

**THE POWER OF INSTABILITY –
MEDIEVAL RECEPTION AND APPROPRIATION OF *MAN'YŌSHŪ*
AS EXAMINED IN POETIC CRITICISM (*KARON*) AND POETRY (*WAKA*)
BY FUJIWARA KIYOSUKE AND FUJIWARA SHUNZEI**

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

EAST ASIAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES (JAPANESE)

AUGUST 2018

By

Malgorzata K. Citko

Dissertation Committee:

Robert N. Huey, Chairperson

Arthur Thornhill

Ken Ito

David McCraw

Patricia G. Steinhoff

Copyright © Malgorzata Karolina Citko

All rights reserved

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I owe the making and finishing of this dissertation to a great number of people and institutions. If I omit any of them in the final product, it is my fault alone.

I have been fortunate to have met and worked with many wonderful teachers and mentors, a few of which deserve a special mention. First and above all, I thank my academic advisor, Professor Robert Huey, who has inspired and supported me throughout the entire process of conducting research for and writing this dissertation. His advice and mentorship have been invaluable and made the whole experience growth-inducing and rewarding. Professor Alexander Vovin has shared with me his extraordinary expertise on historical linguistics in my early years as a PhD student at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, for which I will always be grateful. Other members of my dissertation committee have provided me with valuable feedback in various stages of working on and writing this dissertation. Thus, I thank Professor Arthur Thornhill for all his comments and presenting me with always difficult questions. I thank Professor David McCraw for opening my eyes to a completely different realms of Asian premodernity which include Chinese poetry and culture. I thank Professor Ken Ito for encouraging me to include a more theoretical framework in my dissertation, as well as his insightful comments about how to revise the dissertation into a book manuscript with broader appeal. I thank Professor Patricia Steinhoff for her inspiring classes, sharp feedback and protective attitude towards my own data. I thank Professor Andre Haag for providing constructive criticism on various issues during the latter stages of the project. Finally, I thank Professor Saeko Shibayama, who was regretfully on my committee for only a short period of time, and yet continued to advise me remotely in the early stages of writing. As I stated during my defense, this dissertation would have been impossible without all of your support, feedback and encouragement.

At the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, the Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures and Hamilton Library provided me with support for the completion of this project. I direct my special thanks to Evelyn Nakanishi and Tokiko Bazzell, whose institutional and personal support I have valued since the beginning of my PhD program. Moreover, I thank the

Japan Foundation and Center for Japanese Studies for their generous support, as well as the National Institute for Japanese Literature (Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan) and Waseda University for hosting me as a visiting researcher while conducting research for this dissertation. During those two years in Japan, I benefited enormously from the opportunity to work with a variety of professors and graduate students. I am most grateful to Professors Terashima Tsuneyo (National Institute for Japanese Literature) and Kanechiku Nobuyuki (Waseda University), who graciously spent many hours answering my questions. I also thank Professor Watanabe Yasuaki for welcoming me to his classroom at the University of Tokyo and engaging me in many fruitful discussions about Japanese court poetry. Professor John Whitman has always been tremendously helpful whenever I struggled with issues related to historical linguistics. Finally, I direct special thanks to my colleague from Waseda University, Umeda Kei, whose tremendous help with translations and poem analyses have made the final shape of this dissertation possible, and who to date remains one of my closest friends in Japan.

Many thanks go to Matthew Shores, Kyoung Won Oh, Thomas Dougherty, Quillon Arkenstone, Tomoki Kimura, and Francesca Pizarro for their help and years of camaraderie. I owe more than thanks to James Scanlon-Canegata, Stevie Suan, Ryan Buyco, Christopher and Myra Smith, Lynn Lethin, Matthew Izor, Brian Herzog, and Richard Coleman for their unceasing support and friendship.

Finally, I save my deepest gratitude for my family. My mother's support is always absolute and unconditional. My sister's passion for her own profession inspire me. My father's knowledge in humanities, despite being a physician, has always had an immense impact on me. In fact, he still continues to tell me that the only constant variable in life is the change itself, which is probably why I ended up writing a dissertation about the power of instability.

Kocham Was i dziękuję za to, że jesteście!

ABSTRACT

What happens to knowledge when we gain access to new information? It updates and changes, which is why I focus on the instability of “knowledge,” a concept which was much less authoritative in premodern societies than we currently believe; early medieval (11-12th c.) Japan is one of them. This dissertation traces how early medieval reception and appropriation of *Man'yōshū* (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves, 759-785), the first extant Japanese poetic collection, was affected by the poetic discourse, the instability of knowledge and fluidity of channels through which knowledge is carried, and the existence of various *Man'yōshū* manuscripts. I deal with two allegedly rival schools (Rokujō and Mikohidari) and two of their representatives (Fujiwara Kiyosuke [1104-1177] and Fujiwara Shunzei [1114-1204]). I examine their *Man'yōshū* reception and appropriation by analyzing their poetry criticism (*karon*) and poetry (*waka*). I see them, however, not only as rivals but, above all, as representing continuous stages in the development of the Japanese poetic tradition.

The Mikohidari poets paid much more attention to *Man'yōshū* scholarship than most current scholarship acknowledges. Moreover, the process of re-imagining *waka* in the early medieval era started with Kiyosuke, not with Shunzei. The Mikohidari poets took over this process after Kiyosuke's death, claimed parts of the Rokujō tradition, and established themselves as modernizers of the poetic craft. The two poets and schools had thus much in common, but they utilized rivalry as a tool in pursuit of their goals: to attract potential patrons and shift the direction of the poetic discourse to their benefit. The notion of “rivalry” results from the variability of texts that they owned. In early medieval Japan, *Man'yōshū* existed in multiple manuscripts of different shapes and there was no one definitive text, which made it a convenient

site of contestation. This enabled poets to provide alternative information about it, which implies that the common knowledge about waka or *Man'yōshū* was more indefinite than we currently believe. I see “*Man'yōshū*” as a concept, not a singular or multitude of texts, over which poets attempted to gain power through knowledge by legitimizing their line of knowledge transmission.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	v
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 – Reception and appropriation	2
1.2 – <i>Man'yōshū</i> in the Rokujō-Mikohidari rivalry and early medieval discourse.....	15
1.3 – Instability of early medieval texts and channels of knowledge transmission.....	25
1.3.1 – Sasaki Nobutsuna and the canonization of <i>Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū</i>	31
1.4 – General considerations and literature review.....	35
CHAPTER 2. <i>MAN'YŌSHŪ</i> RECEPTION IN POETRY CRITICISM BY FUJIWARA KIYOSUKE AND FUJIWARA SHUNZEI.....	46
2.1 – Before Kiyosuke and Shunzei.....	46
2.2 – Kiyosuke and Shunzei: biographies and backgrounds.....	51
2.3 – Reception of <i>Man'yōshū</i> in Fujiwara Kiyosuke's poetry criticism.....	65
2.3.1 – <i>Man'yōshū</i> in <i>Ōgishō</i> (between 1124 and 1144).....	66
2.3.2 – <i>Man'yōshū</i> in <i>Fukurozōshi</i> (1157).....	74
2.3.3 – <i>Man'yōshū</i> in <i>Waka ichijishō</i> (1153) and <i>Waka shogakushō</i> (1169)	86
2.3.4 – <i>Man'yōshū</i> in Kiyosuke's poetry contests judgments (1167-1175)	92
2.4 – Reception of <i>Man'yōshū</i> in Fujiwara Shunzei's poetry criticism.....	102
2.4.1 – <i>Man'yōshū</i> in <i>Man'yōshū jidaikō</i> (1195).....	104
2.4.2 – <i>Man'yōshū</i> in <i>Korai fūteishō</i> (1197).....	111
2.4.3 – <i>Man'yōshū</i> in Shunzei's poetry contests judgments (1166-1201)	123
CHAPTER 3. <i>MAN'YŌSHŪ</i> APPROPRIATION IN POETRY BY FUJIWARA KIYOSUKE, FUJIWARA SHUNZEI AND OTHER POETS.....	141
3.1 – Appropriation of <i>Man'yōshū</i> vocabulary in Kiyosuke's poem.....	143
3.2 – Appropriation of <i>Man'yōshū</i> vocabulary in Shunzei's poems.....	159
3.3 – Appropriation of similar <i>Man'yōshū</i> vocabulary by Kiyosuke and Shunzei.....	172
CONCLUSION.....	180
Appendix 1 – Originals of Translated Excerpts from Poetry Criticism by Fujiwara Kiyosuke and Fujiwara Shunzei.....	189
Appendix 2 – Original and Translation of Fujiwara Shunzei's <i>Man'yōshū Jidaikō</i> (Reflections on the <i>Man'yōshū</i> Era, 1195)	197
Appendix 3 – Table: Appropriation of <i>Man'yōshū</i> Vocabulary in Fujiwara Kiyosuke's Poems.....	203
Appendix 4 – Table: Appropriation of <i>Man'yōshū</i> Vocabulary in Fujiwara Shunzei's Poems.....	208
Appendix 5 – Examples of Other Poets' Appropriation of <i>Man'yōshū</i> Vocabulary.....	213
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	225

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The first extant collection of Japanese poetry, entitled *Man'yōshū* (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves, 759-785), has been invented and reinvented multiple times during the history of Japanese literature, every time serving as a vehicle for different literary, ideological, philosophical and political agendas of many eras' authorities. Each time, its reception and appropriation practices played a crucial role in positioning *Man'yōshū* and its purpose in Japanese society at a certain point of time, demonstrating that Louis Montrose's notion of "the historicity of texts" applies to premodern Japanese literature.¹ Thus, while in the medieval era *Man'yōshū*, along with other literary works, became a sort of capital that would bring certain poetic circles political and material support, in the Edo period (1603-1868) it was an important tool for Kamo Mabuchi's (1697-1769) *Kokugaku* school's myth-making policy that aimed at separating Japan from Chinese, Confucian and Buddhist ideas in order to prove and emphasize the existence of "pure and true Japanese spirit."² As argued by a number of scholars of Japanese literature, for example Michael Brownstein, Haruo Shirane and Fusae Ekida, *Man'yōshū* was also utilized in the process of building the modern nation-state after the Meiji Restoration in 1868, after which it officially gained the status of a "national anthology."³

In the modern and contemporary eras, *Man'yōshū* has been annotated, studied and translated, that is – received and appropriated – by many generations of scholars around the world.⁴ The collection is important for the field of Japanese court poetry (hereafter, waka) studies, since it lies at the source of Japanese culture and literary history, and thus has always aroused much interest and controversy among Japanologists. However, despite centuries of research on this poetic collection, it is difficult to say that we "know" *Man'yōshū*. We have some

¹ Louis Montrose argues that reception of any literary work in the following centuries is affected by the social, political and cultural processes of those eras. See Louis Montrose, "The Poetics and Politics of Culture," in *The New Historicism*, ed. H. Aram Veerer (New York and London: Routledge, 1989), 15-24.

² Some of the *Kokugaku* scholars claimed that *Man'yōshū* poetry, as opposed to later waka, had been composed to express straightforwardly the feelings of the ancient poets. For more about *Kokugaku* movement's approach towards *Man'yōshū*, see Kitamura Susumu, *Kodai waka no kyōju* (Tōkyō: Ōfūsha, 2000), 212-234.

³ Michael Brownstein, "From Kokugaku to Kokubungaku: Canon-Formation in the Meiji Period," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 47, no. 2 (1987): 435-460; Haruo Shirane, and Tomi Suzuki, *Inventing the Classics. Modernity, National Identity and Japanese Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 31-50; Fusae Ekida, "A Reception History of the *Man'yōshū*" (Ph.D., University of Washington, 2009), 4.

⁴ For example, Orikuchi Shinobu, Sasaki Nobutsuna, Nakanishi Susumu in Japan, Ian Hideo Levy and Alexander Vovin in the United States of America, René Sieffert in France, Frederick Victor Dickins in Great Britain, Karl Florenz in Germany, Anna Gluskina in Russia, Wiesław Kotański in Poland, etc.

information on what generations of various waka poets and scholars believed the collection was at the time of its compilation and how it was received and appropriated during their own eras.

Currently, *Man'yōshū* is defined as the earliest extant anthology of Japanese poetry, compiled by a renowned poet Ōtomo Yakamochi (fl. 718-785) between 759 (the date of the last poem) and 785 (Yakamochi's death); divided into 20 volumes containing 4,516 poems. It is also considered to be a private collection, as opposed to *chokusen wakashū* – poetic anthologies compiled on imperial orders since the early 900's. This modern definition of *Man'yōshū* is, however, based on the earliest complete manuscript (*Nishi Honganji-bon*) dating from the late Kamakura period (1185-1333) but discovered only at the beginning of the 20th century. Moreover, this definition does not reveal reception and appropriation strategies that *Man'yōshū* was the subject of for centuries and which present the collection as much more fluid and indefinite.⁵

1.1 – Reception and appropriation

In this dissertation, I make a distinction between “reception” and “appropriation” practices. Reception refers to the perception of a literary work, characteristic for a given historical period, society, or group, which receives (perceives or sees) various literary works, and processes them in a manner that best suits their world views, religious and political ideals and needs. Thus, readers of a given age will change, transform, reconfigure, or reconsider the same literary work according to their own standards and needs. This corresponds to Hans Robert Jauss's theory on reception which emphasizes the historicity of reception and defines the term simply as the “history of understanding.”⁶ Moreover, thanks to Stanley Fish's concept of “interpretive communities,” which emphasizes that interpretative strategies exist “not for reading (in the conventional sense) but for writing texts, for constituting their properties and assigning

⁵ Though traditional Japanese historiography marks the medieval period as beginning in 1185, with the founding of the Kamakura shogunate, Robert Huey argues that the medieval era in Japanese poetry began during Emperor Horikawa's (1078-1007) reign, specifically in the mid-1080's. His periodization matches what I see in the development of *karon*. Thus, I use terms “late Heian” and “early medieval” interchangeably. See Robert N. Huey, “The Medievalization of Poetic Practice,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 50, no. 2 (1990): 651-668.

⁶ Hans Robert Jauss, *Towards an Aesthetic of Reception*, vol. 2 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), VII-XXV.

their intentions,” we understand that reception may be preconditioned by a number of variables.⁷ In classical Japanese literature, reception occurs in the form of reading, in the exchange of views and the production of literary criticism found in poetic treatises and handbooks (*karonsho*), and poetry contest judgments (*hanshi*).⁸

Appropriation, on the other hand, involves the utilization of given works in a newly created literature, and in medieval Japanese literature is closely related to the production of waka through the application of *honkadori* (what Brower and Miner call “allusive variation”) – the practice of borrowing lines from earlier poems and reconfiguring them in one’s own work.⁹ As part of her “theory of adaption,” Linda Hutcheon has defined appropriation as “a process of taking possession of another story and filtering it through one’s own sensibility, interest and talents.”¹⁰ Nicklas Pascal and Oliver Lindner see appropriation as a “move towards the new version rather than a move away from the ‘original’” and thus the creation of new cultural capital.¹¹ While these notions are applicable to the practice of *honkadori*, I will argue that there are other important factors, as well.

The distinction between the strategies of reception and appropriation is particularly significant in my dissertation, since classical Japanese literature scholars, for example Joshua Mostow in his multiple publications on *Ise monogatari* (The Tales of Ise, mid-10th c.), have so far theorized mainly about the concept of reception, correctly included appropriation activities within the overall category of reception but giving them much less scholarly attention.¹² Joshua

⁷ Stanley Fish, *Is there a Text in this Class? The Authority of Interpretative Communities* (Harvard University Press: Cambridge and London, 1980), 171.

⁸ There is another term *kagakusho* which is also frequently used regarding works of Japanese poetry criticism. However, distinction between *karon* and *kagaku*, though defined by some scholars as “theory of waka” and “studies of waka,” has never been consistent and still remains problematic. See Saeko Shibayama, “Ōe no Masafusa and the Convergence of the “Ways”: the Twilight of Early Chinese Literary Studies and the Rise of Waka Studies in the Long Twelfth Century in Japan” (Ph.D., Columbia University, 2012), VI-XV.

For more on poetry contests judgments as poetry criticism, see Clifton W. Royston, “Utaawase Judgments as Poetry Criticism,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 34, no. 1 (1974): 99-108.

⁹ Robert H. Brower and Earl Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961), 506.

¹⁰ Linda Hutcheon with Siobhan O’Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 18.

¹¹ Nicklas Pascal and Oliver Lindner, *Adaptation and Cultural Appropriation: Literature, Film, and the Arts* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 6.

¹² Due to the way reception operates temporally, no scholar can find the objective “truth” about authors’ intent and texts. Mostow also implies that reception does influence translation and that the text is not “the self-same over time.” See Joshua Mostow, *Pictures of the Heart: the Hyakunin Isshu in Word and Image* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1996) 1-10.

Mostow has presented cultural appropriation as “allusion to the text to create a new work.”¹³ In his study on *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji, early 11th c.), Michael Emmerich has recently reconsidered the concept of reception and substituted it with the notion of “replacement.”¹⁴ While Mostow and Emmerich see the historicity of the act of reading and interpreting, they have not discussed the subtle but important distinction between reception and appropriation in waka history as closely related to the application of *honkadori*. In fact, it is the *honkadori* technique that allows for the existence of a peculiar type of fusion between the old and new vocabulary, contexts and styles. Early medieval works of *karon* do not provide a product in the form of newly composed poems, as they are limited to comments on ancient poetry and interpretations of its meaning. Thus, though I too treat appropriation within the frames of reception, I see both terms as not the same practices but inter-related concepts of a continuous nature. They are different variables in the constellation of a much broader concept of poetic discourse – a shared space where circulated knowledge continues to be added, replaced, modified and negotiated.

Chapter 2 of my dissertation focuses on *Man'yōshū* reception, while Chapter 3 deals with its appropriation, as respectively examined in poetry criticism and poems by two late Heian poets – Fujiwara Kiyosuke (1104-1177) from the Rokujō school and Fujiwara Shunzei (1114-1204) from the Mikohidari school.¹⁵ Although I focus on Kiyosuke and Shunzei, I occasionally examine allusions to *Man'yōshū* vocabulary in poetry by other poets of that era, for example Kenshō (fl. 1130-1210) from the Rokujō school, Fujiwara Teika (1162-1241) from the Mikohidari school, and some others. However, my choice of Kiyosuke and Shunzei is motivated by their high position and wide recognition in the early medieval waka world. As leaders of their respective families, descending from two different branches of the Fujiwara clan, and poetic

¹³ Joshua Mostow, *Courtly Visions: The Ise Stories and the Politics of Cultural Appropriation* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2014), 1-8.

¹⁴ Michel Emmerich has claimed that “the application of the concept of reception to a book or a text, in other words, is itself an instance of replacement.” See Michael, Emmerich, *The Tale of Genji: Translation, Canonization, and the World Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 17.

¹⁵ Japanese scholars have long considered and discussed the exact nature of the Rokujō and Mikohidari group – whether they can be considered actual “houses,” which implies a familial line of inheritance, or whether they are simply a loosely knit collections of like-minded poets. For the purpose of this study, I see the Rokujō and Mikohidari groups as poetic schools. For more on this topic, see Takeshita Yutaka, “Rokujō tōke o megutte: kadōka no seiritsu to tenkai,” *Joshidai Bungaku kokubunhen* 30, no. 3 (1979): 45-52; Nishimura Kayoko, *Heian kōki kagaku no kenkyū* (Ōsaka: Izumi Shoin, 1997), 180; Inoue Muneo, *Kamakura jidai kajinden no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1997), 10.

schools, both scholars were in possession of thorough knowledge about waka and its history unsurpassed by any of their contemporaries.

Kiyosuke and Shunzei were professional waka scholars and poets who possessed and studied various manuscripts of classical literary works.¹⁶ They had direct access to *Man'yōshū* scholarship and hand-made manuscripts, which was rare in their times. We should not forget that reliable copies of such massive literary works as *Man'yōshū* were very hard to acquire in the medieval era. Possession of such texts showed the long-lasting literary tradition of the families and access to knowledge unreachable to other poets, who either studied waka with the Rokujō and Mikohidari masters, or some other waka tutors, or learned the art of poetry via the mediation of secondary sources, like poetic treatises and handbooks or private collections.

I see, however, a distinction in the way Kiyosuke and Shunzei and their respective schools treated old poetic collections, like *Man'yōshū*, and other texts. Rokujō poets, with their practice of worshipping a portrait of the *Man'yōshū* poet Kakinomoto Hitomaro (late 600's), treated waka as a sacred tradition and art requiring certain rituals for the maintenance of their craft's legitimacy.¹⁷ In their works of *karon*, there is a considerable number of tales (*setsuwa*) on various issues regarding waka. Mikohidari poets were, on the contrary, above all, collectors, copyists and canonizers of texts, and there are no historical records of them performing any rituals related to waka. The narrative of their poetry criticism generally avoids tales as a mode of knowledge transmission. Mikohidari poets treated waka more as literature, a type of writing having an intellectual value, thus displaying their reformist approach to their own craft. In fact, Shunzei started a school of a different type – without established poetic traditions, where poets were not poetry magicians but professionals.

Even though the timing and circumstances of the establishment of the Rokujō and Mikohidari schools were different, both schools performed a number of similar activities related to the production of new poetry and poetic criticism. Both focused on the textual significance of their teachings and manuscripts. However, as recently pointed out by Brian Steininger, “in the mid-Heian, the realm of court ritual was not primarily text-based,” which positions the Rokujō

¹⁶ For a discussion of the notion of “professionalism” in the context of waka poet-scholars, see Ivo Smits, “Places of Mediation: Poets and Salons in Medieval Japan,” in *Reading East Asian Writing: the Limits of Literary Theory*, ed. Michael Hockx and Ivo Smits (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 210.

¹⁷ On the significance of ritual in classical Japanese literature, see Herbert E. Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos: Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1990).

school (established at the turn of the 11th c.) mainly in the area of oral teachings.¹⁸ In fact, this would explain the lack of a significant amount of poetic commentaries preceding Kiyosuke, who was the first Rokujō scholar to have produced more than one work of poetry criticism during his lifetime.

Commentaries, and especially critical works on Japanese court poetry (*karon*) became a major mode of expression of literary scholarship in medieval Japan.¹⁹ Haruo Shirane has claimed that during the medieval era commentaries were crucial to cultural production and even stated that “scholarship and commentaries were one and the same.”²⁰ Poetry criticism flourished between 1100 and 1200, largely due to a new trend toward organizing poetry contests (*uta’awase*), which were frequently the main sources of poems for the imperial poetry anthologies. Lewis Cook has defined commentaries on waka as “cumulative but always mutable and often continuous corpus of writing that supplied contexts for the interpretation of individual poems and formal anthologies within the canon of classical waka.”²¹ Taking those definitions and the results of my research on Kiyosuke and Shunzei into consideration, it seems safe to assume that waka poets and scholars from various poetic families and schools transmitted parts of their knowledge to their descendants in the form of treatises or handbooks (*karonsho*). Poetry criticism was a recognized form of knowledge transmission about waka. Also, it provides us with compact theoretical knowledge about waka, while poetic composition represents the implementation of those rules in practice. Thus, even though it is the poetry that still attracts most attention outside of Japan, *karon* and waka complement each other and should be studied simultaneously.

Poetry commentaries help us understand not only the basic principles of waka composition, but also the framework through which poetic circles estimated poetic value. Through the study of *karon*, we see that new criticism was always produced against previous commentaries and oral teachings, since scholars and poets define themselves against the past and

¹⁸ Brian Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms in Heian Japan* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2017), 171.

¹⁹ Jamie Newhard, *Knowing the Amorous Man: a History of Scholarship on Tales of Ise* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 3-4.

²⁰ Haruo Shirane, “Mediating the Literary Classics in Premodern Japan,” in *Rethinking East Asian Languages, Vernaculars, and Literacies, 1000–1919*, ed. Benjamin A. Elman (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 143-144.

²¹ Lewis Cook, “Waka and Commentary,” in *Waka Opening to the World: Language, Community and Gender* (Tōkyō: Bensei Shuppan, 2012), 352.

preceding scholarship, either affirming or objecting to earlier opinions²². Haruo Shirane has argued that “canonized texts are the object of extensive commentary,” which suggests that Japanese medieval poetry criticism gives us insight about those texts that were considered important and were already partially canonized.²³ Commentaries also inform us about shifts in the poetic discourse, as they display continuities and discontinuities in waka practice and criticism. Authors of poetic treatises claimed their authority and legitimacy in certain literary areas by challenging or acknowledging their predecessors or rivals’ views.²⁴ We notice this in critical works by Fujiwara Kiyosuke and Fujiwara Shunzei, who frequently referred to, among other texts, the preface to the first imperial collection *Kokin wakashū* (Collection of Japanese Poems from Ancient and Modern Times, ca. 905) – *kanajo* (*kana* preface to the *Kokinshū*) by Ki no Tsurayuki (fl. 872-945), *Shinsen zuinō* (Newly Selected Poetic Essentials, 1004-1012) by Fujiwara Kintō (966-1041), and *Toshiyori zuinō* (Toshiyori’s Essentials, 1111-1115) by Minamoto Toshiyori (1060-1142).²⁵ However, the language and rhetoric of medieval treatises produced by any poetic school may appear difficult to comprehend to a contemporary reader, which is likely why *karon* have not been studied in the West as extensively as other classical Japanese literary genres.

In this dissertation, for *Man’yōshū* reception I will examine those poetic treatises, handbooks and *uta’awase* judgments by Fujiwara Kiyosuke and Fujiwara Shunzei that discuss issues related to the collection’s compilation, poetry and poetics. To better understand *Man’yōshū* appropriation, on the other hand, I will focus on poetry from the late 12th and early 13th centuries that makes identifiable reference to *Man’yōshū* poems.

In the context of classical Japanese literature, I am using the term “poetic treatise” to refer to theoretical works on waka, composed by a poetry teacher to be material for comprehensive reading and study. A treatise is usually lengthy and contains extensive

²² Newhard, 3.

²³ Haruo Shirane, “Canon Formation in Japan: Genre, Gender, Popular Culture, and Nationalism,” in *Reading East Asian Writing: the Limits of Literary Theory*, ed. Michael Hockx and Ivo Smits (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 33.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

²⁵ *Shinsen zuinō* is a poetic treatise in one volume by Fujiwara Kintō. It instructs on how to compose poetry and is one of the most significant early poetic treatises in the waka history. *Toshiyori zuinō* is a poetic treatise by Minamoto Toshiyori written for Fujiwara Tadazane’s (1078-1162) daughter named Yasuko (later consort to Emperor Toba [1103-1156]). It contains basic information about the art of *waka* composition and often presents knowledge about Japanese poetry in a form of anecdotes. This treatise was widely read and studied by many generations of later waka poets and scholars.

information about waka composition principles, the circumstances of poetic collections' commission and compilation, as well as interpretations, through the use of anecdotes and tales, of vocabulary that had become incomprehensible over time. The term "handbook," on the other hand, I am using regarding non-theoretical works about waka that are composed to be a convenient reference source; handbook lists and/or arranges poetic examples or expressions in some order, thus providing systemized and handy information on waka. However, the categorization of poetic "treatises" and "handbooks" has never been thoroughly defined in premodern or modern Japanese literary studies, and I make this distinction for the clarification purposes.

Poetry criticism as expressed in the form of poetry contest judgments (*hanshi*) was another mode of waka evaluation in various contexts. In fact, Minegishi Yoshiaki has argued that in Fujiwara Kintō's times, *uta'awase* judgments were the main source of poetry criticism and strongly affected later generations of poets who wrote poetic commentaries, like Toshiyori, Fujiwara Mototoshi (1060-1142), Kiyosuke, Shunzei, and many others.²⁶

Knowledge about *Man'yōshū* found in Kiyosuke's and Shunzei's works of poetry criticism did not only present new or altered information about the collection to their patrons or the waka world; their *karon* were above all examples of how both poets attempted to lay claim to a part of *Man'yōshū* discourse by challenging earlier views about it. Frequently dedicated to their poetry patrons, Kiyosuke's and Shunzei's poetic treatises were above all advertisements of their expertise on various texts and issues related to waka. Poetic leaders would compose *karon* with an intent to attract potential patrons, with whom they would share their secret knowledge in private rather than in public. Thus, Kiyosuke and Shunzei wrote those texts for a particular audience and readers, not into empty space, which suggests that in the medieval era we are dealing with not only professionalization and politicization of poetic practice, as argued by Robert Huey, but also the beginnings of professionalization and politicization of *karon* production and knowledge transmission. Interestingly, as noted by Karin Littau, reader-response criticism in modern literary, cultural and film studies has shifted the power to the reader as the most significant source of meaning.²⁷ Kiyosuke's and Shunzei's focus on audience reminds us of classical Greek and Roman commentaries by Plato, Aristotle, Horace and Longinus which

²⁶ Minegishi Yoshiaki, *Uta'awase no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Sanseidō, 1958), 575-576.

²⁷ Karin Littau, *Theories of Reading: Books, Bodies and Bibliomania* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), 136.

demonstrate considerable fixation on audience response.²⁸ Moreover, medieval Japan also bears some comparison to the English Renaissance, an era when poets were highly dependent on their patrons' financial support.²⁹

Moreover, the early medieval poets shared their *karon* texts among other poets; they circulated them as mercantile displays of their competences. This can be seen in the intertextual connections among a variety of critical texts composed by poets from different schools. For example, Shunzei referred in his *karon* to both Kiyosuke's and Kenshō's earlier examples of poetry criticism. That is also why the Shiguretei Library of the Reizei house (a branch descending from the Mikohidari school) has in its possession a few critical works by the Rokujō poets, including Kiyosuke's *Waka shogakushō* (Elementary Poetry, 1169) and one volume from *Ōgishō* (Secret Teachings, between 1124 and 1144), as well as Kenshō's *Shūchūshō* (Sleeve Notes, 1186).³⁰ However, the poets would not share their most valuable manuscripts of poetic collections or tales, like *Man'yōshū*, the first imperial collection *Kokinshū* or the Heian period tales – *Ise monogatari*, *Genji monogatari* or *Makura no sōshi* (The Pillow Book, early 11th c.). Important teachings about those texts were not written in any *karon* but revealed orally during one-on-one sessions with a professional waka master. Thus, early medieval poets were inclusive in promoting their poetic knowledge but rather exclusive in its transmission. In the case of oral transmissions (*kuden*), we are dealing with a level of secrecy that in theory requires the teacher and student to leave no paper trail. However, there are, as always, exceptions; we know that Kiyosuke's adopted son, Kenshō, compiled the annotation of *Kokinshū*, *Kokinshūchū* (Notes on *Kokinshū*, 1185) for one of his patrons, Imperial Prince Shukaku (1150-1202), who was an abbot of the Nin'na Temple. As pointed out by Nishimura Kayoko, *Kokinshūchū*'s postscript contains records of Kenshō's meetings with Shukaku in 1191 during which he orally instructed his patron about the *Kokinshū* poetry.³¹ A similar co-existence of oral and written transmissions of knowledge during the medieval age in Europe has been examined by Walter J. Ong, who notes that the first Old English texts were virtually transcriptions of orations. Ong has explained this as

²⁸ Jane P. Tompkins, "The Reader in History," in *Reader-Response Criticism: from Formalism to Post-Structuralism*, ed. Jane P. Tompkins (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 202.

²⁹ Arthur Marotti, "Patronage, Poetry, and Print," in *Patronage, Politics, and Literary Traditions in England, 1558-1658*, ed. Cedric C. Brown (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991), 21-46.

³⁰ For more on the Shiguretei Library, its history and significance see Robert H. Brower, "The Reizei Family Documents," *Monumenta Nipponica* 36, no. 4 (1981): 445-461.

³¹ Nishimura Kayoko, "Kenshō no Kokin denju to waka bunsho," *Kokubun ronsō* 12, no. 3 (1985): 48.

a result of the transition from antiquity, when the art of public speaking and rhetoric was the central means of education.³²

The significance of oral transmissions or secret transmissions (*hiden* or *denju*) of medieval teachings in various Japanese traditional arts, including waka, has been acknowledged by many scholars, for example Morinaga Maki.³³ In fact, we can see traces of oral transmissions in, for example, *Korai fūteishō* (Poetic Styles of Past and Present, 1197), a poetry treatise by Fujiwara Shunzei, where he refers to teachings of his poetic master, Fujiwara Mototoshi, by writing “the old man said...,” thus proving the authority and legitimacy of his own instructions.³⁴ Both Kiyosuke and Shunzei could and did write *karon* because they were in possession of not only valuable manuscripts that provided them with legitimacy for their poetic activity, but also knowledge mediated to them by their predecessors. Neither Kiyosuke nor Shunzei invented the genre of *karon*. As mentioned above, poetic commentaries had been produced before by respected waka masters – Ki no Tsurayuki, Fujiwara Kintō, Minamoto Toshiyori, and others. However, those poets would usually produce one treatise during their life, which represented the dominant trends of their teachings and life-time experience. In fact, Ariel Stilerman, based on Toshiyori’s and Kiyosuke’s examples of *karon*, has in detail discussed the transition in waka pedagogy from court praxis into a professional field.³⁵ Thus, it was Kiyosuke who first recognized the potentially beneficial significance of *karon* production and wrote multiple treatises and handbooks on waka dedicated to his patrons. One could ask, why? Perhaps Kiyosuke decided to record parts of teachings because he was afraid that the Rokujō tradition would get lost or claimed by a new poetic leader. In any case, starting with Kiyosuke we can certainly talk about the rise of *karon*. This trend was picked up by Shunzei, who also produced numerous critical texts and dedicated them to his patrons. That is also likely why Shunzei was able to establish a school that would focus on manuscripts and production of teachings in writing.

Kiyosuke and Shunzei were both masters of waka language. They had rare skills and knowledge that entitled them to instruct future generations of poets in the art of waka. In their

³² Walter J. Ong, “Orality, Literacy, and Medieval Textualization,” *New Literary History* 16, no. 1 (1984), 1-12.

³³ Morinaga Maki, *Secrecy in Japanese Arts: “Secret Transmission” as a Mode of Knowledge* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 1-18.

³⁴ Watanabe Yasuaki, Kazuhiko Kobayashi and Hajime Yamamoto, ed., *Korai fūteishō*, *Karon kagaku shūsei* 7 (Tōkyō: Miyai Shoten, 2006), 97.

³⁵ Ariel Stilerman, “Cultural Knowledge and Professional Training in the Poetic Treatises of the Late Heian Japan,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 72, no. 2 (2017): 153-187.

poetry treatises, both waka poet-scholars did not explicitly state that they were teaching from their precious and family-secured manuscripts. However, differences in how they displayed their knowledge about such works as *Man'yōshū*, indicate that they possessed different manuscripts of the collection; copies that likely contained some textual discrepancies and presented alternative interpretations of various issues on waka poetics or history. Kiyosuke, for example, stated in his *Fukurozōshi* (Ordinary Book, 1157) that the copy of *Man'yōshū* in his possession contained 4,313 poems, while Shunzei never disclosed such details in his works of *karon*. However, in his *Korai fūteishō* Shunzei listed roughly 200 poems from *Man'yōshū*, and the order of poems he lists accords with the order of volumes and poems as they appear in the *Nishi Honganji-bon* manuscript, currently considered the most legitimate *Man'yōshū* text, providing evidence that he had access to all twenty volumes of the collection.³⁶ Since a considerable amount of linguistic and factual knowledge regarding *Man'yōshū* had been already lost by the early medieval period, this poetic collection was something of an empty vessel, a convenient object to clash over. One could argue in favor of one's opinion, demonstrate one's expertise in the poetic circles and thus gain the support of powerful patrons, who would sponsor a poetic school's activity.

Once poets were familiar with the theory, that is the teachings transmitted to them by their waka master, they were expected to write their own poems and refer to earlier poems in their own compositions consistent with those teachings. Thus did “reception” (theory, *ron*) become actualized as appropriation. Perhaps the best-known approach to appropriation is the *honkadōri* technique, generally translated in Western scholarship as “allusive variation” – a practice of borrowing lines from earlier poems and reconfiguring them in one's own work. It is often considered to be one of the most distinguishing features of the early medieval period's waka. It was largely codified, though not invented, by Fujiwara Teika of the Mikohidari poetic school.³⁷ As emphasized by David Bialock, poetic discourse of Teika's times “already incorporated and continued to sustain an enormous amount of repetitive phraseology.”³⁸

³⁶ Kagō Takafumi, “*Korai fūteishō no Man'yōshū uta*,” in *Man'yōshū to sono dentō*, ed. Tadashi Ōkubo, 256-279 (Tōkyō: Ōfūsha, 1980), 262.

³⁷ Nishiki Hitoshi, “Koka o honka to suru eihō – ‘honkadōri’ saikō, joron,” in *Nihon bungei no chōryū: Kikuta Shigeo kyōju taikan kinen*, ed. Shigeo Kikuta (Tōkyō: Ōfūsha, 1994), 285; Nakagawa Hiro'o, “Chūko ‘honkadōri’ gensetsushi shiron,” in *Heian bungaku ronkyū* vol. 15, ed. Heian bungaku ronkyūkai (Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 2001), 191.

³⁸ David Bialock, “Voice, Text, and the Question of Poetic Borrowing in Late Classical Japanese Poetry,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 54, no. 1 (1994): 181.

Haruo Shirane has argued that Shunzei was “a pioneer in the development of what may be called an intertextual poetics.”³⁹ Indeed Shunzei’s role in promoting and codifying poetic borrowing is undeniable. However, the practice of alluding to earlier poems, a form of intertextuality, had been recognized already by Fujiwara Kintō in his poetic treatise *Shinsen zuinō* but was generally condemned until Kiyosuke, Shunzei and then his son, Teika.⁴⁰ It was, in fact, Kiyosuke who first approved of poetic borrowing in waka, thus legitimizing this intertextual practice. Kiyosuke’s and Shunzei’s move towards the increased consideration of ancient poetry likely resulted from the fact that by the late Heian period, waka vocabulary had long been set and no major changes had been made to its codified language. In such circumstances, every allusion to a lesser known poem was immediately recognized and thus significant for the broadening of the waka vocabulary in the medieval age. In this dissertation, I argue that the process of modifying the waka tradition and pushing the boundaries of poetic discourse in fact started with Kiyosuke, not with Shunzei and his son, Teika. The Mikohidari poets took over this process once Kiyosuke had passed away in 1177, and established themselves as modernizers of the poetic craft. The Mikohidari school was thus a continuity, not discontinuity, of the Rokujō school and generally waka tradition. As I will show below, I do not wish to treat both schools and their notorious rivalry as a binary.

In the contemporary era, *honkadōri* is defined as “intentional appropriation of poetic expressions from well-known and often earlier poems in newly composed *waka*.”⁴¹ *Honkadōri* has been defined as an intentional and conscious technique of poetic borrowing by, among others, Matsumura Yūji and Nosaka Mari.⁴² However, this uni-directional (from present to past) and one-dimensional approach focuses only on the linear character of the channels of poetic allusions. This definition does not take into consideration the existence of poetic discourse, which provides a dispersal and multi-directional approach to allusive practices in waka, and which I believe to be crucial for the practice of poetic borrowing in the early medieval era.

³⁹ Haruo Shirane, “Lyricism and Intertextuality: an Approach to Shunzei’s Poetics,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 50, no. 1 (1990): 72.

⁴⁰ Nosaka Mari, “Bungakushi ni okeru *honkadōri* no kachi,” *Hirosakidai gobun* 21, no. 6 (1995): 32-33; Hiro’o Nakagawa, “Chūko ‘*honkadōri*’ gensetsushi shiron,” in *Heian bungaku ronkyū* vol. 15, ed. Heian bungaku ronkyūkai (Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 2001), 193-194.

⁴¹ 周知の和歌の表現を意識的に取り入れて、新しい和歌を詠む技法。See *Waka bungaku daijiten* ver. 4.1.2, in *Nihon bungaku web toshokan* ver. 5.1.1c-5678 (Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2015).

⁴² Matsumura Yūji, “*Honkadōri-kō* – seiritsu ni kan suru nōto,” in *Waka to retorikku*, ed. Waka bungakukai (Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin, 1986), 144; Nosaka, 37.

The definition of *honkadori* described above continues to be perpetuated in the majority of modern editions of annotated medieval collections. The manner in which the appropriated *Man'yōshū* poems, lines and expressions are presented is misleading, since they usually point to a particular poem in the version we have of *Man'yōshū* today (often *Nishi Honganji-bon*) when discussing *honka* (original poems) and/or *sankō* (reference poems). Many annotations fail to provide references to secondary sources, in which the appropriated *Man'yōshū* poems reappear, which contributes to an impression that early medieval poets frequently referred to *Man'yōshū* poetry directly from *Man'yōshū* manuscripts.⁴³ Thus, modern students of waka end up with limited information about possible channels of appropriation of the *Man'yōshū* vocabulary, and likely remain unaware of the existence of the early medieval *Man'yōshū* discourse, which encompassed not only *Man'yōshū* manuscripts, but also other poetic collections and treatises that featured *Man'yōshū* poems without always identifying them as such. Modern readers are thus often unable to comprehend how complex the channels of poetic borrowing were in the late Heian period.

Even though the above-mentioned definition has become the standard, I would like to offer a more comprehensive interpretation of *honkadori* and other allusive practices as they relate to *Man'yōshū*, examining not only the works of Kiyosuke and Shunzei, but of other poets of their time as well. I argue that the definition of *honkadori* referred to above does not adequately take into account the existence of the broader early medieval poetic discourse, since it posits that poets “consciously” borrowed lines from other poems. Moreover, as I will show in Chapter 3, early medieval poets rarely borrowed vocabulary from only one poem. In fact, their poems often seem more like patchworks containing layers of references from poems of various eras. Mikhail Bakhtin has described analogous dynamics in the of “heteroglossia” which he uses in regard to the genre of novel, and which describes the co-existence of different types of speech as basic features of intertextuality.⁴⁴ Moreover, “intertextuality” itself, a term coined by Julia Kristeva, is particularly useful in the context of *honkadori* application in early medieval waka,

⁴³ The general tendency of dominance of primary texts over secondary sources was noted, yet not critiqued, by Michel Foucault, who emphasized the permanence and status of the primary text and commentary’s role to reveal what is hidden, “beyond” in text. See Michel Foucault, “The Order of Discourse,” in *Untying the Text: a Post-Structuralist Reader*, ed. Robert Young (Boston, London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 57.

