and as statements of thought, and should be regarded as supreme masterpieces.[23]

It is not known why Shinzei treated these two shih as normative works, although the former, "Poem on an Excursion to the Mountains, Written in Envy of the Immortals," is undeniably a masterpiece. What must next be questioned are the criteria used in determining that this poem is a masterpiece: can they be applied with similar results to the latter shih, "Viewing the Shinzen Gardens on an Autumn Day"?

The "Poem on an Excursion to the Mountains, Written in Envy of the Immortals" (*SRS*, 1:159-65) is a lengthy work, being 106 lines long; its heroic scope, so uncharacteristic of the Japanese approach, is particularly impressive. The subject of the poem, a speculative realm of unparalleled splendor, necessitates the grand scale: this, too, is rare in Japanese literature. From the beginning of the Modern Age in Japan, a cold reception has typically been given to works whose main purpose is the presentation of a philosophical outlook. This reaction is based on the idea that literature should not be a tool used to express world views or ideologies but should instead be created for its own sake. This idea evolved together with the rise of Romanticism in the West: the expression, "l'art pour l'art," with reference to literature, first appeared in 1833 (Wimsatt-Brooks, 1957, 477).

Of course, such ideas did not exist in ninth-century Japan. On the contrary, Kūkai himself considered a philosophical viewpoint a positive criterion.

> Long ago, Ho Shao and Kuo P'u spoke their minds in poems on "Wandering Immortals." Their poetry was outstanding both in structure and rhythm, their colorful phrases were lush and splendid. Yet in

[23] *Seireishū* (*Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* ed. [=*NKBT*], 155).

> content these verses were hollow, mere trifles that did not explicate the Great Way. I perused the *Wen Hsüan*, carefully examining the works contained there; I read them several times over, only to find to my regret that they were sorely lacking in justice. Finally I took brush in hand and began to write, depicting the caves and dwellings of "immortals"—the highest of the supermundane Buddhas—and at the same time lamenting worldly delusion. The principle of impermanence is portrayed through natural and objective metaphors.

This is part of Kūkai's preface to his "Poem on an Excursion to the Mountains, Written in Envy of the Immortals" (*SRS*, 1:159). His declaration reveals that Kūkai, unlike his contemporaries in the Japanese poetic world with their fervid imitation of things Chinese, was sufficiently confident to criticize the classic poetry of the *Wen Hsüan (Selections of Refined Literature)*. This makes evident the kind of standards Kūkai used in judging his own work. His comments are based on ideological criteria supported by justice (logic); and the lack of logic in the shih on "Wandering Immortals" (*Wen Hsüan* [= *WH*], 21:459-64) by Ho Shao (d. 301) and Kuo P'u (277-324) was, in Kūkai's estimate, a serious shortcoming. Chinese poetry was termed the expression of one's intent.[24] For Kūkai, this intent was centered on a lofty ideology leading to a heightening of the truth that encompasses the cosmos; hence if logicality, which forms the impetus toward this heightening process, is absent from a work, it must be "sorely lacking in justice."

Yet Kūkai's stress on ideology and logicality as critical standards did not signify that a work need only be conspicuously ideological in order to have high literary value. It might also be noted that, in this same preface, Kūkai stresses another point, that "the principle of impermanence is portrayed through natural and objective metaphors," an indication that a work deficient in refined expressive techniques cannot qualify as art of the first order. The phrase, "portrayed through natural and objective metaphors," is reminiscent of Shinzei's "displays excellent metaphorical expression." We need not consider Kūkai's "metaphors" as limited to the narrow sense of that term: rather, the word represents figurative speech in the broad sense, expression alluding to abstract concepts by the suggestive relation of concrete objects.

The opening lines of the shih mentioned by Shinzei, "Poem on an Excursion to the Mountains, Written in Envy of the Immortals," may serve to illustrate the nature of this expressive technique.

> High in the mountains the winds easily grow strong;
> The deep sea waters are difficult to gauge.

[24] "Poetry is the expression of intent" (*Shih Ching*, 1:13).

No man can know the limits of the sky:
Only the Dharma-Body can comprehend.