⁴⁴ Bakhtin defines “heteroglossia” as “another’s speech in another’s language, serving to express authorial intentions but in a refracted way.” See Mikhail Bakhtin, “Discourse in the Novel,” in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*, ed. Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 324.

since she has noted that “any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another.⁴⁵” Worton and Still further explain that “a text cannot exist as a hermetic or self-sufficient whole, and so does not function as a closed system.”⁴⁶ Thus, writers are first of all readers of other texts that influence them during their activity of writing. Moreover, the discursive practices themselves are intertextual, since they also influence texts. Based on such an understanding of intertextuality we may conclude that authors and readers ought to accept and recognize the inevitable intertextuality of their activities of writing, reading and participating in the discourse.

I do not deny that some poets consciously appropriated lines from *Man'yōshū* or other ancient waka, since poetic events like *Horikawa hyakushu* (One Hundred Poems for Emperor Horikawa, 1105-1106) are well known as intentional attempts to return to and re-invent the ancient style of poetry.⁴⁷ However, the significance of an overarching poetic discourse on the practice of *honkadori* has been already raised by David Bialock and Nakagawa Hiro'o.⁴⁸ I argue that most poets referred to certain *Man'yōshū* poems and lines unintentionally and in fact did not mean to borrow directly *Man'yōshū* poetry, *per se*, but rather were focused more generally on old poetic expressions – *furu'uta* or *koka* – which included mainly poems dated between *Man'yōshū* and *rokkasen* (six poetic geniuses), who flourished in the mid-9th century.

This came about because the same poems kept appearing in numerous secondary sources, like works of *karon* or private collections, and were also appropriated by other senior and fellow poets. This suggests that some poems included in *Man'yōshū* were not treated as “*Man'yōshū* poems” because they were already a part of the poetic discourse, and in some cases not even understood to be from *Man'yōshū*. In fact, I argue that it was the already-established *Man'yōshū* discourse, which may be defined as common knowledge about *Man'yōshū* poetry possessed by poets in the early medieval period, not necessarily any particular line of knowledge transmission

⁴⁵ Julia Kristeva, “Word, Dialogue, and Novel,” in *Desire in Language: a Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, ed. Leon S. Roudiez (New York, Columbia University Press, 1980), 66.

⁴⁶ Michael Worton and Judith Still, *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices* (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), 1.

⁴⁷ *Horikawa hyakushu* was a poetic event organized by Emperor Horikawa (1078-1107). It was an attempt to return to older poetics, including *Man'yōshū* poetry, and renew the waka tradition. It was frequently referred to in poetry of the following centuries. See Matsumura, 130.

⁴⁸ David Bialock argues: “the poets of the latter half of the Heian period had inherited a self-consuming universe of traditional poetic discourse that was slowly being displaced from the social-political realities that had sanctioned it.” See Bialock, 196; Nakagawa, 200-201.

or affiliated to any poetic school, that caused numerous poets to allude to the same *Man'yōshū* poems and expressions in the early medieval era. My analysis of Kiyosuke and Shunzei's poems in Chapter 3 supports this argument.

I see the poetic discourse as a much broader concept that lies above all types of allusive practices. I also consider *honkadōri* as one of its not always “conscious” manifestations.⁴⁹ David Bialock has argued that by applying a *honkadōri* technique “the poet is signaling his or her participation in a poetic tradition,” which I interpret as a way of claiming, engaging in and validating the common poetic knowledge=poetic discourse – an activity that is not necessarily dependent on one's poetic affiliation.⁵⁰ I argue that the practice of poetic borrowing in the early medieval era pushed the limits of traditional poetic discourse and enabled the existence of a wider web of intertextuality. Moreover, unlike conventional Japanese literary studies, which emphasize the significance of *Man'yōshū* manuscripts for tracking and identifying allusive practices, my interpretation of *honkadōri* allows secondary sources and poetry by fellow early medieval poets to be equally valid channels of *Man'yōshū* poetry appropriation.

1.2 – *Man'yōshū* in the Rokujō-Mikohidari rivalry and early medieval discourse

Man'yōshū became an object of scholarship early on, since already in the Heian period (8-12th c.), due to the relocation of the capital, a shift from the Western Old Japanese (WOJ) language of the Asuka period (538-710) and Nara period (710-784) to Middle Japanese (MJ) had taken place. This language change was one reason why as early as the Heian period poets were unable to read the *man'yōgana* script used in *Man'yōshū*, and fully understand poems written in WOJ.⁵¹ Such inaccessibility of *Man'yōshū* poetry was a direct reason why, starting in the Heian period there were numerous attempts to annotate the collection, making it more accessible to

⁴⁹ I do not intend to argue that all appropriations of *Man'yōshū* poetry were affected by the poetic discourse. In fact, I believe that certain poets intentionally utilized *Man'yōshū* vocabulary to distinguish themselves among their contemporaries. However, already Fujiwara Kintō emphasized in his *Shinsen zuinō* that the value of borrowing earlier poetry lies in its recognizability, not obscurity. See Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, ed., *Shinsen zuinō*, *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 65 (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1971), 29.

⁵⁰ Bialock, 195.

⁵¹ *Man'yōgana* is a term describing Chinese characters used to write Japanese, which theretofore had no writing system. Most *man'yōgana* characters function phonographically, though *Man'yōshū* also includes a lot of Chinese characters used logographically, or even as rebuses. This system of writing was named after their extensive use in *Man'yōshū*. For more information about *man'yōgana*, see Bjarke Frellesvig, *A History of the Japanese Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 14.

contemporary poets. The change of language and culture caused by the move from Nara to Heian (currently Kyoto) was likely the reason behind a considerable and steadily growing fluidity of knowledge about this poetic collection from the Heian period onward. Poets lost more than the linguistic ability to read *Man'yōshū* without a gloss; a large amount of information about the collection in writing had been irreversibly removed from the poetic discourse. The *Man'yōshū* ur-text was also gone, and the collection survived in the form of multiple manuscripts, containing numerous textual variants. The orality of knowledge transmission in the art of waka was another factor contributing to such fluidity which enabled the early medieval poetic leaders to function as interpretative authorities.

Thus, general knowledge about *Man'yōshū* in the Heian period was already fragmentary, and some poets, who made attempts to regain parts of the lost discourse about the collection, like Kiyosuke and Shunzei, could speculate on various textual and historical issues in this regard. In fact, I argue that both poet-scholars derived power from the instability of knowledge about *Man'yōshū* and other poetic collections. In their activity as literary critics, we can sense an urge to stabilize their own line of knowledge transmission as the most legitimate one. Perhaps that is why Kiyosuke, Kenshō and Shunzei all produced so many treatises and handbooks, where they revealed those parts of oral transmissions about *Man'yōshū* that had never before been recorded in writing. They all recognized the level of power that comes with the possession of a manuscript; by textualizing their knowledge and transforming orality into textuality, they were thus claiming and legitimizing their own lines of knowledge transmission. As argued by Richard Okada, the written cannot exist without the oral; and while the written is more permanent, it is the oral that authorizes the written. He emphasized that an act of reading in Heian Japanese was not that different from writing or composing poetry due to the ambiguity of the verb *yomu* (to read, to compose). Okada also claimed that calligraphic practice was an “act producing a techno-interpretative reading” and was a common way texts were appreciated in Heian Japan.⁵² Thus, the activities of copying and writing about various texts presented an opportunity to establish oneself as the center of literary production and thus leader of the poetic world.

Knowledge about *Man'yōshū* and other literary texts became contested especially in the medieval era, when numerous poetic circles and schools emerged, and poetry gradually became

⁵² See Richard Okada, *Figures of Resistance: Language, Poetry and Narrating in the 'Tale of Genji' and Other* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1991), 28, 336.

intertwined in court politics.⁵³ Even though it had not yet reached the exclusive realm of secret teachings known as *hiden* or *denju*, which started in the Muromachi period (1336-1573) and were strongly related to the *iemoto* system, both Rokujō and Mikohidari schools possessed knowledge about certain literary texts that they had been studying. Subsequent school members transmitted this knowledge, both orally and partially in writing, within their families and to their patrons from both the imperial court and shogunate.⁵⁴ The knowledge about certain literary texts became a kind of capital that brought them political and material benefits, and support, in a manner akin to the Foucauldian concept of “power=knowledge,” which argues that power and knowledge are inter-related and therefore every human relationship is a negotiation of power.⁵⁵

The concept of “power=knowledge,” frequently applied in political science, provides literary studies with a tool that enables scholars to reconsider numerous allegedly fixed notions about literature. Moreover, a French sociologist and philosopher, Pierre Bourdieu, emphasized various forms of material and symbolic power as closely intertwined with economic and political power.⁵⁶ His theory of cultural production allows us to position intellectuals from the literary or artistic fields, like Kiyosuke and Shunzei who were in possession of symbolic forms of capital (manuscripts and knowledge about waka) within his “field of power.”⁵⁷ Medieval Japanese poet-scholars’ power was located in their literary knowledge, while patrons had power in the financial means to support the poets’ activity. Once both sides entered into a symbiotic relationship based on the exchange of their symbolic and material assets, they were fully able to perform their assigned roles. In fact, I think that the prestige and significance of medieval waka poets and their patrons depended heavily on the existence of their mutual relationship, support, and some level of loyalty.

⁵³ This reminds us of the integration of art and politics in ancient Greece. See Tompkins, 204.

⁵⁴ Steven Carter has argued that such process is derived from the tradition of Buddhist knowledge transmission and is the basis of the *iemoto* system. I, on the other hand, argue that Shunzei and the Mikohidari school had no traditions of secret transmissions of their own and had to create them to appear legitimate. So, they filled in the empty gaps of their own history of teaching poetry with an analogy between teaching waka and Buddhism. See Steven D. Carter, “Seeking What the Master Sought: Masters, Disciples, and Poetic Enlightenment in Medieval Japan,” in *The Distant Isle*, ed. Thomas Hare, Robert Borgen, and Sharalyn Orbaugh (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1996), 35-58.

⁵⁵ Michel Foucault, “Two Lectures,” in *Power/knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 78-108; Newhard, 11.

⁵⁶ Ivo Smits has also applied Bourdieu’s concept of field into his study of medieval Japanese poetic salons. See Smits 2003, 204-219.

⁵⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 1-28.

The study of *Man'yōshū* has for a long time been considered to be rather exclusive to the Rokujō poetic school, whose influence flourished after Emperor Shirakawa's (1053-1129) abdication in 1087.⁵⁸ However, in this dissertation I will show that Mikohidari poets, who are believed to have mainly focused on the Heian period masterpieces like *Ise monogatari*, *Genji monogatari* or *Makura no sōshi*, and who have been presented mainly as rivals of the Rokujō school in Japan for many centuries, paid considerable attention to *Man'yōshū* and its poetry.⁵⁹ Moreover, poetic treatises of the Rokujō school contain numerous examples of poems from the above-mentioned Heian period literary works. Thus, attributing exclusive expertise on *Man'yōshū* and Heian period literary works to the Rokujō and Mikohidari schools respectively is an unnecessary oversimplification. I see both poetic schools more as manifestations of evolution of the waka tradition in a certain era rather than opposing sides in their poetic activity. Rivalry between them is undeniable but it is less about their competence in literary texts and more about issues of politics, power, authority, branding and declaring one's manuscripts as the most legitimate.

Fujiwara Kiyosuke and Fujiwara Shunzei have been frequently perceived as representatives and leaders of two rival poetic factions, and thus of different poetic styles and approaches to Japanese classics – Rokujō and Mikohidari. They have been highly valued, compared and treated as a set as long ago as in a poetic treatise entitled *Mumyōshō* (Nameless Treatise, 1211) by the waka poet and essayist Kamo no Chōmei (fl. 1155–1216).⁶⁰ In particular, it was after the notorious clashes between a Rokujō poet named Kenshō, who was Kiyosuke's adopted son, and Shunzei in *Ropyakuban uta'awase* (Poetry Contest in Six Hundred Rounds, 1193), that the Rokujō and Mikohidari schools started to be gradually perceived as rivals.⁶¹

The notion of Rokujō-Mikohidari rivalry was emphasized by generations of Japanese scholars so much that it became the definitive framework for discussing the two schools. Brower

⁵⁸ Inoue, 3-10.

⁵⁹ More about the notion of "rivalry" between the schools and emphasizing differences between the two schools, see Nose Asaji, "Rokujō-ke no kajin to sono kagaku shisō. Ichi," *Kokugo kokubun no kenkyū* 18, no. 3 (1928): 1-61. Also, see Taniyama Shigeru, *Shinkokinshū to sono kajin* (Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten, 1983), 133; Nishimura, 247.

⁶⁰ Hilda Kato, "The Mumyosho," *Monumenta Nipponica* 23, no. 3/4 (1968): 394-396.

⁶¹ *Ropyakuban uta'awase* was a poetry contest organized by Kujō Yoshitsune (1169-1206). Fujiwara Shunzei was the sole judge of this poetic event. Twelve poets from Rokujō and Mikohidari schools were asked to submit their poems for this event.

and Miner also follow it in their landmark book *Japanese Court Poetry*.⁶² This “obsession” with binaries and polarity, inevitably suggesting the dominance of one over the other in a certain period of time or circumstances, obscures the complexity of those schools and poets’ interaction and activities. It is, however, a powerful framework that had a strong impact on centuries of scholarship about both poets, and it is difficult to ignore its existence or diminish its significance. In this dissertation, however, I see the rivalry between the two poets and schools as a tool utilized by them to achieve their goals. It does not, however, immediately imply the existence of binaries.

In my opinion, clashes about waka were more an issue between individual poets rather than between those two poetic schools. We can see this, for example, in significant disparities of opinion on *Man’yōshū* compilation between two Rokujō poets – Kiyosuke and Kenshō, discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Such instability of knowledge about a renowned poetic collection among the members of an established poetic school that claimed the right to the transmission of knowledge about it, should raise questions about whether there was any fixed consistency in the knowledge transmission about waka history during the early medieval era, or whether anything like the Rokujō identity existed in that era. In fact, I see this as evidence that what we today call “knowledge,” “information,” “authorship” or “identity” were less than authoritative concepts, and were always subject to negotiation and change, even within one poetic school.⁶³ The rivalry between those schools was more a matter of who presented one’s knowledge about *Man’yōshū* more effectively and in an approachable manner in the poetic world or to their patrons, who aspired to excel at poetry composition but were not always proficient in the art of waka.

The concept of the Rokujō-Mikohidari rivalry, as noted by Saeko Shibayama, “eclipses the more fundamental impact they left as an aristocratic family unit on cultural and intellectual histories of Japan.”⁶⁴ This issue has been partially reconsidered by the Japanese literary historian Nakamura Aya, who challenged the traditional notion of poetic circles and presented the Karin’en poetic salon of Shun’e (fl. 1113-1191) as a shared space for poetic composition for

⁶² Brower and Miner, 237.

⁶³ In fact, Richard Okada has emphasized that modern definitions of authorship and ownership differ from those existing in the Heian Japan, and it is generally impossible to colonize premodernity with concepts that are considered defined and stable in the modern age. He argued that authorship is related to “textual processes rather than static products.” See Okada, 119, 132-133.

⁶⁴ Shibayama, 344.

poets from various schools.⁶⁵ However, as noted by Shibayama, Nakamura's argument does not focus on the Rokujō and Mikohidari poets or their participation in the Karin'en poetic circle.⁶⁶ Thus, I would like to take a step further Nakamura's interpretation of Karin'en as a shared space for poetic composition.

Ivo Smits defines the notion of a 12th-century poetic salon as the "place where artists test each other's production as well as their own, where they come to some sort of agreement as to what constitutes their artistic tastes and where this taste can be transferred to the social elite."⁶⁷ Following his definition, I see Karin'en, along with other poetic circles and waka events of that period, as a space shared for the waka public where various poets demonstrated their participation, both in a form of poetry criticism and waka composition, in the poetic discourse by interpreting, (re)claiming or validating a part of it. Some of the poets, including both Kiyosuke and Shunzei, went one step further and pushed the boundaries of the poetic discourse by introducing unknown or less renowned poems, poetic expressions, contexts and interpretations, thus moving towards new poetic styles and aesthetics.⁶⁸

The concept of discourse applies well to the poetic world in early medieval Japan. In that era, in order to gain patronage for their poetic activity, that is to become receptors of power, poets started to participate in activities involving poetry criticism, for example writing poetic treatises and judging poetry contests, which would demonstrate their extensive knowledge about Japanese literature.⁶⁹ Increased production of poetry criticism in the late Heian period contributed to the creation of a broader and more accessible discursive space, where poets could exchange ideas on waka, as well as claim and/or negotiate areas of their expertise. Similarities and differences between certain parts of Kiyosuke and Shunzei's poetic treatises dealing with *Man'yōshū* confirm that it was not only the secrecy of one's literary knowledge but also skillful demonstration and distribution of parts of it to the targeted parties that provided poetic schools with authority, and valuable imperial and shogunal patronage.⁷⁰ Moreover, poetry criticism from

⁶⁵ Nakamura Aya, *Go-Shirakawain jidai kajinden no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin, 2005), 370-400.

⁶⁶ Shibayama, 344.

⁶⁷ Smits 2003, 212.

⁶⁸ Smits sees Karin'en as a "poetic free-zone" unifying many poets from the field that was beginning to produce various schools that would eventually compete with each other. See *Ibid.*, 213-214.

⁶⁹ David Bialock emphasizes that works of *karon* are examples of the professional nature of the late Heian period poetic circles. He also claimed that *karon* helped to create critical standards for evaluating poetry. See Bialock, 197.

⁷⁰ For more about secrecy and openness in premodern Japanese texts, see Newhard, 11-15.

the Rokujō and Mikohidari schools, and earlier works such as *Kokinwaka rokujō* (Six Quires of Ancient and Modern Japanese Poetry, ca. 980), the significance of which has been asserted by Robert Huey, as well as appropriative practice of *honkadōri* combined to make knowledge of *Man'yōshū* more extensive and desirable in the late Heian period – an era that sought poetic innovation through the renewal of poetic tradition.⁷¹

In this dissertation, the notion of discourse becomes a vehicle that allows us to locate reception and appropriation practices in a broader context of poetic activity in the medieval era. Iara Lessa summarizes Michel Foucault's definition of discourse as "systems of thoughts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of action, beliefs and practices that systematically construct the subjects and the worlds of which they speak."⁷² Foucault himself defined discourse as a group of statements; a field where individuals who speak operate according to some sort of uniform anonymity.⁷³ In fact, that is why discourse came to equal "knowledge," which in Japanese medieval poetry applies particularly well, since the existence of a poetic discourse has been brought up as one of the characteristics of the early medieval poetic world by both David Bialock and Robert Huey.⁷⁴ Moreover, the very existence of discourse demonstrates that despite certain binaries, like Rokujō v. Mikohidari, it is the poetic discourse that lies beyond those fixed notions and is shared by not only poets of both schools but all the poets of the early medieval era. Differences in *Man'yōshū* reception and appropriation, as well as similarities, however, may be found in the manner in which the poetic discourse is interpreted and applied in various poets' poetic criticism and poetry. Some poets were pushing the boundaries of the early medieval poetic discourse, adding new information and interpretations of certain facts about *Man'yōshū*, thus proving that discourse itself is a realm of fluidity and constant change, where the circulated knowledge continues to be added to, replaced, or modified. Moreover, the notion of discourse

⁷¹ *Kokinwaka rokujō* is a private collection of poems from *Man'yōshū* through the second imperial collection, *Gosen wakashū* (Later Collection, 955). It was probably completed by either Imperial Prince Kaneakira (914-987) or Minamoto Shitagō (911-983), and used by generations of poets and imperial anthology compilers as a source of older poems. For the significance of *Kokinwaka rokujō*, see Robert N. Huey, *The Making of Shinkokinshū* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 132. For more about *Man'yōshū* poetry in *Kokinwaka rokujō*, see Nakanishi Susumu, *Kokin rokujō no Man'yō uta* (Tōkyō: Musashino Shoin, 1964).

⁷² Iara Lessa, "Discursive Struggles within Social Welfare: Restaging Teen Motherhood," *British Journal of Social Work* 36, no. 2 (2006): 285.

⁷³ Michel Foucault, *Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 63.

⁷⁴ Bialock, 195; Huey 2002, 260-268.

enables circular, not just linear, transmission of knowledge and poetic borrowing; it is thus a space of continuous and uninterrupted negotiation of what its participants believe knowledge is.

Discourse does not, however, allow introduction of new ideas without certain constraints or limitations. For Foucault, one of them was the discipline which “permits construction but within narrow confines” and “is defined by a domain of objects, a set of methods, a corpus of propositions considered to be true, a play of rules and definitions, of techniques and instruments.”⁷⁵ Thus, since discipline is the means of control over the production of discourse and establishes its limits, new ideas introduced into the realms of discourse should fulfill certain requirements in order to belong to it.⁷⁶ This, in fact, explains why Kiyosuke proposed new ideas in the area of waka rather carefully, and only once he did so, Shunzei felt entitled to push the boundaries of the poetic discourse a few steps further.

Kiyosuke’s and Shunzei’s *Man’yōshū* reception and appropriation strategies were thus not bare declarations of Rokujō or Mikohidari identities; they above all demonstrate both poets’ participation in a discourse involving *Man’yōshū*. By analyzing Kiyosuke’s and Shunzei’s *karon* and waka, I demonstrate that we find as many similarities as differences in their reception and appropriation of this poetic collection. Rokujō and Mikohidari schools and their poets surely had one thing in common – they were the receptors of the same poetic discourse and we should, perhaps, perceive both of those schools’ members as individual poets, and not as representatives of any poetic factions, as it seems that those labels were more flexible than we currently think. Also, Rokujō and Mikohidari schools’ poets surely had similar ultimate goals for their poetic activity – to excel at waka, as well as to gain power, patronage and respect through their poetic knowledge. They might have thus emphasized differences of opinions on certain issues regarding waka tradition in poetic circles to distinguish themselves as legitimate poetry scholars, but it does not mean that they were fundamentally different in their poetic activity.

Since *Man’yōshū* lies at the very beginning of waka history, neither of the poetic schools could disregard it. Dealing with *Man’yōshū* was always considered challenging and requiring extensive study, and was thus a domain of only the most knowledgeable waka scholars and poets of a given era, like Kiyosuke or Shunzei. Being able to quote poetry from *Man’yōshū*, to discuss issues or bring up “facts” related to its compilation established one’s credibility as a waka

⁷⁵ Foucault 1981, 59.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 59, 61.

scholar. That, surely along with a genuine interest in *Man'yōshū*, is an important reason why both schools extensively studied the collection, and that is why Shunzei's first known extant poetic treatise, *Man'yōshū jidaikō* (Reflections on the *Man'yōshū* Era, 1195), focuses on it. In fact, the existence of this text may imply a type of "branding," in which Shunzei positioned himself as alternative to others who held theories about *Man'yōshū* compilation. An alternative history for *Man'yōshū*, which Shunzei clearly attempts to present in *Man'yōshū jidaikō* was meant to cause a shift of power and knowledge about the collection from wherever it had been previously focused (the Rokujō school).

In the early medieval era, possession of *Man'yōshū* manuscripts and knowledge about the collection represented a certain degree of power and authority. This suggests the existence of tradition and its longevity, as well as access to rare scholarly resources providing proof of any claims that waka scholars make. Presenting even a minor deviation from the mainstream tradition of *Man'yōshū* historiography, as he did in *Man'yōshū jidaikō*, equipped Shunzei with a sense of authority that originates in his claim to long-lasting traditional power which can be provided only by the possession of an actual *Man'yōshū* manuscript. Robert Huey has claimed that Shunzei's "understanding of *Man'yōshū* was apparently limited to such poems as had been recorded in easier-to-read script during the Heian period through intermediary texts such as *Kokin waka rokujō*."⁷⁷ However, my research leads me to a conclusion that he must have had and studied a *Man'yōshū* manuscript, though he was surely also aware of and utilized secondary sources, like *Kokinwaka rokujō*. Even though the Shiguretei Library currently has only volume XVIII of the *Kanazawa Bunko-bon Man'yōshū* manuscript (late Kamakura period), it is possible that Shunzei was in possession of a full *Man'yōshū* copy, especially given that one of his poetic treatises, *Korai fūteishō*, suggests that he was. In fact, Takeshita Yutaka has considered the possibility that the *Kanazawa Bunko-bon Man'yōshū* manuscript goes back to Shunzei.⁷⁸

If Shunzei wished to build a new brand of waka school, he certainly had a good strategy – he started at the central core and made a claim to knowledge about *Man'yōshū*, a collection that had started to attract more and more attention in the poetic world.⁷⁹ Thus, the very production of

⁷⁷ Huey 2002, 20.

⁷⁸ *Kanazawa Bunko-bon Man'yōshū*. 18. *Chūsei Man'yōshū*, Reizei-ke Shiguretei sōsho 39, (Tōkyō: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1994), 10.

⁷⁹ Kubota Jun, *Shinkokin kajin no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1973), 471.

Man'yōshū jidaikō for Kujō Yoshitsune (1169-1206) – the son of a powerful patron Kujō Kanezane (1149-1207), who was once an important supporter of the Rokujō school – demonstrates the extent to which Shunzei was developing a new brand of poetic practice and the claim to a part of the Rokujō school's scholarship. It also explains why the concept of rivalry with the Rokujō was a useful tool for the Mikohidari poets. Shunzei, descending from a different branch of the Fujiwara family and thus unable to enter the Rokujō school as leader, at least on the surface detached himself from the mainstream of this school's scholarship and created an image of rivalry, which confirms what Stefania Burk has emphasized regarding the late Kamakura imperial collections: "rivalry demands difference; identity requires singularity."⁸⁰

As the following centuries proved, Mikohidari poets were more skillful than the Rokujō leaders in acquiring patrons, networking, transmitting their texts to subsequent generations, and finally modifying (or "upgrading") the waka tradition in a manner that appealed to aristocratic, shogunate and religious circles of various times. However, Rokujō and Mikohidari schools, despite some differences in their approach towards *Man'yōshū*, had much in common. In fact, my research on the poetry criticism of Kiyosuke and Shunzei demonstrates that the Mikohidari poets based themselves significantly on *Man'yōshū* scholarship produced earlier by the Rokujō school. Therefore, the labels of "Rokujō" and "Mikohidari," even though important for our understanding of shifts in waka history, linger on in both Japanese and Western academia as simplistic constructs that, instead of clarifying, obscure the intricate connections and similarities between individual poets' poetic activity.

I do not intend to claim that Rokujō and Mikohidari schools were close allies, with barely a gap between them in terms of the poetic discourse regarding *Man'yōshū* and the Heian period literary works. As much as the Rokujō poets wanted to show off their knowledge about *Man'yōshū* and thus maintain the right to that part of the early medieval poetic discourse, subsequently Mikohidari poets clearly wished to distinguish themselves with their poetic knowledge, too. Furthermore, we should remember that Kiyosuke and Shunzei were mutually aware of their poetic activity; they corresponded and exchanged poems, although it is unlikely that they, or their schools, shared any valuable manuscripts. Moreover, we should keep in mind that Rokujō and Mikohidari poets' expertise about waka have their origins in studying the same

⁸⁰ Stefania Burk, "Reading Between the Lines: Poetry and Politics in the Imperial Anthologies of the Late Kamakura Period (1185-1333)" (Ph.D., Stanford University, 2001), 145.

literary works, poetry collections and treatises, although they probably did not study the same manuscripts. In fact, we should consider the possibility that the differences of opinions between Rokujō and Mikohidari scholars on *Man'yōshū* might have resulted from their possession and/or usage of different manuscripts of this poetic collection. This is exactly why both schools gained high-level knowledge on the poetic corpus, and shared it with their patrons and the poetic world, but that is also why we see differences in their interpretation of *Man'yōshū* poetry. Nowadays it is the Mikohidari copies of all major prose classics which have become canonical texts; in the case of *Man'yōshū* it is difficult to conclude whose manuscripts – Rokujō or Mikohidari – the *Nishi Honganji-bon* is closer to.

1.3 – Instability of early medieval texts and channels of knowledge transmission

It is impossible to judge from our contemporary perspective whose interpretation or which *Man'yōshū* text in early medieval Japan was “better” or “correct.” It is also futile to call the Rokujō school specialists on *Man'yōshū* and the Mikohidari poets not. Thus, in this dissertation, I acknowledge that both schools had expertise about the collection. Moreover, the existence of secondary sources and extensive poetry criticism, especially of poetic treatises containing selected poetic examples from *Man'yōshū* poetry, for example *Ōgishō* and *Fukurozōshi* by Kiyosuke, *Man'yōshū jidaikō* and *Korai fūteishō* by Shunzei, as well as the above-mentioned poetic collection *Kokinwaka rokujō*, and many others also suggests that the knowledge about *Man'yōshū* was based not only on studying its various manuscripts themselves, but also on the collection as mediated by other sources. In many cases this may be detected in the way Kiyosuke and Shunzei's poems borrowed lines from *Man'yōshū* poems, which I discuss in detail in Chapter 3. Textual differences notable in many of the *Man'yōshū* manuscripts may have obviously affected textual variants notable in poetic treatises and handbooks compiled by the Rokujō and Mikohidari poets. Thus, what I would like to acknowledge and emphasize is the multitude and complexity of texts and resources – channels of knowledge transmission – which lay at the foundation of both schools' poetic activities and constitute a peculiar web of intertextuality notable in multiple examples of early medieval poetic commentaries and waka.

The notion of textual diversity or instability has been recognized in Japanese literary studies by a number of scholars, including Kenneth Butler who examined the textual evolution of the medieval war tale *Heike monogatari* (The Tale of Heike, mid-Kamakura period), and Peter Kornicki in his study on the history of the book in Japan.⁸¹ Textual fluidity is closely related to the construction of literary canon, and the canonization process of certain texts and manuscripts. However, the connection between textual instability and canon formation has not been considered even by the most renowned scholars of Japanese literature in Japan or in Western countries. In fact, despite numerous research projects on the canonicity of texts, scholars of Japanese literature around the world still tend to think that they “know” Japanese literature because they are familiar with the Japanese literary canon and the processes that stand behind its historical formation. However, the works included in it, identified as the “canon” by Japanese literature scholarship, do not constitute the full picture of what “Japanese literature” is or was. In fact, even though many works of classical Japanese literature exist in the form of numerous manuscripts, the Japanese literary canon is the result of yet another layer in the canonization process, one which validates the legitimacy of a single, allegedly superior, manuscript. One may wonder why we need to essentialize and canonize literary works, and be concerned about their textual stability rather than their historicity, though the latter is in my opinion a much more interesting if intellectually challenging approach. The concept of textual instability, if considered on a wider scale in Japanese literary studies, would make contemporary readers and scholars reconsider some fixed notions about ancient and medieval Japanese literary traditions, and cause us to think instead about the uncertainties of operating within fixed and seemingly secure definitions.

Textual instability or fluidity have, by definition, somewhat negative connotations; the term implies unpredictability and perhaps complicates and undermines certain issues about literature instead of explaining them. Jerome McGann, who has developed a theory of textuality based in writing and production rather than in reading and interpretation, acknowledges: “Instability is an essential feature of the text in process,” though he focuses on the negative

⁸¹ Kenneth Butler, “The Textual Evolution of the *Heike Monogatari*,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, no. 26 (1966): 5-51; Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2001), 93.

consequences of this concept.⁸² Moreover, as pointed out by Phillip Cohen: “Anglo-American textual scholars have gone on to stress the paramount necessity of stabilizing the text by purging transmissional corruption.”⁸³ While the mainstream of Western scholarship has recovered from such an approach, a similar mechanism of text stabilization is interestingly still valid among Japanese scholars of premodern literature. Despite the multiplicity of manuscripts of numerous literary works, Japanese scholarship tends to valorize the task of determining “the one” most credible manuscript or attempt to restore to what is imagined as “the original.” Thus, Japanese scholars of premodern Japanese literature have positioned themselves as highly trained specialists in textual comparison, but the results of their scholarship are rarely interpretative, comparative or theoretical; they try to achieve the impossible – to find “the truth.” They are aware of textual instability but are more interested in the very act of stabilizing than investigating the consequences of such fluidity. The decentralized nature of text-production and text-reception seems to be, in their opinion, a negative feature of premodern Japanese literature. To accept textual instability would mean readiness to historicize and socialize literature, including the various controversies and conflicts that have arisen due precisely to textual instability; it would mean the lack of “definitions” instead of efforts to produce more of them. Yet, since both schools possessed different versions of many poetic collections and tales, the so-called Rokujō-Mikohidari rivalry, one of the most definitive frameworks of scholarship about both poetic schools and the medieval Japanese poetic world itself, is paradoxically a result of the variability of texts and knowledge.

Cohen has claimed that the “fixed conception of textuality as fixed derives from print technology and so differs from classical and medieval conceptions,” basing himself on Alvin Kernan’s argument in his renowned book *Death of Literature*.⁸⁴ He also explains that in Anglo-American textual scholarship, editors believed that they had to stabilize texts in order to reestablish the purity of their authors’ intent.⁸⁵ This is to a large extent correct but, in my opinion, does not apply to the modern and contemporary eras exclusively, and is not an effect only of

⁸² Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 94, 185.

⁸³ Phillip Cohen, *Texts and Textuality: Textual Instability, Theory, and Interpretation* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1997), XII.

⁸⁴ Cohen, XV. Alvin B. Kernan, *The Death of Literature* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), 1-10.

⁸⁵ Cohen, XVIII.

mass printing. In fact, medieval scholarship about *Man'yōshū* by Kiyosuke and Shunzei shows that already in that era poet-scholars believed that they had to reconstruct parts of the lost discourse about the collection. We can in fact assume that they were aware of the fluidity of knowledge about *Man'yōshū* and other literary works, and they were trying to use such instability to their advantage by manipulating various mechanisms of stabilizing their line of knowledge transmission; instability of texts and knowledge gave them power. In fact, I see Shunzei's son, Teika's later activities of extensive manuscript collection and copying as indicative of his attempt to establish the classical Japanese literary canon.

Despite many research projects on textual instability in many classical literatures – Greek, Roman, French, English, Chinese, Indian, Persian, and many others – the textual fluidity of *Man'yōshū* and many other premodern Japanese classics is chronically underestimated in Anglophone academia. Western scholars most frequently use the *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Compendium of Premodern Japanese Literature) edition, based on the currently most “credible” *Man'yōshū* manuscript: the *Nishi Honganji-bon*, which canonization process is discussed further on, though even that text is problematic.⁸⁶ The existence and popularity of modern annotated editions of ancient and medieval writings, though convenient, creates a distance between the readers-scholars and manuscripts on which those annotations are based. Due to the centrality of manuscript culture in the medieval age, such heavy reliance on modern editions may result, as argued by John Dagenais, in not reading classical literature at all.⁸⁷

There are numerous other incomplete and full manuscripts of *Man'yōshū*, some earlier and some later than the *Nishi Honganji-bon*. Each manuscript has its own history of transmission, and it is virtually impossible and even unnecessary to determine which one represents the “true” *Man'yōshū* manuscript, especially since the original manuscript of this poetic collection is not extant. Each text bears signs of the era during which it was created, and that is why it is important to consider multiple manuscripts of the same literary work – in order to, at least partially, see it through the eyes of its contemporaries. In fact, historical linguists like John Bentley, have emphasized the significance of various manuscripts and textual differences

⁸⁶ To date, there exist roughly twenty-five different *Man'yōshū* copies from various historical periods, *Nishi Honganji-bon* is one of them.

⁸⁷ John Dagenais, *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture: Glossing the “Libro de Buen Amor,”* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 3-29.

between them for textual analysis.⁸⁸ Thus, even though the *Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū* text may seem to be the main reference in my dissertation, I use several other *Man'yōshū* texts, for example *Ruijū koshū* (Classified Collection of Old Poems, before 1120) or the *Hirose-bon* (Edo period), which I take into account along with various secondary sources such as poetic treatises, handbooks and collections.⁸⁹

Textual differences among numerous *Man'yōshū* manuscripts should be appreciated more, since such variety demonstrates that texts are not monoliths but are rather unstable – they change over time as they are received and copied by representatives of many generations of scholars and poets. Thus, exclusive legitimacy or stability of only one text should not be taken for granted in the case of *Man'yōshū*, especially considering that other examples of ancient literature, like Homer's epic poem *Odyssey* (ca. 8th c. BC), the oldest existing collection of Chinese poetry entitled *Shi jing* (The Book of Poetry, ca. 6th c. BC) or an ancient Indian collection of poems in Maharashtra Prakrit entitled *Gāhā sattasāi* (ca. 200 BC-200 AD) have all been researched based on multiple manuscripts. The intricate web of intertextuality among various *Man'yōshū* manuscripts and secondary sources discloses the existence of a peculiar variability of not only texts themselves but also fluidity of knowledge and of channels through which knowledge is carried.

Thus, this dissertation argues that what we today call “*Man'yōshū*” was in fact a rather fluid text throughout the late Heian and early Kamakura periods; a text in which poems were

⁸⁸ John Bentley, *A Descriptive Grammar of Early Old Japanese Prose* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2001), 18-26.

⁸⁹ *Ruijū koshū* is a manuscript that classifies *Man'yōshū* poetry not by volumes but by Chinese categories (*ru*). It was created by Fujiwara Atsutaka (d. 1120) before 1120 and it contains about 3,800 poems from all *Man'yōshū* volumes except IX, X, XVIII and XX. *Hirose-bon Man'yōshū* is a manuscript from the Edo period. It was made in 1781 among others by Kasuga Masayasu (1751-1836) and Hagiwara Motoe (1749-1805). The contemporary scholarly opinion, judging from various literary dictionaries, is that *Hirose-bon* descended from Fujiwara Teika and Fujiwara Shunzei through the second wife of Fujiwara Tameie (1198-1275), the nun Abutsu (fl. 1222-1283). After Tameie's death, the Mikohidari school split into three houses: 1) Nijō, led by Tameie's eldest son named Tameuji (1222-1286); 2) the Kyōgoku, headed by his second son named Tamenori (1227-1279); and 3) the Reizei, led by his third son named Tamesuke (1263-1328), who was nun Abutsu's son. Scholars believe that before Tameie died in 1275, Abutsu either convinced him to pass on many important manuscripts, among others by Teika, to her son Tamesuke, or she concealed them in order to pass them on to her son. In 1279, when she went to Kamakura, Abutsu was ordered by Retired Emperor Kameyama (1249-1305) to return those manuscripts to Nijō Tameuji but scholars believe that she returned forgeries of many manuscripts and kept originals to herself. Suzuki claims that Abutsu gave a *Man'yōshū* manuscript copied by Teika to Nichiren (1222-1282) in 1283, when they were both in the Kai Province (today Yamanashi Prefecture). Allegedly, Nichiren subsequently passed Teika's manuscript of *Man'yōshū* to the Kuon Temple, which he founded himself and where Teika's *Man'yōshū* was stored and copied throughout the centuries. See Suzuki Takeharu, “Kai to *Man'yōshū* (5) – *Minobukagami* kisai no Shunzei, Teika ryōhitsu *Manyōshū* o megutte,” *Tsuru Bunka Daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 63, no. 3 (2006): 27-33.

likely replaced, added, and modified by various copyists. In fact, I argue that “*Man’yōshū*” was more a concept or even genre, representative of what was lost and preserved since the antiquity, rather than only singular or multiple texts. The notion of the textual fluidity of *Man’yōshū* is acknowledged in one of the *nō* plays attributed to the renowned *nō* playwright and actor, Zeami (fl. 1363-1443). The play is about a mid-Heian period female poet, Ono no Komachi (mid-9th c.) and is entitled *Sōshi Arai Komachi* (Komachi Clears Her Name). In this *nō* play, Ono no Komachi is presented as a poetic genius, who is about to participate in a poetry contest. Her opponent is a poet named Ōtomo no Kuronushi (mid-9th c.), who, upon sneaking up on Komachi and overhearing one of her poems, likes it so much that he intends to copy her poem into a *Man’yōshū* manuscript.⁹⁰ When Kuronushi embarrasses Komachi by pointing out to the emperor during the poetry contest that her poem is in fact an old waka included in *Man’yōshū*, she says:

Man’yōshū was compiled under the Nara Emperor by Tachibana no Moroe. There are seven thousand poems, and I know them all. Still, there are many manuscripts of the anthology, so I can’t be completely certain.⁹¹

In the play, Komachi discovers Kuronushi’s scheme and discloses it to the emperor, thus embarrassing her opponent right back. However, what is more important, Kuronushi’s nonchalant treatment of a *Man’yōshū* manuscript he has in his possession suggests that Heian period poets did not see notions of authorship and textual stability (and authority) in the same manner we do nowadays. If an idea of adding poems to ancient manuscripts appears in a *nō* play, one can imagine various poets, secretly or not, following a similar practice during the medieval era. Moreover, we note that the number of poems in *Man’yōshū* given in the play – 7,000 – differs significantly from that in any currently known manuscripts of the collection. We should perhaps not trust the exact number of poems appearing in a *nō* play but the immense disparity between the 4,516 included in the canonized *Nishi Honganji-bon* manuscript and 7,000 exposes

⁹⁰ Kuronushi’s goal was to refer to Komachi’s poem and claim it as an ancient waka included in the *Man’yōshū*. See Roy E. Teele, Nicholas J. Teele, and H. Rebecca Teele, tr., *Poems, Stories, Nō Plays* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1993), 954.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 106.

the potential scale of textual fluidity in medieval Japan. This remains a significant factor in the analysis of the changes that *Man'yōshū* underwent over the centuries.