The abstraction of line four—which states that only the Buddha, the embodiment of truth, can comprehend truth—is given a fairly concrete shape by line three, "No man can know the limits of the sky." Since one cannot actually see the limits of the sky, this line is not strongly concrete, whereas lines one and two are quite concrete. On the other hand, the tenor or signified of the first two lines is unclear.[25] Their implied sense may be that the wondrous and profound sphere of the Buddha is not to be distinguished in essence from the incalculably vast store of illusion and evil passion in this world. The resulting interplay between signifier and signified—ranging from the simple to the subtle and complex—and the use of various levels and categories of figurative speech may be what Kūkai meant by "portrayal through natural and objective metaphors."

Although highly refined and varied in figurative speech, the "Poem on an Excursion to the Mountains, Written in Envy of the Immortals" remains somewhat diffuse in its structural design, which was intended to sustain a 106-line work. In this respect the shih may even be inferior to the *Sangō Shiiki (Indications of the Goals of the Three Teachings)*, a product of Kūkai's youth. What may well be his most outstanding poetry in terms of structural interest is a series of five shih, all probably written after 816, beginning with "For Lord Yoshimine" (*SRS*, 1:171) and culminating in "Reply Sent in a Bark Letterbox" (*SRS*, 1:177). Kūkai, who had decided to leave the capital for Mt. Kōya, received a letter from Yoshimine Yasuyo (785-830) urging him to remain in the city. Kūkai replied with this series of shih. He sought formal diversity in the series: the first shih is in five-character lines, the second through fourth shih are in mixed meter, and the last is in seven-character lines. The principal part of the series consists of the three mixed-meter shih; this forms an extremely effective design. The lively rhythm that unfolds in the intricate pattern of long and short lines is most appropriate as an embodiment of Kūkai's bold assertion that Mt. Kōya is the best location for the practice of Buddhist austerities. Moreover, because the series is framed in a dramatic mode, it is animated by a sense of immediacy.

The second shih of the series, "Pleasures of Entering the Mountain Precincts," begins with a description of aristocrats delighting in the beautiful spring scenery of the capital:

[25] The *NKBT* edition of the *Seireishū* (p. 540) has an interpretation different from mine. [The author's mention of "illusion" in the next sentence is a tacit example of his point: the character designating "sky" also is a Buddhist term for the illusory nature of the world.—Ed.]

Do you not see? Do you not see?
In the city's great gardens peach and damson blossoms blush crimson,
Bright, bright and fragrant, fragrant, each face glows alike—
Each opened by a single shower, scattered in a single breeze:
Fluttering above, fluttering below, they fall throughout the gardens.
Maidens of spring come in a bevy, all breaking off sprays;
Warblers of spring gather, then go into the sky, beaks filled.

Later in the shih, Kūkai describes evanescence: glory passes away like a dream, like foam on the waters, and men all return to ashes and dust. He then advocates abandoning the secular world:

Do you not know? Do you not know?
Man's lot is thus: will you live forever?
Morning and night I think, think on this, my heart rent with suffering.
Your sun is halfway set behind the western mountains;
Your years are nearly spent, you are like a propped-up corpse.
Cling to this? Cling to this? A meaningless act!
Come along! Come along! You must dawdle no more.

Mt. Kōya, Kūkai declares, is an ideal refuge from the world of men: "I never tire of seeing the pines and stones of South Mountain; / I am always moved by the pure streams of South Peak."[26] His parallelism is masterly indeed.

Such shih make one feel that matters more naturally expressed in prose are here brought into poetry. Kūkai's series of poems may well be seen as an experiment to determine how far the poet's wealth of concepts could be contained within existing poetic forms. Kūkai is thus not easily compared with other shih poets of his day, poets whose chief literary concern lay in conforming to existing poetic forms. It is similarly difficult to verify Kūkai's eminence in relation to contemporary poets, since shih resembling his do not survive (and were probably never composed). One extant work, however, will enable us to evaluate Kūkai's relative position in his contemporary poetic world: the shih so highly praised by Shinzei, "Viewing the Shinzen Gardens on an Autumn Day" (*SRS*, 1:165). The nature of the composition lends itself to comparison with banquet shih, composed by courtiers in response to a royal request.

Strolling through Shinzen, I gaze at its scenery,
My mind is entranced, and I cannot turn toward home.