Textual fluidity of *Man'yōshū* and other premodern texts is a feature not limited to Japan. As emphasized by Keith Busby, variance is the primary feature of Old French medieval literature. Busby does not, however, blindly follow the Postmodernist view on texts as generally unstable, amorphous, uncontrolled and “drifting aimlessly in time and space.” He has emphasized instead that medieval scribes were not copying only the manuscripts themselves but also the authorities that stood behind the texts they replicated. Thus, Busby sees various scribal interventions like omission, interpolation and rewriting as “adjusting a text to the taste and expectations of an intended audience or customer.”⁹² This suggests some level of control over the shape of the texts, their transmission and eventually reception. If poets, scholars and scribes of medieval Japan, as presented in *Soshi Arai Komachi*, modified their own manuscripts, they also manipulated the response of the medieval readers, just as modern editors control our reception of texts by presenting it in particular contexts.

1.3.1 – Sasaki Nobutsuna and the canonization of *Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū*

The current practice among many Japanese and Euro-American waka scholars of treating the *Nishi Honganji-bon* text as the most legitimate manuscript of *Man'yōshū* simply because it is the earliest extant full copy of the collection is an oversimplified and misguided construct of the 20th century. How did this manuscript become “the text” of *Man'yōshū*? *Nishi Honganji-bon* is the earliest complete *Man'yōshū* manuscript that includes all twenty volumes and 4,516 poems. It dates from the late Kamakura period, although volume XII of this manuscript is considered to come from a different textual line than the other volumes. Scholars believe that *Nishi Honganji-bon* derived from two manuscripts of *Man'yōshū* by monk Sengaku (1203-after 1272): 1) *Bun'ei Ninen-bon* from 1265 and the *Bun'ei Sannen-bon* from 1266.⁹³ Sengaku compiled his *Man'yōshū* manuscript on shogun Kujō Yoritsune's (1218-1256) order. His text remained exclusively in the

⁹² Keith Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, vol.1 (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2002), 58-64.

⁹³ Alexander Vovin, *Man'yōshū. Book 15. A New English Translation Containing the Original Text, Kana Transliteration, Romanization, Glossing and Commentary* (Wilts: Global Oriental, 2009), 11-13. Also, see Sasaki Nobutsuna, *Man'yōshū no kenkyū. Man'yōshū koshahon no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1944), 206-260.

shogunate's hands until it was entrusted by shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358-1408) to the Imperial Household. In 1542, Emperor Go-Nara (1497-1557) donated it to a Pure-Land Buddhism temple in Kyoto, Nishi Honganji, after which it takes its current name.⁹⁴

Based on my research, the *Nishi Honganji-bon* manuscript owes its current high status mainly to Sasaki Nobutsuna (1872-1963), a *tanka* poet and scholar of Japanese classics of the Nara and Heian, who in 1912 was officially appointed by the Japanese Ministry of Education in to compile the most authoritative version of *Man'yōshū*. He did as he was commissioned; his *Kōhon Man'yōshū* published in 1924-1925 was, however, based not on *Nishi Honganji-bon* text but another manuscript – the wood-block printed *Kan'ei Hanpon* from 1643 frequently used by the *Kokugaku* scholars of the Edo period.⁹⁵ Why Sasaki Nobutsuna did not base his first collated edition of *Man'yōshū* on the *Nishi Honganji-bon* text is unknown. Perhaps he was tied by an agreement and deadline assigned by the publishing house; or perhaps he needed time to examine the *Nishi Honganji-bon* manuscript more thoroughly. He must have, however, come to value this newly discovered text and its significance, since the 1931-1932 edition of *Kōhon Man'yōshū* was already based on the *Nishi Honganji-bon* manuscript. Moreover, in 1933 Sasaki Nobutsuna and another *Man'yōshū* scholar, Takeda Yūkichi (1886-1958), managed to reprint the *Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū* into a separate publication.⁹⁶ This is how the *Nishi Honganji-bon* manuscript was first introduced to the Japanese public. And thus, since 1930's all modern editions of *Man'yōshū* declare the *Nishi Honganji-bon* text their most authoritative manuscript, following Sasaki's lead.

Sasaki Nobutsuna is known as a patriot and strong supporter of the Empire of Japan (1868-1947) and its nationalistic ideology. His lengthy poem, *Shina seibatsu no uta* (The Song of the Conquest of the Chinese, 1894), composed for the occasion of the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), compares a known waka trope – falling cherry blossoms – to the sacrifice of Japanese soldiers who fall in battles for their country and emperor.⁹⁷ Sasaki's devotion to the imperial realm was not, however, merely platonic. The majority of Japanese dictionaries omit the

⁹⁴ “*Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū 1*” (Tōkyō: Shufunotomoshia, 1993), 1.

⁹⁵ Takagi Ichinosuke, Gomi Tomohide, Ōno Susumu, ed. *Manyōshū*, in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei 4* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1957), 39.

⁹⁶ Mio, 80.

⁹⁷ Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms and Nationalisms: the Militarization of Aesthetics in Japanese History* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 135.

fact that he was a waka tutor to various members of the imperial family. As early as 1912, Sasaki educated Emperor Meiji (1852-1912) on various *Man'yōshū* texts and continued to give lectures on *Man'yōshū* to the imperial family during subsequent eras of Emperors Taishō (1879-1926) and Shōwa (1901-1989).⁹⁸ He was even a waka tutor to Emperor Taishō and his wife, Empress Teimei (1884-1951). Such a close relationship with the imperial household had a strong impact on his interest in and research about *Man'yōshū*, a collection that during the time of Imperial Japan was considered to be the cultural property of imperial court.⁹⁹ Sasaki Nobutsuna's urge to find the earliest possible and complete 20-volume *Man'yōshū* manuscript is thus understandable and logical.

What does the history of Nishi Honganji disclose about its relationship to Sasaki Nobutsuna and the imperial family? Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598) established Nishi Honganji in 1591, Go-Nara donated the *Man'yōshū* manuscript one year later. Go-Nara and Hideyoshi were tied by familial and political relations.¹⁰⁰ Preserving close relationship with the shogunate during the time, when shoguns behaved as if they were emperors and in fact influenced imperial succession, was crucial for the imperial family in order to preserve its ancient lifestyle and secure the line of succession. Donation of valuable gifts, for example manuscripts of poetic collection, was one of the symbolic ways to maintain continuous support from shoguns.

The *Man'yōshū* manuscript gifted to Nishi Honganji remained there until 1913, when Sasaki Nobutsuna, saw it at an auction held at the temple. According to Sasaki's diary, the manuscript was purchased on his own recommendation by Takata Shinzō (or Aikawa, 1852-1921), a Japanese businessman and financier who founded one of Japan's leading trading firms, Takata & Company. Sasaki was a waka tutor to both Takata and Kujō Takeko (1887-1928), a daughter of Ōtani Kōson's (1850-1903) who was then the abbot of Nishi Honganji.¹⁰¹ He obtained the Nishi Honganji manuscript from Takata in 1917 for his own private collection of

⁹⁸ Mio, 85-86. See also Shirane 2000, 1-27, 48-49.

⁹⁹ Torquil Duthie, *Man'yōshū and the Imperial Imagination in Early Japan* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014), 162-163.

¹⁰⁰ Go-Nara's first son, who later became Emperor Ōgimachi (1517-1593) had a son, Prince Yōkō'in (1552-1586), whose 6th son, Hachijō no Miya Toshihito (1579-1629) was adopted by Hideyoshi in 1586. Moreover, between 1585 and 1592, Hideyoshi was appointed *kampaku* (regent to an adult emperor) to Emperors Ōgimachi and Go-Yōzei (1571-1617), who were respectively Go-Nara's son and great grand-son.

¹⁰¹ Kōnen Tsunemitsu, *Meiji no bukkōsha, ge* (Tōkyō: Shunjunsha, 1969), 226.

manuscripts and books from different periods.¹⁰² Sasaki's collection, named *Chikuhakuen*, was subsequently purchased by Ishikawa Takeyoshi (1887-1961) in 1944. Thus, *Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū* is currently held at Ishikawa Takeyoshi Memorial Library (formerly known as Ochanomizu Library) established by Ishikawa himself in 1947.

In 1602, Nishi Honganji was split in two separate temples by shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616) – Nishi Honganji and Higashi Honganji. Nishi Honganji has always been close to the imperial court, while Higashi Honganji to the Tokugawa clan. The relationship between the Nishi Honganji and the imperial family has been maintained to date. In fact, the temple uses the chrysanthemum crest, the most famous symbol of the imperial court. The Ōtani family, who are direct descendants of Shinran (1173-1263), the founder of the Pure Land Buddhism, were close to the Uehara family – retainers of the temple during the Ishiyama War (1576-1580), when Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) attempted to conquer all of Japan.¹⁰³ Members of the Ōtani family were employed by the Nishi Honganji since the beginning of its existence. However, it was Ōtani Kōson who became the first Ōtani abbot of the temple, and in 1880 managed to make his family the symbolic head of the temple.¹⁰⁴ His son, Ōtani Kōzui (1876-1948), who was the 22nd abbot of the temple, in 1893 married Emperor Taishō's daughter, Princess Kazuko (1882-1911). Another of Kōson's sons, became a politician and served the Empire of Japan as member of the House of Peers (Kizoku-in) of the Imperial Diet (Teikoku-gikai) and once a cabinet minister. Nishi Honganji itself made regular contributions to the imperial household and the Meiji government.¹⁰⁵ Thus, both the temple and Ōtani family were strongly connected to the imperial family and government during the time of the Japanese Empire, just as Sasaki Nobutsuna was. In fact, members of the same line of the Ōtani family are still being appointed the abbots of Nishi Honganji; Ōtani Kōjun (1977-) is its 25th and current head. When the members of the imperial family visit Nishi Honganji, they use a special entrance on the southern side of the temple complex, known as the *karamon*, and no one else is allowed to use it. This serves as the symbol of a special relationship between the imperial household and Nishi Honganji.

¹⁰² Sasaki 1944, 206-207. Also, see Mio Kumie, "Sasaki Nobutsuna no Man'yōgaku: *Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū* ni kan suru Masamune Atsuo enshokan o tsūjite." *Shokan kenkyū* 5, no. 1 (1993): 82.

¹⁰³ Selçuk Esenbel, ed., *Japan on the Silk Road: Encounters and Perspectives of Politics and Culture and Eurasia* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018), 167.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 159.

¹⁰⁵ Helen Hardacre, Adam L. Kern, ed., *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan* (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1997), 533.

Mio Kumie reminds us that in 1932 Sasaki had declared *Nishi Honganji-bon* *Man'yōshū*'s significance by emphasizing the rarity of a full 20-volume *Man'yōshū* manuscript compiled in the medieval era based on Sengaku's own texts.¹⁰⁶ It seems that he thought it was his duty to present it to the world. However, the real reasons behind Sasaki's enthusiasm might have been more political than literary, and had much to do with his loyalty towards the imperial family. Thus, should we, the contemporary scholars of premodern Japanese literature, be still relying so much on a *Man'yōshū* manuscript which history is so closely tied to the rule of the Japanese Empire and its supporter-scholars? That system and its people attempted to create, or recreate, a national identity strictly for political reasons based on a manuscript of a collection which origins should raise questions of reliability at least due to its sudden emergence in 1910's. The boom of the *Man'yōshū* studies started in the Meiji period and was based on the exclusive legitimacy of the *Nishi Honganji-bon* manuscript. It continued after World War II and its basic principles have not been significantly altered.¹⁰⁷ One of the most currently known Japanese publishing companies, Iwanami Shoten (est. 1913), which to date continues to publish Japanese classics in the *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* series, still bases its annotated editions of *Man'yōshū* on the *Nishi Honganji-bon* text. However, though stabilizing one particular text as the most credible seems to have been an ultimate goal of many premodern and modern scholars, I argue that contemporary scholars should be more concerned about textual multiplicity rather than singularity.

1.4 – General considerations and literature review

I do not intend to uncover any “truth” about *Man'yōshū* or produce any definitive knowledge about it. I also do not intend to deconstruct the collection. I accept and embrace the whole scope of available previous scholarship about it. However, instead of re-creating some knowledge about the collection, I destabilize its artificially fixed image, proving that texts are not monoliths untouched by time and centuries of reception. Moreover, I see “*Man'yōshū*” as a concept, not only a singular or multitude of texts, over which various late Heian poet-scholars

¹⁰⁶ Mio, 83-84.

¹⁰⁷ Shinada Yoshikazu, *Man'yōshū no hatsumei: kokumin kokka to bunka sōchi to shite no koten* (Tōkyō: Shin'yōsha, 2002), 311-312.

attempted to gain power through knowledge about them. I analyze *Man'yōshū*'s reception and appropriation strategies from the viewpoint of the early medieval poetic reality, when *Man'yōshū* became a vehicle thanks to which different waka poets and scholars moved their craft in new directions. I define the contexts of those changes and the causes of *Man'yōshū*'s fluidity, showing that it could not have been a stable text especially during the pre-Sengaku era of 1250's.¹⁰⁸ This approach hopefully challenges a few fixed notions about the collection, accumulated over the centuries of scholarship on it.

The ultimate purpose of this dissertation is to demonstrate that medieval Japanese literary reality was a complex one; this requires contemporary scholars to focus on its multiple features, like the instability of texts and channels of knowledge transmission, the characteristics of the early medieval poetic discourse and, related to it, the complexity of the Rokujō-Mikohidari rivalry, or the distinction between reception and appropriation as different channels of knowledge transmission existing in the realm of poetic discourse, to name just a few. This dissertation aims to complicate instead of defining anything about the medieval poetic world.

This is a study about the reception and appropriation of *Man'yōshū* in the early medieval period with a focus on the poetry criticism and poetry of Fujiwara Kiyosuke and Fujiwara Shunzei, the two most influential poets of their own eras, who helped to develop earlier traditions of poetry criticism and waka production into professional activities. I see both poets as professional waka scholars, who utilized *Man'yōshū* as one of the stages on which they performed their expertise and manipulated their own images in such a way as to validate their respective poetic schools as the most legitimate ones. Their activities in the poetic world were ultimately motivated by two factors: 1) the survival of their respective poetic schools, and 2) the preservation and development of waka tradition, which required both serious scholarship and patronage.

I do not think that either Kiyosuke or Shunzei was more talented than the other, or entitled to the position of the leader of the waka world. I argue that *Man'yōshū* was an important area of expertise and tool for both poets. In fact, thanks to their scholarship we see that the collection underwent a significant process of reconsideration over many centuries, and it acts as a reminder that texts constantly change over time. Moreover, my research leads me to the

¹⁰⁸ Sengaku was a scholar and monk of the Tendai school of Buddhism in the early Kamakura period. His research laid the foundation for subsequent studies of *Man'yōshū*.

conclusion that Shunzei heavily borrowed from Kiyosuke's *Man'yōshū* scholarship without giving him any credit. He also created an image of rivalry because he needed a framework of competition to oppose the Rokujō poets and present himself as a more legitimate though also more progressive waka scholar.

This dissertation argues that Kiyosuke and Shunzei were not only rivals but they above all represented different stages in the consolidation of poetry criticism and development of waka tradition, even though Shunzei's networking skills undeniably had a much more far-reaching impact on the dynamics of the early medieval poetic world. By his time, many waka-related concepts had already been established in the tradition of the Rokujō school's *karon*, including a codified vocabulary. Shunzei, however, reclaimed and recodified many of Kiyosuke's ideas, advertising them under the Mikohidari brand, thus validating his own stake in *Man'yōshū* scholarship.

Shunzei picked up and expanded many other ideas from the Rokujō tradition, including the importance of *monogatari* (tales) for the study of waka, which is one reason why we are nowadays presented with the oversimplified dichotomy that the Rokujō poets were the experts on *Man'yōshū* while the Mikohidari poets promoted the Heian literary works. The rivalry between Shunzei and Kiyosuke did not involve a simple binary of whether poets should return to *Man'yōshū* or *Genji monogatari*; it involved the claim to leadership in the poetic world, in which texts were tools – objects of scholarship and means of expertise. Rivalry between them was a matter of who advertised their expertise about *Man'yōshū* and other texts more effectively and in a manner accessible to their patrons or in the waka circles. Thus, rivalry was between the poets and their families, not between their *karon*, waka or poetics in general. As I noted earlier, the following centuries proved that Mikohidari poets were more skillful in acquiring patrons, networking, transmitting their texts to the next generations, and finally modifying the waka tradition in a manner that appealed to aristocratic, shogunate and religious circles of their times.

Finally, it should be acknowledged that the framework of the Rokujō-Mikohidari rivalry disguises the existence of the much more challenging concept of a poetic discourse that undeniably lies above all poetic circles, factions, schools or houses. My research shows that Kiyosuke and Shunzei operated within the same broader *Man'yōshū* discourse and challenged it, claimed parts of it, and pushed its boundaries, at times in a similar manner, and at times

differently. Both poets were progressive in their own ways in their own time about various issues regarding waka, such as the art of poetic borrowing. That is how they altered and pushed the boundaries of early medieval poetic discourse.

Man'yōshū reception has not been extensively researched in Anglophone academia; the only extensive study is Fusae Ekida's Ph.D. dissertation on *Man'yōshū* reception history, which focuses on various aspects of the collection's canonization process.¹⁰⁹ Among recent publications in English, besides those already mentioned above, we find a few pages of general overview on *Man'yōshū* reception in Mack Horton's book about a Japanese mission to one of Korean kingdoms, Silla, as recorded in poetry included in the collection.¹¹⁰ Some aspects of *Man'yōshū*'s medieval image as an imperially commissioned anthology have been discussed by Torquil Duthie.¹¹¹ David Lurie, on the other hand, analyzes various styles of writing in *Man'yōshū*, focusing on phonography and logography.¹¹² Moreover, Alexander Vovin has been translating various *Man'yōshū* volumes into English since 2009. None of those publications, however, deals with *Man'yōshū* reception or appropriation practices in an extensive manner; none provides a comprehensive philological analysis of *karon* containing references to or theories about *Man'yōshū*, or of waka alluding to *Man'yōshū* poetry. Various publications by Western scholars on medieval poetry, like Robert Huey, Joshua Mostow, Edward Kamens, Peter Kornicki, Rosalee Bundy, Ivo Smits, David Bialock, Paul Atkins, Anne Commons, Jamie Newhard, and many others, have been important sources for this dissertation.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Ekida 2009.

¹¹⁰ Mack H. Horton, *Traversing the Frontier: the Man'yōshū Account of a Japanese Mission to Silla in 736-737* (Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 2012), 458-460.

¹¹¹ Duthie, 161-179.

¹¹² David Lurie, *Realms of Literacy: Early Japan and the History of Writing* (Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 2011), 271-311.

¹¹³ Huey 1990, 2002; Mostow 1996; Edward Kamens, *Utamakura, Allusion, and Intertextuality in Traditional Japanese Poetry* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997); Edward Kamens, *Waka and Things, Waka as Things* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017); Kornicki 2001; Rosalee Bundy, "Santai Waka. Six Poems in Three Modes," *Monumenta Nipponica* 49, no. 2 (1994): 197-227; Rosalee Bundy, "Siting the Court Woman Poet: *Waka no kai* (Poetry Gatherings) in Rokujō Kiyosuke's *Fukurozōshi*," *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal* 37, no. 1 (2010): 3-32; Rosalee Bundy, "Gendering the Court Woman Poet: Pedigree and Portrayal in *Fukurozōshi*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 67, no. 2 (2012): 201-238; Smits 2003; Bialock 1994; Paul Atkins, *Teika. The Life and Works of a Medieval Japanese Poet* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017); Anne Commons, *Hitomaro: Poet as God* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Newhard 2013.

The scope of scholarship and publishing on *Man'yōshū* reception and appropriation strategies in Japanese is much more extensive. We have general studies on the topic by renowned scholars, for example Sasaki Nobutsuna's books about pre-Sengaku *Man'yōshū* scholarship and the collection's old manuscripts, as well as Nakanishi Susumu's publications about *Man'yōshū* poetry in and compilation of *Kokinwaka rokujō*.¹¹⁴ Publications by contemporary scholars include Kitamura Susumu's study on the reception of ancient poetry, Hirosaki Yōko's book about *Man'yōshū* compilation and reception, and Ogawa Yasuhiko's publication on the history of *Man'yōshū* scholarship.¹¹⁵ General studies about medieval poetry criticism include Minegishi Yoshiaki's book on poetry contests, Hosoya Naoki and Sasaki Katsue's studies on medieval poetry criticism, Kubota Jun's book about the history of medieval Japanese poetry, Watanabe Yasuaki's study about the formation process of medieval waka, and Nishimura Kayoko's publication about poetry criticism in the late Heian period.¹¹⁶

Regarding the scholarship on poets from the Rokujō and Mikohidari schools, there is a study about various poets from the Kamakura period by Mueno Inoue, as well as individual publications about Kiyosuke by Ashida Kōichi and Shunzei by Matsuno Yōichi.¹¹⁷ Moreover, there are various scholarly papers dealing with many different aspects of Kiyosuke's approach towards *Man'yōshū* based on his *hanshi* and *karon* by Inada Shigeo, Ashida Kōichi and Terashima Shūichi.¹¹⁸ We find even more publications about Shunzei's treatment of *Man'yōshū* and its poetry in his poetry criticism, by Tamura Ryūichi, Higaki Takashi, Kamimori Tetsuya, Watanabe Yasuaki, and others.¹¹⁹ I am indebted to all the scholars mentioned above, who have

¹¹⁴ Sasaki Nobutsuna, *Man'yōshū no kenkyū. Sengaku oyobi Sengaku izen no Man'yōshū no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1942), 20; Sasaki 1944; Nakanishi 1964; Nakanishi Susumu, *Man'yōshū keisei no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1995).

¹¹⁵ Kitamura 2000; Hirosaki Yōko, *Man'yōshū no hensan to kyōju no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Ōfūsha, 2004); Ogawa Yasuhiko, *Man'yōgakushi no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Ōfūsha, 2007).

¹¹⁶ Minegishi 1958; Hosoya Naoki, *Chūsei karon no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin, 1976); Sasaki Katsue, *Chūsei karon no sekai* (Tōkyō: Sōbunsha Shuppan, 1992); Kubota Jun, *Chūsei wakashi no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Meiji Shoin, 1993); Watanabe Yasuaki, *Chūsei waka no seisei* (Tōkyō: Wakakusa Shobō, 1999); Nishimura 1997.

¹¹⁷ Ashida Kōichi, *Rokujō tōke Kiyosuke no kenkyū* (Ōsaka: Izumi Shoin, 2004); Matsuno Yōichi, *Fujiwara Shunzei no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin, 1973); Inoue 1997.

¹¹⁸ Inada Shigeo, "Uta'awase hanshi ni okeru Kiyosuke no karon," *Nagasaki Daigaku kyōiku gakubu jinbun kagaku kenkyū hōkoku* 18, no. 3 (1970); Kōichi Ashida, "Ōgishō ni mirareru *Man'yōshū* uta – sono dokuji honbun nitsuite" *Kokubun ronsō* 25, no. 3 (1997): 1-11; Terashima Shūichi, "Ōgishō no *Man'yōshū* kyōju – waka honbun no seikaku nitsuite," *Bungakushi kenkyū* 36, no. 12 (1995): 44.

¹¹⁹ Tamura Ryūichi, "Shunzei karon ni okeru *Man'yō* sesshu nitsuite," *Gobun* 39, no. 3 (1974): 173-188; Higaki Takashi, "Shunzei no *Man'yōshū* juyō nitsuite," *Nihon bungei ronkō* 7, no. 3 (1977): 30-35; Kamimori Tetsuya,

diligently identified allusions in Kiyosuke's and Shunzei's poems. While I am aware of and often rely on their publications, in the following chapters I will argue for a higher, discourse-level web of intertextuality rather than a mechanical discovery of various poetic allusion or search for one source-poem. Publications about *honkadōri* include, but are not limited to, works by Matsumura Yūji, Nishiki Hitoshi, Nosaka Mari, Watanabe Yasuaki, and Nakagawa Hiro'o.¹²⁰

In this dissertation, I make frequent reference to specific volumes in *Man'yōshū*. Unlike later imperial anthologies, the *Man'yōshū* volume order is haphazard, but various volumes contain specific peculiarities that may explain why the contents of some of them get more attention than others. Here, briefly, are the characteristics of each volume:¹²¹

Volume I: includes eighty-four miscellaneous poems (*zōka*), arranged in chronological order (sixty-eight *tanka*, sixteen *chōka*). Poems in this volume are considered to be from the rule of Emperor Yūryaku (457- 473) to 712. Authorship of the majority of poems is attributed to emperors, empresses, members of the imperial family, and high-ranking courtiers. The volume exhibits predominantly mixed semantographic and phonographic spelling, and is considered to have been compiled by an imperial order.

Volume II: includes 150 relationship poems (*sōmonka*) and elegies (*banka*) arranged in chronological order. Poems in this volume are considered to be from the rule of emperor Nintoku (313-393) to 715. The famous elegies by Kakinomoto Hitomaro are included in this volume. The spelling is largely semantographic, with a few phonographic elements, normally indicating particles or (more seldom) other grammatical elements. The volume is considered to have been compiled by an imperial order.

Volume III: includes 249 poems in the genres of *zōka*, *banka* and metaphorical poems (*hiyuka*), not arranged in chronological order. Poems in this volume are considered to range from the end of the 6th century to 744. Many poems are authored by the members of the Ōtomo clan. The spelling is largely semantographic, with few phonographic elements. Compilation of the volume is frequently attributed to Ōtomo Yakamochi.

“Fujiwara Shunzei no *Man'yō uta ninkan – Korai fūteishō no shōshutsu uta o megutte*,” *Gogaku to bungaku* 15, no. 3 (1985): 9-23; Watanabe Yasuaki, “*Korai fūteishō ni okeru Man'yōshū. Metatekisuto toshite no shōshutsu*,” in *Gensetsu to tekisutogaku*, ed. Hiroshi Araki (Tōkyō: Shin'washa, 2002), 98-118.

¹²⁰ Matsumura 1986; Nishiki 1994; Nosaka 1995; Watanabe Yasuaki, “Fujiwara Kiyosuke no *honkadōri ishiki – Ōgishō tōkoka no shōka o megutte*,” *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 72, no. 5 (1995): 81-82; Nakagawa 2001.

¹²¹ Based on Vovin, 5-10.

Volume IV: includes 309 *sōmonka*, which are believed to chronologically range from the rule of Emperor Nintoku to 748 AD. Many poems are authored by the members of the Ōtomo clan. The spelling is largely semantographic, with few phonographic elements. Compilation of the volume is frequently attributed to Ōtomo Yakamochi.

Volume IV: includes 114 *zōka* and two poems in Chinese. The volume has several long introductions (in Chinese) to the poems. All the poems in this volume were composed between 724 and 733, which indicates a much greater chronological homogeneity in comparison with volumes I-IV. Most of the poems in this volume were composed by Yamanoue Okura. The spelling system is predominantly phonographic, with rather few exceptions. In addition, the spelling system appears to reflect Early Western Old Japanese. Compilation of the volume is frequently attributed to Yamanoue Okura.

Volume VI: includes 161 *zōka* dated 723-744. The poems were composed by various authors, but a number of the same poets from volumes III-IV appear frequently. Many currently renowned poems of Yamabe Akahito and Ōtomo Tabito (665-731) are included in this volume. The spelling system is mostly semantographic. Compilation of the volume is often attributed to Ōtomo Yakamochi.

Volume VII: includes 350 *zōka*, *hiyuka*, and *banka*. Most poems are not dated but they are believed to be from the late 7th and the first part of the 8th c. The majority of the poems are anonymous, but the volume also contains compositions from *Hitomaroshū*. The spelling system is mostly semantographic, and the compiler is unknown.

Volume VIII: includes 246 *shiki zōka* and *shiki sōmonka*. Most poems are not dated but they are believed to be from the late 7th to early 8th c. Many poems were composed by the members of the Ōtomo clan. The spelling system is mostly semantographic. Compilation of the volume is often attributed to Ōtomo Yakamochi.

Volume IX: includes 148 *zōka*, *sōmonka*, and *banka*. *Zōka* are dated up to 744, while other poems are not dated. Many poems in the volume are authored by Kakinomoto Hitomaro and Takahashi Mushimaro (fl. 730). A number of famous legend poems, for example about the fisherman Urashima who married the daughter of the sea dragon-king, and poems about love between the Weaver Star and Cow-herder Star, are included in the volume. The spelling system

is mostly semantographic. The compiler is unknown, but Takahashi Mushimaro is frequently credited with the compilation of the volume.

Volume X: includes 539 miscellaneous poems of four seasons (*shiki zōka*) and miscellaneous relationship poems of four seasons (*shiki sōmonka*). The poems are believed to be from the end of the 7th c. All poems are anonymous, but the volume contains poetry from *Hitomaroshū*. The spelling system is mostly semantographic, and the compiler is unknown.

Volume XI: includes 490 anonymous *sōmonka*, dialogue poems (*mondōka*) and *hiyuka* dated from the late 7th c. to the early 8th c. The poems are anonymous authors and many of them have a distinct folkloric flavor. The spelling system is mostly semantographic, and the compiler is unknown.

Volume XII: includes 380 *sōmonka*, *mondōka* and poems on travel and parting. Poems are not dated, but they are most likely from the late 7th c.-early 8th c., and many of them are of folkloric nature. The spelling system is mostly semantographic, and the compiler is unknown.

Volume XIII: includes 127 poems in the *sōmonka*, *zōka*, *mondōka*, *hiyuka*, and *banka* genres (sixty *tanka*, sixty-six *chōka*, one *sedōka*). None of the poems is dated, but probably none is later than the end of the seventh century. The poems are authored by various poets, while the spelling system is mostly semantographic. One feature that distinguishes this volume among other ones is that half of the poems are *chōka*, while in other volumes *tanka* dominate. The compiler is unknown.

Volume XIV: includes 230 *zōka*, *sōmonka*, *hiyuka* and *banka*. These poems are written in the Eastern Old Japanese, which make the volume, along with the *sakimori* (border guards) poems in volume XX a unique source for knowledge about the non-Central Japanese dialect as attested in the 8th c. The poems are all anonymous and are undated. With a few exceptions the spelling system is entirely phonographic, the compiler is unknown.

Volume XV: includes 208 *sōmonka*, *banka* and *zōka*. One unusual feature of this volume is its clear division into two poetic collections. The first collection includes 145 poems composed mostly by members of the diplomatic mission to the Silla kingdom in 736 AD. The remaining 63 poems represent the poetic exchange between Nakatomi Yakamori and his wife Sano Otagami, probably composed before 741, while he was in exile in the Echizen province. The spelling is

predominantly phonographic, but on a few occasions semantographic spelling is used. The compiler is unknown.

Volume XVI: includes 104 *zōka*, none of which are dated. One unusual feature of this volume is that besides several legends, including the famous legend about old man Taketori, there are also many humorous poems. The poems were composed by various authors; most of them are marked as anonymous, and some are attributed to Ōtomo Yakamochi. The spelling system is mostly semantographic.¹²²

Volume XVII: includes 142 poems, all composed or collected by Ōtomo Yakamochi in 730-748. It is generally believed that volumes XVII-XX are a poetic diary of Ōtomo Yakamochi, although not all poems were composed by him. The spelling system is predominantly phonographic, although semantographic spelling is also used.

Volume XVIII: includes 107 poems, all composed or collected by Ōtomo Yakamochi in 748-750, while he was the governor of the Etchū province. The spelling system is predominantly phonographic, although semantographic spelling is also used.

Volume XIX: includes 154 poems, out of which 103 were composed by Ōtomo Yakamochi. The poems were composed or collected in 750-753, partially while Yakamochi was still in Etchū (until 752), and then after his return to the capital. The spelling system of the volume is somewhat unique: mostly semantographic, but at the same time there are long sequences in many poems that are written phonographically.

Volume XX: includes 224 poems, all collected or composed by Ōtomo Yakamochi in 753-759, while he was governor of the Inaba province (until 758), with the last poem composed on the first day of the first lunar month in 759. 107 poems are attributed to border guards (*sakimori*) and written in Eastern Old Japanese. Thus, the volume is linguistically split, since some are written in late Western Old Japanese, while other poems are in Eastern Old Japanese.

In presenting the romanized versions of all poems, I have used the five-line format in both transliterations and translations. This choice was motivated by my desire to present the 5-7-5-7-7 structure of waka. Moreover, I do not transcribe but transliterate the poems based on a system of Heian Japanese. This transliteration exposes consonant repetitions that the Hepburn system obscures, and thus reveals the phonological features of Classical Japanese. This system is

¹²² Compilation of Volumes XVI-XX is often attributed to Ōtomo Yakamochi. See Vovin, 3, 9-10.

not applied to Japanese names and titles of poetry collections, since their transcriptions in the Hepburn system are widely acknowledged in academia.

Although I am aware of the irony in the context of my larger argument, in this paragraph I am using the term “original” in its conventional scholarly sense of referring to the oldest extant version of a text, whether a facsimile or an annotated, modern printed version. Thus, for various *Man'yōshū* manuscripts, I have consulted their published facsimiles and cited them accordingly. For the original version of all excerpts from poetry criticism by Fujiwara Kiyosuke, Fujiwara Shunzei and other poet-scholars, I have followed a variety of original manuscripts and/or their annotated editions, whenever available, and cited them accordingly in the following chapters. For the original versions of all poetry contests’ judgments (*hanshi*) and individual waka poems, as well as background information about poets, anthologies and poetic events (and their names and titles), I have followed and consulted the electronic resource *Nihon bungaku web toshokan* (Online Library of Japanese Literature) and its multiple databases and dictionaries.¹²³ Unless marked otherwise, for the majority of definitions of various terms, poets and historical figures, I use *Nihon bungaku web toshokan*’s versions of *Waka bungaku daijiten* (Dictionary of Japanese Court Poetry) and *Utakotoba utamakura daijiten* (Dictionary of Poetic Words and Place-Names). Regarding traditional lunar dates in the names of the poetry contests, for example, the 29th day of the Fifth Month of the Second Year of Kaō (1170 in the Western calendar), I have marked them as (1170/V/29). For translations of court titles and ranks, I have consulted William H. & Helen Craig McCullough’s translation of *Eiga monogatari* (Tale of Flowering Fortunes, 11th c.).¹²⁴

¹²³ *Nihon bungaku web toshokan* ver. 5.1.1c-5678 (Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2015).

¹²⁴ William H. McCullough and Helen Craig McCullough, *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes: Annals of Japanese Aristocratic Life in the Heian Period* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), 789-831.

Literary works that do not appear in the main body of the dissertation but are included in the appendices:

Hachidaishō (Selection from the First Eight Collection of Japanese Court Poetry, ca. 1215) is a poetic handbook by Fujiwara Teika. It contains poems from eight imperial collections (from KKS to SKKS).

Iseshū (Collection of Lady Ise, mid-Heian) is a private collection of poems attributed to a poet named lady Ise.

Kakaishō (Rivers and Seas Commentary, 1367) by Yotsutsuji Yoshinari (1326-1402) is one of the most influential commentaries on *Genji monogatari*. It was compiled at a request of shogun Ashikaga Yoshiakira (1330-1367).

Kindai shūka (Superior Poems of Recent Times, 1209) is a poetic handbook with a preface by Fujiwara Teika dedicated to the third ruler of the Kamakura shogunate, Minamoto Sanetomo (1192-1219). It contains poems that Teika considered superior in the history of waka.

Kojiki (Record of Ancient Matters, 712) is the oldest extant chronicle in Japan. It was created by Ō no Yasumaro (mid-7th century) at the request of Empress Genmei (660-721).

Seiashō (Well-Frog Notes, ca. 1360) is a poetic treatise in six volumes by Ton'a (1289-1372), a poet closely associated with the Nijō house descending from the Mikohidari.

Waka iroha (Primer of Japanese Court Poetry, 1198) is a poetic treatise in three volumes by Jōkaku (1147-1226) dedicated to Retired Emperor Go-Toba.

Yakumo mishō (Revered Notes on Eightfold-Clouds, after 1221) is a treatise on waka by Emperor Juntoku (1197-1242, r. 1210-21). It discusses poetic style, rhetorical devices, subject matter, and vocabulary. It was completed during his exile to the island of Sado after the Jōkyū Disturbance (1221).

CHAPTER 2. *MAN'YŌSHŪ* RECEPTION IN POETRY CRITICISM BY FUJIWARA KIYOSUKE AND FUJIWARA SHUNZEI

2.1 – Before Kiyosuke and Shunzei

The reception of *Man'yōshū* poetry prior to poetic criticism of Fujiwara Kiyosuke and Fujiwara Shunzei already had quite a long history. Fusae Ekida claims that the reception history of *Man'yōshū* starts with the notes, of uncertain provenance, inserted into the oldest extant *Man'yōshū* texts.¹ However, if one were to point to a moment in the history of Japanese literature when *Man'yōshū* started to be subject to reception that had significant impact for later generations of scholars and poets, it must have been ca. the mid-10th c., when the first *Man'yōshū* glossing project was officially ordered. In 951 Emperor Murakami (926-967) appointed five scholars of the *Nashitsubo* to compile the second imperial collection, *Gosen wakashū*, and simultaneously add interlinear readings to *Man'yōshū*, in an attempt to provide readings for obscure *man'yōgana*.² The results of their work on *Man'yōshū* are commonly known as *koten* (old glossing) but none of the *Man'yōshū* manuscripts containing this glossing have survived to date, although scholars believe that glossing found in the oldest currently known manuscript of the collection, *Katsura-bon* (mid-Heian), and the early Kamakura period *Karyaku Denshō-bon*, were based on *koten*.³ Even though it is not a *Man'yōshū* manuscript, *Kokinwaka rokujō*, mentioned in the previous chapter, a collection in six volumes with ca. 4,500 poems, out of which ca. 1,100 seem to be connected to *Man'yōshū*, also reflect the *koten* glossing.⁴

There were two more glossing projects in the history of *Man'yōshū* scholarship. The second glossing project, the results of which are commonly named *jiten* (subsequent glossing), is

¹ Ekida, 40.

² Those five scholars of the *Nashitsubo* (Pear Pavilion) were: Kiyowara Motosuke (908-990), Ki no Tokibumi (922-996), Ōnakatomi Yoshinobu (921-991), Minamoto Shitagō (911-983), and Sakanoue Mochiki (late 10th c.). Not all *Man'yōshū* poems were annotated by those five scholars, most likely 4,100 poems, most of which were *tanka* (short poem). Only half of the *sedōka* (head-repeating poem) and almost no *chōka* (long poem) were glossed at this time. See Vovin, 13.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Japanese scholars generally agree that *Kokinwaka rokujō* reflects the *koten* glossing. Since the *Man'yōshū* poems in *Kokinwaka rokujō* are presented only in *kana*, without the *man'yōgana* versions, and the collection was compiled ca. 980's, the poems must be reflective of *koten* because no other glossing existed at that time as far as we know. The next *Man'yōshū* glossing project (called *jiten*) does not take place until the 11th c.

a bit more mysterious and there are numerous hypotheses about it. Ekida claims that *jiten* was added to *Man'yōshū* poems by “anonymous individuals prior to the 13th c.,” while Alexander Vovin is more specific and points out that *jiten* were probably added by Fujiwara Michinaga (966-1028), the most powerful politician in 11th century Japan, Fujiwara Atsutaka (d. 1120), who compiled *Ruijū koshū* and annotated it with his own *jiten*, Fujiwara Kiyosuke, Ōe Masafusa (1041-1111), Fujiwara Mototoshi and other scholars during the 11th century.⁵ *Jiten* were added to about 192-355 poems, and they are reflected in the *Koyōryaku ruijūshō* manuscript from the late Kamakura period, and the *Kasuga-bon* manuscript from the mid-Kamakura period.⁶

Jiten are especially significant for this dissertation, since both Kiyosuke and Mototoshi, with whom Shunzei maintained a close relationship, were scholars who likely took part in their creation. Moreover, the era of *Man'yōshū* reception and appropriation that I am dealing with involves exactly the time after *jiten* had been added, and before the third *Man'yōshū* glossing project – *shinten* (new glossing), created by monk Sengaku in the mid-1200's on shogun Kujō Yoritsune's order.⁷ *Shinten* were added to those poems that had not been glossed before, and corrected some of the existing *koten* and *jiten* glossing. Such corrections of the so-called “glossing mistakes” are undeniably a sign that the ability to read *Man'yōshū* poetry had improved over the centuries, and also that earlier texts were altered by people of the following period according to their knowledge. In fact, once the *shinten* were completed, *Man'yōshū* scholars started to believe that Sengaku solved all *Man'yōshū* mysteries regarding the poems' readings. Alexander Vovin has even argued: “between Sengaku's work and Edo there is essentially a gap of four hundred years during which no significant commentary was produced.”⁸ However, we should not underestimate earlier glossing projects, since they are significant for the history of *Man'yōshū* reception and appropriation, especially in the early medieval era, when the “correct” *shinten* glossing had not yet appeared.⁹

⁵ Ekida, 15; Vovin, 13. More on Fujiwara Atsutaka and his *jiten*, see Shirosaki, 333-350.

⁶ Vovin, 13.

⁷ Kujō Yoritsune (1218-1256) was the fourth shogun of the Kamakura shogunate. He descended from the Kujō family and was in fact the great grandson of Kujō Kanezane, a very well-known patron of waka from the early medieval period and a great supporter of the Mikohidari poets.

⁸ Vovin, 13.

⁹ For more about *Man'yōshū* glossing projects, see Maeno Sadao, *Man'yō kuntenshi* (Tōkyō: Shinobu Shoin, 1958).