[26] ["South Mountain" and "South Peak" both refer to Mt. Kōya, which lies to the south of the then capital, Heiankyō.—Trans.]

High towers of marvelous skill are not the work of man;
A mirror-lake, deep and clear, swallows the sunlight.
Cranes, their cries heard heavenward, favor the august gardens;
Swans still their restless wings and make no move to fly.
Fish play among waterplants: many bite at hooks;
Deer bell in deep grasses: dew wets our robes.
Fluttering here, resting there, fowl sense our lord's mercy:
The autumn moon, autumn winds enter my door in vain.[27]
Carrying grasses, pecking millet, birds go off in a darkling scene;
Beasts dance and frolic, then are hidden by darkest Truth.

Kūkai observes the tonal patterns of the "modern" shih form and commits no violations.[28] Now, Shinzei comments on a couplet that "displays excellent metaphorical expression": "High towers of marvelous skill are not the work of man; / A mirror-lake, deep and clear, swallows the sunlight." Where does the "excellent metaphorical expression" appear? The *Seireishū Shiki* interprets the couplet thus: the grand towers represent the sovereign's illustrious virtues, and the lake surface that reflects a myriad images expresses the benevolence of the royal house, which is extended to all the people.[29] Similarly, lines five through eight appear at first glance to describe the birds, beasts, and fish within a great garden, but the tenor of these lines is, again, the universal extent of the sovereign's virtue. If this is the case, then these animals can all be considered symbols of an all-pervasive royal favor. When compared with the simple description of nature in Haraaka's "Poem on the Topic, 'Water Likened to Cloth Hung to Dry,' " and Michizane's expository treatment of the sovereign's virtues in "On the Topic, 'Flowers in the Rain,' " Kūkai's expression is seen to possess much greater distance between tenor and vehicle, signifier and signified.

The artistic level attained by ninth-century Japanese shih poets—including Kūkai—may be determined by comparing their compositions with continental examples. Kūkai was not the first to create expression in the descriptive mode yet suggestive of a conceptualized meaning or to create expressions that placed substantial distance between the signified and its signifier. Expression of this kind was employed in shih and fu as early

[27] [The moon and the wind in autumn conventionally bring sorrowful thoughts, but not under the auspicious circumstances described here.—Trans.]

[28] The second word in line 6, "ch'ih" ("restless"), has a deflected tone in the Sung dictionary *Kuang-yün*, which would indicate that Kūkai violated the rules of regulated verse. But the *Yu-p'ien*, another Sung dictionary, gives this character a level tone, with the result that line 6 conforms to the rules. Kūkai observes the other requirements of regulated verse.

[29] The *Seireishū Shiki* (2 fasc.) is an anonymous compilation. I have used the *Shingonshū Zensho* edition for my citation (p. 14).

as the Late Six Dynasties period. The following description, for example, appears in "A Fu on Parting" (*WH*, 16:344), by Chiang Yen:

> The wind moans and groans in sounds never heard;
> Clouds spread far and wide in colors never seen.
> The boat lingers close to the line of shore;
> The carriage makes poor progress through the mountains.
> The rowing is easy, so why do we make no headway?
> Horses whinny sadly and continuously.

The fu describes a travel scene; but the tenor of each line concerns the grief of those setting out on their journey and the misery of those left behind. The title is homologous to each situation depicted in the fu. For example, the boat and the carriage that make such poor progress symbolize the emotions of a traveler reluctant to leave.

Kūkai's shih are definitely grounded in the Six Dynasties style. It might be noted, however, that although he did absorb the poetic features described above, he made little use of the oblique expression that is one of the most striking features of the Six Dynasties style. That is not to say that oblique expression never appears in Kūkai's poetry. One example is found in his quatrain, "Hearing the Buppōsō Bird at Dawn Service" (*SRS*, 10:453):

> A silent grove: alone I sit in a grass-roofed chapel at dawn,
> And hear the cry of Three Treasures from a single bird.
> As the bird has its call, so has man his spirit:
> Call and spirit, clouds and water, all are clearly grasped.[30]

The intent of line two is that a single bird has three calls, "bup," "pō," and "sō"; this conceptual form, focused on computation, resembles Fan Yün's design in a couplet from "Gazing at the Weaver Maiden" (*GDSE*, 5:533):

> My feelings—a mere inch—are entangled a hundredfold,
> And my single heart is burdened with a myriad thoughts.[31]

A similar computational concept appears in this waka by Fujiwara Toshiyuki (d. 907):

[30] [The Buppōsō bird's (Eurystomus orientalis) name is written with three characters signifying the Buddha, the Dharma, and the priesthood—the Three Treasures of Buddhism. The name comes from the bird's unique call, "bup-pō-sō."—Trans.]