There are other aspects of *Man'yōshū* reception/scholarship than the three major glossing projects introduced above. It has been argued that some of the underestimated poetic collections and treatises, for example the first extant ancient work of Japanese poetry criticism by Fujiwara Hamanari (724-790), entitled *Kakyō hyōshiki* (A Formulary for Verse Based on The Canons of Poetry, 772), or a private poetic collection in two volumes probably compiled by Sugawara Michizane (845-903) entitled *Shinsen man'yōshū* (New Selection of Ten Thousand Leaves Collection, 893), as well as the *kana* preface to the first imperial collection *Kokinshū*, were also crucial for *Man'yōshū* reception.¹⁰ As discussed in Chapter 1, I argue that other examples of poetry criticism, like the *Shinsen zuinō* by Fujiwara Kintō and *Toshiyori zuinō* by Minamoto Toshiyori, were likely even more significant sources for the early medieval reception of *Man'yōshū*.¹¹ In fact, I argue that in the early medieval era that I am dealing with in this dissertation, the most significant channels for *Man'yōshū* reception and appropriation, especially for poets other than Kiyosuke and Shunzei, were specifically poetic treatises and poetry contest judgments. There are at least two reasons to conclude so – first, not all waka poets of that time had access to *Man'yōshū* texts; second, those secondary sources provided a context and were a platform for discussion about and reconsideration of *Man'yōshū*'s position in the history of Japanese poetry. Above all, it was *Kokinwaka rokujō* that became one of the first and the most significant sources for *Man'yōshū* reception and appropriation in the subsequent centuries.

The knowledge about *Kokinwaka rokujō* and its significance must have been long emphasized orally, since it was Shunzei's son, Fujiwara Teika, who first expressed his appreciation for it in writing. He wrote in his diary *Meigetsuki* (The Record of the Clear Moon, 1180-1235): “Even though [*Kokinwaka*] *rokujō* is not an imperial collection, it is not unimportant for Japanese court poetry.”¹² The importance of *Kokinwaka rokujō* regarding *Man'yōshū* has been recognized in both Japan and Euro-America. In 1964, Nakanishi Susumu conducted a thorough analysis of this compendium from the point of view of *Man'yōshū* poetry, thus emphasizing its scale and significance.¹³ In the West, Robert Huey argued that *Man'yōshū* poems appearing in imperial anthologies until the compilation of the eighth imperial collection,

¹⁰ Ekida, 7-8.

¹¹ See footnote no. 23.

¹² An entry from the Twenty-fifth Day of the Third Month in the Ninth Year of the Kenkyū Era (1198): 六帖又雖非如勅撰、於和歌不輕輕者也。See Sasaki 1992, 235.

¹³ Nakanishi 1964.

Shinkokin wakashū (New Collection of Japanese Poems from Ancient and Modern Times, 1205) “...are almost inevitably from the *Kokin waka rokujō* rather than directly from *Man’yōshū* itself.”¹⁴ Huey also claimed that knowledge on *Man’yōshū* during the medieval era was “fragmentary and often mediated by mid-Heian texts such as the poetry compendium *Kokin waka rokujō*.”¹⁵

Huey was to a great extent correct that *Kokinwaka rokujō*’s significance is undeniable for the early stages of *Man’yōshū* reception and appropriation. However, many later poetic treatises and handbooks, containing numerous poetic examples from *Man’yōshū*, were equally significant for the process, especially for the allusions to *Man’yōshū* poetry in the late Heian and early Kamakura periods. These include *Ōgishō* and *Fukurozōshi* by Fujiwara Kiyosuke and *Korai fūteishō* by Fujiwara Shunzei. As I will discuss later in this chapter, though Kiyosuke and Shunzei certainly knew *Kokinwaka rokujō*, they also possessed other sources of knowledge about *Man’yōshū* in the form of its various manuscripts. Thus, though the significance of *Kokinwaka rokujō* for *Man’yōshū* reception and appropriation in the subsequent eras is not the main focus of this dissertation, I think that it started a process of channeling knowledge about the collection through secondary sources. In fact, we observe traces of such a process in early medieval imperial collections, like *Shinkokinshū*, where a number of poems from *Man’yōshū* contain significant textual differences and alternative authorship attributions. This again confirms that, along with various *Man’yōshū* manuscripts, numerous secondary sources – other poetic collections, poetic treatises and handbooks were likely the sources for *Man’yōshū* poetry.¹⁶

Apart from poetic treatises and handbooks, there were other texts that played an important role in the transmission of *Man’yōshū* poems, such as some of the imperial anthologies, private waka collections usually compiled by members of aristocratic families, Heian period tales (e.g. *Ise monogatari*, *Genji monogatari*), and poetic events, like *Horikawa hyakushu*, and

¹⁴ Huey 1997, 422.

¹⁵ Huey 2002, XVIII.

¹⁶ Ogawa Yasuhiko, “Yomi no seitei – *Man’yōshū* no kundokushi no naka no *Shinkokinshū* no *Man’yō* uta,” *Kokubun mejiro* 38, no. 2 (1999): 24-36.

many others.¹⁷ These works all provided a space for the creation of poetic discourse, thanks to which certain ideas about literature could be exchanged and circulated. Those secondary sources all were a part of a network of channels for *Man'yōshū* poetry transmission in the medieval and later eras, and were taken into consideration in the subsequent phases of the collection's reception and appropriation strategies. Some of the poems that we now know as "*Man'yōshū* poems" were not known as such in the Heian and Kamakura eras because they were mediated through secondary sources and thus entwined in the intricate web of intertextuality.¹⁸ This feature of fluidity of textual attribution is lost in the majority of contemporary editions of annotated premodern Japanese poetic collections. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the annotators usually point out only the earliest appearance of a particular poetic reference, thus omitting centuries of its reception and appropriation history. Alternatively, they provide a few references linguistically closest, in their opinion, to the annotated poem. Those references are listed chronologically according to the date of their publication, which represents a one-directional (from present to past), one-dimensional and above all linear channel of poetic allusions. Such an approach does not take into consideration the existence of poetic discourse, which provides a dispersal and multi-directional approach to allusive practices in waka.

In a number of pre-Kiyosuke poetic treatises, for example *Shinsen zuinō* by Fujiwara Kintō and *Toshiyori zuinō* by Minamoto Toshiyori, *Man'yōshū* was perceived as an ancient, distant and rather obscure, yet intriguing and admirable imperial collection, to which allusions should be made either very carefully or should not be made at all.¹⁹ Kiyosuke and Shunzei's works of poetry criticism, strongly connected to the earlier critical works by Kintō and Toshiyori, were shadowed by this kind of negative *Man'yōshū* discourse. There are some differences and similarities in the manner in which Kiyosuke and Shunzei approached *Man'yōshū* poetry in their poetic criticism. However, to provide context, I will first present some information about both poets' backgrounds and poetic environments.

¹⁷ Phillip Harries has pointed out that many early private collections were put together as handbooks and were thus a kind of practical poetic treatises. See Phillip T. Harries, "Personal Poetry Collections: Their Origin, and Development through the Heian Period," *Monumenta Nipponica* 35, no. 3 (1980): 310.

¹⁸ Huey 2002, 131-132; Tori'i Chikako, "Kigoshō seiritsu no bungakuteki haikei – Nakazane no jidai no *Man'yō* sesshu," in *Ōchō bungaku no honshitsu to hen'yō*, ed. Yōichi Katagiri (Ōsaka: Izumi Shoin, 2001), 403.

¹⁹ Hisamatsu, ed., 27; Bialock, 184.

2.2 – Kiyosuke and Shunzei: biographies and backgrounds

Fujiwara Kiyosuke was the second son of Fujiwara Akisuke (1090-1155) and grandson of Fujiwara Akisue (1055-1123). Akisue was the founder of the Rokujō poetic school, which he established at the turn of the 11th century. He also participated in the famous *Horikawa hyakushu* of 1105-1106, a waka event promoting a return to the poetics of earlier times. The Rokujō school was named after Akisue's residence in Kyoto located at the crossing of two streets – Rokujō and Karasuma, where members of his family and other poets, like the compiler of the fifth imperial anthology, *Kin'yō wakashū* (Collection of Golden Leaves, 1127), Minamoto Toshiyori, used to meet.²⁰ With time, those gatherings became more formal, turned into a poetic salon and then into a poetic school, currently often described as traditional and conservative.²¹

One of the characteristic practices of the Rokujō school was the so-called *Hitomaru eigu* – a ceremony worshipping the portrait and poetry of one of the most famous *Man'yōshū* poets named Kakinomoto Hitomaro, first started by Akisue, who highly valued Hitomaro's poetry.²² Apparently, Retired Emperor Shirakawa possessed a famous portrait of Hitomaro, which Akisue managed to borrow and copy. In front of this copied painting, the first *Hitomaru eigu* was held at Akisue's residence in 1118. Anne Commons emphasized that holding a ceremony evidently modeled on Chinese precedents, in which poets presented offerings in front of Hitomaro's portrait and recited both his poems and their own compositions prepared especially for this occasion, as well as the ability to borrow a portrait from a Retired Emperor, were manifestations of power demonstrated by Akisue and his poetic circle.²³

The emergence of a ritual related to poetry composition was meant to legitimize the Rokujō poets' activity. This practice demonstrates that the Rokujō school treated waka as a sacred art of magical significance with roots in Japanese antiquity. Simultaneously, by holding *Hitomaru eigu* on a regular basis, Akisue promoted Hitomaro as a spiritual ancestor of his own

²⁰ Nose, 1. For more about Akisue and his life, see Inoue, 85-95.

²¹ Earl Miner, Hiroko Odagiri, and Robert E. Morrell, *The Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985), 149.

²² Hitomaru is an alternative name for Kakinomoto Hitomaro that was widely used by Japanese poets of many eras. Great respect for Hitomaro in the Rokujō school might have had its origin in the *kana* preface of the first imperial collection, *Kokinshū*, where Hitomaro is presented as 'the sage of poetry' (*uta no hijiri*). See Commons, 47.

²³ *Ibid.*, 109.

poetic school, claiming his right to at least part of *Man'yōshū* scholarship.²⁴ The right to perform this ritual was transmitted from the previous Rokujō leader to the next one, and was an indispensable element for taking over the position of this school's leader. We should, however, not overlook the fact that the Rokujō poets also emphasized the significance of other literary works from the mid-Heian period, for example *Kokinshū*, *Ise monogatari* and *Genji monogatari*, which becomes obvious in a closer examination of Kiyosuke's poetic treatises.²⁵

The *Man'yōshū* traditions of the Rokujō poetic school were continued by Fujiwara Akisuke, who was Akisue's third son. Akisuke continued *Hitomaru eigu* rituals, and participated in numerous poetry contests and other poetic events. He became close first to Retired Emperor Shirakawa and then to Emperor Sutoku (1119-1164), who ordered him to compile the sixth imperial collection – *Shika wakashū* (Collection of Verbal Flowers, 1151-1154).²⁶ Akisuke managed to maintain the tradition and exclusive prestige of the Rokujō school, although he is generally less valued as a poet than Akisue.²⁷

Thus, Kiyosuke had quite an impressive poetic family background and one might assume that he would easily inherit the mantle of the Rokujō school. However, he originally did not get along with his father due to differences in their opinions about poetry. Akisuke initially saw his son as lacking knowledge and skills in the art of poetry. Yet, Kiyosuke was noticed by Emperor Sutoku, who ordered him to submit a one-hundred-poem sequence (*hyakushu*) to *Kyūan hyakushu* (One Hundred Poems of the Kyūan Era, ca. 1150).²⁸ Kiyosuke eventually did become the leader of the Rokujō school, having received the transmission of the *Hitomaru eigu* ritual from his father in 1155.²⁹ By the late 1160's, he was a respected poetic critic and judge in numerous poetry contests. He wrote numerous poetic treatises and handbooks that were widely

²⁴ Commons, 117; Nishimura 1997, 180. For more about political, religious and philosophical implications of *Hitomaru eigu*, see Kitahara Motohide, "Hitomaru eigu to inseiki kadan," *Kodai bunka* 51, no. 4 (1999): 28-39.

²⁵ Nishida Masahiro, "Rokujō-ke Kokin wakashū denju no ichi: Teitoku-ryū hidensho to Keichū," *Bungakushi kenkyū* 38, no. 12 (1997): 37-51.

²⁶ *Shika wakashū* (Collection of verbal flowers) was the shortest of all *chokusenshū* and was quite harshly criticized by its contemporary poets.

²⁷ More about Akisuke and his life, see Inoue, 96-118.

²⁸ *Hyakushu* is a sequence consisting of a hundred *tanka* poems, a form started in the 960's and popularized since the reign of Emperor Horikawa. Poems were composed on the four seasons, love and miscellaneous topics. *Kyūan hyakushu* was a poetic event organized by Retired Emperor Sutoku. It was originally believed to have been organized for the compilation of *Shikashū* but it became one of the most important sources of poetry for *Senzai wakashū* (Collection of a Thousand Years, 1188) compiled by Shunzei.

²⁹ Even though Kiyosuke had an older brother named Fujiwara Akikata (b. 1104), it was Kiyosuke who officially became the leader of the Rokujō school, for reasons historians have yet to unravel.

circulated in the poetic world of his time. Moreover, Kiyosuke was ordered by Retired Emperor Nijō (1143-1165) to compile the next imperial collection – *Shokushika wakashū* (Continued Collection of Verbal Flowers, 1165). The collection, however, never officially received the *chokusenshū* status due to Emperor Nijō’s premature death.³⁰ As pointed out by Phillip Harries, “private and imperial anthologies differ only in the matter of status and public recognition.”³¹ However, due to the lack of imperial recognition for the anthology, it came to be seen as more a private collection than an imperial project. Thus, the poems collected in Kiyosuke’s *Shokushikashū* became one of the sources for poems for later imperial anthologies.

After Kiyosuke’s death in 1177, it was probably one of his younger brothers, Fujiwara Suetsune (1131-1221), who became the new Rokujō leader, while many scholars recognize Kenshō, Kiyosuke’s adopted son, as one of the main and active members of the school. Suetsune was, however, less and less active in the poetic world; he also did not have any sons that were able to continue the tradition of the Rokujō school. Other than Imperial Prince Shukaku, an abbot of the Nin’na Temple, to whom he dedicated his poetic treatise entitled *Shūchūshō*, Kenshō was unable to attract any other poetic patrons after Kiyosuke’s death in 1177.³² The support from the Kujō house for the Rokujō school had also reached its end with Kiyosuke’s death.³³ Even though there are records of Suetsune visiting Kujō Kanezane in 1178, Kanezane’s diary, the *Gyokuyō* (Jewel Leaves, 1164-1203) contains only a mention of their conversation about Kiyosuke’s death.³⁴ Kanezane’s attention quickly shifted to Shunzei, which we also see many times in *Gyokuyō*.

Despite Kenshō’s efforts to advertise his school’s expertise on *Man’yōshū*, the decline of the Rokujō brand in the waka world was so quick and significant that contemporary scholars are not even certain who in fact officially received the teachings and took over the leadership of the school – Suetsune, Kenshō or someone else.³⁵ With the exception of the Rokujō school’s brief

³⁰ For more about Kiyosuke and his life, see Inoue, 119-149.

³¹ Harries, 300-301.

³² For more about the relationship between Kenshō and the Nin’na Temple and Imperial Prince Shukaku, see Nishimura 1997, 249-289.

³³ Kiyosuke visited Kanezane multiple times between 1170 and 1177. Kanezane’s diary generally does not record details of their meetings but it is evident that Kiyosuke was Kanezane’s poetry teacher. Entries usually say that Kiyosuke comes to visit Kanezane and they talk about various issues regarding waka. See Yamada An’ei, ed., *Gyokuyō*, vol. 1 (Kamakura: Geirinsha, 1975), 58, 103-104, 287, 291, 360, 463, 477, 580, 617.

³⁴ Yamada, ed., vol. 2, 153.

³⁵ Nishimura 1997, 180-181.

alliance with the Tsuchimikado family, which for a short period of time in the 1190's became more influential than the Kujō clan but quickly fell out of its power due to its relationship with Retired Emperor Go-Toba (1180-1239), the school did not find any new patrons at the imperial courts or shogunate and fell into oblivion, while its members stopped being invited to poetic events by the early 1200's.³⁶ At that time, Go-Toba was already planning to commission the compilation of the next imperial collection, and he was turning his attention to the new Mikohidari school. One of the results of the Rokujō school's quick and early decline is that we currently do not have too many manuscripts produced by its members or descendants.

Kiyosuke was thus the last Rokujō leader supported by the imperial house and powerful patrons like Kujō Kanazane. Despite Akisuke's initial lack of confidence in his son's poetic abilities and the unfortunate circumstances that prevented him from being recognized as the compiler of an imperial anthology, Kiyosuke became a highly-valued waka scholar, critic and poet. He was the first poet ever who compiled numerous poetry treatises and handbooks during his lifetime, which significantly contributed to the production of poetry criticism, and thus accelerated the process of sharing parts of his knowledge about waka in writing. This broadened the scope of the early medieval poetic discourse and made the Rokujō expertise on poetry known to the public. Many other poets, including Shunzei, borrowed from Kiyosuke's poetic commentaries and based their theories on Kiyosuke's less developed ideas.³⁷ I examine examples of such inspirations later on in this chapter based on Kiyosuke and Shunzei's treatment of *Man'yōshū* poetry and scholarship. Kiyosuke continues to attract considerable attention from academics today. Even though he is perceived and thus studied more as a waka critic than poet, research on Kiyosuke is also much more extensive than on any other Rokujō poet. In fact, modern scholarship generally considers Kiyosuke to be the last Rokujō poet worth scholarly attention.

³⁶ The affiliation between the Rokujō and Tsuchimikado was achieved mainly due to the fact that Suetsune was Minamoto Michichika's (1149-1202) waka tutor. Michichika was active in the poetic world in the 1170's but later did not participate in many poetic events nor maintain his interest in promoting the Rokujō poets. See. Huey 2002, 35, 396-397.

³⁷ In fact, Shiguretei Library owned by the Reizei family (one of three poetic factions having its origin in the Mikohidari school), has a few texts of poetry criticism authored by the Rokujō poets, for example Kiyosuke's *Waka shogakushō*, the second volume of his *Ōgishō* and Kenshō's *Shūchūshō*.

Rokujō Family

Akisue (founder)

|

| | | | |

Nagazane

Ieyasu

Akisuke

Kakuken (monk)

Kensō (monk)

|

| | | | |

Akikata

Kiyosuke

Akinari

Shigeie

Kenshō

Suetsune

|

|

(monk, adopted)

| | | | |

Kiyosue

Jinken

Kōkan

Tsuneie

Aki'ie

Ari'ie

Jōken

|

(monk)

Tomoie

Fujiwara Shunzei, also known as Toshinari, Akihiro or Shakua (his Buddhist name), was the third son of Fujiwara Toshitada (1073-1123), who descended from the most powerful politician of the mid-Heian period, Fujiwara Michinaga, in a direct paternal line through Michinaga's sixth son, Fujiwara Nagaie (1005-1064). After his father's death, Shunzei was adopted by Fujiwara Akiyori (1094-1148) and took the name Akihiro but he returned to his previous family and changed his name to Shunzei in 1167. Shunzei's father – Toshitada – was a poet, who, like Minamoto Toshiyori and Fujiwara Mototoshi, was an important member of Emperor Horikawa's (1078-1107) poetic circle. Shunzei's step-father, Akiyori, on the other hand, was a scion of the Hamuro family, closely linked to the households of retired emperors and emperors from the days of Emperor Go-Sanjō (1034-1073). Akiyori was himself one of Emperor Toba's (1103-1156) close associates.³⁸ Shunzei was thus well connected to both poetic and political circles.

Shunzei was poetically active from the age of eighteen and his first activities in the world of poetry were enabled by his marriage to a daughter of Tokiwa Tametada (d. 1136). Tametada was an active poetic patron and frequently organized poetic gatherings at his residence. In 1138 Shunzei was introduced to Fujiwara Mototoshi, who was a poet and poetry contest arbiter of great reputation. Since that time Mototoshi began to revise drafts of young Shunzei's poems and became his teacher.³⁹ It has been suggested that Mototoshi was Shunzei's primary waka tutor, who shared with him not only his manuscripts but also secret waka teachings orally; some scholars argue that the traces of those teachings are notable in the Mikohidari poetic treatises.⁴⁰ Mototoshi did not produce any *karon* during his life, although there are some treatises attributed to him that are considered to be forgeries, for example the *Etsumokushō* (Notes on Observations), now assumed to be from the late Kamakura period.

In the early 1140's, Shunzei's poetry was noticed by Retired Emperor Sutoku, who started to invite him to various poetic gatherings. Shunzei was soon recognized in this new poetic

³⁸ Peter J. Arnesen, "Suō Province in the Age of Kamakura," in *Court and Bakufu in Japan: Essays in Kamakura History*, ed. Jeffrey P. Mass (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982), 98.

³⁹ Ivo Smits, *Pursuit of Loneliness: Chinese and Japanese Nature Poetry in Medieval Japan, ca. 1050-1150* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1995), 78. Gustav Heldt also emphasized that Shunzei had also much respect for Minamoto Toshiyori's poetic style. See Gustav Heldt, "Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114-1204)," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography. Vol. 203: Medieval Japanese Writers*, ed. Steven Carter (Washington, D.C.: Brucoli, Clark, Layman, 1998), 16.

⁴⁰ Konishi Jin'ichi, Earl R. Miner and Aileen Gatten, *A History of Japanese Literature, Volume 3: The High Middle Ages* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 33.

circle, proof of which is the inclusion of one of his poems in the imperial collection, *Shikashū*, compiled by Akisuke. Then, Emperor Sutoku invited Shunzei to participate in the poetic event *Kyūan hyakushū*, which was another sign of Shunzei's growing reputation as a poet.⁴¹ Shunzei's situation worsened when Sutoku was exiled and Emperor Nijō, who generally favored the Rokujō school's poets, held political and poetic power at the court. However, Shunzei was still being recognized in the poetic world and Kiyosuke included his poems in *Shokushikashū*, the collection that was never given the status of an imperial collection. In the mid-1160's, when Kiyosuke had no influential poetic patronage at the court after Emperor Nijō's death in 1164, Shunzei for the first time became a judge in a poetry contest held at Shun'e's Shirakawa residence – *Shun'e uta Karin'en uta'awase*. Shun'e was Toshiyori's son and, while being a member of many poetic circles, he remained one of the most progressive poets of his time.

Subsequently, Shunzei was invited to judge a poetry contest held at the residence of Kiyosuke's younger half-brother, Shigeie (1128-1180), which marked Shunzei's growing poetic reputation, and his recognition in the Rokujō poetic circles.⁴² This also confirms that poets from both schools participated in the same poetic events and interacted with each other. With time, Shunzei got involved not only in poetry gatherings held by aristocrats but also in events organized in shrines and temples with middle-ranking officials as participants. This networking activity made him known to all major poetic salons of his time. Some scholars perceive this as a sign of his flexibility and ability to cross social boundaries in the world of court poetry.⁴³

In the late 1160's, when Shunzei reentered his biological father's house of Mikohidari and became its head, he was already a poet and judge of established reputation, even among the Rokujō poets. Shunzei's fame in the waka world seemed to match his ascent in politics. In 1167, he reached the Senior Third Court Rank (*shōsanmi*); in 1172, he was promoted to Master of the Grand Empress's Household (*kōtai gōgū no tayū*) but his health worsened and Shunzei took the tonsure in 1176, likely expecting his own death soon.

⁴¹ Huey 2002, 399.

⁴² Fujiwara Shigeie (1128-1180) was one of the younger brothers of Kiyosuke and a father of Fujiwara Ari'ie (1155-1216), who became one of the *Shinkokinshū*'s compilers. Shigeie participated in a number of poetic events during his life. He was quite close to one of the most powerful poetic patrons of the era, Kujō Kanezane. In 1171, he borrowed a *Man'yōshū* manuscript from Taira Tsunemori (1124-1185) and copied it. See Inoue Muneo, "Rokujō tōke no seisui," *Kokubungaku kenkyū* 15, no. 3 (1957): 53.

⁴³ Heldt, 18-20.

Then, in 1177 Fujiwara Kiyosuke died, while Shunzei's own health unexpectedly improved and Shunzei became active in the poetic world again. At the end of the 6th month of 1178, thanks to Fujiwara Takanobu's (1142-1205) introduction, Shunzei was invited to visit Kanezane at his residence.⁴⁴ Kanezane described this in *Gyokuyō*, stating that Shunzei arrived on Takanobu's request and appeared to be knowledgeable about the art of waka. Two days later, Shunzei visited Kanezane again and was asked to submit a *hyakushu* sequence for a poetic event (today known as *Udaijin ke hyakushu*) organized by his new patron. The next entry in the *Gyokuyō* expresses Kanezane's joy that he has Shunzei's support with this poetic event.⁴⁵

As mentioned above, Kanezane had previously supported the Rokujō school and was already an established poetic patron. During *Udaijin ke hyakushu*, consisting of ten meetings, Shunzei and Kanezane interacted multiple times, and it was the beginning of their patron-poet relationship. In fact, through this poetic event Kanezane was likely testing Shunzei's skills in the art of waka. After Kiyosuke's death, there were no other poets besides Shunzei who could be considered equal to the late Rokujō leader. Therefore, Kanezane granted his patronage to Shunzei and his newly established poetic school.⁴⁶ Years after that Shunzei dedicated his first extant poetic treatise, *Man'yōshū jidaikō*, to Kanezane's son, Kujō Yoshitsune, which is evidence that he maintained close ties with the Kujō house and was Yoshitsune's waka tutor. With such strong support and good reputation as the authority in waka, it was perhaps only a matter of time before Shunzei would be asked to compile an imperial collection, which he was in fact ordered to compile in 1183 by Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa (1127-1192). Thus, Shunzei became the sole compiler of the seventh *chokusenshū*, *Senzai wakashū* (Collection of a Thousand Years, 1188).

With Shunzei's established position in the poetic world, in the last fifteen years of his life he promoted the young poets of the Mikohidari school, especially Fujiwara Teika and Shunzei's Daughter (fl. 1171-1251), who was his adopted granddaughter. Simultaneously, the support from the Kujō house via Kanezane's son – Yoshitsune – was continued. Many crucial poetic events preceding the compilation of the next imperial collection in 1205 (*Shinkokinshū*), for example

⁴⁴ Fujiwara Takanobu (1142-1205) was a son of Fujiwara Tametsune, a critic of the Rokujō style in the mid-1100's. Takanobu's mother married Shunzei after Tametsune took the tonsure in 1143, so he grew up with Teika and other members of the family. See Huey 2002, 401.

⁴⁵ Yamada, ed. vol. 2, 168.

⁴⁶ Hosoya Naoki, "Shunzei no *Man'yō*-kan to *Kokin*-kan," *Kokubungaku gengo to bungei* 40, no. 5 (1965): 23.

Ropyyakuban uta 'awase, organized in Yoshitsune's residence, demonstrated the growing parity between Mikohidari and Rokujō (frequently represented by Kenshō at poetic events after Kiyosuke's death).⁴⁷ The rising significance of Shunzei and the Mikohidari school itself did not make the Rokujō poets and centuries of waka traditions fade away at once. In the early 1200's the Rokujō poetic style was still considered to be the standard. Even though Shunzei, whose poetic roots also lay in the Rokujō school tradition, was very respected and powerful in the poetic world by the end of his life, he must have realized that Mikohidari was not yet the center of everybody's attention. Thus, despite the general respect and fame, Shunzei had to go out of his way to convince Go-Toba that it was worth paying attention to an alternative poetic style developed by young poets of the Mikohidari school. To stabilize his school's position, Shunzei's sent a formal letter to Retired Emperor Go-Toba – *Shōji ninen Shunzei-kyō no waji sōjō* (Lord Shunzei's Letter in Japanese Script of the Second Year of the Shōji Era, 1200).⁴⁸

In his appeal, Shunzei contested an attempt by the Rokujō poets to exclude the young poets, including his son Teika and other Mikohidari allies – Fujiwara Takafusa (1148-1209) and Fujiwara Ietaka (1158-1237) – in an upcoming poetic event, later known as the *Shōji ninen in shodo hyakushu* (Retired Emperor's First Hundred Poem Sequence of the Second Year of the Shōji Era, 1200), which became a significant source of poems for the next imperial anthology, *Shinkokinshū*.⁴⁹ Shunzei also criticized the Rokujō poets for their lack of knowledge about poetry from *Genji monogatari* and by the Chinese poet Bo Juyi (772-846). In fact, he had something negative to say about all Rokujō leaders – Akisuke, Kiyosuke, and finally Suetsune.⁵⁰ Shunzei succeeded in persuading Go-Toba to include the younger Mikohidari poets in this poetic event, and since then members of his poetic school were regular participants of all major poetic events, including the famed *Sengohyakuban uta 'awase* (Poetry Contest in One Thousand Five Hundred Rounds, 1203).⁵¹ Moreover, Go-Toba appointed Teika as one of the six compilers of *Shinkokinshū* and continued imperial patronage for this poetic school. The compilation

⁴⁷ Shunzei became the sole judge of *Ropyyakuban uta 'awase* thanks to his connection to and support of the Kujō house. See Huey 2002, 34.

⁴⁸ Robert Huey has translated this letter in its entirety. See Huey 2002, 405-412.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 55-58.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 405-412.

⁵¹ *Sengohyakuban uta 'awase* was a poetry contest organized by Retired Emperor Go-Toba, who in 1201 ordered *hyakushu* (one-hundred-poem sequences) from thirty poets representing quite equally the Rokujō and Mikohidari schools and their respective patrons from the Tsuchimikado and Kujō houses. The contest was one of the main sources of poems included in *Shinkokinshū*. For more, see *ibid.*, 193-221

committee of *Shinkokinshū* demonstrates, however, that early 1200's were not yet the time of Mikohidari's total dominance in the waka world, as we find there representatives of both Rokujō and Asukai house.⁵²

Some scholars have argued that in this short period preceding the compilation of the *Shinkokinshū* in 1205, Shunzei and the whole Mikohidari school declared themselves as promoters of the Heian period tales, like *Genji monogatari* or *Ise monogatari*, as opposed to the Rokujō school, which emphasized the value of *Man'yōshū* poetry. Shunzei's famous comment from one of his judgments in the *Ropyyakuban uta'awase*: "To compose poetry without knowing *Genji* is a regrettable thing" is frequently brought up as a proof of such assumption; and indeed, it causes many to assume that he must have valued *Genji monogatari* above all.⁵³ However, it may not be as simple as it appears, since, as mentioned above, Shunzei devoted his first poetic treatise entitled *Man'yōshū jidaikō* entirely to the problem of *Man'yōshū*'s compilation. Moreover, one whole volume in his poetic treatise entitled *Korai fūteishō*, focuses on *Man'yōshū* poetry.

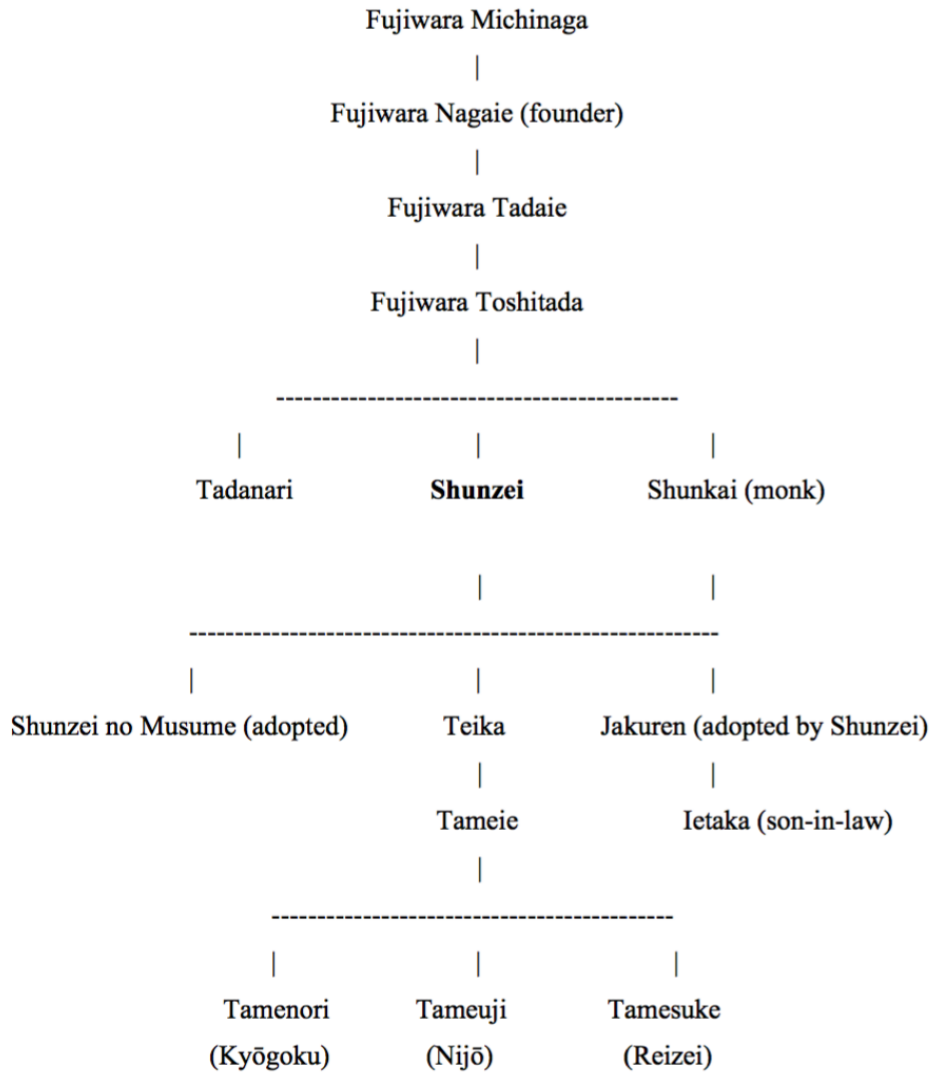
Man'yōshū jidaikō clearly imitates not only parts of Kiyosuke's *Fukurozōshi*, but also emulates, and partially contradicts, Kenshō's earlier treatise on the collection – *Man'yōshū jidai nanji* (Problematic Matters of the *Man'yōshū* Era, 1168-1183), also about *Man'yōshū*'s creation.⁵⁴ *Korai fūteishō* is, however, quite an innovative poetic treatise with features not found in any previous works of literary criticism but those will be discussed further on. It is a document continuing the tradition of *karon* production and attempting to validate Shunzei and Mikohidari poets' authority in the poetic world but also preparing the ground for the next generations of poetry critics and poets. Moreover, both *Man'yōshū jidaikō* and *Korai fūteishō* represent Shunzei's claim to knowledge about *Man'yōshū*, which obviously challenged Rokujō school's apparent claim to status as *Man'yōshū* specialists, and demonstrated that the Mikohidari school had access to the collection and scholarship about it as well. There are also quite a few poetry contest judgements, discussed later in this chapter, in which Shunzei not only shows off his knowledge about *Man'yōshū* poetry but also approves of allusions to poems from the collection.

⁵² Ibid., 3-4.

⁵³ Ibid., 20.

⁵⁴ Kyūsojin Hitaku, ed., *Man'yōshū jidai nanji*, in *Nihon kagaku taikai*. Betsu 4 (Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1980), 51.

Mikohidari Family



Fujiwara Kiyosuke and Fujiwara Shunzei are frequently perceived as poets of two separate and rival poetic schools. We should, however, remember that they were often a part of similar poetic circles and only with time did they grow further apart in both political and poetic worlds. They were both valued by Sutoku and Go-Toba. However, after Kiyosuke's death in 1177 the Rokujō school suffered a decline of power, since its poets were not able to acquire new patrons, who would support their position in the poetic world, and gain Go-Toba's favor.⁵⁵ The school itself did not disappear immediately from the waka world and continued to be poetically active. However, Kiyosuke's successors – Suetsune and Kenshō – did not find much support at the court. Even Imperial Prince Shukaku, a younger brother of Imperial Princess Shikishi (fl. 1149-1201), who was one of the few supporters of Kenshō's activity, also maintained a relationship with the Mikohidari leader (Shunzei even dedicated his private poetic collection entitled *Chōshū eisō* [Weeds Composed for Long Autumns, 1178] to him).⁵⁶ In his treatises and poetry contests judgments, such as those found in the *Ropyakuban uta'awase*, Kenshō aggressively emphasized the value of *Man'yōshū* poetry, quoting unknown poems and vocabulary from the collection that significantly strayed away from the mainstream poetics and aesthetics of that time. Thus, his views, though clearly aiming at elevating *Man'yōshū* poetry, never became popular. Ineffective at expressing his intentions, Kenshō began to be perceived as an unorthodox Rokujō waka scholar and poet already by his contemporaries.⁵⁷ In fact, this view still lingers on in the field of waka studies.

One may argue when and why the Mikohidari school took over leadership in the poetic world, but the fact is that the Mikohidari poets “won the battle” for poetic patronage and eventually prestige, largely, in my opinion, thanks to their close connection to the Kujō house. In the end, the eventual success of the Mikohidari house was probably due to a combination of politics that Shunzei played very skillfully, as well as the novel poetics that the Mikohidari poets attempted to promote. The lack of patrons on the side of Rokujō school, and Kenshō himself, awkwardly advocating an ancient collection that not many poets dared to think about studying,

⁵⁵ Ibid., 51.

⁵⁶ Shukaku patronized both poets and did not take sides, perhaps because as the center of a poetic salon at the Nin'na Temple in Kyoto, he surrounded himself with a variety of poets. Some private collections compiled in the late 1100's are dedicated to him.

⁵⁷ Steven D. Carter, “Chats with the Master: Selections from *Kensai Zōdan*,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 56, no. 3 (2001): 308.

only helped this process. All of the above does not, however, mean that Shunzei rejected the poetic traditions of waka and the value of *Man'yōshū* poetry. On the contrary, he attacked the Rokujō school mainly to emphasize the value of his own school's poetics. He did not, however, neglect or lack knowledge about *Man'yōshū*. It is true that Mikohidari poets promoted the study of the Heian period tales, effectively emphasized their significance for the art of waka, and thus claimed that part of the discourse; yet, they did the same with *Man'yōshū*. Besides, as discussed further on in this chapter, it was Kiyosuke who first mentioned the significance of *monogatari* in one of his treatises. It may be thus fair to say that Shunzei to a large extent imitated Kiyosuke and the main features of his poetic activity.

Above all, one should remember that both Kiyosuke and Shunzei were waka scholars and poets in an era when the *jiten* had already been added to *Man'yōshū*. Shunzei was perhaps not one of the poets who created *jiten* glossing but, as mentioned above, he maintained close ties with Fujiwara Mototoshi, who was a part of the “*jiten* crowd” and highly valued ancient poetry. It seems unlikely that Mototoshi would not have transmitted at least some of his knowledge about *Man'yōshū* to Shunzei. In fact, Tamura Ryūichi has emphasized that a great deal of Shunzei's knowledge about *Man'yōshū* came from Mototoshi.⁵⁸ Moreover, Terashima Shūichi has argued that the *Man'yōshū* manuscript Shunzei supposedly possessed was likely a copy he received from Mototoshi.⁵⁹

Hosoya Naoki pointed out that Shunzei needed to possess extensive knowledge about *Man'yōshū*, since he had an ambition to establish an influential poetic school. Shunzei's knowledge about the collection deepened and changed over the years, and he probably valued *Man'yōshū* as much as he valued *Kokinshū*.⁶⁰ There are also some significant features of Shunzei's poetic treatises, which will be discussed in detail further on, that cause one to conclude that he must have in fact possessed a manuscript of *Man'yōshū*. Moreover, despite his original opposition to Rokujō school's opinion about the time of *Man'yōshū*'s compilation (as seen in *Man'yōshū jidaikō* and discussed further below), Shunzei did change his mind and thus, at least partially, followed Rokujō school's opinion (as seen in his *Korai fūteishō*). So, Shunzei did not

⁵⁸ Tamura 1974, 185-186.

⁵⁹ Terashima Shūichi, “Mikohidari-ke sōden no *Man'yōshū* no keitai,” *Mukogawa kokubun* 65, no. 3 (2005): 9.

⁶⁰ Hosoya 1965, 20-27.

reject the Rokujō school's scholarship; he embraced and modified it while positioning himself as their rival to ensure that it was his descendants who would become the recipients of the power and substantial benefits resulting from the already established patronage.

When it comes to writing poetic treatises, there is one significant difference in poetic backgrounds and circumstances between Kiyosuke and Shunzei. When Kiyosuke started writing his *Ōgishō* in 1124, he had only few precedents. There was *Kigoshō* (Notes on Poetic Words, 1099-1118) by Fujiwara Nakazane (1075-1133), which was the first extant work of poetry criticism by a Rokujō school poet.⁶¹ Aside from that, Kiyosuke had access only to some poetic collections and works of poetry criticism, for example *Kokinwaka rokujō*, *Shinsen zuinō*, *Toshiyori zuinō* and likely some private poetic collections, when he wrote *Ōgishō*. Kiyosuke might have also had access to his father and grandfather's poetry criticism, although none of their poetic treatises or handbooks has survived to date.⁶² In fact, we should consider the possibility that Akisue and Akisuke did write poetic treatises but those works have simply not survived.⁶³ Even though no examples of their poetic commentaries have survived, we should thus not assume that previous Rokujō poets did not produce any poetry criticism, especially since it has been claimed that some "secret" knowledge might have been transmitted orally in the Rokujō school.⁶⁴ Kiyosuke's increased production of poetry treatises is an unusual and thus significant feature of the early medieval poetic world, which might have been a result of a few factors. One of them was a general consensus during that era that the world was in the stage of *mappō*.⁶⁵ In fact, a rhetoric of disappointment with the poets of the contemporary era is a shared and dominant mode of expression in all medieval poetic commentaries. Thus, perhaps Kiyosuke thought that if he did not record the Rokujō teachings in writing, they may not survive, or simply that in the age of *mappō* the oral transmission is not enough because poets do not fully

⁶¹ Nakazane's biological father, Fujiwara Sanesue (1035-1092), adopted Akisue, so they were step-brothers. Later on, Nakazane married Akisue's daughter. *Kigoshō* is a poetic treatise arranged by the Chinese categories *rui* and consisting of three volumes. It includes 747 poems, out of which 517 are from *Man'yōshū*. Some scholars claim it strongly affected the understanding of *Man'yōshū* in Nakazane's era. See Tori'i, 411.

⁶² See Inoue 1957, 52.

⁶³ Nishimura 1997, 192; Ozawa Masao, *Heian no waka to kagaku* (Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin, 1979), 15.

⁶⁴ Shibayama, 330.

⁶⁵ In Mahayana Buddhism, particularly in those schools having high respect for the *Lotus Sutra*, there are three ages and divisions of time following Buddha's passing. This division reflects a belief that various Buddhist teachings are accepted in those ages differently because of the declining capacity to accept them by people born in each subsequent age. *Mappō*, known as the degenerate age and believed to last for 10,000 years, is the third one. People in this age are believed to be unable to follow Buddha's teachings and thus are unable to attain enlightenment.

understand it. I also think that Kiyosuke recognized the commercial aspect of poetic patronage, and that is why he produced multiple poetic treatises and handbooks dedicated to his patrons. After Kiyosuke's death, the production of poetry treatises in the Rokujō school was continued by his adopted son, Kenshō. Moreover, as mentioned in Chapter 1, Kiyosuke might have decided to write down parts of oral teachings due to the rise of the new Mikohidari school. Perhaps he was afraid that the Rokujō school's traditions would get lost or claimed by a new poetic leader.

Shunzei's situation in the mid-1190's, when he compiled *Man'yōshū jidaikō* and *Korai fūteishō*, was significantly different. By the mid-1190's, about a dozen poetic treatises and handbooks had been compiled by the Rokujō school members and other poets.⁶⁶ Moreover, by that time Shunzei had already judged numerous poetry contests. This suggests that when he wrote his first poetic treatise, Shunzei was much more experienced as a poet and poetic critic than Kiyosuke had been when he first started writing treatises. Moreover, Shunzei had access to a much wider variety of poetic criticism texts than Kiyosuke. The general contexts of Kiyosuke's poetic treatises and handbooks may be thus quite different from Shunzei's, as Kiyosuke was looking at the evolution of waka discourse from a somewhat earlier vantage point. It is, however, evident that Shunzei borrowed heavily from Kiyosuke's works of poetry criticism, thus laying his own claim to that part of *Man'yōshū* discourse and irritating some of the Rokujō school poets.

2.3 – Reception of *Man'yōshū* in Fujiwara Kiyosuke's poetry criticism

Fujiwara Kiyosuke authored over a dozen poetic treatises and handbooks, and judged a few extant poetry contests.⁶⁷ In this section, I analyze *Man'yōshū* reception in two of Kiyosuke's treatises, *Ōgishō* and *Fukurozōshi*, and two of his poetic handbooks, *Waka ichijishō* (Essentials of poetry, 1157) and *Waka shogakushō*. *Waka ichijishō* and *Waka shogakushō* are analyzed together because both works are poetic handbooks only listing poetic examples without extensive

⁶⁶ Among others, see *Waka dōmōshō* (Notes on Poetry for Beginners, 1145-1153) by Fujiwara Norikane (1107-1165), which is a glossary or dictionary collecting difficult words from poetry for use in new poems and arranging them with explanatory notes under various subject-headings, and *Godaishū utamakura* (Poetic Landmarks in Collections of Five Eras, bef. 1165) also by Fujiwara Norikane, which is a poetic dictionary focusing on poetic landmarks arranged according to the Chinese categories *ru*.

⁶⁷ For a comprehensive list of works of poetic criticism by Kiyosuke, out of which about one-third are no longer extant, see Nishimura 1997, 186-188.

commentaries. Moreover, I analyze three judgments by Kiyosuke that mention *Man'yōshū*, from two poetry contests:

- 1) *Nin'an ninen hachigatsu Taikō Taigōgū no suke Taira no Tsunemori ason no ie no uta'awase* (Poetry Contest at the Residence of Assistant to the Empress Dowager Taira no Tsunemori in the Eight Month, Second Year of the Nin'an Era, 1167/VIII);
- 2) *Angen gan'nen jūgatsu tōka Udaijin no ie no uta'awase* (Poetry Contest at the Residence of Minister of the Left on the Tenth Day of the Tenth Month in the First Year of the Angen Era, 1175/X/10).

Poetic treatises and handbooks of Fujiwara Kiyosuke are significant for the development of medieval Japanese poetry criticism, since such extensive annotations of poetry and information about poetic practice had scarcely existed before Kiyosuke's times. Thus, his works of poetry criticism were frequently used and quoted by many generations of later Japanese waka poets and scholars. Kiyosuke's poetry contests judgments are less numerous and thus perhaps less significant for the analysis. However, they are a manifestation of Kiyosuke's views about poetry criticism and his interpretation of the early medieval poetic discourse, so deserve consideration.

2.3.1 – *Man'yōshū* in *Ōgishō* (between 1124 and 1144)

Ōgishō contains 113 poems found in the *Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū* manuscripts. It has a section of old words (*furuki kotoba*) containing 33 *Man'yōshū* expressions and a section of *Man'yōshū* poetic place-names (*meisho*) containing 424 expressions.⁶⁸ Perhaps because *Ōgishō* is Kiyosuke's first poetic treatise, it has been researched quite extensively. It was, however, never annotated.

First, unlike any previous poetic treatises, not only does *Ōgishō* focus on poetic vocabulary, and not just lore about poetry, but it provides knowledge about poetry in a very

⁶⁸ *Ōgishō* is the first extant poetic treatise by Fujiwara Kiyosuke, created between 1124-1144. It was dedicated first to Emperor Sutoku and then Emperor Nijō, who was Kiyosuke's most significant patron. *Ōgishō*, written in the form of a poetic commentary, consists of three volumes with 645 poems from poetic collections beginning with *Man'yōshū* and ending with the fourth imperial collection, *Goshūi wakashū* (Later Collection of Gleanings, 1086). It is generally considered to be a significant poetic treatise, one which affected generations of waka poets and scholars. See Sasaki Nobutsuna, ed., *Ōgishō*, in *Nihon kagaku taikai* 1 (Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1957), 270-418.

organized manner, almost as if “in a package.” *Ōgishō* has a structure that provided a new format for future poetic treatises. In fact, I argue that with the compilation of *Ōgishō* the form and organization of poetic treatises started to gain importance. Moreover, more generally, this poetic commentary demonstrated exactly what knowledge about waka consisted of in the early medieval era, as well as what was necessary to know in order to compose poems skillfully. Besides, *Ōgishō* is the first extant poetic treatise that does not simply list poems but also gives specific waka expressions necessary for poetry composition, for example, in the sections of *furuki kotoba* or poetic place-names mentioned above. Such emphasis on poetic expressions will become more and more significant in later eras, not only in other works of Kiyosuke but also in one of Fujiwara Teika’s poetic manuals entitled *Godai kan’yō* (Overview of Five Eras, 1209).⁶⁹ Moreover, as noted by Terashima Shūichi, *Ōgishō* was the first poetic treatise that thoroughly annotated some of the *Man’yōshū* poems.⁷⁰ Generally, *Man’yōshū* is not presented in isolation in this poetic treatise. Kiyosuke treats the first collection of Japanese poetry in the context of Japan’s poetic past and tradition, which becomes a standard approach in all later works of *karon*, regardless of the school affiliation. One example is Shunzei’s *Korai fūteishō*, discussed in detail later on in this chapter. There are no separate volumes in the *Ōgishō* focusing on *Man’yōshū*, which emerges as a part of the “the antiquity” (*inisife*) and the base of “ancient poems” (*furu’uta* or *koka*).

About 17.5%, or 113, of the poems cited in *Ōgishō* are also present in *Nishi Honganji-bon Man’yōshū* manuscript. Based on my analysis of the data, the distribution of *Man’yōshū* poems in *Ōgishō* is as follows:

Vol.	No. of poems	Vol.	No. of poems	Vol.	No. of poems	Vol.	No. of poems
I	6	VI	1	XI	19	XVI	5
II	7	VII	8	XII	7	XVII	1
III	6	VIII	2	XIII	0	XVIII	2

⁶⁹ *Godai kan’yō* is a poetic handbook listing poems and lines from the five earliest waka collections: *Man’yōshū*, *Kokinshū*, *Gosenshū*, *Shūishū* and *Goshūishū*. It contains 840 lines from *Man’yōshū* poems. Kamijō Shōji, ed., *Godai kan’yō: Teika kagaku*, in Reizei-ke Shiguretei bunko sōsho 37 (Tōkyō: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1996), 5.

⁷⁰ Terashima 1995, 44.

IV	8	IX	4	XIV	8	XIX	4
V	5	X	14	XV	3	XX	3

The distribution of *Man'yōshū* poetry from various volumes in the collection likely reflects which *Man'yōshū* volumes were most popular, used, valued and annotated in the early medieval era. In fact, Volumes X and XI, from which *Ōgishō* cites the most poems, are the most frequently referred to in poetic treatises and poetry of the medieval era. Perhaps one reason for this is that the orthographic system of *Man'yōshū* poems from volumes X-XI is mostly semantographic.⁷¹ David Lurie has even described this feature as the “rejection of phonography.”⁷² The poems from those volumes were thus likely more of a puzzle to scholars, and thus subject to various interpretations and readings in the pre-*shinten* eras than volumes containing poems written in a phonographic spelling system.⁷³ Another reason for the prominence of Volumes X-XI in medieval treatises may be that the majority of their poems were also included in collections like *Akahitoshū* (Collection of Akahito, mid-Heian), *Kakinomoto Hitomaro kashū* (Private Collection of Kakinomoto Hitomaro, before 759) and *Yakamochishū* (Collection of Yakamochi, mid-Heian).⁷⁴

Based on my examination of the data, some of the 113 *Man'yōshū* poems included in *Ōgishō* appear in earlier poetic treatises and handbooks, such as *Kokinwaka rokujō* (53 poems), *Kigoshō* (32 poems), *Hitomaroshū* (28 poems), and *Toshiyori zuinō* (25 poems); the total number of poem does not add up to 113 but 138, since there are duplicates. The importance of *Toshiyori zuinō* and earlier poetic treatises as a source of *Man'yōshū* poetry for *Ōgishō* was pointed out by Terashima Shūichi. However, based on my research *Kokinwaka rokujō* was perhaps the most

⁷¹ Vovin, 8.

⁷² Lurie, 277.

⁷³ In fact, Vovin noted that most *Man'yōshū* volumes are written in semantographic or almost semantographic script. “In some books, like book ten, the semantographic script is so prevalent that it almost looks as though the poems are written in Classical Chinese, and not Old Japanese”. See *ibid.*, XV.

⁷⁴ *Akahitoshū* is a private collection of about 360 poems attributed to a famous *Man'yōshū* poet, Yamabe Akahito (early 8th c.), included in volume X of *Man'yōshū*. Poems attributed to Akahito in this mid-Heian private collection are marked as anonymous in our current version of *Man'yōshū*. *Kakinomoto Hitomaro kashū* (Private Collection of Kakinomoto Hitomaro), also known as *Hitomaro Kashū*, was a private collection containing poems by the famed *Man'yōshū* poet Kakinomoto Hitomaro. The collection does not exist nowadays and is preserved only in *Man'yōshū*. *Yakamochishū* is a private collection of about 320 poems attributed to the famous *Man'yōshū* poet and compiler, Ōtomo Yakamochi. The authorship of only about 20 poems are currently confirmed as composed by Yakamochi.

significant channel of *Man'yōshū* poetic examples for Kiyosuke's first treatise.⁷⁵ Thus, earlier examples of poetry criticism and other poetic collections are just as important a source of *Man'yōshū* poetry for *Ōgishō* as *Man'yōshū* itself.

In order to find out what sort of knowledge *Ōgishō* attempts to transmit about *Man'yōshū*, I look at some excerpts from this poetic treatise that deal with *Man'yōshū* poetry. *Man'yōshū* is first mentioned at the end of the *Ōgishō* preface, where it is explained that poetry collections have been compiled since the Nara period.⁷⁶ Then, in the section entitled “Flaws in Diction” (*kotoba no yamai no koto*), we find information about possible drawbacks of imitating poetic style or vocabulary of ancient poetry. At the end of the section we find appropriate poems for reference, which are 1) a *tanka* (short poem) by a renowned *Man'yōshū* poet named Sami Mansei (Nara period), included in *Man'yōshū* in volume III: 351; and 2) a poem by another *Man'yōshū* poet named Abe Nakamaro (706-764) that in fact does not appear in any of the *Man'yōshū* texts that we have access to today:

(...) and also, it is not desirable if poets take as a basis a poem composed a long time ago. With every character, one ought to compose something original. Even so, it would be undesirable to assume that they do not teach us anything about poetic composition. Still, there are cases of poems being inspired by lines in the Buddhist and Confucian classics, old Chinese and Japanese poems, and tales (*monogatari*). In the case of using old poetry and tales for inspiration, poets should not compose about them if they are not the sort of old works that most people might be expected to know. Even if it is something one knows oneself, if other people do not recognize it, it is not of much use. Likewise, although it is fashionable to compose in the style of the ancients and it may work for some people, it does not work for everyone, so again, there is no point in it. Here are some good poems from the past:

<i>yo no naka wo</i>	To what will I compare
<i>nani ni tatofemu</i>	This world?
<i>asaborake</i>	To the white waves
<i>kogiyuku fune no</i>	Left behind a boat
<i>ato no siranami</i>	Rowing away at dawn.

⁷⁵ Terashima 1995, 49; Terashima Shūichi, “*Ōgishō* no chūsetsu no keisei – *Toshiyori zuinō* to no kakawari kara,” in *Mukogawa Joshidaigaku bungakubu gojūsshūnen kinenronbunshū* (Ōsaka: Izumi Shoin, 1999), 62-63; Terashima Shūichi, “*Ōgishō* to *Toshiyori zuinō* – Kiyosuke no chojutsu taido nitsuite,” *Mukogawa bungaku* 50, no. 12 (1997): 49.

⁷⁶ Sasaki 1957, ed., 272.

<i>ama no fara</i> <i>furisake mireba</i> <i>kasuga naru</i> <i>mikasa no yama ni</i> <i>idesi tuki kamo</i>	When I gaze out Far into the vast sky, It is the very moon That has emerged behind Mt. Mikasa At Kasuga. ⁷⁷
--	--

This excerpt of *Ōgishō* clearly echoes the following section from Fujiwara Kintō's *Shinsen zuinō*, for example he even uses the same poems to demonstrate his idea of “appropriate themes” when one is using old poems as inspiration in their own compositions:

Approach each word in an original manner. It is obvious this is the principle when we compose poetry with a reference to an on old poem. Even if poets think they mastered this technique, it is meaningless if other people do not recognize the references. Some poets fancy the old style and use it to fit the modern trends. But even if such poets think they have composed something of high quality, it does not feel like that at all and ends up being thoughtless and disappointing.⁷⁸

We see that Kiyosuke's *Ōgishō* and Kintō's *Shinsen zuinō* take a similar stance toward the use of old poems and vocabulary. Both excerpts state that there is not much value in appropriating poems less known to the waka public; instead, poets should use well-known lines and expressions that may be immediately recognized by the readers. However, both poets are aware of the new trends in the waka composition practice, when poets do borrow unknown vocabulary and lines from old poetry. There is, however, one distinctive difference in Kiyosuke's *Ōgishō* as quoted above – Kiyosuke mentions not only old poems but also old tales (*monogatari*) as possible sources of inspiration. Introducing tales into the poetic discourse shows that Kiyosuke was much very aware of the poetic significance of tales, and it is not impossible that the Mikohidari poets, starting with Shunzei, picked this idea up from Kiyosuke. In fact, the Shiguretei Library owned by the Reizei house, which descends from the Mikohidari, has the

⁷⁷ Mikasayama is in waka an *utamakura* (poetic place name) associated with Nara and the Kasuga Plain. *Kasuga* is in waka a symbol of Nara, which was Japan's first fixed capital in 710-784. See Sasaki 1957, ed., 290; Appendix 1, 1.1. *Ōgishō* 1.

⁷⁸ Hisamatsu, ed., 29; Appendix 1, 1.2. *Shinsen zuinō*.

second volume of *Ōgishō* in its possession. We can thus assume that the Mikohidari poets, and possibly Shunzei, had access to this poetic treatise, studied and learned from it.

Regarding the two poems that appear in a set in *Ōgishō*, they are also presented next to each other in Kintō's *Shinsen zuinō*.⁷⁹ Nakamaro's poem appears earliest in *Kokinshū* (#406). Whether the poems are from *Man'yōshū* or not does not seem so significant. It is, however, important that those are two poems highly valued by Kintō, described as "excellent themes for *uta*" in *Shinsen zuinō* by two *Man'yōshū* poets.⁸⁰ It is also clear that Kiyosuke follows Kintō's opinion on this. Moreover, we see that the concept of "old poems" (*furu'uta* or *koka*) did not necessarily designate poems exclusively from *Man'yōshū*; it also includes waka by ancient poets, whose poetry appears in the *Man'yōshū* manuscripts and secondary sources, as well as poetic composition from other earlier poetic collections, tales, etc. Thus, the term "old poems" in medieval poetic treatises generally referred to literary masterpieces of the past.⁸¹

Man'yōshū poems are subsequently brought up in the first volume of *Ōgishō* in the section of "Plagiarizing Old Poems as Proof-poems" (*tōkoka no shōka*), which provides advice on how to utilize old poetry in one's own compositions. Along with poetic examples from many other collections, such as *Kokinshū*, *Gosen wakashū* (Later Collection of Japanese Poetry, 951), *Shūi wakashū* (Collection of Gleanings, 1005-1007), *Kin'yō wakashū* (Collection of Golden Leaves, 1124-1127), or *Kokinwaka rokujō*, this section also contains five poems designated as *Man'yōshū* compositions. However, none of those "five *Man'yōshū* poems" can be found in the *Nishi Honganji-bon* or any other extant *Man'yōshū* manuscripts, which suggests that the *Man'yōshū* manuscript Kiyosuke consulted when writing *Ōgishō* included more, or different, poems than any of the currently extant manuscripts of the collection. The five poems do, however, appear in *Kokinwaka rokujō*, raising the possibility that Kiyosuke used secondary sources, including *Kokinwaka rokujō*, instead of any *Man'yōshū* manuscripts.⁸² In short, what we today perceive as "the *Man'yōshū*" may not have been the same text in the early medieval era.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 27.

⁸⁰ Nicholas J. Teele, "Rules for Poetic Elegance. Fujiwara no Kinto's *Shinsen Zuino* & *Waka Kuhon*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 31, no. 2 (1976): 156.

⁸¹ Satō Akihiro pointed out that the concept of *furu'uta* is present in poetry criticism from the *insei* period. See Satō Akihiro, "Uta'awase ni okeru 'furu'uta nari' o megutte," *Ōsaka Daigaku kokugo kokubungaku* 80-81, no. 2 (2004): 43-52.

⁸² We find something similar at the end of *Ōgishō*'s third volume in a section entitled *Gekan'yo mondō* (Dialogues Appended to the Last Volume), written in the form of question and answer about poetic expressions, where about

Even though Kiyosuke acknowledged that alluding to ancient poems is not a practice appropriate for all poets, *Ōgishō* suggests that he did not completely discourage references to old poems:

Even though poets should not write poetry in the spirit of old songs, all who compose poems frequently inevitably make use of them. If one wishes to make one's name as a poet, one ought not to hesitate to refer to old poems that are not necessarily well-known. There are also poems being composed in which the poet takes more than half from the original poem. That is a questionable practice.⁸³

Watanabe Yasuaki notes the section quoted above is Kiyosuke's admission that it is acceptable to refer to earlier poetry, which puts him at odds with Fujiwara Kintō and Minamoto Toshiyori, who criticized and warned against the practice of "poetic stealing" in their poetic treatises, *Shinsen zuinō* and *Toshiyori zuinō* respectively.⁸⁴ Such change in view on appropriating old poems was surely a big step forward in the poetic tradition towards the later practice of *honkadōri*, defined and codified by Fujiwara Shunzei and his son, Fujiwara Teika. As Bialock points out, during the late Heian period the issue of poetic borrowing was still a problematic matter causing poets a lot of frustration.⁸⁵ However, it is evident Kiyosuke approved of what appears to be a common practice of referring to old poems, even though he was not fond of taking too much from the original poem. Thus, Kiyosuke seems to have been a more innovative waka theoretician than he is commonly given credit for.

Moreover, at the end of the first volume of *Ōgishō* there is a section containing 48 annotated poems supposedly from *Man'yōshū*.⁸⁶ However, like the examples cited above, not all of them are included in any of the extant *Man'yōshū* manuscripts.⁸⁷ Among those 48 poems, we find verses from the second extant Japanese chronicle entitled *Nihonshoki* (Chronicles of Japan, 720), *Ise monogatari*, *Wakan rōeishū* (Collection of Japanese and Chinese Poems for Recitation,

half of the questions (24 in total) refer to *Man'yōshū* vocabulary. In this section, too, some of the poems that *Ōgishō* labels as "*Man'yōshū* poems," appear at earliest in *Kokinwaka rokujō*.

⁸³ Sasaki 1957, ed., 294-295; Appendix 1, 1.3. *Ōgishō* 2.

⁸⁴ Teele, 158, 164; Bialock, 184. Watanabe 1995, 81-82. Watanabe Yasuaki, *Chūsei waka shiron* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 2017), 161-182.

⁸⁵ Bialock, 187.

⁸⁶ Sasaki 1957, ed., 339-361.

⁸⁷ Sasaki Nobutsuna and Katagiri Yōichi have both noted this phenomenon in their discussion of this section of *Ōgishō*. See Sasaki 1942, 20, and Katagiri Yōichi, "Chūsei *Man'yō* gika to sono shūhen," *Man'yō* 126, no. 7 (1987): 1-9.

fl. 1013-1018), the *setsuwa* collection *Konjaku monogatari* (Collection of Tales from the Past and Present, 11th century), and *Shinkokinshū*. In fact, only 26 of the 48 poems appear in various *Man'yōshū* texts known to us today.⁸⁸ This suggests that Kiyosuke's perception of *Man'yōshū*, along with what were “*Man'yōshū* poems” in the early medieval era, might have been quite different and probably broader from what we today consider to be “*Man'yōshū* poems” based on the *Nishi Honganji-bon* manuscript. In fact, we should consider the possibility that in the medieval period the term “*Man'yōshū*” was conflated and used interchangeably with the notion of “poems from the *Man'yōshū* era.” What the medieval poets were drawn by was an ancient poetic discourse and vocabulary. They did not treat their manuscripts with the same manner as we do nowadays, when a poem may be only called “a *Man'yōshū* poem” if it is included in the *Nishi Honganji-bon*. Our contemporary obsession with establishing and being able to refer to stable, definitive texts is a limitation to our understanding for an era when texts were spaces of constant negotiation and change, thus interfering with our ability to understand the medieval perception of Japanese antiquity.

The second volume of *Ōgishō* contains lengthy annotations of poems from various earlier collections, including *Man'yōshū*. The annotations of *Man'yōshū* poems mainly attempt to explain the meaning of words or poetic situations that might have been less familiar to the poets of Kiyosuke's era. Explanations are quite detailed and indicated Kiyosuke's meticulous, one could even say scholarly, approach towards the interpretation of *Man'yōshū* poetry, which was original for late Heian period poetry criticism. In fact, we do not know of any earlier poetic commentaries that would provide the early medieval public with such detailed and extensive information about waka, including *Man'yōshū* poetry. Such extensive annotations of poems signify that *Ōgishō* was intended to show off Kiyosuke's comprehensive knowledge about ancient poetry in general, and *Man'yōshū* in particular, as a means to attract the attention of poetic patrons. The Rokujō school's leader shared a considerable amount of expertise on poetry in writing that had been transmitted to him orally. Such knowledge might not have been widely circulated in the medieval poetic circles, thus it likely contributed new material to the early medieval poetic discourse on this poetic collection.

⁸⁸ *Wakan rōeishū* is a collection compiled by Fujiwara Kintō. It consists of about 800 poems, which are parts of Chinese poems written by the Chinese (mostly the Tang poetry), *kanshi* – Chinese poetry composed by the Japanese, and waka.

2.3.2 – *Man'yōshū* in *Fukurozōshi* (1157)

Fukurozōshi is another poetic treatise by Fujiwara Kiyosuke. It was written in 1157-1158, more than a decade after *Ōgishō*, and it was dedicated to Emperor Nijō. It consists of two volumes containing 851 poems, out of which 179, based on my analysis of the data, are also found in the *Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū* manuscript. The first volume, written around 1157, provides various tales about waka, while the second volume, finished in 1158, deals specifically with issues related to poetry contests. The structure of both of the *Fukurozōshi* volumes is fixed and similar – first we find a discussion about a given issue and then there are poems providing evidence for Kiyosuke's points.

Scholars believe *Fukurozōshi* to be one of the most significant sources of information about the poetic waka tradition and practices in the early medieval period. Rosalee Bundy has correctly argued that the treatise represents what was important to the Rokujō school.⁸⁹ I argue it is above all an important document for the history of Japanese poetry criticism, demonstrating how Kiyosuke participated in and interpreted the early medieval waka discourse. We should not forget that Kiyosuke's opinions on waka are not necessarily representative of the whole Rokujō school, since a cursory look at Kenshō's poetry criticism shows how different it is from Kiyosuke's work, for example regarding *Man'yōshū* compilation.⁹⁰ This implies that the interpretation of the waka discourse varied as much from poet to poet as from school to school. We should also remember that Kiyosuke's position in the poetic world when he wrote *Fukurozōshi* was very different from the one he had when he compiled *Ōgishō*. In 1157, he was already the leader of the Rokujō school and, besides *Ōgishō*, he already had written one poetic handbook – *Waka ichijishō*, discussed in detail further on in this chapter.

Fukurozōshi is shorter than *Ōgishō*. It is also written in *hentai kambun* (a hybrid form of literary Japanese combining both Chinese and Japanese elements), not Classical Japanese, and it deals with different issues regarding Japanese poetry than *Ōgishō* did. It does not provide any information about *Man'yōshū*'s poetics or vocabulary, even though it contains numerous poetic examples from the collection. Those poems are, however, neither annotated nor extensively discussed, and they are utilized only as proof-poems (*shōka*). It almost seems that *Fukurozōshi*

⁸⁹ Bundy 2010, 5-7.

⁹⁰ Kyūsojin 1980, ed., 51.

covered issues that were not discussed at all in *Ōgishō* and likely filled in a gap about what should have been known about *Man'yōshū* to waka poets during the late Heian period. Thus, we may assume that Kiyosuke's purpose in writing *Fukurozōshi* was probably quite different from that of *Ōgishō*. As noted by Ashida Kōichi, *Fukurozōshi* appears to have been compiled as a kind of concise encyclopedia of waka, containing information necessary to discuss various issues about Japanese poetry, which poets could carry around and use at poetic events like poetry contests.⁹¹ *Fukurozōshi* was thus likely not meant for long reading or study but for ad hoc search in case one needed to use a poem or discuss some issues regarding waka. This suggests that Kiyosuke, even more than in the case of *Ōgishō*, wished to appeal to various poets and establish his *karon* as ultimate texts of reference regarding the waka practice. I see this as a process of textualizing certain aspects of oral teachings previously available only to the Rokujō poets, with a purpose of attracting potential patrons and students, and ultimately confirming the leading position of the Rokujō school.

Fukurozōshi has been researched quite extensively. It is also the only poetic treatise of Kiyosuke's that has been fully annotated – for the first time in the 1970's and then again in 1995 by Fujioka Tadaharu, when it was included in a separate volume of the *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai* (New Compendium of Premodern Japanese Literature).⁹² There have been many scholarly papers published on this poetic treatise. They focus mainly on its similarities with *Toshiyori zuinō* but also emphasize that *Fukurozōshi* contains a lot of information about waka that may not be found in any other earlier poetic treatises.⁹³ Other scholarly publications deal with issues not directly related to the topic of this dissertation.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Ashida Kōichi, “*Fukurozōshi* chojutsu ito ni kan suru ikkōsatsu,” *Shimane Daigaku hōbun gakubu Kiyō*. *Bungaku kahen* 3 no. 1 (1980): 75.

⁹² Fujioka Tadaharu, ed. *Fukurozōshi*, in *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 29 (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1995). For all my translations of *Fukurozōshi* in this dissertation, I use Fujioka's annotated version, which provides the original text in Classical Japanese, not *hentai kambun*.

⁹³ Terashima Shūichi, “Kiyosuke no kagaku to *Toshiyori zuinō* – *Fukurozōshi* o chūshin ni,” in *Ōsaka Shiritsu Daigaku bungakubu sōritsu gojūssūnen kinen kokugo kokubungaku ronshū* (Ōsaka: Izumi Shoin, 1999), 227-249.

⁹⁴ Kuranaka Sayaka focused on Kiyosuke's definition of *furuki kotoba* as seen in *Fukurozōshi*. See Kuranaka Sayaka, “*Furuki kotoba e no izanai* – *Waka ichijishō*, *Fukurozōshi* shōka o megutte,” in *Kodai chūsei wakabugaku no kenkyū*, ed. Tadaharu Fujioka (Ōsaka: Izumi Shoin, 2003), 219-235. Moriyama Shigeru dealt with the poetic tales included in this poetic treatise. See Moriyama Shigeru. “*Karon to setsuwa* – *Ōgishō* to *Fukurozōshi* to o taishō ni.” *Onomichi Daigaku geijutsubunka gakubu kiyō* 1, no. 3 (2002): 12-22. Earlier on, Ashida Kōichi emphasized the significance of *Fukurozōshi* for the compilation of never-to-be an imperial collection *Shokushikashū*. See Ashida Kōichi, “*Shokushika wakashū senshū no tame*

As noted above, *Fukurozōshi* includes 179 poems present in the *Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū*, which constitutes 21% of all poems in the treatise. Based on my examination of the data, the breakdown of cited poems by *Man'yōshū* volume is as follows:

Vol.	No. of poems	Vol.	No. of poems	Vol.	No. of poems	Vol.	No. of poems
I	3	VI	0	XI	15	XVI	2
II	11	VII	13	XII	9	XVII	4
III	13	VIII	16	XIII	4	XVIII	1
IV	18	IX	7	XIV	11	XIX	4
V	6	X	26	XV	8	XX	6

We see that the distribution of *Man'yōshū* poetry in *Fukurozōshi* volume by volume is a little bit different than in *Ōgisho* but there are also some similarities in this regard. First, like *Ōgisho*, poems from volumes X and XI (in this case especially volume X) are among the most frequently used ones, which confirms their popularity in the early medieval era. Poems in those volumes are written mainly semantographically, while their authorship was, in the late Heian period, attributed to poets like Kakinomoto Hitomaro, Yamabe Akahito (early 8th c.) and Ōtomo Yakamochi. This consistency confirms which *Man'yōshū* poems were objects of particular interest in the early medieval era. Aside from volume VIII, which was not significant in *Ōgisho*, volumes IV, VII and XIV appear to be equally important in *Fukurozōshi* as in *Ōgisho*.

Moreover, many of the 179 *Man'yōshū* poems included in *Fukurozōshi* appear in earlier poetic treatises, handbooks and collections, most notably *Kokinwaka rokujō*, in which, based on my analysis of the data, 73 of *Fukurozōshi*'s *Man'yōshū* poems can also be found.

Unquestionably, *Fukurozōshi* is a work strongly connected to earlier poetic treatises and handbooks. However, in comparison to *Ōgishō*, we observe some differences in *Fukurozōshi*'s

Fukurozōshi," *Shimadai kokubun* 19, no. 11 (1990): 43-53; and did some research on Rokujō's school relationship to the Ōnakatomi family, which was an ancient noble clan responsible for the imperial rites. See Ashida Kōichi. "Fukurozōshi ni mieru Ōnakatomi ie o megutte – Rokujō tōke to Ōnakatomi ie." *Shimane Daigaku hōbun gakubu kiyō*. *Bungaku Kahen* 8, no. 1 (1985): 1-16. Murata Masahiro noted its "influence" on Sengaku's *Man'yōshū chūshaku* (Annotation of *Man'yōshū*, ca. 1269), the first extant comprehensive annotative work on *Man'yōshū*. See Murata Masahiro, "Sengaku *Man'yōshū chūshaku* no keisei – Kiyosuke *Fukurozōshi* to no kakawari o megutte," in *Manyō gakuō*, ed. Haku Itō (Tōkyō: Hanawa Shobō, 1996), 351-373.

relationship to earlier poetic treatises and handbooks regarding its treatment of *Man'yōshū* poems. The strongest connection still appears to be maintained to *Kokinwaka rokujō* but the significance of *Kigoshō* and *Toshiyori zuinō* has decreased. On the other hand, we see that *Fukurozōshi* is strongly linked to *Waka ichijishō* which is Kiyosuke's first poetic handbook, since, based on my research, 63 out of 71 *Man'yōshū* poems included in *Waka ichijishō* also appear in *Fukurozōshi*. Simultaneously, 43 out of 179 *Man'yōshū* poems (that is 24%) in *Fukurozōshi* do not appear in any extant earlier works of poetry criticism or imperial and private poetic collections. So, this poetic treatise was also an attempt to add more poems to the tradition of Japanese poetry criticism, thus pushing the boundaries of the early medieval poetic discourse.

Fukurozōshi provides information about completely different issues regarding *Man'yōshū* than *Ōgishō*, for example its compilation period, its status as an imperial collection, its various manuscripts, *Man'yōshū* poems included in other collections, etc. The subject of *Man'yōshū* first appears in *Fukurozōshi* quite early in its first volume and it is brought up in a discussion about *Man'yōshū*'s compilation period:

1. Detailed information about old collections

Man'yōshū: 4,313 poems, 259 *chōka* among those. However, various manuscripts are not identical and it is difficult to determine the exact number of poems.

It is generally believed that the collection was compiled in the Daidō era [806-810]. Was it then commissioned by the Nara Emperor [Heizei], or is this an extraordinary mistake?⁹⁵ During the Daidō era, Emperors Shōmu and Kanmu were named Heizei.⁹⁶ According to the *National histories*.⁹⁷ However, at the end of the Daidō era their names were already engraved on imperial tombs. The *Kokinshū* preface says: 'tens of ages elapsed and many hundred years passed.' This matches the reign of Kanmu [781-806]. However, there are many doubts about that.

One of them is that in the collection we do not find references to any dates after the third year of the [Tenpyō] Hōji era [759]. Another issue is that there are no records of Yakamochi's official positions after the Tenpyō Shōhō era [749-757].⁹⁸ He appears only

⁹⁵ In his annotation of *Fukurozōshi*, Fujioka Tadaharu claims that the Nara Emperor refers to Emperor Heizei (773-824), who reigned in 806-809. See Fujioka 1995, ed., 36.

⁹⁶ Shōmu (701-756) was the 45th sovereign emperor according to the traditional count, which includes several legendary emperors. He reigned in 724-749. Kanmu (737-806) was the 50th sovereign emperor according to the traditional count. He reigned in 781-806.

⁹⁷ Text appearing in my translations in a smaller font is, in the annotated edition of the *Fukurozōshi*, marked as added to the main text by a later copyist. "National Histories" (*Kokushi*, 901) refers to *Rikkokushi*, which is a general term for Japan's six national histories chronicling the mythology and history of Japan from the earliest times to 887. The six histories were written at the imperial court during the 8-9th centuries under order of the Emperors.

⁹⁸ Tadaharu Fujioka claims that there is a mistake here, and that it refers to 758. See Fujioka 1995, ed., 36.

as a Palace Attendant, Governor of the Etchū Province, Senior Assistant Minister of the Military, Lesser Counselor and Middle Controller of the Left. There are also none of his poems after he became a Senior Noble.⁹⁹

Yet another issue is about what *Kokinshū* says: ‘during the Jōgan era [859-877] the Emperor [Seiwa] asked about the time of *Man’yōshū* compilation.’ Fun’ya Arisue replied: ‘it is an ancient collection compiled in the Nara Capital.’¹⁰⁰ Again, during the time of the Nonomiya Poetry Contest [972], Minamoto Shitagō asserted: ‘it is a collection of the Nara Capital when people composed old poems.’¹⁰¹

However, it was Emperor Kanmu who moved the capital city.¹⁰² Thus, if the collection was compiled at the Heian Court, it would not have been named ‘the old collection of the Nara Capital.’ Moreover, the move of the capital to Nagaoka on the Eleventh Day of the First Month in the Third Year of the Enryaku Era [784] is notable in the *National Histories*. One or two years before the capital transfer, there was no time to compile an anthology of Japanese poetry. Also, we do not have any poems by this Emperor [Kanmu].¹⁰³ There are so many uncertainties regarding this matter.¹⁰⁴

This passage from *Fukurozōshi* is crucial for understanding how the poets of the late Heian period, including Kiyosuke, perceived *Man’yōshū*. Firstly, we see that the *Man’yōshū* poem count of 4,313 that *Fukurozōshi* gives differs from the number of poems currently recognized by scholars based on *Nishi Honganji-bon Man’yōshū* (4,516). Secondly, *Fukurozōshi* acknowledged the existence of numerous *Man’yōshū* manuscripts, which implies Kiyosuke’s awareness of textual fluidity.¹⁰⁵ The number of poems Kiyosuke assigns to *Man’yōshū* (4,313)

⁹⁹ Palace Attendant (*Udoneri*) was a minor functionary in the Ministry of Central Affairs, chosen during the Nara period among junior members of leading families, but later drawn from among men in the service of the great houses. Etchū was an old province in central Honshū (currently Toyama Prefecture). Senior Assistant Minister of the Military (*Hyōbu no tayū*) was the second most important position of the Ministry of the Military (*Hyōbushō*). “Lesser Counselor” (*Shōnagon*) was the lowest position in the Great Council of State (*Daijōkan*). “Middle Controller of the Left” (*Sachūben*) was a position through which the Minister of the Left (*Sadaijin*) controlled various departments in the government. “Senior Noble” (*kugyō*) refers to aristocrats of the third or higher rank.

¹⁰⁰ Fun’ya Arisue (late 9th c.) was a poet of the pre-*Kokinshū* period, who had only one poem included in the *Kokinshū*. Not much is known about his life.

¹⁰¹ *Nonomiya uta’awase* (Nonomiya Poetry Contest) or *Kishi Naishinnō senzai uta’awase* (The Garden Poetry Contest of Imperial Princess Kishi, 972) was a poetic event organized by the fourth daughter of Emperor Murakami (926-967) – Imperial Princess Kishi. Minamoto Shitagō, one of the five scholars from the *Nashitsubo*, who added the first glossing (*koten*) to *Man’yōshū* and compiled the second imperial collection, *Gosenshū*, was a judge of this contest.

¹⁰² The capital was moved from Nara to Nagaoka in 784, which corresponds to Emperor Kanmu’s reign – 781-806.

¹⁰³ Fujioka Tadaharu argues that this is a mistake and that Kanmu’s poems are found in *Ruijū kokushi* (Classified Collection of National History, 892) and *Nihongiryaku* (Concise Chronicles of Japan, 1036). See Fujioka 1995, ed., 37.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 35-36; Appendix 1, 1.4. *Fukurozōshi* 1.

¹⁰⁵ There is a theory that the most popular *Man’yōshū* manuscripts during the Heian and Kamakura periods were missing the last 90 poems in volume XX, allegedly because Emperor Shōmu, who in the medieval era was believed to have ordered the compilation of *Man’yōshū*, possessed a *Man’yōshū* manuscripts missing the last 90 poems. For

was presumably based on a manuscript that he possessed or had most respect for.¹⁰⁶ In fact, I think that Kiyosuke revealed the number of poems in his own *Man'yōshū* text because he wanted to position himself as an expert on the collection, advertise which manuscript he had and studied, and possibly establish it as a standard to follow. Moreover, if Kiyosuke did indeed possess a *Man'yōshū* copy containing only 4,313 poems, it means that the collection must have undergone a process of reconsideration, and that poems were added rather than excluded, and even possibly replaced in the following eras.¹⁰⁷

Clearly, in the late Heian period there was not yet any agreement on the number of poems in *Man'yōshū*.¹⁰⁸ The collection existed in a form of multiple manuscripts of different shapes and there was no one definitive *Man'yōshū* text. Such acceptance of textual fluidity significantly differs from our contemporary stance, which is largely based on an urge to stabilize the canonized texts, and on the assumption that we can reconstruct the “original.” This calls to mind the *nō* play about *Soshi Arai Komachi*, mentioned in Chapter 1, where Ōtomo no Kuronushi decided to add Komachi’s poem to a *Man'yōshū* manuscript. The *nō* play presents us with peculiar lightheartedness in the treatment of ancient texts in the medieval era, absent from the contemporary period, and thus suggests that textual instability was an accepted feature of various manuscripts.

Textual instability is an undeniable feature of poetic collections in medieval Japan. However, I argue that early medieval poets, like Kiyosuke and Shunzei, and later Teika, all wanted to claim their own manuscripts as the most legitimate ones. The fact that there were various theories about *Man'yōshū*, the number of its poems and circumstances of its compilation, shows that early medieval poets-scholars were not only engaging with the already established discourse and with one another, but also that they somehow wished to recapture what had

more, see Terashima Shūichi, “Kadōka to *Man'yōshū* no denrai,” in *Ōchō bungaku no honshitsu to hen'yō*, ed. Yōichi Katagiri (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 2001), 483-501.