[31] [The Weaver Maiden is the star Vega, who is the speaker of the shih. She and her lover, the Herdboy or the star Altair, were said to cross the River of Heaven (the Milky Way) for one night's union on the seventh night of the Seventh Month.—Trans., Ed.]

Composed at a Poetry Match
at the House of Prince Koresada

Shiratsuyu no
Iro wa hitotsu o
Ika ni shite
Aki no ko no ha o
Chiji ni somu ran.

Only one color
Does the pearly dew possess:
How then, wonder I,
Does it tint the autumn leaves
In a thousand thousand shades?

(*KKS*, 5:257)

Such use of oblique expression is rare with Kūkai, however, and further instances of oblique expression are not easily discovered in his poetry. Perhaps Kūkai's poetic concepts flowed too majestically to ally themselves with such techniques. Even when his work can be associated with styles of the Six Dynasties, it most resembles that of the Early Six Dynasties, which is not noted for its oblique expression.

By contrast, Kūkai's contemporary, Saga Tennō, composed shih with oblique conceptual foci, a fact that was discussed earlier. Saga's position as the leading exponent of oblique expression in Japanese shih may have accounted for the popularity enjoyed by this technique. His oblique concepts, however, remained confined to the reasoning pattern, "Because of A, (I know it is) B"; they did not reach the level of toying with fabricated logic. Another example of Saga's style is provided by a couplet from "Vernal Dawn by the River" (*BSS*, 1:197), which was apparently recited in fairly informal surroundings: "Clouds' vapors wet my robe: I know a cave is near; / A spring's babble wakens me: I find a neighboring valley."[32] The vaporous atmosphere and the sound of running water audible from the speaker's bed are perceived as reasons why he becomes aware, respectively, of the proximity of a mountain cavern and a valley spring. A corresponding degree of reasoning also appears in waka, as in the case of this anonymous poem:

Furu yuki wa
Katsu zo kenu rashi
Ashihiki no
Yama no tagitsuse
Oto masaru nari.

It seems the falling snow
Melts right where it comes to rest,
For the sound of rapids
Grows ever louder from the mountains
With their sprawling foothills.

(*KKS*, 6:319)

The fact that this conceptual pattern first enjoyed popularity during Saga's reign may well reflect the influence of Korean poetic styles. When the

[32] [Clouds were conventionally seen as emanating from mountain caverns.—Trans.]

sixteenth Japanese embassy to the T'ang court (in whose company Kūkai traveled) entered Ch'ang-an in the Twelfth Month of 804, the following notable Chinese poets were alive: Tu Yu, aged 71; Ling-ch'e, aged 59; Meng Chiao, aged 54; Ch'üan Te-yü, aged 46; Han Yü, aged 37; Hsüeh T'ao, aged 37; Po Chü-i, aged 33; Liu Tsung-yüan, aged 32; Yao Ho, aged 28; Yüan Chen, aged 26; Chia Tao, aged 26; and Li Ho, aged 15. All are poets of the Middle T'ang period, and yet the conceptual foci of Japanese shih from Saga's reign through that of Nimmyō (809-50) were not affected by Middle or even High T'ang poetic styles. The next or seventeenth Japanese embassy to the T'ang court went to China in 838, but expression in subsequent Japanese shih still displayed few marked changes. As long as the crossing from Japan to China was feasible, Chinese literary works could be imported, and poetic form and meter could be learned from such books without the need for instruction by foreigners. Personal contact, however, would have been a virtual necessity in order for Japanese poets to develop new expressive concepts and receive new styles of expression; and individual instruction was far more likely to have been provided by Koreans than by the Chinese.