¹⁰⁶ Inoue Muneo claimed that Kiyosuke did not make a copy of *Man'yōshū* himself, even though he was one of the poets who produced the second glossing *jiten*. Kiyosuke’s father, Akisuke, and one of his younger half-brothers Shigeie, apparently copied *Man'yōshū*. Kiyosuke is believed to have copied, among other collections, *Kokinshū* and *Gosenshū*. See Inoue 1957, 53.

¹⁰⁷ Some Japanese scholars argue that Kiyosuke may have been using *Ruijū koshū*, which was very popular during the late Heian period. See Meigetsuki Kenkyūkaihen, “Meigetsuki (Kangī ninen shichigatsu) o yomu,” *Meigetsuki kenkyū: kiroku to bungaku* 6, no. 11 (2001): 45-46.

¹⁰⁸ Interestingly, though the number of *tanka* in *Man'yōshū* varied significantly from text to text, the number of *chōka* cited in *Fukurozōshi* (259) is not appreciably different from the currently recognized number of 263. For more information, see Vovin, 3-10.

already been lost about this poetic collection. By collecting, copying, editing and correcting, studying and teaching about various literary works and their manuscripts, the poets were in fact trying to stabilize their own lines of knowledge transmission as the most legitimate ones. This process was started by the Rokujō poets, who failed to achieve their goal and establish their texts as definitive, and continued by Shunzei and Teika, who, in my opinion, succeeded in stabilizing the Mikohidari manuscripts of various literary works as the most reliable, thus already creating for us a considerable part of the premodern Japanese literary canon. In fact, what Haruo Shirane has named as “inventing the classics” should be called “reinventing the classics,” as the Meiji period process of canon formation was based largely on Teika’s texts. This topic is far too broad to explore in this dissertation, but it provides us with a bigger picture and explains why scholars search for definitive texts. The trust in the Mikohidari school’s line of texts continues to be so strong that it seems safe to assume that had their *Man’yōshū* manuscript survived to date, it would have been long agreed on as the most trustworthy copy of the collection. Instead, we are today presented with “the *Man’yōshū*” in the form of the *Nishi Honganji-bon* manuscript.

Though Kiyosuke did not present us with any conclusive answers about the time of *Man’yōshū* compilation, its commissioner or compiler, *Fukurozōshi* discusses *Man’yōshū* compilation facts thoroughly. None of the extant earlier poetic treatises do that, which again suggests that Kiyosuke was textualizing a part of oral teachings transmitted within the Rokujō school. Moreover, we see that unlike today when we consider *Man’yōshū* as a private collection, Kiyosuke, and likely other poets of the early medieval era, believed that *Man’yōshū* was an imperially commissioned anthology. In fact, *Fukurozōshi* was the first extant poetic treatise that explicitly argued for and validated the imperial status of *Man’yōshū* by attempting to demonstrate that it had been compiled on Emperor Shōmu’s (701-756) order. Torquil Duthie has pointed out that it was Fujiwara Teika who first voiced an idea about *Man’yōshū* as not an imperial but a private collection. The reasons for Teika’s claim are not clear and were likely not motivated by any new findings.¹⁰⁹ However, Teika undeniably redefined many concepts in the art of waka, and regardless of whether he attempted to diminish *Man’yōshū*’s significance for some reason or not, his opinion has undeniably influenced generations of waka poets and scholars.

¹⁰⁹ Duthie, 168.

What we have so far confirmed in *Fukurozōshi* is that by the late Heian period, much information about *Man'yōshū* compilation was lost. The lack of definitive knowledge about the first waka anthology caused various poets to do research, look for answers and speculate on multiple issues that they were not certain about. Such absence of fixed answers about *Man'yōshū* made it an attractive subject to raise in poetic commentaries, and to disagree about with other poets. That is likely why *Man'yōshū* was a convenient ground for various schools' leaders to show off their knowledge and research skills.

In fact, the next part of *Fukurozōshi* raises the issue of when *Man'yōshū* was compiled, and argues that, despite some earlier tales, the collection was probably not compiled during the reigns of Emperors Heizei (773-824) and Kanmu (737-806). Kiyosuke attempts to provide a solution to the question on the timing of *Man'yōshū* compilation and claims that *Man'yōshū* is an imperial collection ordered by Emperor Shōmu:

As I think it over, I realize it is a collection compiled at Shōmu's order. It is because the preface to *Kokinshū* says that during this Emperor's reign Japanese poetry was first composed on a wide scale. Since then Japanese poetry has been composed by the Emperors themselves. The first fact: In the same preface, it also says that *Man'yōshū* was compiled during the time of the Nara Emperor which corresponds to Hitomaro's time. Now, the reign of Kanmu [781-806] does not match with Hitomaro's lifespan. If we count the years, Hitomaro would have been nearly 160 if it were true.¹¹⁰ Consequently, Hitomaro poems composed shortly before his own death are included in the collection.¹¹¹ The second fact: Also, it states in *Kōdaiki* that on the fourteenth day of the first month of the first year of the Tenpyō era [729], various poems were performed for the Emperor.¹¹² The third fact: However, poems from the second, third and eighth years of the Tenpyō Shōhō era [750, 751 and 756] are included in *Kōdaiki*, just as they are also in *Man'yōshū*. Perhaps the collection was compiled at a request of the then Retired Emperor [Shōmu] during the reign of Empress Kōken [749 -758].¹¹³ Just like the *Kin'yōshū* and *Shikashū*.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Fujioka Tadaharu argues that this refers to the fact that at the time of Emperor Kanmu's abdication in 806, Hitomaro would have to have been 150 or 160 years old. See Fujioka 1995, ed., 37.

¹¹¹ Fujioka asserts that this refers to the poems from *Man'yōshū* volume II: 223-225, which are poems to his (Hitomaro's) wife. See *ibid*.

¹¹² *Kōdaiki* (Chronicle of Imperial Reigns) is a chronicle of imperial reigns that was updated throughout the late Heian and Kamakura periods. The oldest extant version starts with Emperor Sanjō (1011-1016). The version Kiyosuke refers to seems to be lost.

¹¹³ Empress Kōken (718-770), also known as Empress Shōtoku, was the 46th and the 48th ruler of Japan according to the traditional order of succession. Empress Kōken first reigned in 749-758, then she re-ascended the throne as Empress Shōtoku in 765-770. She was Emperor's Shōmu's daughter.

¹¹⁴ Both the fifth and sixth imperial collections, *Kin'yōshū* and *Shikashū*, were ordered by Retired Emperors – Shirakawa and Sutoku respectively.

Also, perhaps it is the oft-repeated mistake that in the collection there are poems from three years between the first and third year of the Tenpyō Hōji era [757-759].¹¹⁵ Thus, one may assume that the collection was commissioned by Shōmu. Nevertheless, it is difficult to ignore the expression “ten reigns” found in the *Kokinshū* preface.¹¹⁶ However, in formal writing it is a practice to round off large numbers, either up or down, so I wonder whether they are not just rounding down when they say, “ten reigns,” leaving off a few years. Likewise, in the same preface it states: ‘There are only two or three geniuses that nowadays possess knowledge about poetry and old matters,’ yet there are six people mentioned.¹¹⁷ And even though *Kokinshū* is said to be “a thousand poems in twenty volumes,” in fact it contains 1,090 poems. In formal writing style, then, numbers are not always exact, so perhaps ‘ten generations’ is just a mistakenly literal interpretation of the Chinese characters.

Regarding the compiler, it is believed to be either the Tachibana Minister or Yakamochi.¹¹⁸ Since the aforesaid Minister is reported to have deceased in the first year of the Tenpyō Hōji era [757], if the collection was of Kanmu’s reign [781-806], the compiler could not have been the Tachibana Minister. It is also said that Yakamochi passed away in a rebellion in the fourth year of the Enryaku era [785]. It is doubtful that an order to compile an imperial collection was made before the capital was transferred from Nara to Nagaoka. Thus, there is even more reason to assume that it is a compilation of Shōmu.

Nevertheless, someone said: ‘Just as it is stated in the *Tale of Yotsugi* – Minister Moroe was ordered to compile *Man’yōshū* during the reign of Empress Takano.’¹¹⁹ Does Takano refer to Empress Kōken? If yes, it fits my foolish argument. Was it compiled by order of Retired Emperor Shōmu during the reign of Empress Kōken? I will have to think about it more after examining that text [*Tale of Yotsugi*].¹²⁰

This part of *Fukurozōshi* provides an explanation about the circumstances of *Man’yōshū*’s compilation based on information from literary and historical sources available to Kiyosuke. It basically validates the opinion that *Man’yōshū* was an imperial collection ordered by Emperor Shōmu, possibly after his abdication, during the reign of Empress Kōken

¹¹⁵ Fujioka notes that 757 corresponds to one year after Shōmu’s death. See Fujioka 1995, ed., 37.

¹¹⁶ The *Kokinshū* preface argues that *Man’yōshū* was compiled “ten generations earlier.” Counting back ten generations from Emperor Daigo, when *Kokinshū* was compiled, ends up with Emperor Heizei (806-809). That is why in Kiyosuke’s day, the prevailing belief was that *Man’yōshū* must have been compiled around 806-809.

¹¹⁷ This refers to *rokkasen* (six poetic immortals) that were mentioned in the preface to the *Kokinshū*: Ariwara Narihira (825-880), Fun’ya Yasuhide (d. 885?), monk Kisen (early Heian period), monk Henjō (816-890), Ono no Komachi and Ōtomo Kuronushi.

¹¹⁸ Tachibana Moroe (684-757) was an official and poet of the Nara period. In the medieval era, Moroe was believed to be one of the *Man’yōshū* compilers.

¹¹⁹ “*Tale of Yotsugi*” refers to *Eiga monogatari*, which was one of the first historical Japanese tales. It deals with the life of Fujiwara Michinaga and imperial reigns from Emperor Uda (867-931) to Emperor Horikawa, that is years 887-1107. *Eiga monogatari* does, in fact, say that *Man’yōshū* was compiled by Tachibana Moroe in 753. See Nakanishi 1995, 37-38.

¹²⁰ Fujioka 1995, ed., 37-38; Appendix 1, 1.5. *Fukurozōshi* 2.

(718-770; r. 749-758). This view of *Man'yōshū* held in the early medieval era is significant, since to some extent it explains the Rokujō school's extensive study of and interest in the collection, which they regarded as an imperial anthology. On the other hand, one might argue that seeing *Man'yōshū* as an imperial anthology might have been a construct intentionally created by the Rokujō school in order to attribute more poetic significance to a collection highly valued and studied by the Rokujō poets; a construct that Teika later undermined, perhaps wishing to denounce this school's position in the waka history.

In addition to addressing the controversial issue of whether *Man'yōshū* was an imperial collection, the part of *Fukurozōshi* quoted above also attempted to determine the compiler of *Man'yōshū*. Tachibana Moroe (684-757) and Ōtomo Yakamochi are the two possibilities presented in *Fukurozōshi*. Kiyosuke appears not to argue in favor of Yakamochi, but basically eliminates Moroe's candidacy as a compiler.¹²¹ From the rhetorical style of both excerpts from *Fukurozōshi* quoted above, it appears that Kiyosuke was challenging earlier theories about *Man'yōshū* compilation, though he did not refer specifically to any other waka scholars or poets. Also, even though Kiyosuke was not entirely certain of some facts related to *Man'yōshū* compilation, he evidently attempted to provide some answers to those questions and issues about *Man'yōshū* which were most frequently discussed during his time. He made an attempt to resolve those problems, validate his position as a *Man'yōshū* expert, and thus attract potential patrons and new students. This suggests that Kiyosuke recognized the need to change and he tried to adjust to the new reality of early medieval era, when the group of people interested in waka was growing but their level of knowledge about poetry was relatively low.

Moreover, *Fukurozōshi* confirms that textual fluidity in the medieval era was not limited to *Man'yōshū*. The number of poems given by Kiyosuke for *Kokinshū* – 1,090 – is different from the currently acknowledged number of 1,111. Such discrepancy suggests that, like *Man'yōshū*, there must have been multiple *Kokinshū* manuscripts containing various numbers of poems. The manuscript brought up in *Fukurozōshi* was presumably the one Kiyosuke either possessed or respected most. This lack of agreement on the number of poems in *Kokinshū* is further evidence of the multiplicity of texts in the medieval era. Many

¹²¹ Nowadays, it is generally acknowledged that Yakamochi was, if not the only one, the main compiler of *Man'yōshū*. See Vovin, 3.

of the literary texts have likely undergone the process of significant revisions and changes, which suggests they would have been understood differently in the early medieval era than they are nowadays.

Interestingly, *Fukurozōshi* also provides some information about various manuscripts of *Man'yōshū* and distinguishes it from other poetic collections:

In recent times, the collection is called ‘Old *Man'yōshū*.’ In ‘Collection of Minamoto Shitagō’ we also see the expression ‘from Old *Man'yōshū*.’ Presumably it is so named to distinguish it from *Shinsen man'yōshū* or *Kanke man'yōshū*.¹²² They say that *Shinsen man'yōshū* was an abridged version of this anthology, compiled during the reign of Engi [901-923]. It consists of five volumes.¹²³ In the past, there were only a few places that stored *Man'yōshū*. Then, Lord Toshitsuna borrowed it from the Treasury of Hōjō Temple and copied it.¹²⁴ After that, Lord Akitsuna copied Toshitsuna’s manuscript. Since then it spread widely, and they say that by now it is in almost all poetic families.¹²⁵

This part of *Fukurozōshi* explains that *Man'yōshū* and *Shinsen man'yōshū*, compilation of which is attributed to Sugawara Michizane, are two different poetic collections compiled in two different historical periods, which suggests that there may have been some confusion in the late Heian and early Kamakura periods regarding the relationship between those anthologies. This passage also claims that to make a clear distinction between those two collections, *Man'yōshū* was referred to as ‘Old *Man'yōshū*’ (*Koman'yōshū*) by people like Minamoto Shitagō (911–983), as early as the mid-10th c., when the first *Man'yōshū* glossing (*koten*) had been created. Thus, in *Fukurozōshi*, Shitagō, who was one of the creators of that first *Man'yōshū* glossing, emerges as an authority on the collection¹²⁶.

This passage also goes back to the time in Japan’s history when scholarship on *Man'yōshū* was becoming increasingly popular – it provides some sketchy information about the history of *Man'yōshū* manuscripts. *Fukurozōshi* states that Tachibana Toshitsuna (1028-1094) – a grandson of Fujiwara Michinaga, who was one of the poets involved in the creation of the

¹²² *Kanke man'yōshū* was another name of the *Shinsen man'yōshū*.

¹²³ *Fukurozōshi* also claims that *Shinsen man'yōshū* consist of five volumes, whereas its currently known texts usually include only two volumes. This suggests that the *Shinsen man'yōshū* was itself another fluid text, or that its content was reconsidered and reclassified into two volumes, instead of five.

¹²⁴ Hōjōji was a Buddhist temple in Kyoto founded by Fujiwara Michinaga in ca. 1017. It was destroyed by a fire in 1058 and was never successfully rebuilt.

¹²⁵ Fujioka 1995, ed., 38; Appendix 1, 1.6. *Fukurozōshi* 3.

¹²⁶ For more on Minamoto Shitagō, his lineage and education, see Steininger, 14, 131-136.

second glossing (*jiten*) – and another poet named Fujiwara Akitsuna (d. 1107) copied a *Man'yōshū* manuscript from the Hōjō Temple. However, historical sources mention that only Akitsuna copied a manuscript from the Hōjō Temple collection, and it is debatable whether Toshitsuna copied the same manuscript.¹²⁷ This, again, confirms that in early medieval Japan there was a considerable level of fluidity in knowledge about various issues regarding poetic anthologies.

Fujiwara Michinaga established the Hōjō Temple in 1017 and stored there a *Man'yōshū* manuscript. This text, called the *Hōjō-ji Hōsō-bon* is believed to have been copied by Akitsuna and became the so-called *Sanshū-bon Man'yōshū*. Toshitsuna, however, copied a different *Man'yōshū* manuscript, specifically the one that Toshitsuna's father and Michinaga's son – Fujiwara Yorimichi (992-1074) – probably received from Koremune Takatoki (fl. 1015-1097). It seems that Takatoki, who was a Confucian teacher and composed Chinese poetry, was also one of the scholars involved in the creation of the second glossing (*jiten*) to *Man'yōshū*, and copied the collection too, after which he offered it to the Byōdōin Temple. Byōdōin had been founded by Yorimichi in 1052, so he likely had access to Takatoki's manuscript and was able to pass it on among others to Toshitsuna, who made his own copy of *Man'yōshū*.¹²⁸

Thus, Akitsuna and Toshitsuna copied two different *Man'yōshū* manuscripts – respectively the *Hōjō-dera Hōsō-bon* derived from Michinaga and the *Uji-dono Gohon* descending from Takatoki. The reason we find references to these specific manuscripts in the *Fukurozōshi* is that both copies likely came into possession of Akisue and became the basis for Rokujō scholarship on the collection.¹²⁹ So, Kiyosuke was validating the Rokujō family as one possessing not only expertise but also multiple *Man'yōshū* manuscripts. Moreover, it seems that it was Michinaga's power and the Hōjō Temple's Treasury that enabled the spread of *Man'yōshū* manuscripts and thus popularization of knowledge about the collection.¹³⁰

In addition to the sections of *Fukurozōshi* quoted above, there are other passages related to *Man'yōshū*. For example, in the section entitled *Hitomaru kanmon* (Report on Hitomaru),

¹²⁷ Ogawa 2007, 577.

¹²⁸ Komatsu Shigemi, *Kohitsugaku taisei. Dai-12 kan. Man'yōshū* (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1990), 370.

¹²⁹ For more details on the various textual lines related to these two manuscripts, see Ogawa 2007, 579 and Komatsu, 370.

¹³⁰ Ogawa Yasuhiko suggested that by the time of the *Horikawa hyakushu* there existed about ten different *Man'yōshū* manuscripts. See Ogawa 2007, 581.

Kiyosuke discusses Kakinomoto Hitomaro's life as well as the dates of *Man'yōshū*'s compilation.¹³¹ Moreover, *Fukurozōshi* touches on the presence of *Man'yōshū* poetry in *Shūishū*, and briefly on Shitagō's appropriation of *Man'yōshū* poetry.

Whether or not Kiyosuke's *Fukurozōshi* was a manifestation of his Rokujō identity, as argued by Roselee Bundy, this text undoubtedly is a manifestation of Kiyosuke's expertise on waka and *Man'yōshū*.¹³² It revealed some significant facts about *Man'yōshū* reception transmitted orally up till the late Heian period. Ultimately, this poetic treatise demonstrates Kiyosuke's attempt to validate his and what we now call the Rokujō school's status in the poetic world as legitimate waka and *Man'yōshū* scholars.

2.3.3 – *Man'yōshū* in *Waka ichijishō* (1153) and *Waka shogakushō* (1169)

Waka ichijishō (Essentials of poetry) is a poetic handbook by Fujiwara Kiyosuke written in 1153.¹³³ It consists of two volumes containing 1,170 poems, out of which only 71 may be found in the *Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū*. It is arranged into 196 one- and two-character topics, and was intended as a manual for beginner poets faced with a task of composing waka on fixed topics. Perhaps because *Waka ichijishō* is a poetic handbook, not a poetic treatise, research about this text is to a great extent focused on the evaluation of its various manuscripts rather than its content, *per se*. Like most scholarship on Kiyosuke's works, there is little attention paid to what this text says about *Man'yōshū*.

¹³¹ *Hitomaru kanmon* is not included in all manuscripts of *Fukurozōshi*. It might have been a separate text that was added to *Fukurozōshi* by Kiyosuke himself or later copyists and editors. John Bentley has raised an interesting point regarding the (mis)appropriation of Hitomaro's work in *Shūishū*, but unfortunately, Kiyosuke is silent on this matter. Bentley suggested that most of Hitomaro's poems in *Shūishū* are in fact not his compositions but the poem that were attributed to him later on. See John Bentley, "The Creation of Hitomaro, a Poetic Sage," in *The Language of Life, The Life of Language: Selected Papers from the First College-wide Conference for Students in Languages, Linguistics and Literature*, ed. Dina Rudolph Yoshimi and Marilyn K. Plumlee (University of Hawai'i-Mānoa: National Foreign Language Resource Center, 1998), 37-44.

¹³² Bundy 2010, 3-32. I remain hesitant to fully support this statement, as at that time there were no other poetic schools with which Kiyosuke might have been competing for patrons or financial support.

¹³³ Inoue Muneo questioned Kiyosuke's authorship of *Waka ichijishō* but his view has not gained wide acceptance. See Inoue Muneo, "Fujiwara Kiyosuke-den ni kan suru ni-san no mondai to *Waka ichijishō*," *Kokubungaku kenkyū* 25, no. 3 (1962): 114-115.

Regarding *Man'yōshū* poetry, *Waka ichijishō* includes 71 poems from the collection, which constitutes only 6% of all the poems in the treatise. Based on my examination of the data, *Man'yōshū* poems in this poetic handbook are from the following volumes:

Vol.	No. of poems	Vol.	No. of poems	Vol.	No. of poems	Vol.	No. of poems
I	1	VI	0	XI	6	XVI	0
II	3	VII	7	XII	5	XVII	1
III	4	VIII	4	XIII	2	XVIII	0
IV	4	IX	3	XIV	3	XIX	1
V	1	X	21	XV	3	XX	2

The distribution of *Man'yōshū* poetry in this handbook is similar to that found in *Ōgisho* and *Fukurozōshi*, with volumes X-XI, and to a lesser extent VII and XII, figuring most prominently. Again, we see that those *Man'yōshū* volumes were most popular in late Heian period – the orthography was mainly semantographic, while poems were to a large extent attributed to Kakinomoto Hitomaro, Yamabe Akahito and Ōtomo Yakamochi.

As with other texts of poetry criticism by Fujiwara Kiyosuke, some of the 71 *Man'yōshū* poems included in *Waka ichijishō* appear in earlier poetic treatises and handbooks, for example in *Kokinwaka rokujō* (32 poems), in *Hitomaroshū* (25 poems), in *Kigoshō* and *Waka dōmōshō* (13 poems each), in *Ōgishō* (12 poems), and finally in *Toshiyori zuinō* (1 poem); the total number of poem does not add up to 71 but 83, since, based on research, there are duplicates. This suggests that *Waka ichijishō* is strongly connected to earlier poetic treatises and handbooks. However, the biggest link we observe is with *Fukurozōshi*, which was written after *Waka ichijishō*. In fact, 65 of *Man'yōshū* poems included in *Waka ichijishō* are also cited in *Fukurozōshi*. Thus, while still building on earlier poetic treatises and collections, *Waka ichijishō* is above all a move forward toward a greater interest in *Man'yōshū* itself, which Kiyosuke will later show in his *Fukurozōshi*.

Waka shogakushō (Elementary poetry) is a poetic handbook for waka composition compiled by Kiyosuke in 1169, in the latter part of his career, at the order of Fujiwara Motofusa (1144-1230), who was an imperial regent in 1166-1179. It consists of only one volume that lists categories of objects and place-names found in waka and poetic expressions from *Man'yōshū*, *Kokinwaka rokujō*, *Ise monogatari*, *Yamato monogatari* (Tales of Yamato, 10-11th century), *Kokinshū* and other imperial collections until *Goshūi wakashū* (Later Collection of Gleanings, 1086). It includes 283 poems, out of which 96 are also present in the *Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū*. Moreover, in the section of *furuki kotoba*, it lists 362 *Man'yōshū* expressions, as well as 160 examples in a section on *Man'yōshū* place-names.¹³⁴ Scholars believe that, just like *Waka ichijishō*, *Waka shogakushō* was intended to be a basic manual for beginner waka poets – the very titles of these works point to that.

Waka shogakushō has been researched much more extensively than *Waka ichijishō*, perhaps because the second poetic handbook by Kiyosuke has a much more elaborate structure.¹³⁵ Thus, it has been pointed out that *Waka shogakushō* was partially inspired by *Ōgishō*, since in the *Waka shogakushō*'s section called “Words with a Noble Heritage” (*yuisho kotoba*), explaining the origin of certain poetic expressions, there is an overlap of 73 items with *Ōgishō*'s section of *furuki kotoba*, which suggests that certain poetic categories were reconsidered or shifted and that the poetic discourse itself was undergoing changes.¹³⁶

Regarding *Man'yōshū* poetry, *Waka shogakushō* includes 96 poems found in the *Nishi Honganji-bon* copy of the collection, which constitutes 34% of all its poems. Based on my analysis of the data, the poems are from the following *Man'yōshū* volumes:

¹³⁴ Sasaki Nobutsuna, *Waka shogakushō*, in *Nihon kagaku taikai* 2 (Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1956), 172-179, 234-238.

¹³⁵ For varying views of *Waka shogakushō*, see Watanabe Yasuaki, “Inseiki no engo no isō – Fujiwara Kiyosuke *Waka shogakushō* no suku o megutte,” *Jōchi Daigaku kokubungakka kiyō* 11, no. 3 (1994): 1-27; Satō Akihiro, “*Waka shogakushō* butsumei ‘ina’ no mado kara,” in *Kōza heian bungaku ronkyū* 15 (Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 2001), 1-26; and Umeda Kei, “*Waka shogakushō* no shomen sen’i – lōmoku haichi to kyōju,” *Jinbungaku no shōgo* 4, no. 2 (2012): 39-56.

¹³⁶ The category *yuisho kotoba* was apparently vague even in the late Heian period. It seems to be an expression used exclusively by a certain group of waka scholars, possibly the Rokujō poets. See Iwabuchi Tadasu, “*Waka shogakushō* ‘yuisho kotoba’ ni okeru goi,” *Gakujutsu kenkyū* 15, no. 12 (1966): 83.

Vol.	No. of poems	Vol.	No. of poems	Vol.	No. of poems	Vol.	No. of poems
I	3	VI	5	XI	9	XVI	1
II	5	VII	23	XII	9	XVII	1
III	15	VIII	3	XIII	0	XVIII	0
IV	3	IX	6	XIV	6	XIX	0
V	0	X	4	XV	3	XX	1

The distribution of *Man'yōshū* poems in *Waka shogakushō* is quite different from any of Kiyosuke's previous poetic treatises and handbooks. Firstly, there is no predominance of volumes X-XI but rather of volume VII, which was also an important *Man'yōshū* volume in other works of Kiyosuke's poetry criticism but was never the most significant one. Moreover, based on my research, some of the 96 *Man'yōshū* poems included in *Waka shogakushō* appear in earlier poetic treatises and handbooks, which suggests that this poetic handbook maintained connection to earlier works of poetry criticism. In addition, we see a change in Kiyosuke's usage of earlier sources, as the *Man'yōshū* poems he used in his earlier poetry treatises barely appear in *Waka shogakushō*.¹³⁷

Another distinctive feature of *Waka shogakushō* is the "old words" (*furuki kotoba*) section, where poetic expressions are listed according to *Ruijū koshū* volume order, following Chinese encyclopedic categories, which is rare and one of a kind. This suggests that Kiyosuke most likely had access to and used *Ruijū koshū*, a unique *Man'yōshū* manuscript containing only about 3,800 poems.

These features of *Waka shogakushō*, not found in any earlier poetic treatise or handbook by Kiyosuke, suggest that he either acquired new resources, or decided to reach beyond his previous channels of transmission about waka knowledge and study different texts. In addition, this poetic handbook contains some general remarks on waka and could be thus also seen as a

¹³⁷ It was a poetic dictionary of poetic landmarks arranged by Chinese categories *ru*, *Godaishū utamakura*, by a non-Rokujō poet named Fujiwara Norikane (1107-1165), that had the biggest overlap of *Man'yōshū* poetry with *Waka shogakushō*.

poetic treatise. For example, at the very beginning of *Waka shogakushō*, even before the *furuki kotoba* section, we find the following comment:

When you compose a poem, you should first think well about the topic. When you want to compose a poem about a flower, you should recollect the beauty of a flower. When you want to compose a poem about the moon, you should deploy its image in a lovely way, keeping in mind the feeling one has of gazing tirelessly at the moon. In both cases, select what is most graceful among the old expressions and integrate it seamlessly.¹³⁸

This part of *Waka shogakushō* is very well-known. Waka scholars generally believe that it reflects Kiyosuke's philosophy about composing waka in a very concise manner. Thus, the poet should above all consider the topic, and then s/he should use his or her imagination and recollect the images of a flower or the moon, likely in order to compose poetry in the manner that meets the accepted standards of waka composition and expectations of the possible audience. It seems that at least during the late Heian period, composing poetry was more about the power of imagination and skillful application of poetic conventions rather than about personal experiences and creativity. Thus, after selecting the topic and imagining it, the poet should skillfully select words for his or her poem, and was allowed to refer to some old vocabulary.

This excerpt of *Waka shogakushō* generally advises how to appropriate expressions from old poems skillfully instead of discouraging the practice of poetic borrowing. It seems safe to conclude that, as earlier in *Ōgishō*, but without the kinds of warnings we find in *Shinsen zuinō* or *Toshiyori zuinō*, Kiyosuke again approved of allusions to ancient poetry, including *Man'yōshū*. This allowance for poetic borrowing, presented both in *Ōgishō* and *Waka shogakushō*, is a significant feature of Kiyosuke's poetry criticism, since it strayed from earlier opinions on the matter.¹³⁹ As noted above, it was a definite step forward towards what Shunzei and Teika promoted in the following years, namely an ideal of a return to old words with a new attitude – “old words, new heart” (*kotoba furuku, kokoro atarasi*) and later on, a practice more codified by the Mikohidari poets: *honkadori*. This implies that the Mikohidari poets were not the first ones to recognize the need for change in the waka practice; Kiyosuke emerges as an innovator, not a conservative poet-scholar. That is why I argue that we should perceive Kiyosuke and Shunzei,

¹³⁸ Sasaki 1956, ed., 172; Appendix 1, 1.7. *Waka shogakushō* 1.

¹³⁹ Watanabe 2017, 161-182.

and their respective Rokujō and Mikohidari schools, as participating in a broad continuum of changing attitudes toward waka, rather than merely as separate factions and rivals in the art of poetry.

Moreover, according to *Waka shogakushō*, “graceful” (*yasasi*) old words should be applied “seamlessly” (*nabiyaka*) when composing a poem. Such obscure expressions as *yasasi* and *nabiyaka* have long caused confusion among the waka scholars, since they signify some aesthetic concepts the exact meanings of which are difficult to determine. However, I interpret *yasasi*, which is a very frequent expression appearing in poetry contests’ judgments of the Rokujō school members, as “graceful” but also “refined,” “tasteful” and “well-mannered.” By this I mean decorous and careful, not random, crude or thoughtless selection of vocabulary for poetry that would offend the listener or reader. Additionally, I understand *nabiyaka* as “having gentle, graceful beauty” but also “yielding,” “adaptable” and “appropriate to whatever precedes it,” by which I mean adjusting vocabulary to the old expressions already applied in the poem.¹⁴⁰ Thus, even though the concepts *yasasi* and *nabiyaka* seem to be obscure and difficult to comprehend, I think they are expressing very basic waka composition rules, not necessarily always referring to *Man’yōshū* poetry or *furuki kotoba*. They are brought up in the context of “old words” probably because waka scholars and poets believed that such expressions require special attention and effort from waka poets.

Another brief commentary on poetry is found in *Waka shogakushō* after the section of *Man’yōshū* poetic place-names:

Here, I have listed a few noteworthy place-names. It does not matter one way or the other if you compose a poem having in fact visited the place itself. You should compose poetry on a place-name that is awe-inspiring. If not that, then use the one which is striking. And if not that, then use one that people would recognize.¹⁴¹

Even though this passage is located just after the section on *Man’yōshū* poetic place-names, it also seems to deal with poetic place-names in general. I believe that the first part refers to *Man’yōshū* poetic place-names. The rest is a remark about the best manner of utilizing poetic place-names in waka. This short excerpt from *Waka shogakushō* is not very detailed and perhaps

¹⁴⁰ Huey 2002, 217.

¹⁴¹ Sasaki 1956, ed. 238; Appendix 1, 1.8. *Waka shogakushō* 2.

not sufficient to draw too many conclusions from. However, its one distinctive feature is that it does not warn against using *Man'yōshū* place names, or poetic place-names in general, in waka. At the same time, it does not particularly encourage their application.¹⁴²

Both *Shinsen zuinō* and *Toshiyori zuinō* contained comments on composing poetry on poetic place names. While in *Shinsen zuinō* we find words of regret that poetic place-names were not applied as frequently as they used to be in ancient times, *Toshiyori zuinō* claims that a poet should not compose poems about places he visited himself but rather rely on old poetic place-names that we find in waka of ancient poets.¹⁴³ Kiyosuke, however, leaves open the possibility of composing poems about the poetic place-names poets visited themselves. This part of the *Waka shogakushō* is thus further evidence that Kiyosuke's poetry criticism began to depart from earlier critics and paved the way for the upcoming changes in waka. What he started was picked up and promoted by the Mikohidari poets, first Shunzei and then Teika.

2.3.4 – *Man'yōshū* in Kiyosuke's poetry contests judgments (1167-1175)

Despite Fujiwara Kiyosuke's undeniably high position in the poetic world by the end of his life, there are only three extant poetry contests judged by him. Yet, though the small sample of Kiyosuke's poetry contest judgments may not be representative of his judging style, *hanshi* always demonstrate a process of waka evaluation in a particular context. They show the arbiters' craft as evaluators of waka that are composed for public display (*hare no uta*), and thus are a significant factor for the analysis of poetry criticism of every waka scholar. Therefore, I analyze three judgments by Kiyosuke that contain some remarks about *Man'yōshū* poetry. Although several Japanese scholars have done research on Fujiwara Kiyosuke's poetry contest judgments, none of them has focused on his treatment of *Man'yōshū* poetry in his *hanshi*.

Kiyosuke had hosted a few poetry contests already in the early 1160's but he never served as a judge in any of them.¹⁴⁴ It has been generally recognized that the first poetry contest in which Kiyosuke judged poems was *Nin'an ninen hachigatsu Taikō Taigōgū no Suke Taira no*

¹⁴² For more about poetic name-places in *Waka shogakushō*, see Tajiri Yoshinobu, "Waka shogakushō no meisho kisai," *Atomi Gakuen Tanki Daigaku kiyō* 22, no. 3 (1986): 31-50.

¹⁴³ Teele, 154; Hisamatsu, ed., 89.

¹⁴⁴ Royston, 450.

Tsunemori ason no ie no uta 'awase (1167/VIII).¹⁴⁵ It was one of several poetic events sponsored by Taira Tsunemori (1124-1185), who maintained close relations with Kiyosuke and his brother Shigeie, as well as with Shunzei, Imperial Prince Shukaku and Emperor Nijō.¹⁴⁶ The *Taira no Tsunemori ason no ie no uta 'awase* was mainly a Rokujō event but it became a source for Shunzei's *Senzaishū* and a few private collections.¹⁴⁷ The second poetry contest judged by Kiyosuke was the *Kaō ninen gogatsu nijūkunichi saemon no Kami Sanekuni kyō no ie no uta 'awase* (Poetry Contest at the Residence of Gate Guard to the left, Lord Sanekuni on the Twenty-Ninth Day of the Fifth Month in the Second Year of Kaō Era, 1170/V/29). This was the only poetic contest held by Shigenoi Sanekuni (1140-1183), a courtier descending from the Sanjō branch of Fujiwara family. Finally, the third poetry contest judged by Kiyosuke was the *Angen gan 'nen jūgatsu tōka Udaijin no ie no uta 'awase* (1175/X/10). It was a poetic event sponsored by Kujō Kanazane – one of the most powerful poetic patrons of his time, who, as mentioned above, supported the Rokujō school until Kiyosuke's death in 1177.¹⁴⁸ Yoshiaki Minegishi has emphasized that this *Udaijin no ie no uta 'awase* was the last poetic event to be held when the Rokujō were still under the patronage of the Kujō family.¹⁴⁹

In Kiyosuke's extant poetry contest judgments we find three examples of references to *Man'yōshū*. The first time he mentioned the collection's poetry was the fourth round of the *Taira no Tsunemori ason no ie no uta 'awase* composed on the autumn-themed topic of *momidi no fa* (Red Leaves), in which the left poem by Fujiwara (Nanba) Yorisuke (1112-1186) won over the right poem by Minamoto Michiyoshi (1128-1174):¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ Inada 1970, 7.

¹⁴⁶ Taira Tsunemori was the third son of Taira Tadamori (1096-1154) and step-brother of Taira Kiyomori (1118-1181). Tsunemori did not follow the path of politics and power but the one of poetry and became a waka poet.

¹⁴⁷ Huey 2002, 171; Inada Shigeo, "Taikō Taigōgū no suke Taira no Tsunemori ason no ie no uta 'awase ni nozomu Kiyosuke no taido," *Nagasaki Daigaku kyōiku gakubu jinbun kagaku kenkyū hōkoku* 18, no. 3 (1969): 1.

¹⁴⁸ There were apparently at least two other poetry contests judged by Kiyosuke – *Jōan gan 'nen hachigatsu jūsannichi Zengen hōin uta 'awase* (Poetry Contest of Monk Zengen on the Thirteenth Day of the Eight Month in the First Year of the Jōan Era, 1171) and *Jōan ninen uru 'u jūnigatsu Norinaga kyō Higashiyama uta 'awase* (East Mountain Poetry Contest of Lord Norinaga in the Twelfth Month of the Second [Leap] Year of the Jōan Era, 1172). However, those poetry contests have not fully survived to date and only parts of them are preserved in later collections, for example *Fuboku wakashō* (Notes on Japanese Poetry and the Associated Tales, ca. 1310) and *Tsukimōde wakashū* (Collection of Poems of Monthly Pilgrimages, 1182). See Inada 1970, 7.

¹⁴⁹ Minegishi, 218.

¹⁵⁰ Fujiwara Yorisuke was a descendant of Fujiwara Michinaga through a direct paternal line to his eldest son, Fujiwara Yorimichi (992-1074), the forefather of the Asukai poetic school and a member of the Kujō house poetic circle. In other words, he had high poetic and family standing.

Round Four

Left win

Lord Yorisuke

iro fukaki Even my heart
yasifo no woka no Took on the hue
momidiba ni Of the heavily tinged
kokoro wo safe mo Crimson leaves
sometekeru kana On scarlet-dyed Yashio Hill.

Right

Lord Michiyoshi

siguretutu As cold rains fall,
aki koso fukaku Autumn has deepened
nari ni keru On the sacred Arrow Field hill,
irodori wataru Now covered in color
yano no kamiyama As far and wide as the eye can see.

The left poem is not particularly remarkable, but it sounds like it develops smoothly. Regarding the right poem, since I have heard that as a rule, we should not borrow from *Man'yōshū* in this manner and because the line: 'the sacred Arrow Field hill, now covered in color' is quite old-fashioned, the left poem wins.¹⁵¹

Even though Michiyoshi was close to Retired Emperor Nijō and became one of the judges at a poetry contest organized by Kiyosuke in 1160 (*Taikō Taigōgū no Daijin Kiyosuke Ason no ie no uta 'awase*), Kiyosuke criticized Michiyoshi's poem for applying the line *yano no kamiyama* (sacred Arrow Field hill) from *Man'yōshū*. In fact, the line appears only once in *Man'yōshū* in a poem from volume X (#2178), composed on *momidi* (Red Leaves):

妻隠矢野神山露霜尔尔寶比始散卷惜
つまごもるやののかみやまつゆしもにほひそめたりちらまくをしも
tuma gomoru The sacred Arrow Field hill,
yano no kamiyama Where I seclude myself
tuyu simo ni With my dear wife,
nifofisometari Is dyed by dew and frost.
tiramaku wosi mo How I will pity the fall [of red leaves]!

¹⁵¹ Kiyosuke likely refers to a part of Kintō's *Shinsen zuinō*, where he generally criticizes the practice of borrowing from old poems. See Hisamatsu, ed., 29; Appendix 1, 1.9. *Hanshi 1, Kiyosuke*.

The *Man'yōshū* poem is about falling leaves in autumn. *Tuma gomoru* (wife-secluded) functions here as an epithet for Yano (Arrow Field) and refers to the place where men spend time with their wives. However, since it is an autumn poem and the place for a tryst with the wife is covered by frost, it suggests separation and ending phase of a relationship. It seems that the *Man'yōshū* poem was too out-of-date for Kiyosuke's taste, even though he listed *yano no kamiyama* in his *Ōgishō* in the section of *Man'yōshū* poetic place-names.¹⁵² However, *yano no kamiyama* was indeed a quite obscure and ancient-sounding expression at that time.¹⁵³ As noted earlier, we should not forget that there was general agreement among waka masters, articulated by Fujiwara Kintō in his *Shinsen zuinō*, that there is no point in alluding to an old poem or appropriating rare poetic vocabulary that no one would recognize.¹⁵⁴

One could argue that Kiyosuke was not fond of Michiyoshi's poem because *yano no kamiyama* was not accompanied by *tsumagomoru* (wife-retiring), a *makurakotoba* (pillow word) for *yano* (Arrow Fields), which appears in the *Man'yōshū* poem.¹⁵⁵ However, I believe Kiyosuke did not like Michiyoshi's poem because it was too novel for him at that time. Even though in his *Ōgishō*, Kiyosuke reconsidered basic principles of poetic borrowing and approved of allusions to old poems, he may not have been fully comfortable with the idea of direct poetic borrowing in the *uta'awase* setting, which implied composition of poetry with a purpose of public display. In fact, Kiyosuke's comment demonstrates that despite frequent utilization of *Man'yōshū* poetry as proof-poems, he was very careful about blunt quotations from the collection. Perhaps if Michiyoshi's poem was composed later or presented in a later poetry contest, it would have been given more recognition, as it fulfills at least two of the general rules of *honkadōri* codified by the Mikohidari poets – borrowing as little as possible from the old

¹⁵² Sasaki 1957, ed., 303.

¹⁵³ *Yano no kamiyama* was revived in Japanese poetry only at the turn of the Heian period. See *Utakotoba utamakura daijiten* ver. 4.1.2, in *Nihon bungaku web toshokan* ver. 5.0.1d-5678 (Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2015).

¹⁵⁴ Hisamatsu, ed., 29.

¹⁵⁵ *Makurakotoba* (pillow word) is a five-syllable figure modifying the following word, e.g. *fisakata no* (eternal and strong) that precedes and modifies words like *tuki* (moon), *sora* (sky), *ame* (rain), etc. It is a poetic device characteristic of *Man'yōshū*.

poem, and changing the topical category in the new poem, as defined by Fujiwara Teika in his *Eiga no taigai* (Essentials of Poetic Composition, after 1221).¹⁵⁶

Kiyosuke gave Yorisuke's poem rather lukewarm praise – “not particularly remarkable but it sounds like it develops smoothly.” One might wonder why he did not comment on the expression *yasifo no* in Yorisuke's poem, since it is also found in *Man'yōshū*. In fact, *yasifo no* appears in *Man'yōshū* only once, in a poem from volume XI (#2623):¹⁵⁷

呉藍之八塩乃衣朝旦穢者雖為益希將見裳
くれなゐのやしほのころもあさなさななれはすれどもいやめづらしも
kurenawi no To drench a gown
yasifo no koromo In scarlet, many times
asanasana Morning after morning –
nare fa suredomo Though one becomes accustomed to it,
iya medurasi mo How lovely it still is!

We could argue that it was because Yorisuke borrowed more from the theme and imagery of the *Man'yōshū* poem than its vocabulary. The dominant theme of both poems is red color, which soaks through dyed garments and human hearts. The *Man'yōshū* poem is about one's feelings of happiness due to the increasing intimacy with one's lover. Dyeing clothes in red frequently implies repetitive visits to one's beloved. Even though the robes wear out through the process of frequent wear and dyeing in red, they become more familiar to the speaker, who becomes attached to the beloved person. Thus, the poem has love connotations, just as Yorisuke's *tanka* does, where the speaker's heart is dyed in the red color too. Also, both poems contain the element of water, which could either symbolize emotional tears or be even more erotic. *Yasifo no* is also a place name in Kyoto, famous for maple leaves.

Moreover, *yasifo no woka* appears as a poetic place-name in *Horikawa hyakushu* twice, in poems by two famous Rokujō poets, Rokujō Akisue (#853) and Fujiwara Nakazane (#855), both composed on *momidi no fa* (Red Leaves).¹⁵⁸ The word “yasifo” in *Yasifo no woka* literally

¹⁵⁶ Hashimoto Fumio, Tamotsu Ariyoshi and Haruo Fujihara, ed., *Eiga no taigai*, in *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 87 (Tōkyō: Shōgakukan, 2002), 473-475; Hiroaki Sato, Burton Watson, *From the Country of Eight Islands: An Anthology of Japanese Poetry* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 202.

¹⁵⁷ Other than in *Man'yōshū*, based on my research, this poem may be found in *Kokinwaka rokujō*, *Kigoshō* and *Waka dōmōshō*. Thus, even though it does not appear in Kiyosuke's poetic treatises and handbooks, we see it in works he was aware of and valued.

¹⁵⁸ あさからぬやしほの岡の紅葉葉を何あやにくに時雨そむらん *Horikawa hyakushu* (#853)

means “[dye] multiple times” but connotatively refers to the depth of the color. Taken all three possible reference into consideration, we are unable to conclude the exact source of inspiration for Yorisuke’s poem. Regardless of whether Yorisuke and Kiyosuke thought of *yasifo no woka* as a *Man’yōshū* term or not, Yorisuke’s poem won probably because it clearly channeled old diction through later poetry, which may have been a more acceptable practice to Kiyosuke.

It seems reasonable to say that Michitoshi’s poem lost the round because it imitated *Man’yōshū* vocabulary inadequately according to Kiyosuke’s opinion. Thus, even though some scholars have claimed that the Rokujō poets generally emphasized the study of *Man’yōshū* as a poetic standard, Kiyosuke was clearly not keen on unjustified allusions to *Man’yōshū* poems in the *uta’awase* context, and was not advocating direct allusions to *Man’yōshū* poetry as strongly as has been generally believed.¹⁵⁹ Instead, he gave a win to a poem which paid a tribute to the founders of his own poetic school, although in his judgment he did not recognize Yorisuke’s poem as a channel of *Man’yōshū* poetry appropriation.

The second example of a Kiyosuke judgment that mentions *Man’yōshū* poetry is from the eighth round of *Taira no Tsunemori ason no ie no uta’awase* composed on the topic of *kofi* (Love), where the right poem by monk Tōren (d. 1182) won over the left poem by Shinkaku (1117-1180):

Round Eight

Left

Shinkaku

*samo araba are
namida ni sode fa
kutinū to mo*

Be it as it may!
Though my sleeves have rotted
From tears I poured,

<p><i>asakaranu</i> <u><i>yasifo no woka no</i></u> <u><i>momidiba wo</i></u> <i>nani ayaniku ni</i> <u><i>sigure somuran</i></u> 白露のうつしのはひやそめつらん八しほの岡の紅葉しにけり <i>Horikawa hyakushu</i> (#855) <i>siratuyu no</i> <i>utusi no faji ya</i> <u><i>someturan</i></u> <u><i>yasifo no woka no</i></u> <u><i>momidi sinikeri</i></u> ¹⁵⁹ Royston, 65.</p>	<p>Why are the autumn rains Needlessly dying The already deeply crimson Maple leaves On Yashio Hill? Is it the ash-dye Of white dew That has colored them? The leaves on Yashio Hill Have turned crimson!</p>
--	---

koromo no suso no If only they were shed
afida ni mo seba Between the hems of our garments.

Right win

Tōren

afu made wo If I pray enough
inoraba samo ya We will meet again.
kofi seji no Then why do the lustrial rites
misogi mo ima fa I perform not to fall in love
kanafanu ya nazo Have no effect?

What kind of thing is: ‘If only they were shed between the hems of our garments’ in the left poem? Perhaps it refers to an opportunity to meet with someone whom one secretly longs for. It may have been composed having in mind the following *Man’yōshū* poem:

karakoromo A Chinese robe -
suso no utikafe When crossed
afanedomo Its hems do not meet.
kesiki kokoro wo Nor do we, yet my feelings
a ga omofanaku ni Are unchanged.¹⁶⁰

Is not the point [of the *Man’yōshū* poem] that the ‘hems of their robes do not meet?’ However, is not [Shinkaku’s] poem expressing the desire that the robes should meet? Usually, in the case of these kinds of matters, we should compose about things already acknowledged more than about things we know second hand. Even if something is in *Man’yōshū*, there is no value in using expressions one is not used to. The Shijō Dainagon says in his *Shinsen zuinō* that we should compose poetry while treating each word in an original manner.¹⁶¹ That being the case, it is inappropriate to use expressions that we are not comfortable using. He goes on to say: ‘Even if poets think they mastered this technique, it is meaningless if other people do not recognize the references.’¹⁶² Since the right poem does not have any significant flaws, I grant it the win.¹⁶³

As with the previous judgment, Kiyosuke clearly did not like one of the poets’ – Shinkaku’s – application of *Man’yōshū* vocabulary. The poem that Kiyosuke recognized as the source of inspiration for Shinkaku’s composition was rather unknown in the late Heian period;

¹⁶⁰ It is a *Man’yōshū* poem from volume XIV (#3482):

可良許呂毛 須蘇乃宇知可倍安波衲杼毛家思吉己許呂平安我毛波奈久尔
からころもすそのうちかへあはねどもけしきころをあがもはなくに

¹⁶¹ Dainagon Shijō stands for the author of the *Shinsen zuinō* – Fujiwara Kintō. Kiyosuke refers to *Shinsen zuinō*: 一ふしにてめづらしきことばを、詠みいでんとおもふべし。‘Approach each word in an original manner.’ See Hisamatsu, ed., 29.

¹⁶² Kiyosuke refers to the following excerpt from *Shinsen zuinō*: すべて我はおぼえたりとおもひたれども、人の心得がたき事はかひなくなんある。 See *ibid*.

¹⁶³ Appendix 1, 1.10. *Hanshi 2, Kiyosuke*.

besides *Man'yōshū*, based on my research, this poem may be found only in *Waka dōmōshō*. Despite Shinkaku's efforts to impress a Rokujō school judge with his knowledge of a less popular *Man'yōshū* poem, Kiyosuke evaluated his allusion style as unskillful. Since Kiyosuke was generally not fond of allusions to poems one had not mastered yet – something he expressed in his *Ōgishō* – he granted the win to a poem which he did not even bother to discuss. Instead of referring to his own poetic treatise, Kiyosuke cited Kintō's *Shinsen zuinō* as a justification for his stance, advising poets to compose poems using already recognized expressions and poems.

This second judgment from *Taira no Tsunemori ason no ie no uta'awase* confirms that Kiyosuke lacked enthusiasm for allusions to *Man'yōshū* poems. Minegishi Yoshiaki has pointed out that this poetry contest was held a year after Shunzei became the sole judge of *Chūgūnosuke Shigeie uta'awase*, which was organized by Kiyosuke's half-brother. Minegishi also emphasizes that while Shunzei presented a more progressive view on poetic borrowing, it is clear from Kiyosuke's *hanshi* from the *Taira no Tsunemori ason no ie no uta'awase* that he was still following the old ways. Moreover, he granted the majority of wins to poets affiliated with the Rokujō school.¹⁶⁴ Such a stance strays away from Kiyosuke's more progressive-looking approach expressed in his *karon*, where he generally approved of poetic borrowing from ancient poetry. Such disparity in Kiyosuke's treatment of appropriation strategy likely results from more rigorous standards that poets were expected to follow when composing waka for poetry contests. What was appropriate in other contexts and in early medieval literary theory was not always acceptable during *uta'awase*, where poets submitted poems composed for public occasions (*hare no uta*). In fact, both of Kiyosuke's *hanshi* from this poetry contest cause one to think that, at least to Kiyosuke's standards, poets misunderstood the principles of poetic borrowing in the *uta'awase* setting.

Thus, Kiyosuke did not necessarily promote *Man'yōshū* poetic style in his *uta'awase* judgments and did not openly advertise the Rokujō school's expertise in this regard to attract poets and patrons. In fact, by criticizing the way his contemporaries appropriated old poems Kiyosuke might have discouraged many poets from studying with him, since he made *Man'yōshū* poetry sound difficult and inapproachable. This lack of consistency in Kiyosuke's views about allusions to earlier poems between his *karon* and *hanshi* made him ambiguous. It

¹⁶⁴ Minegishi, 215-216.

almost looks like Kiyosuke wished to follow the tradition and modernize waka at the same time; as if he was in a conflict between the past and present. I argue that Kiyosuke was changing and growing as a poet-scholar but his style of writing judgments was not in tune with his own time; he was a better theoretician than pragmatic promoter of his own area of expertise. As a result, Kiyosuke ended up discouraging some poets from following his views, especially when there was a new judge on the horizon – Shunzei, who represented a much more supportive approach towards poetic borrowing from old poems, who did not bear a heavy baggage of poetic tradition and rituals related to waka practice, and who did not have a conflict between the past and present.

The last extant example of a Kiyosuke judgment that mentions *Man'yōshū* poetry is from the ninth round of the *Udaijin no ie no uta'awase* composed on the topic of *fatuyuki* (First Snow), where the left poem by Fujiwara Motosuke (d. 1185), who was Yorisuke's son and close to the Kujō house, won over the right poem by Fujiwara Tada'aki (fl. 1159-1183):¹⁶⁵

Round Nine

Left win

Motosuke

<i>medurasi ya</i> <i>kesa fatuyuki ni</i> <i>miyagino no</i> <i>fagi no furue ni</i> <i>fana sakinikeri</i>	Is it not sensational?! With this morning's first snow, Blossoms have opened On old bush clover branches In the Miyagi fields.
--	--

Right

Tada'aki

<i>kefu yori fa</i> <i>tani no ifamiti</i> <i>yuki furite</i> <i>ato taenu beki</i> <i>miyamabe no sato</i>	From today snow Has fallen on the rocky valley road. Surely all traces To the village deep in mountains, Will be faded out.
---	---

Regarding the left poem, even though many people say that bush clover blossoms are not white and thus cannot be mistaken for snow, since flowers generally resemble snow, arguing about the color of blossoms is rather a quibble, is it not? Moreover, since in *Man'yōshū* there are poems about white bush clover, it is not necessarily a big flaw here. The poem is not bad. In the right poem, even though the idea of 'a rocky valley road' is

¹⁶⁵ Fujiwara Tada'aki (or Masa'aki) was courtier with close ties to the losing Heike force in the Genpei War (1180-1185), which is likely why there are no record of him after 1183.

not unprecedented, it nonetheless does not feel all that familiar, so I granted the win to the left poem.¹⁶⁶

In this poetic judgment Kiyosuke did not criticize unskillful allusions to *Man'yōshū* in either of the poems. On the contrary, he justified the image of white bush clover in Motosuke's poem by saying that one may find similar examples in *Man'yōshū*. Thus, he used the collection as a source of proof-poems (*shōka*), even though he did not seem to be enthusiastic about the way Motosuke applied the *mitate* technique.¹⁶⁷

Kiyosuke did not cite any poems to justify his claim that there were poems in *Man'yōshū* that referred to “white *fagi*,” and I have found no poems in the extant *Man'yōshū* manuscripts containing an expression *sirafagi* (white bush clover). *Sirafagi* appears in Kenshō's *Shūchūshō* (#998) but as an alternative version of *akifagi* (autumn bush clover) found in a *Man'yōshū* poem from volume X (#2014):

吾等待之白芽子開奴今谷毛尔寶比尔徃奈越方人迹	
あがまちしあきはぎさきぬいまだにもにほひにゆかなをちかたひとに	
<i>a ga matisi</i>	The awaited autumn bush clover
<i>akifagi sakinu</i>	Has finally bloomed.
<i>ima dani mo</i>	I should follow this fragrance
<i>nifofi ni yukana</i>	From now on
<i>wotikata fito ni</i>	All the way to my beloved far-off.

Even though this *Man'yōshū* poem is not included in any of Kiyosuke's works of poetry criticism, he was surely aware of this pre-Sengaku reading, which interprets the *man'yōgana* literally as “white,” rather than following the Sengaku interpretation where, as according to the Chinese system of the Five Elements, the color white was associated with autumn. In fact, this interpretive difference is notable in, for example, *Ruijū koshū*, and *sirafagi* was clearly treated as a “*Man'yōshū* expression” by some texts in the late Heian period.¹⁶⁸ Along with other examples mentioned earlier on, this demonstrates that the reception of at least some *Man'yōshū* vocabulary was different in the late Heian period than

¹⁶⁶ Appendix 1, 1.11. *Hanshi 3, Kiyosuke*.

¹⁶⁷ In the *mitate* technique two things are deliberately mistaken for each other or visually conflated, which usually implies speculation about the cause or reason for something.

¹⁶⁸ Ueda Kazutoshi, ed., *Ruijū koshū*, vol. 3 (Tōkyō: Rinsen Shoten, 1992), 27.

it is nowadays. Such reception reinforces the value of the pre-Sengaku “incorrectly” annotated *Man'yōshū* manuscripts for the study of early medieval poetic criticism and poetry. We are unable to conclude if this *Man'yōshū* poem was any source of inspiration for Motosuke's *tanka*, since both compositions do not share enough in vocabulary and theme.

Furthermore, we see that Kiyosuke did not strongly criticize Tada'aki's poem either but he did not make an effort to explain why he found it inferior in comparison to the left poem. Perhaps Kiyosuke gave a win to Motosuke's poem because Motosuke had close ties to the Rokujō school through his father – Yorisuke, who was Akisue's step-brother. Motosuke was also a descendant of Fujiwara Michinaga, a powerful politician who participated in the creation of the second glossing of *Man'yōshū* – *jiten* – and who, as emphasized in Kiyosuke's *Fukurozōshi* and discussed in previous sections of this dissertation, contributed to the popularization of knowledge about the collection and its manuscripts.¹⁶⁹

Based on the analysis of Kiyosuke's *hanshi*, we see that he generally appears to have been more conservative and careful about the practice of poetic borrowing than in his *karon*, and thus overall less commercial in advertising his skills. As indicated above, this likely resulted from different conventions of *hare no uta* that poets were supposed to follow in the *uta'awase* context. Unfortunately, this conservative attitude had no appeal; it did not win him any new connections and patrons. Kiyosuke ended up being less of a judge than theoretician, which opened new space to shine for the Mikohidari school.

2.4 – Reception of *Man'yōshū* in Fujiwara Shunzei's poetry criticism

In this section of the dissertation, I analyze *Man'yōshū*'s reception in two of Shunzei's poetic treatises – *Man'yōshū jidaikō* and *Korai fūteishō*, as well as five of Shunzei's judgments from five different poetry contests, in which he made remarks about *Man'yōshū* poetry. Shunzei judged many more poetry contests than Kiyosuke – twenty-two that we know of between 1166-1203, and all his judgments have survived to date, which makes the analysis of his *hanshi* much more thorough yet challenging.¹⁷⁰ I exclude from my analysis two other of Shunzei's critical

¹⁶⁹ Fujioka 1995, ed., 38.

¹⁷⁰ Karolina Szebla-Morinaga, *Tajemna Głębia (Yūgen) w Poezji Japońskiej* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2012), 78-81.

works – *Kokin mondō* (Dialogues about *Kokinshū*, ca. 1196) and *Shōji ninen Shunzei kyō waji sōjō*. *Kokin mondō* focuses exclusively on *Kokinshū* and thus does not include any information about *Man'yōshū*.

As for *Shōji ninen Shunzei kyō waji sōjō*, even though this letter from Shunzei to Retired Emperor Go-Toba contains some interesting criticism about Kiyosuke, I believe that the letter was a result of Shunzei's dissatisfaction with Go-Toba for not including his son, Fujiwara Teika, in one of the most significant poetic events of the pre-*Shinkokinshū* era – *Shōji ninen in shodo hyakushu*.¹⁷¹ Thus, I do not perceive this letter by Shunzei as a manifestation of his conflict with Kiyosuke, who was already deceased by that time. Also, the letter does not contain any significant information about *Man'yōshū*'s reception besides the fact that Shunzei, like Kiyosuke, attributed its compilation to the reign of Emperor Shōmu. However, we cannot ignore that in the *Shōji ninen Shunzei kyō waji sōjō*, Shunzei creates an image of some “rivalry” between the Rokujō and Mikohidari poets by providing alternative information about the history of waka, or alternative interpretations of the poetic discourse, in order to ensure patronage for his poetic school. Shunzei's letter allows us to consider his approach as quite politically charged and having a Foucauldian purpose in its attempt to gain power through knowledge.

Fujiwara Shunzei's works of poetry criticism are as significant for the field of medieval Japanese poetry criticism as Fujiwara Kiyosuke's works, even though Shunzei created his poetic treatises only in the 1190's. Most of Shunzei's poetry contests judgments were also written after Kiyosuke's death but the first five *uta'awase* that Shunzei judged overlap with Kiyosuke's activity as a poetic arbiter. Shunzei even had an opportunity to judge Kiyosuke's poems twice in 1170.¹⁷²

When Shunzei wrote his first poetic treatise in the mid-1190's, he was already an established waka critic and poetry contest judge, while Kiyosuke had already written most of his poetic treatises and handbooks before he started to receive invitations to judge poetry contests. Thus, Shunzei's works of poetry criticism are products of a more experienced waka critic and judge. This difference is a result of significant changes that were taking place in the years

¹⁷¹ Huey 2002, 405-412, and discussion about the letter on pp. 56-58. For the remarks about Kiyosuke, see 409-410.

¹⁷² Clifton Royston claimed that Shunzei did not judge Kiyosuke's poems very harshly. In fact, he did not find any significant “clashes” between those poets despite some difference of opinion about poetry they clearly had. See Royston, 222-223.

preceding the compilation of *Shinkokinshū* in 1205, like the rise of *uta'awase* and, related to it, the professionalization and politicization of poetic practice.¹⁷³ Those changes resulted in a rise of a group of professional waka poets and judges, who would provide their services in the form of poetry criticism to numerous poetic circles. Certain waka poet-critics, by participating in and claiming a part of the already existing poetic discourse, were attempting to gain some power for themselves and their respective poetic schools.¹⁷⁴ Kiyosuke and Shunzei were surely among them.

2.4.1 – *Man'yōshū* in *Man'yōshū jidaikō* (1195)

Man'yōshū jidaikō is a short poetic treatise written by Fujiwara Shunzei in 1189-1195. The text declares itself to have been written in response to questions that Kujō Yoshitsune asked Shunzei about *Man'yōshū*. It is also dedicated to Yoshitsune. Just like Kiyosuke's *Fukurozōshi*, *Man'yōshū jidaikō* discusses issues related to the compilation of *Man'yōshū*, which was one of the most controversial topics for waka discourse in the early medieval era.¹⁷⁵ In short, the treatise argues that *Man'yōshū* was compiled after the reign of Emperor Shōmu, and specifically states that the collection had been completed by Tachibana Moroe during the reign of Empress Kōken, that is in 749-758. The original and translation of *Man'yōshū jidaikō* are included in Appendix 2.

Man'yōshū jidaikō is the very first of Shunzei's extant poetic commentaries and the only one that deals exclusively with *Man'yōshū*, yet it remains one of the least studied and appreciated texts of the early medieval period, in contrast to another of Shunzei's critical works – *Korai fūteishō* – which has long been seen to represent the very quintessence of Shunzei's poetics.¹⁷⁶ Taking into consideration the Rokujō's school scholarship and expertise on

¹⁷³ Huey 1990, 651-668.

¹⁷⁴ Those features of early medieval waka world were first emphasized by Robert Huey and are still supported by, for example Rosalee Bundy. See Huey 1990, 651-668; Bundy 2010, 5-7. In general, most publications overestimate the duality between the two schools and “factionalism,” and perhaps do not give enough credit to the individuality of the same school members in their approach towards the poetic discourse.

¹⁷⁵ Gu Jeoung-ho, “*Korai fūteishō* ni okeru Shunzei *Man'yō* uta senka ishiki,” *Kokugo kokubun kenkyū* 93, no. 2 (1993): 16-32.

¹⁷⁶ Based on my research, there are no publications about Shunzei's *Man'yōshū jidaikō* in any language. Interestingly, Kenshō's *Man'yōshū jidai nanji* is also a very understudied text. One of the reasons for such negligence is likely the fact that all extant *Man'yōshū jidai nanji* manuscripts are dated the earliest in the Edo period. Moreover, the importance of this text has not been fully recognized and it is challenging in terms of its content. See Matsuno, 401-403.

Man'yōshū, some may wonder why Shunzei compiled *Man'yōshū jidaikō* at all, and why he presented an alternative view about the collection's compilation.

Kiyosuke already claimed in his *Fukurozōshi* that *Man'yōshū* had been ordered by Emperor Shōmu. Since the Shiguretei Library of the Reizei house has a few critical works by the Rokujō poets, including Kiyosuke's – his *Waka shogakushō* and one volume from *Ōgishō* as well as Kenshō's *Shūchūshō* – it seems safe to assume that Shunzei was familiar with Kiyosuke's opinion. However, Shunzei most likely wrote *Man'yōshū jidaikō* specifically as a critical response to *Man'yōshū jidai nanji*, authored by Kiyosuke's adopted son, Kenshō, a treatise also focusing on the issues related to *Man'yōshū*'s compilation.¹⁷⁷ *Man'yōshū jidai nanji* is dedicated to Imperial Prince Shukaku, and argues that *Man'yōshū* was compiled in the Daidō era during the reign of Emperor Heizei.¹⁷⁸ Thus, it strays from other medieval views about the *Man'yōshū*'s creation period, including Kiyosuke's. *Man'yōshū jidaikō* even mentions Kenshō by name and refers to his view on *Man'yōshū*'s compilation from *Man'yōshū jidai nanji*. And though it does not harshly criticize Kenshō's theory, it undermines his logic in determining the time period in which *Man'yōshū* was compiled. Shunzei's first poetic treatise, however, turns out to be much more than a manifestation of his notorious disagreements on poetry with Kenshō, which are frequently brought up by Japanese literature scholars as an evidence of the Rokujō-Mikohidari rivalry.¹⁷⁹

Man'yōshū jidaikō is a valuable piece of non-Rokujō school poetry criticism regarding *Man'yōshū*'s reception history because it presents facts related to the collection's compilation in a manner at times quite different than that of other extant texts of poetry criticism of that period, while it simultaneously seems to follow the logic and practices of the Rokujō poets. This suggests Shunzei and the Rokujō poets, despite some differences in their approach towards *Man'yōshū*, had much in common. *Man'yōshū jidaikō* suggests that Shunzei and other Mikohidari poets grew out of the Rokujō schools' tradition. Moreover, since the Shiguretei Library possesses poetic treatises produced by Kiyosuke and Kenshō, it is safe to say that works

¹⁷⁷ Royston, 379.

¹⁷⁸ Kyūsojin 1980, ed., 51.

¹⁷⁹ Shunzei publicly clashed with Kenshō from the time of *Ropyakuban uta'awase*, when he criticized Kenshō's poetry.

of poetry criticism in that period were circulated and shared with the poetic world, and were not as protected and hidden in familial libraries as older manuscripts of various literary works.

As emphasized in Chapter 1, I argue that the purpose of poetic treatises in the early medieval era was to advertise the schools' expertise in certain areas of waka. That is why Shunzei started compiling his own *karon* – he knew that in order to appear legitimate in the waka world and establish a new poetic school, he had to textualize and thus promote parts of knowledge and poetic discourse that he could claim as passed to him orally. The fact that his first work of *karon*, though short, was about *Man'yōshū* and dedicated to a son of a powerful patron from the Kujō family was a strong claim to a position of waka leadership. We should, however, notice that Shunzei had waited for a long time before writing his *karon* and challenging the Rokujō school's position. There were many reasons for such a strategy, one being that the next waka master needed to be of a certain age to be taken seriously. Moreover, the passage of time was to Shunzei's benefit, since he could have accumulated a considerable amount of knowledge from many sources, beginning with Fujiwara Mototoshi, and copied and studied various manuscripts. Shunzei used his time wisely – he made sure to excel at his craft and became a valued *uta'awase* arbiter in many poetic circles. Only then did he challenge part of the Rokujō school's scholarship on *Man'yōshū* with his *Man'yōshū jidaikō*. Also, Shunzei made sure that he appeared to be different from the Rokujō poet-scholars; he was an upgrade to an older tradition.

Even though *Man'yōshū jidaikō* does not fully accord with the poetry criticism of Kiyosuke and Kenshō, it refers to similar sources, for example one of the first Japanese historical tales entitled *Eiga monogatari*, the *kana* preface to *Kokinshū* (*kanajo*), Fun'ya Arisue's (late 9th c.) famous poem explaining the circumstances and period of *Man'yōshū*'s compilation, and information about Ōtomo Yakamochi, whom modern scholarship generally credits with having completed the compilation of *Man'yōshū*.¹⁸⁰ In fact, a big part of *Man'yōshū jidaikō* echoes Kiyosuke's theory from *Fukurozōshi* on the compilation of *Man'yōshū*, which suggests Kiyosuke and Shunzei operated within the same channels of knowledge transmission about this issue and were thus part of the same poetic discourse.¹⁸¹ This is in fact not surprising, since, as mentioned above, we may assume based on the Shiguretei Library's catalog that waka poets-

¹⁸⁰ In medieval poetry criticism *Eiga monogatari*, is referred to as *Yotsugi monogatari*. See Fujioka 1995, ed., 35-38; Kyūsojin 1980, ed., 47-75.

¹⁸¹ Fujioka 1995, ed., 35-38.

scholars of that time shared at least some of their works of poetry criticism. The undeniable discrepancy between Kiyosuke and Shunzei is, however, that they at times interpreted the well-known facts about *Man'yōshū*'s compilation differently.

Kiyosuke claimed in his *Fukurozōshi* that *Man'yōshū* was ordered by Emperor Shōmu but possibly after his abdication, and thus during the reign of Empress Kōken.¹⁸² Shunzei, on the other hand, argued in *Man'yōshū jidaikō* that *Man'yōshū* was commissioned during the reign of Emperor Shōmu and completed during the reign of Empress Kōken but he did not stress who the initiator of *Man'yōshū*'s compilation was.¹⁸³ Their opinions are basically the same – both poets seemed to believe that there was no sufficient evidence to state unequivocally that Shōmu was the official commissioner. Both Kiyosuke and Shunzei also expressed lack of confidence in the information that they presented by saying that the issue should be further examined or that there is no written record of who ordered the compilation of *Man'yōshū*.

A minor difference of opinion between them is notable regarding the *Man'yōshū* compiler. While Kiyosuke did not determine in *Fukurozōshi* whether Tachibana Moroe or Ōtomo Yakamochi were the compilers of the collection, Shunzei seemed to opt for Moroe in *Man'yōshū jidaikō*. Thus, we find a small difference between Kiyosuke and Shunzei regarding the circumstances surrounding the *Man'yōshū*'s compilation, but it is nothing major. Yet, *Man'yōshū jidaikō* distinguished itself in just a minor way from previous works of poetry criticism by presenting a slightly alternative version of *Man'yōshū*'s creation. Its most significant feature is the confirmation that Shunzei based his scholarship heavily on Kiyosuke's poetic criticism. He reiterated the same facts about *Man'yōshū* compilation, not giving any credit to Kiyosuke, while diminishing Kenshō's significantly alternative opinion on the matter. Therefore, I argue that this text reveals Shunzei's claim to being an heir of sorts to Kiyosuke's knowledge about *Man'yōshū*.

Higaki Takashi has argued that Shunzei had certain knowledge about *Man'yōshū* and its poetry long before he wrote any of his poetic treatises.¹⁸⁴ We know that he maintained a close relationship with Fujiwara Mototoshi, a respected Heian period poet who highly valued ancient

¹⁸² Ibid., 37-38.

¹⁸³ Takeshita Yutaka, ed., *Manji*, in *Kanazawa bunko-bon Man'yōshū*. 18. *Chūsei Man'yōshū*, Reizei-ke Shiguretei sōsho 39, (Tōkyō: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1994), 194-201.

¹⁸⁴ Higaki 1977, 31.

poetry and was thought by some to be one of the scholars who added *jiten* to *Man'yōshū* poems. Tamura Ryūichi also argues that part of Shunzei's expertise about *Man'yōshū* might have derived from Mototoshi.¹⁸⁵ Moreover, Terashima Shūichi claims that the *Man'yōshū* manuscript Shunzei likely possessed was a copy he received from Mototoshi.¹⁸⁶ Though it is evident that Mototoshi reviewed Shunzei's poems and likely transmitted some of his knowledge to him, their interaction lasted for only four years – Shunzei was introduced to Mototoshi in 1138, and Mototoshi passed away in 1142. It is more important to notice that *Man'yōshū jidaikō* is a piece of evidence demonstrating that during the medieval era *Man'yōshū* was not an object of study only to the Rokujō poets, and that Shunzei acquired his expertise about *Man'yōshū* from Mototoshi and other sources too.¹⁸⁷ Shunzei does not reveal where his knowledge originates, and he does not claim to have a *Man'yōshū* manuscript in the same manner Kiyosuke had done in his *Fukurozōshi*. This arouses a suspicion that Shunzei may not have yet had a *Man'yōshū* text at that time. One fact is, however, clear; Shunzei assumed that in order to compete with the Rokujō poets and attract potential patrons, he should emulate Kiyosuke's poetic treatises. This approach equipped him with the ability to provide the waka world with some sense of continuity in the art of producing *karon* and practicing waka in general. At the same time, Shunzei was not burdened by his ancestors and their secret teachings and was thus able to push the boundaries of the poetic discourse a little bit further than Kiyosuke.

Man'yōshū jidaikō was meant to be much more than Shunzei's demonstration of his expertise about *Man'yōshū*. The very compilation of it helped Shunzei to make a statement about his position in the early medieval poetic world and was the first attempt of the Mikohidari school to demonstrate their expertise about waka. As mentioned in Chapter 1, *Man'yōshū* lies at the very beginning of waka history, so neither Rokujō or Mikohidari could afford to disregard it. Being able to quote poetry from *Man'yōshū*, to discuss issues or bring up “facts” related to its

¹⁸⁵ Tamura, 185-186.

¹⁸⁶ Terashima 2005, 9.

¹⁸⁷ Similarly, Rokujō school also emphasized knowledge of and significance of other literary works, for example *Kokinshū*, *Ise monogatari* or *Genji monogatari*. In fact, Teramoto Naohiko notes that in *Fukurozōshi* and *Ōgishō* Kiyosuke quotes such poems from *Genji monogatari* that are not included in the text currently considered as the standard manuscript (based on Fujiwara Teika's copy). Teramoto argues that the manuscript of *Genji monogatari* that Kiyosuke had in his possession must have been quite different from the one owned by the Mikohidari school. Thus, it is possible that the Rokujō poets also tried to position themselves as scholars of the Heian period literary works, not only *Man'yōshū*. See Teramoto Naohiko, *Genji monogatari juyōshi ronkō* (Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1984), 663-666.

compilation helped to define one's credibility as a waka scholar. Shunzei must have realized that in order to make his name in the poetic world, he had to first follow in the footsteps of the Rokujō school and prove that he was as proficient as the Rokujō poets in those areas of waka studies which were considered most obscure and required the study of manuscripts under someone's supervision.

By writing *Man'yōshū jidaikō*, Shunzei announced that the Rokujō poets were not the only ones who were able to share their expertise about *Man'yōshū*. Also, he demonstrated the ability to produce poetry criticism in a format acknowledged as appropriate by his contemporaries, until then practiced mainly by the Rokujō poets. With this commentary, Shunzei sought to place himself in the waka tradition as an expert about the very beginnings of its history. Furthermore, his stance of re-interpreting an older tradition would later become the main agenda for the *Shinkokinshū* compilation and its neo-classical direction. Thus, with *Man'yōshū jidaikō*, Shunzei claimed quite a big part of the medieval waka discourse, until then reserved for the Rokujō school.

Compilation of *Man'yōshū jidaikō* itself may imply a type of “branding,” in which Shunzei positioned himself as an alternative to other theories about *Man'yōshū* compilation. The slightly alternative historiography of *Man'yōshū*, which Shunzei clearly attempts to present in *Man'yōshū jidaikō*, was meant to cause a shift of power and knowledge about the collection from the Rokujō school, where it had been previously located. In the early medieval era knowledge about *Man'yōshū* itself clearly represented a certain degree of power and authority, gesturing towards longevity and access to scholarly resources providing a proof of any claims waka scholars might make. By presenting even a minor deviation to the mainstream tradition of *Man'yōshū* historiography, Shunzei established a sense of authority connected to a claim of long-lasting and traditional power that only the possession of an actual *Man'yōshū* manuscript can provide.

Shiguretei Library has only volume XVIII of the *Kanazawa Bunko-bon* manuscript from the late Kamakura period, so we cannot confirm with full certainty that Shunzei had access to a full *Man'yōshū* manuscript. However, it seems probable that he did, since another of his poetic treatises, *Korai fūteishō*, bears signs of it. In fact, Takeshita Yutaka does not count out the

possibility that *Kanazawa Bunko-bon* itself goes back to Shunzei.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, some scholars believe that, like the *Nishi Honganji-bon* text, *Kanazawa Bunko-bon* is derived from two of Sengaku's currently non-extant *Man'yōshū* manuscripts: 1) *Bun'ei Ninen-bon* from 1265 and the *Bun'ei Sannen-bon* from 1266.¹⁸⁹ Had *Kanazawa Bunko-bon* survived in its entirety (besides volume XVIII, only volumes I, IX and XIX have survived in full), it might be treated equally with the *Nishi Honganji-bon*, currently considered a standard *Man'yōshū* text. Thus, it is possible that Shunzei in fact had a manuscript of the collection, which was later utilized by Sengaku, the creator of the third glossing (*shinten*).

As stated in Chapter 1, if Shunzei wished to build a new brand of waka school, he certainly had a good strategy – he started at the central core and made a claim to knowledge about *Man'yōshū*, a collection that started to attract more and more attention in the poetic world. *Man'yōshū jidaikō*'s last paragraph states that “there is a lot of nonsense being said about this,” and “one truly cannot say with any certainty much more than I have stated above,” which implies that Shunzei's opinion was absolute. The authoritative and declarative tone of this rather scholarly and academic commentary presents Shunzei as possessing the most legitimate knowledge about *Man'yōshū*'s compilation, which with time helped to validate the position of the Mikohidari house in the early medieval era. Shunzei created a quality of expertise that would later come to be associated with the Mikohidari school. It is possible that Akisue went through a similar process more than a hundred years earlier in order to establish the Rokujō school.

Moreover, Shunzei surely aimed to impress an established poetic patron, Kujō Kanezane, as *Man'yōshū jidaikō* was dedicated to his son, Kujō Yoshitsune. Kanezane had previously supported the Rokujō school but spread his patronage over Shunzei and the Mikohidari school in the years following Kiyosuke's death in 1177.¹⁹⁰ Thus, Shunzei replaced Kiyosuke or, in other words, filled in an empty space as a potential leader of the early medieval poetic world, who would not only renew the waka tradition but also give a solid start to a poetic school that would later become the core of waka development. *Man'yōshū jidaikō* was simply one of the first steps that Shunzei took to legitimize his new role in the poetic world and his new poetic circle. In fact, in the last fifteen years of his life Shunzei actively promoted the young poets of the Mikohidari

¹⁸⁸ Takeshita, ed., 10.

¹⁸⁹ Vovin, 13.

¹⁹⁰ Hosoya 1965, 23.

school. His efforts paid off, since the support from the Kujō house via its next patron, Yoshitsune, was continued and the prevalence of the Mikohidari over the Rokujō school was legitimized in several crucial poetic events preceding the compilation of the eighth imperial collection, the *Shinkokinshū*, like the famous *Ropyyakuban uta'awase*, held at Kujō Yoshitsune's residence and judged solely by Shunzei.

2.4.2 – *Man'yōshū* in *Korai fūteishō* (1197)

Korai fūteishō is the second extant poetic treatise written by Fujiwara Shunzei. It was originally completed in 1197 allegedly at the request of Imperial Princess Shikishi, who was Go-Shirakawa's daughter and Shunzei's disciple in the art of waka. We know that it underwent revisions and was rewritten with minor changes by 1201 but it implies the patronage of the imperial persona.¹⁹¹ It consists of two volumes, the first of which deals with *hon'i* (poetic essence) and waka history, and lists 191 poems exclusively from *Man'yōshū*. The second volume contains poetic examples from imperial collections from *Kokinshū* through *Senzaishū*.¹⁹² *Korai fūteishō* is highly valued for its commentary about the essence of waka and is frequently compared to the Rokujō school's poetry criticism.

Some scholars believe that in *Korai fūteishō* Shunzei constructed the canon of Japanese poetry up until the 1200's, which was widely recognized and validated by later generations of waka poets and scholars.¹⁹³ However, since it does not contain many anecdotes about poetry and thus follows a different format from any earlier poetic treatise, some scholars question whether it should be considered a poetic treatise at all.¹⁹⁴ Despite that, it has been for long acknowledged that *Korai fūteishō* is a significant work for the history of Japanese poetry criticism. This poetic commentary has been extensively researched in Japan as a whole and in regard to its approach

¹⁹¹ In the *Korai fūteishō* from 1201, there are some changes in the *kaisetsu* (commentary), as well as in the number of poems included in this poetic treatise. Moreover, it has been argued that after Princess Shikishi's death in 1200, the revised *Korai fūteishō* might have been dedicated to somebody else – her brother, Imperial Prince Shukaku or Kujō Yoshitsune. For more, see Matsuno, 350 and Shibayama, 456-457.

¹⁹² Interestingly, *Korai fūteishō* did not comment on the poetics of *Genji monogatari*, although it contains a brief section on *Ise monogatari*. See Watanabe, Kobayashi and Yamamoto, ed., 97.

¹⁹³ Szebla-Morinaga, 76.

¹⁹⁴ Shibayama, 371.

towards *Man'yōshū*. In fact, “*Man'yōshū* in *Korai fūteishō*” is one of the most frequently raised topics among the Shunzei scholars.

Korai fūteishō's impact on later generations of poets has been widely recognized. Japanese literature scholars emphasize its novelty and significance as a tool in Shunzei's rivalry with the Rokujō school.¹⁹⁵ Though *Korai fūteishō* does not aggressively attack the Rokujō school, it comments on and corrects some of Kenshō's opinions about waka and suggests that Kiyosuke was not following a *Man'yōshū* manuscript when defining *tanka* (short poem) and *chōka* (long poem). This suggests that Shunzei was becoming more and more confident in his ability to claim himself as a specialist on issues regarding *Man'yōshū* and take over the leadership in the poetic world. The consistent lack of attention to Kiyosuke in Shunzei's works of *karon*, combined with at times heavy criticism of Kenshō, might have been Shunzei's way of claiming Kiyosuke's teachings and leadership position in the poetic world. If Shunzei had criticized Kiyosuke too much, people might have noticed it and called him on his actual poetic “debt” to Kiyosuke. Kenshō, with his unorthodox interpretations and appropriations of ancient poems, was a much easier target to question.

There is a general consensus among Japanese waka scholars that *Korai fūteishō* approaches poetic history from a much broader perspective than any of the earlier poetic treatises. However, it has a number of intriguing features reflecting its undeniable relationship to the earlier examples of poetry criticism. For example, *Toshiyori zuinō* also presented a sophisticated sense of history. Moreover, both Toshiyori and Kiyosuke in *Ōgishō* wrote about waka as the “path” that poets follow. In addition, they frequently refer to their own era as the age of *mappō*, a degenerate era in human history when people can no longer comprehend the Buddha's teaching, and cannot compose poems as skillfully as they used to in antiquity. Thus, they all idealized antiquity but were somehow aware that times had changed.