My assertion would be a verifiable fact rather than conjecture if Korean shih survived in some quantity from the first half of the ninth century. Unfortunately, the quality and quantity of such sources as do survive are limited in scope and, for reasons that will be discussed below, are considered useless. Thus documentary evidence is unobtainable. Five poems selected for inclusion in the *Bunka Shūreishū*, however, will enable us to make an indirect appraisal of ninth-century Korean shih: they are by Wang Hsiao-lien, who served as ambassador to Japan from the country of P'o-hai.[33] One poem, "Looking at the Rain on a Spring Day" (*BSS*, 1:211-12), is believed to have been composed in 815:

> Our host has given us a banquet in the provinces;
> His guests, drunk as mud, will match any in the city.
> Perhaps the Rain God is acquainted with your sovereign's wish
> In granting us fragrant showers to soothe our travelers' hearts.[34]

The embassy left Lung-ch'üan Fu, the capital of P'o-hai, and crossed the sea to arrive, presumably, in Tsuruga, where Shigeno Sadanushi, an official envoy dispatched from the capital, received the travelers. "Our host"

[33] [Located in what is now southeast Manchuria and northeast Korea.—Trans.] The nation of P'o-hai was established by Ta Tsu-jung in 698 in part of Koguryŏ following the destruction of that state by T'ang forces in 668. Emperor Hsüan-tsung of T'ang granted P'o-hai a certificate of autonomy in 713. Friendly relations were maintained with Japan until P'o-hai was overrun in 926 by the Liao. The inhabitants of P'o-hai were chiefly Moho, one of the Tungusic tribes.

[34] The date is given by the *Nihon Goki*, entries for 7.I.815, 22.I, and 14.VI (24:129-33).

probably refers to Sadanushi. The intent of the poem is as follows. The embassy is gratified by the prompt welcome and by the banquet held at the provincial government buildings. The kindness of the Japanese has delighted the envoys, making them feel as if they were in the capital (Heiankyō), and they have become as "drunk as mud." This mud may well have resulted from a fragrant rain that the Rain God has showered on them in obedience to the Japanese ruler's gracious wish, made in order to solace the weary travelers. The rain of benevolence is signified by "In granting us fragrant showers"; the rain is a metaphor for the sovereign's profound solicitude, the point of the shih. The phrase may also refer to the fine sake that Sadanushi brought with him from the capital. The simultaneous expression—through the single image, "rain," of the abstract concept of benevolence and the concrete one of sake—represents the use of metaphor as a complex and advanced technique. More noteworthy still, the intent of the phrase—that we are drunk and have become like mud because of the benevolent rain of sake—contains fabricated logic. To be sure, the character for "mud" ("ni"), when used in this context, signifies a trepang, not "mud": evidently the study of Chinese in P'o-hai was not sufficiently advanced to include this knowledge.[35] When one considers, on the other hand, that up to this point the shih written during Saga's reign demonstrate no evidence of fabricated logic, the poetry of P'o-hai, with its Koguryŏ background of a received Six Dynasties poetic style, appears somewhat more advanced at this time.

Wang Hsiao-lien once again employs fabricated logic in a quatrain, probably written after his return to P'o-hai, "Composed at a Provincial Pavilion, on Receiving the Topic 'Mountain Flowers' " (*BSS*, 1:227). Its first couplet, "Fragrant trees are spring-colored, colored very bright; / Early blossoms open like smiles, but no voice is heard," is similar in concept to Hirota's shih verse, "And listen to the leaves: no sound of wind" and the waka lines, "No answer did I receive, / For there was no mouth to speak!"

Yet another shih by Hsiao-lien was written in reply to a poem by the royal envoy Sakanoe Imatsugu (dates unknown) and titled, "Matching Envoy Sakanoe's Poem Composed in My Honor, 'Gazing at the Moon and Longing for Home' " (*BSS*, 1:228). It concludes with a couplet that, while not employing fabricated logic, is in keeping with the Six Dynasties style: "Who says I am a thousand li from home? / The same light shines on men of both countries." The intent of the couplet is as follows. Imatsugu, in his poem, expresses sympathy for Hsiao-lien's wife, wondering whether she might resent being left a thousand li away in P'o-hai; but in

[35] "In the Southern Sea there is a mollusk, known as 'ni,' that is lively in the water but behaves drunkenly, like a lump of mud, when taken from the water" (*I-mu Chih*). Quoted from Morohashi, 6:1066.