We see that earlier poet-scholars already perceived the art of waka as a constantly changing mode, but they were rather critical of poems composed during their own eras. Shunzei's remarks about Japanese poetry changing over the centuries and the continuous

¹⁹⁵ For example, see Chō Riki'i, “*Korai fūteishō* ni okeru *Manyō* shōshutsuka no honbun idō nitsuite,” *Tōkyō Daigaku kokubungaku ronshū* 1, no. 5 (2006): 77-91; Gu, 16-35; Matsuno, 353; and Tamura, 182-183.

character of waka history are thus not entirely new.¹⁹⁶ Shunzei, does however, present his views in a manner that no other earlier or Rokujō scholar before. The fact that he does not criticize changes in the art of poetry, as earlier poet-scholars had, and that he speaks of waka in the context of Tendai Buddhism, demonstrate that, as declared in the very title of the treatise – *Poetic Styles of Past and Present* – Shunzei looked into the waka past as much as he looked into its future. *Korai fūteishō* was perhaps intended to prepare the ground for changes the Mikohidari school was about to introduce and advertise in the poetic world.

Thus, *Korai fūteishō* is a text aware of previous poetic commentaries but some of its features indicate that Shunzei perceived waka from a different perspective than the Rokujō school and presented knowledge about it in an alternative manner. In *Korai fūteishō*, Shunzei clearly admits that composing poetry is a problematic issue, since the style (*sugata*) and diction (*kotoba*) of poetry have undergone significant changes since the antiquity:

(...) Nowadays people only know how to compose poetry superficially, and it never occurs to them to attempt to go more deeply into it. Nevertheless, it is difficult to express in writing the essence of the path of poetry, even if one were to wander through forests of words and dip one's brush into a sea of ink. However, starting with the ancient *Man'yōshū*, then *Kokinshū*, *Gosenshū* and *Shūishū* of the middle age, and more recently from the *Goshūishū* onward, the styles and diction of poetry have been changing according to the progression of time, which may be seen in poetic collections of many eras. I feel compelled to record this process.¹⁹⁷

Shunzei states that waka had been changing over the centuries, beginning with *Man'yōshū*. Kiyosuke does write in his *Ōgishō* that *Man'yōshū* is the first collection of Japanese poetry but he does not present it in the same manner as Shunzei. It does not mean that Kiyosuke, or other waka theorists were not aware of the changes in the waka history. In fact, we should consider the possibility that for earlier waka scholars such knowledge was too elementary to write in a poetic commentary. Yet, it is because Shunzei was the first one to write it down that he was able to claim this assumption as his own.

¹⁹⁶ Hisamatsu Sen'ichi and Clifton Royston have also commented on Shunzei's recognition that waka was ever-changing. See Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, "Fujiwara Shunzei and Literary Theories of the Middle Ages," *Acta Asiatica* 1, no. 1 (1960): 34; Royston, 376.

¹⁹⁷ Watanabe, Kobayashi and Yamamoto, ed., 29-30; Appendix 1, 1.12. *Korai fūteishō* 1.

The analogy which Shunzei made between waka and Tendai Buddhism, saying that they are both philosophical and artistic paths (*miti*), having a sense of continuity, causes us to conclude that he perceived waka above all through its transmission from the past to the present.¹⁹⁸ Such a comparison suggests that *Korai fūteishō* had a clear agenda behind it, which none of the earlier examples of poetry criticism ever seemed to have. Interestingly, Stephen Miller considers Shunzei's stance on waka and his comparison of it to Tendai Buddhism not as new, but as an apogee of processes that began in the Nara period and continued throughout the Heian period, and finally matured under Shunzei's direction.¹⁹⁹ Shunzei was apparently more linked to the Buddhist world than Kiyosuke; he took the tonsure and was close to multiple Buddhist temples and people from Buddhist circles, like Imperial Prince Shukaku who was the abbot of Nin'na Temple or poet-monk Saigyō (1118-1190), which made him a popular judge for poetry contests held at various Buddhist temples.

Moreover, Shunzei included a separate volume of Buddhist poems (*shakkyōka*) in his *Senzaishū*, which was a precedent that created a new standard for future imperial compilers. However, some of those *shakkyōka* were included in *Shokushikashū*, compiled by Kiyosuke and originally meant to be an imperial collection. Moreover, Kiyosuke's *Fukurozōshi* contains a section on Buddhist poems.²⁰⁰ Kikuchi Ryōichi has claimed that Kiyosuke's poetic criticism incorporates elements of Buddhist teachings, since his *Fukurozōshi* contains poems reflecting the Buddhist concept of instability of human life, though Kikuchi's opinion is not a mainstream one.²⁰¹ However, taking his and Miller's opinion into account, it seems safe to conclude that Shunzei did not invent the idea of a relationship between waka and Buddhism but was the first one to emphasize it strongly and clearly enough to be able to claim the idea as his own. Shunzei's ability to notice and codify certain ideas about waka that had been around in the poetic discourse for a while but were not recorded in writing, was, in my opinion, a crucial factor for his and Mikohidari poets' success in the poetic world. This feature distinguished Shunzei among other poets and made him look like a poetic groundbreaker.

¹⁹⁸ Watanabe 2006, 30.

¹⁹⁹ Stephen Miller, *The Wind from Vulture Peak: the Buddhification of Japanese Waka in the Heian period* (New York: Cornell University, 2013), 1-2.

²⁰⁰ Fujioka 1995, ed., 149-158.

²⁰¹ Kikuchi Ryōichi. "Kiyosuke, Shunzei no karon ni miru bukyō shisō – *Fukurozōshi*, *Korai fūteishō*." *Tōyō bunka* 6 (1982), 1-17.1

In regard to Shunzei's treatment of *Man'yōshū* in his *Korai fūteishō*, some scholars claim that it is fundamentally different from all earlier extant poetry treatises on that score.²⁰² One of the most significant features of *Korai fūteishō*'s approach to *Man'yōshū* is the manner the treatise lists poems from the collection – the order of poems accords with the order of volumes and poems as they later appear in the *Nishi Honganji-bon* manuscript.²⁰³ This makes *Korai fūteishō* the earliest extant waka-related document that does so. This feature of *Korai fūteishō* implies that Sengaku may have used, among other texts, a *Man'yōshū* copy descending from the Mikohidari house. In fact, this may be at least partially confirmed by the fact that Shiguretei Library has a volume of the *Kanazawa Bunko-bon Man'yōshū* manuscript, which scholars consider to have been used by Sengaku.²⁰⁴ It seems that the Mikohidari school may have had, after all, an impact on the development of knowledge about *Man'yōshū*, despite the fact that the majority of Japanese scholars has long privileged the Rokujō school in this matter.

Thus, *Korai fūteishō* provides an alternative manner of categorizing and presenting *Man'yōshū* poetry in a poetic treatise, which affected later generations of poets who compiled their own poetic treatises. Kagō Takafumi has argued that Shunzei listed *Man'yōshū* poems in *Korai fūteishō* according to the order of associations that he himself might have had in mind and desired the reader to follow.²⁰⁵ However, it is important to remember this order is not new or incidental. To create a list according to a particular volume order was not Shunzei's original idea, since the section of *furuki kotoba* in Kiyosuke's *Waka shogakushō* lists 362 *Man'yōshū* expressions according to the *Ruijū koshū*'s volume order.²⁰⁶ Shunzei might have thus imitated Kiyosuke, but he probably wished to demonstrate that he possessed or had access to a manuscript of the collection – he quotes poems from each *Man'yōshū* volume, and in both *man'yōgana* and *kana*.²⁰⁷ In fact, as correctly noted by Yamazaki Yoshiyuki, *Korai fūteishō* is the first poetic

²⁰² See, for example, Miyamoto Ki'ichirō, “*Korai fūteishō* ni shōshutsu serareta *Man'yōshū*,” *Kokugo kokubun* 12, no. 10 (1942): 52.

²⁰³ Kagō, 262.

²⁰⁴ Vovin, 13.

²⁰⁵ Kagō, 265-275.

²⁰⁶ Sasaki 1956, ed., 172-179.

²⁰⁷ Yamazaki Yoshiyuki has claimed that since *man'yōgana* and *kana* of some *Man'yōshū* poems listed in *Korai fūteishō* do not match (he calls them “incorrectly” transcribed, which I consider an anachronistic way to put it), Shunzei might have had an un-annotated manuscript of the collection and annotated *Man'yōshū* himself, the results of which we see in his *Korai fūteishō*. I argue, however, that we find some glossing “mistakes” in the *Korai fūteishō* because it was based on a pre-Sengaku *jiten* manuscript, in which not all the poems were annotated, and some were annotated “incorrectly.” I agree with Yamazaki, though, that we should consider the possibility that Shunzei might

treatise that provided both *man'yōgana* and *kana* of most *Man'yōshū* poems (earlier commentaries cited poems only in *kana*).²⁰⁸

The issue of a *Man'yōshū* manuscript owned and transmitted within the Mikohidari school is one of the most difficult and controversial topics in modern waka studies. There are views among Japanese scholars that *Korai fūteishō* was based on Shunzei's *Man'yōshū* manuscript that later was inherited by his son, Fujiwara Teika. Scholars believe that Teika, who tutored the third shogun of the Kamakura shogunate, Minamoto Sanetomo (1192-1219) in the art of waka, personally copied it for him. That *Man'yōshū* copy made by Teika is frequently referred to as the *Kamakura udaijin-bon*.²⁰⁹ Some scholars claim that the same *Kamakura udaijin-bon* was utilized by monk Sengaku during his annotation of *Man'yōshū* – the texts that later became the basis for *Nishi Honganji-bon* manuscript.²¹⁰ Other scholars argue that *Kamakura udaijin-bon* became the basis for a text currently known as the *Hirose-bon Man'yōshū* from the Edo period.²¹¹ The fact is, however, that we currently do not have a full *Man'yōshū* text directly traceable to Shunzei or Teika. Yet, according to what we observe in *Korai fūteishō*, Shunzei positioned himself as a legitimate *Man'yōshū* scholar and possibly an alternative to the Rokujō tradition and line of knowledge transmission, which was another significant move on his side in securing the patronage for the future generations of Mikohidari poets.

Based on my examination of the data, in *Korai fūteishō*, the distribution of *Man'yōshū* poems by volume is as follows:

Vol.	No. of poems	Vol.	No. of poems	Vol.	No. of poems	Vol.	No. of poems
I	12	VI	7	XI	24	XVI	12
II	11	VII	11	XII	11	XVII	7
III	10	VIII	10	XIII	2	XVIII	2

have annotated some poems from *Man'yōshū* himself. See Yamazaki Yoshiyuki, “Shunzei-bon *Man'yōshū* shiron – Shunzei jihitsu *Korai fūteishō* no *Man'yō* uta no ichi,” *Mibugushi* 53, no. 10 (1996): 5-25.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 5-25.

²⁰⁹ Yamaguchi Hiroshi, *Man'yōshū keizei no nazo* (Tōkyō: Ōfūsha, 1983), 173-212.

²¹⁰ Miyamoto, 60-62; Terashima 2005, 2.

²¹¹ Suzuki, 27-33.

IV	18	IX	4	XIV	16	XIX	13
V	4	X	19	XV	3	XX	8

It turns out that, like the poetic treatises and handbooks by Kiyosuke discussed earlier, the best-represented *Man'yōshū* volumes in *Korai fūteishō* are X-XI (they contain poems by Akahito, Hitomaro and Yakamochi). Since volumes IV and XIV were also well represented in Kiyosuke's *Ōgishō*, *Fukurozōshi* and *Waka ichijishō*, while volume VII was well represented in *Ōgishō*, *Fukurozōshi*, *Waka ichijishō* and *Waka shogakushō*, it seems that at least in this regard Shunzei's *Korai fūteishō* did not stray away strongly from Kiyosuke's works of poetry criticism.

There are also a number of *Man'yōshū* poems that appear in both *Kokinwaka rokujō* and *Korai fūteishō*, depending on how one defines what constitutes overlap. Just how many is a matter of disagreement among scholars. Ehiro Sadao has claimed that there are 80 overlapping poems between those two works, while Kamimori Tetsuya has argued for the number of 87.²¹² However, based on my own research, I found 95 *Man'yōshū* poems in *Kokinwaka rokujō* and *Korai fūteishō* that I consider to be the same or closely related.²¹³ This overlap constitutes nearly half of the *Man'yōshū* poems listed in *Korai fūteishō*, which suggests a close connection between Shunzei's treatise and *Kokinwaka rokujō*. Thus, *Korai fūteishō* was equally connected to *Kokinwaka rokujō* as were Kiyosuke's poetic treatises and handbooks.

Furthermore, based on my analysis of the data, *Korai fūteishō* contains *Man'yōshū* poems also found in other earlier literary sources, for example *Shūchūshō* (74), *Godaishū utamakura* (69), *Hitomaroshū* (50), *Waka dōmōshō* (50), *Kigoshō* (43), *Waka shogakushō* (40), *Ōgishō* (25), *Toshiyori zuinō* (24), *Fukurozōshi* (14), and *Waka ichijishō* (1). This implies that *Korai fūteishō* does not completely imitate any of the earlier poetic treatises, but it reflects previous *Man'yōshū* reception in secondary sources. Simultaneously, it is undeniable that *Korai fūteishō* adds several *Man'yōshū* poems to the early medieval poetic discourse, since it contains, based on my research,

²¹² Ehiro Sadao, "Korai fūteishō ni okeru Man'yō uta no kunten," *Gakugei* 7, no. 11 (1960): 77; Kamimori 1985, 15.

²¹³ The differences between the overlapping number of *Man'yōshū* poems in *Korai fūteishō* are a result of textual differences of *Man'yōshū* poems in later poetic collections. Some scholars do not acknowledge alternative versions of *Man'yōshū* poems as "Man'yōshū poems," and consider them as completely different compositions. I take the opposite approach and include alternative *Man'yōshū* texts in my analysis.

33 *Man'yōshū* poems that had not been included in any earlier poetic treatises, handbooks and collections.

Korai fūteishō has a few obvious similarities with Kiyosuke's *Fukurozōshi* in the manner in which they both discuss *Man'yōshū*. For example:

(...) However, even though in ancient poetry they made no attempt to embellish the poetic forms or polish their diction, that was a long time ago and the people were not so sophisticated, and though they simply entrusted their feelings to words, we cannot help but know the depth of their spirit and the excellence of their form.

Moreover, they did not have anything like anthologies in those days. A man named Yamanoue Okura compiled a collection entitled *Ruijū karin* but perhaps because it was not imperially commissioned, there are not so many copies of it now.²¹⁴ Thus, it is not very well known and surely not many people read it. But because in some annotations of *Man'yōshū* poems it states: 'as it says in Yamanoue Okura's *Ruijū Karin*...', we know such a collection existed. A knowledgeable man, Lesser Counselor Lay Priest Michinori, said once during a discussion with me at the Toba Villa: 'I heard that it is in the Treasury of Byōdōin Temple in Uji.'²¹⁵ This Okura was from the same era as Kakinomoto Hitomaro. I think he might have been a little bit younger than Hitomaro. Okura also went to Tang China on a mission at one point.²¹⁶

After that, during the time of Emperor Shōmu in the Nara Capital, a minister named Tachibana Moroe received an imperial commission, and compiled *Man'yōshū*. Until that time, perhaps because there were no practices of how to determine good and bad points of poetry, poems composed in public and in private were all included in the collection just as they were composed.

Earlier, there was a sage of poetry named Kakinomoto Hitomaro. Because he was an extraordinary man, his poems suit the spirit and form not only of his own age. Many eras passed and even though people's interests and the styles of poetry have changed, his poems are the paragon for all ages, from antiquity through the middle ages and even in the current degenerate era. They suit all ages, the old and the new.²¹⁷

²¹⁴ Yamanoue Okura (c. 660-733) was a government official and one of the best represented poets in *Man'yōshū*. *Ruijū karin* (Classified Forest of Poems, before 733) was a collection compiled likely by him. Some scholars believe that it served as a model for *Man'yōshū*, and that it contained poetry mostly from the following *Man'yōshū* volumes: I, II, VI, VII, VIII, XII and XVIII. It existed until the Kamakura period but was lost afterwards. For more about the compilation of *Ruijū karin*, see Kitamura, 76-96.

²¹⁵ Lay Priest refers to *Nyūdō* and signifies a person whose head is shaven in the manner of a Buddhist priest but who continues to live in society as a layperson. Fujiwara Michinori (1106-1160) was the dominant member of Emperor Go-Shirakawa's entourage after the latter's abdication in 1158. He compiled the national history *Honchō seiki* (Chronicle of the Reign of the Imperial Court, mid-12th c.). Toba Villa refers to Toba-dono, which was a residence used by retired emperors. It was built in 1086 in Fushimi, near Kyoto, and in 1124 it was transformed into a Buddhist temple. It was already in ruins at the end of the Kamakura period and not a trace of the villa remains today.

²¹⁶ Okura reached Tang China in 702. Scholars believe that he stayed there until 707. Tang dynasty, 618-907, was considered a great age for Chinese poetry.

²¹⁷ Watanabe, Kobayashi and Yamamoto, ed., 39-40; Appendix 1, 1.13. *Korai fūteishō* 2.

Shunzei presents information about *Man'yōshū* that is quite similar to what we find in Kiyosuke's *Fukurozōshi*. For example, Kiyosuke also writes about Okura's *Ruijū karin* and the belief that it was stored in the Byōdōin Temple's Treasury.²¹⁸ Moreover, since *Korai fūteishō* claimed that the collection was compiled during the reign of Emperor Shōmu and *Man'yōshū jidaikō* had previously argued that *Man'yōshū* was completed in the reign of Empress Kōken, Shunzei either changed his mind, or he found alternative sources about *Man'yōshū*'s compilation. As emphasized by Terashima Shūichi, it is difficult to determine why Shunzei decided to associate the compilation of *Man'yōshū* only with the reign of Emperor Shōmu in his *Korai fūteishō*.²¹⁹ In my opinion, he intentionally shifted his opinion even closer to Kiyosuke's than before, wishing to replace him in the waka world.

Furthermore, even though Hosoya Naoki has claimed that Shunzei did not value Hitomaro as much as the Rokujō school did, and despite Kamimori Tetsuya's argument that *Korai fūteishō* elevated Ōtomo Yakamochi's poetry above Hitomaro's, we see that Shunzei saw Kakinomoto Hitomaro as the sage of poetry and thus validated the Rokujō school's affirmation of this poet.²²⁰ On the other hand, Shunzei was clearly pushing the boundaries of the early medieval discourse, providing information that did not appear in any earlier critical works of the Rokujō poets. For example, he presented Fujiwara Michinori (1106-1160), a close associate of Retired Emperor Nijō as one of people knowledgeable about the collection. Moreover, Shunzei posited Tachibana Moroe as the ultimate *Man'yōshū* compiler, a position he had not yet committed to in *Man'yōshū jidaikō*.

In other parts of *Korai fūteishō*, Shunzei challenges earlier opinions on various waka issues and opposes Rokujō school poets' teachings. For example, Shunzei criticized Kenshō's lack of expertise in *Man'yōshū* vocabulary. Shunzei accused him of not reading *Man'yōshū* thoroughly and pointed out Kenshō simply followed Kiyosuke's *Ōgishō* in regard to explanations of certain poetic expressions.²²¹ Moreover, in his *Korai fūteishō* Shunzei provides

²¹⁸ Fujioka 1995, ed., 38.

²¹⁹ Terashima Shūichi, "Mikohidari-ke sōden no *Man'yōshū* no keitai," *Mukogawa Kokubun* 65, no. 3 (2005): 6.

²²⁰ Hosoya 1965, 27; Kamimori, 12-18.

²²¹ Watanabe, Kobayashi and Yamamoto, ed., 68-70.

an alternative interpretation of the terms *tanka* (short poem) and *chōka* (long poem).²²² Shunzei even gave possible reasons for mistaking *chōka* for *tanka* and the other way around, claiming that the meaning of “short poem” extends far beyond the brevity of their short form. In his discussion, Shunzei argues we should directly look to *Man'yōshū* for guidance, rather than intervening poetic lore. In fact, Shunzei uses it as an opportunity to imply that Kiyosuke was not following a *Man'yōshū* manuscript:

(...) The man we know as Lord Kiyosuke in a treatise of essential teachings entitled ‘Secret Teachings,’ determined long poems to be ‘short poems.’ Usually, *Man'yōshū* should be taken as a reference in such cases, and in *Man'yōshū* all 31-syllable poems are named ‘short poems’ or ‘envoys,’ not ‘long poems.’²²³

(...) poetic treatises which, when referring to *Man'yōshū*, call the 31-syllable envoys and short poems by the name of ‘long poems,’ are not based on a thorough examination of *Man'yōshū*.²²⁴

Kiyosuke did in fact state in his *Ōgishō* that 31-syllable poems are to be named as *chōka* (long poems) but he also did account for the fact that they are called *tanka* in *Man'yōshū*. He also wrote that definitions of both terms were interchanged in the later eras, as noted in *Shinsen zuinō* and the *kana* preface, and basically admitted he did not follow the *Man'yōshū* standard in this case.²²⁵ Regardless of what *tanka* and *chōka* were believed to be in the early medieval period, *Korai fūteishō* attempts to present a redefinition of those terms. Shunzei’s treatise strongly undermines Toshiyori and Kiyosuke’s opinions in this regard. Shunzei himself emerges as a specialist on issues related to *Man'yōshū*, since he implies that his own expertise on the collection is based on the study of a *Man'yōshū* manuscript. We should consider the possibility that such fluidity in the interpretation of certain issues related to this poetic collection is the

²²² Minamoto Toshiyori argued in his *Toshiyori zuinō* that short poems should be named *chōka*, likely following a scribal mistake in *Kokinshū*, which was reiterated during the mid-Heian period. Toshiyori claimed that short poems deal with a variety of topics and even though they are named *tanka* in some poetic treatises, they are in fact *chōka*. Kiyosuke’s *Ōgishō* actually states, just like Shunzei’s *Korai fūteishō*, that *Man'yōshū* defines 31-syllable poems as *tanka*. However, Kiyosuke later redefined 31-syllable poems as *chōka* and poems having alternated five and seven-syllable lines as *tanka*, thus rejecting the definition of those terms from *Man'yōshū*. See, Sasaki 1957, ed. 416; Royston, 379, 506.

²²³ Watanabe, Kobayashi and Yamamoto, ed., 47-48; Appendix 1, 1.14. *Korai fūteishō* 3.

²²⁴ Ibid., 49; Appendix 1, 1.15. *Korai fūteishō* 4.

²²⁵ Sasaki 1957, ed., 416.

result of the existence of multiple *Man'yōshū* manuscripts during the medieval era. However, Shunzei stresses the significance of his own *Man'yōshū* text as an authority, and simultaneously reconsiders a part of the *Man'yōshū* medieval discourse. This reminds us of Kiyosuke and his discussion on various *Man'yōshū* manuscripts in *Fukurozōshi*, which was a clear declaration of his claim to the tradition of *Man'yōshū* scholarship.

Moreover, in the *Korai fūteishō* we also find a discussion on *Man'yōshū* characteristics and practice of poetic borrowing:

To be sure, there are many poems of elegant spirit and desirable diction [in *Man'yōshū*]. But what are we to make of the poems these days that appropriate expressions from certain poems only because they are included in *Man'yōshū*? But after all, are there not in the third volume thirteen poems praising alcohol by Governor General of Dazaifu – Ōtomo?²²⁶ And aren't there poems by Lords Ikeda and Ōuwa in the sixteenth volume which are an exchange of humorous insults?²²⁷ Such poems should not be taken as models for poetic composition. These kinds of poems would have to be considered the unconventional poems of *Man'yōshū*.

However, there are also many *Man'yōshū* poems that are appropriate proof-poems that can be used to validate the usage of certain words. Thus, I originally intended to present only a few *Man'yōshū* poems in this treatise, but I ended up including many of them. Also, I presented old expressions that are no longer referred to by contemporary poets because I wanted to show that this is the way things were in *Man'yōshū*. I have included so many poetic examples because I also listed widely known *Man'yōshū* poems, some of which are found in such collections as *Shūishū*, because I felt it would be a shame to omit them. A wise old man once told me to remember that poets should understand the spirit of *Man'yōshū* poetry well, and then appropriate it in their own compositions.²²⁸

This part of *Korai fūteishō* clearly emphasizes the significance of *Man'yōshū* poetry. In a manner similar to earlier poetic treatises, Shunzei warns against unskillful application of certain *Man'yōshū* poems but he gives much more specific instructions about what should be avoided, for example poems about intoxication. Such specific instructions about poems that were not

²²⁶ This refers to Ōtomo Tabito (665-731), who was one of the *Man'yōshū* poets and the father of Ōtomo Yakamochi who is believed to be the compiler of *Man'yōshū*. Tabito was the governor of Dazaifu and is known for his knowledge of and fondness for Chinese poetry and culture. See Ōkuma Ki'ichirō, *Man'yōshū kajin jiten* (Tōkyō: Yūzankaku Shuppan, 1982), 72-78. An English translation of his “poems in praise of sake” can be found in Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, ed., *The Manyōshū* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), pp. 117-118.

²²⁷ Lord Ikeda (first name unknown) and Lord Ōuwa (or Ōmiwa) were both *Man'yōshū* poets about whom very little is known. See Ōkuma, 24-25, 96.

²²⁸ “A wise old man” most likely refers to Fujiwara Mototoshi, who, as emphasized above, was Shunzei's poetic mentor. See Watanabe, Kobayashi and Yamamoto, ed., 88-89; Appendix 1, 1.16. *Korai fūteishō* 5.

brought up in any earlier extant poetic commentary were surely meant to reveal Shunzei's extensive knowledge about *Man'yōshū* poetry and his possession of an actual manuscript. *Korai fūteishō* also acknowledges that *Man'yōshū* can be a suitable source for proof-poems, something which Kiyosuke also argued in his poetic treatises. In addition, Shunzei recognizes that some famous poems from *Man'yōshū* are included in the third imperial collection, *Shūishū*, thus noticing the existence of secondary sources significant for the transmission of ancient poems.

However, the most crucial feature of this excerpt from *Korai fūteishō* is its emphasis on studying *Man'yōshū* poetry thoroughly and then alluding to it in newly composed poems. High evaluation of and encouragement for references to *Man'yōshū* poetry, for which Shunzei gives credit to his waka master, Fujiwara Mototoshi, is perhaps one of the most pronounced and significant contributions of Shunzei's *Korai fūteishō* regarding the appropriation of ancient poems in the early medieval era. It echoes and confirms Kiyosuke's opinion on poetic borrowing but again does not give him any credit. In addition, Shunzei explained very distinctly why particular *Man'yōshū* poems are included in *Korai fūteishō*; he has a clear methodology for selecting *Man'yōshū* poems, which none of the earlier poetic treatises had before.

As emphasized by Tamura Ryūichi, we find many similarities in this treatise to the earlier examples of poetry criticism, including works by the Rokujō scholars.²²⁹ However, we need to acknowledge that Shunzei's *Korai fūteishō* presents many reinterpretations of the already existing *Man'yōshū* discourse. Shunzei undeniably wanted to be a part of and continue the *Man'yōshū* scholarship that had been started by earlier waka scholars, including the Rokujō school. *Korai fūteishō* was also surely not meant to be read apart from earlier examples of poetry criticism, regardless of which poetic school or group produced them, as evidenced by Shunzei's explicit references to earlier works. However, by adding new information and alternative interpretations about *Man'yōshū*, its compilation and poetry, as well as providing evidence of his possession of a *Man'yōshū* manuscript, Shunzei's treatise engages with earlier waka poets-scholars, including Kiyosuke, and pushes the boundaries of the early medieval poetic discourse. Moreover, Shunzei's tone in *Korai fūteishō* is even more definitive than it was in his *Man'yōshū jidaikō*, thus presenting him as an authority on the collection and potential leader of the medieval

²²⁹ Tamura, 183.

waka world. Thus, *Korai fūteishō* laid the groundwork for the Mikohidari school becoming the dominant force in the interpretation of the waka tradition.

Korai fūteishō paid tribute to the poetic past and at the same time moved forward with its clear agenda of comparing waka to *Tendai* Buddhism, which provided it with a legitimate ideology, or philosophy, to support the notion of waka as a mode of constant change. *Korai fūteishō* suggests that poetic practice is a quasi-religious and transcendental medium of knowledge.²³⁰ Having such ideology is perhaps the very feature that distinguished *Korai fūteishō* from any other earlier treatises in the history of Japanese poetry criticism.

2.4.3 – *Man'yōshū* in Shunzei's poetry contests judgments (1166-1201)

As noted above, during his lifetime Fujiwara Shunzei judged more than twenty poetry contests, all of which have survived to date. As emphasized by Clifton Royston, *hanshi* provide significant information about Shunzei's poetry criticism in addition to what we find in his poetic treatises.²³¹ Shunzei's *uta'awase* judgments have been extensively researched by Japanese literature scholars.²³²

I take into consideration Shunzei's judgments from numerous poetry contests and analyze how he approached *Man'yōshū* poetry while evaluating poems of his contemporaries. Thus, I examine five of Shunzei's judgments from the following five poetry contests:

²³⁰ Royston, 386.

²³¹ Ibid, 382.

²³² Most of these publications emphasize the rivalry and differences between the Rokujō and Mikohidari schools, for example Taniyama Shigeru, *Shinkokin jidai no uta'awase to kadan* (Kadokawa Shoten, 1983), 111-163; and Yasui Shigeo, *Fujiwara Shunzei. Hanshi to kago no kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin, 2006), 308-326. Others specifically focus on differences and clashes between Fujiwara Shunzei and Kenshō, for example Watanabe Yasuaki "Furumafu", 'furumafi' kō – Fujiwara Shunzei, Kenshō no uta'awase hanshi o chūshin ni shite," *Tamamo* 25, no. 3 (1990): 44-66; and Watanabe 1999, 207-239. Some occasionally compare Kiyosuke with Shunzei, for example Fukuda Yūsaku, "Uta'awase no hanshi ni arawareta hanja no seisaku," *Heian bungaku kenkyū* 29, no. 11 (1962): 143-151; Taniyama Shigeru, "Shunzei to Kiyosuke. Sakka e no michi, gakusha e no michi," *Kokubungaku* 20, no. 10 (1967): 57-65; Kabasawa Aya, "Kago 'kasumi no soko' to wa ikanaru kūkan ka. Shunzei, Kiyosuke no kokoromi nitsuite," *Mukogawa bungaku* 66, no. 11 (2005): 50-59. Moreover, Japanese scholarship rarely deals with Shunzei's treatment of the *Man'yōshū* poetry in his poetry contests judgments, and if it does, it usually focuses on the *Roppyakuban uta'awase*. See Kubota 1973, 466-477; Kubota 1993, 292-300; and Kamijō Shōji, *Fujiwara Toshinari ronkō* (Tōkyō: Shintensha, 1993), 67-112.

1) *Chūgūnosuke Shigeie uta'awase* (The Assistant Master of the Empress, Shigeie's Poetry Contest, 1166)²³³

2) *Kaō ninen jūgatsu kokonoka Sumiyoshi no Yashiro no uta'awase* (The Sumiyoshi Shrine Poetry Contest of the Ninth day of the Tenth Month in the Second Year of the Kaō Era, 1170/X/9)²³⁴

3) *Jijō san'nen jūgatsu jūhachinichi Udaijin no ie no uta'awase* (The Poetry Contest at the Residence of the Minister of the Right on the Eighteenth Day of the Tenth Month in the Third Year of the Jijō Era, 1179/X/18)²³⁵

4) *Ropyakuban uta'awase* (1193)

5) *Ken'nin gan'nen hachigatsu jūgoya senka'awase* (Contest of Selected Poems of the Night of the Fifteenth Day of the Eighth Month in the First Year of the Ken'nin Era, 1201/VIII/15).²³⁶

This selection is motivated by my intention to present as much variety in Shunzei's treatment of *Man'yōshū* poetry in his *uta'awase* judgments as possible.

Based on my preliminary examination of all *uta'awase* that Shunzei judged between 1166-1203, out of twenty-two poetry contests, ten of them contain at least one comment on *Man'yōshū*. In fact, Shunzei made a general remark about this poetic collection in the very first poetry contest he had ever judged. It was the fifth round of the *Chūgūnosuke Shigeie uta'awase* on the topic of *fana* (Flowers):

Round Five

Left tie

Assistant to the Empress Lord Shigeie

ofatuse no

When I gaze from a distance

²³³ *Chūgūnosuke Shigeie uta'awase* was a poetic event held by Fujiwara Shigeie, who was one of the younger brothers of Kiyosuke and a father of Fujiwara Ari'ie. Even though scholars believe it to have been a "Rokujō school event," Kiyosuke neither participated in nor judged it. Fujiwara Shunzei became the sole judge of this poetry contest.

²³⁴ *Kaō ninen jūgatsu kokonoka Sumiyoshi no Yashiro no uta'awase* was a poetic event dedicated to the Sumiyoshi Shrine located in present-day Osaka. The shrine was dedicated to Sumiyoshi, a god of seafarers and waka poets. It was a poetry contest that did not rely on the sponsorship of the imperial house or high-rank aristocrats. Despite that, many leading waka poets of the era participated in it, including Kiyosuke, and Shunzei became its sole judge.

²³⁵ *Jijō san'nen jūgatsu jūhachinichi Udaijin no ie no uta'awase* was one of ten poetry contests that Kanezane held between 1173-1179. The judges of those poetic events were Kiyosuke (four times), and Shunzei (three times) and Shigeie (once).

²³⁶ *Ken'nin gan'nen hachigatsu jūgoya senka'awase* was a poetry contest held by Retired Emperor Go-Toba with a purpose of collecting poems for *Shinkokinshū*. For a detailed discussion of the poetry contest, see Huey 2003, 123-136.

fana no sakari wo At the endless bloom
miwataseba Of Mt. Hatsuse
kasumi ni magafu - White clouds on its peak
mine no sirakumo Mingled in haze of spring.²³⁷

Right Yorimasa of the Bureau of Military Storehouse²³⁸

afumidi ya Ah, the Ōmi road!
mano no famabe ni - At Mano seashore
koma tomete I will rest my pony
fira no takane no And gaze at the flowers
fana wo miru kana On the peak of Mt. Hira.²³⁹

The left and right poems are like gazing out from the sea-viewing tower at Linguntai.²⁴⁰ Both are wonderful. In this regard, the left poem alludes to a composition about flowers from *Gosenshū*:

sugahara ya As I look out
fusimi no kure ni Across the endless Sugawara,
miwataseba At evening in Fushimi,
kasumi ni magafu Mt. Hatsuse
ofatuse no yama Mingled in the spring haze.²⁴¹

It is very difficult to skillfully allude to that kind of poem. A wise old man said that to skillfully appropriate from a famous old poem is a wonderful thing.²⁴² It is not such a bad thing, is it, for poets to take a little bit too much from collections like *Hakushi monjū* and *Old Man 'yōshū*?²⁴³ And when someone pulls it off skillfully, we can see that it is modeled on the earlier poem, which then gives it greater depth and effect. Or, even when one thinks that poets should avoid borrowing from old famous poems, do not the lines: ‘white clouds on its peak veiled in haze of spring’ sound so elegant precisely because the ‘at evening in Fushimi’ poem from *Gosenshū* has affected us so deeply? Also, I think the view across from Mano in the right poem is very elegant, but if I say that the ‘Mt. Hira’

²³⁷ In waka Mt. Hatsuse is a mountain where one could experience the presence of plum or cherry blossoms even when they were hidden from sight, thanks to the fragrance reaching the poet’s nostrils. For more, see Michael Marra, *Essays on Japan: Between Aesthetics and Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 266. In *Man 'yōshū*, Mt. Hatsuse is known as the “hidden mountain” (*komoriku no fatuse no yama*).

²³⁸ Minamoto Yorimasa (1104–1180) was a waka poet of the early medieval period. He participated in numerous poetic events and was close to Shunzei and Shun’e.

²³⁹ Mano is associated with Mt. Hira (*fira no yama* or *fira no takane*), an *utamakura* (poetic place name) in Ōmi Province (currently Shiga Prefecture). It usually appears in waka as a symbol of early spring.

²⁴⁰ Linguntai (Jap. Ryōundai) is a high tower that Emperor Wen (187-226) of the Kingdom of Wei ordered to build in Luoyang, so that poets may admire a view from above.

²⁴¹ This poem is included in *Gosenshū* (#1242) by an anonymous poet.

²⁴² ‘Old man’ refers to Fujiwara Mototoshi, as it does in Shunzei’s *Korai fūteishō*.

²⁴³ *Hakushi monjū* (Chn. *Baishi wenji*) is a collection of poems by the Tang poet named Bo Juyi (Jap. Hakurakuten, 772-846). It contains roughly 3,000 poems and was very popular in the Heian Period. The influence of the Tang poetry, and especially of Bo Juyi, is notable in *Genji monogatari* and *Makura no sōshi*.

poem is better, it is also difficult to ignore ‘white clouds on a peak.’ Yet if I say that I am inclined toward the ‘Mt. Hatsuse’ poem, there is still the ‘flaw’ of it borrowing from an older poem. It is in fact difficult to decide. Thus, I must call a tie.

We see that even though Shunzei did not recognize any direct allusions to *Man'yōshū* poetry in either of poems from this round, he mentioned both *Hakushi monjū* (Collection of Poems by Bo Juyi, 824) and *Man'yōshū* in his judgment. Shunzei brought up both poetic collections because he considered them, along with *Gosenshū*, to be well-known poetry classics. It bears noting that, he uses the term ‘Old *Man'yōshū*’ (*Koman'yōshū*), which, as explained in Kiyosuke’s *Fukurozōshi*, refers to *Man'yōshū* of the Nara period, the oldest collection of Japanese poetry, as opposed to *Shinsen man'yōshū*, the compilation of which is attributed to Sugawara Michizane.²⁴⁴ This is an example of the kind of discourse that Shunzei shared with Kiyosuke.

Shunzei was fond of Shigeie’s appropriation of an earlier poem but resisted granting it a win, since it was generally agreed at that time that poets should not refer to old poetry during poetry contests because such poems were composed for public display (*hare no uta*). As noted by Takeda Motoharu, in the 1160’s Shunzei had not developed the concept of *honkadori* yet but he clearly approved of skillful allusions to old poems, even if one takes too much from the original poem.²⁴⁵ He is positive in his approach to the idea and does not criticize or discourage reference to poems from lesser-cited collections like *Hakushi monjū* and *Man'yōshū*.²⁴⁶ Thus, this judgment represents Shunzei’s early and already quite progressive view on the practice of poetic borrowing, which he openly promoted in his poetry criticism. This is a significant element in the formation of Shunzei’s concept of *honkadori*, and it differs from the stance of Kiyosuke, who approved of poetic borrowing in his *karon* but discouraged it in the *uta'awase* setting.

²⁴⁴ Fujioka 1995, ed., 38.

²⁴⁵ Takeda Motoharu, “*Chūgūnosuke Shigeie ason no ie no uta'awase*,” *Ōsaka Joshi Daigaku kiyō* 32, no. 3 (2000), 38-39.

²⁴⁶ In fact, Yoshizaki Keiko has pointed out that after this poetry contest there was a wave of interest in Chinese poetry among Japanese aristocrats and poets. One may only wonder whether the same wave of interest in *Man'yōshū* poetry in the next years was not caused by Shunzei’s comment as well. See Yoshizaki Keiko, “*Shikishi Naishinnō no kanshi sesshu no waka o yomu*,” *Musashino Daigaku daigakuin gogakubunka kenkyūka, Ningen Shakai kenkyūka kenkyū kiyō* 1, no. 1 (2001), 122.

Minegishi Yoshiaki has argued that *Chūgūnosuke Shigeie uta'awase* was the event at which Shunzei's position in the poetic world was acknowledged.²⁴⁷ It is true that this contest contributed to Shunzei's popularity as a waka master. However, if a poet like Shigeie organized an *uta'awase* and invited Shunzei as a judge, it means that the whole Rokujō school was either forced to recognize him or wanted to test his skills and possibly incorporate Shunzei into their own tradition and school. Though impossible to confirm, such a possibility does not seem unlikely, since Shunzei granted lots of wins to the Rokujō poets – Shigeie, Kenshō and Suetsune (Kiyosuke was absent), and was not at all critical of their poems. Thus, this contest is further evidence that Shunzei had his roots in the poetic tradition of the Rokujō school.

Shunzei's high evaluation of *Man'yōshū* as a source of poetic allusions may be also confirmed in the next poetry contest he judged, *Kaō ninen jūgatsu kokonoka Sumiyoshi no Yashiro no uta'awase* organized by Fujiwara Atsuyori (1090-1182), where in round nine Shunzei praised *Man'yōshū* poetic style. The round was composed on a topic of *tabiyado no sigure* (Autumn Rain in the Traveler's Hut):²⁴⁸

Round Nine

Left win

Taiyū²⁴⁹

<i>ura samuku sigururu yofa no tabigoromo kisi no fanifu ni itaku nifofinu</i>	Its lining cold From winter rains at night – My traveling robe, Is heavily stained With red clay of the bank.
--	---

Right

Sadanaka²⁵⁰

<i>omofe tada miyako no uti no nezame dani</i>	Think about it! When you wake up Even in the capital,
--	---

²⁴⁷ Minegishi, 215.

²⁴⁸ Fujiwara Atsuyori, also known as Dōin, was a participant of numerous poetry contests by the end of the 12th c. Some scholars believe that Shunzei admired Atsuyori's dedication to poetry. See Royston, 186.

²⁴⁹ Taiyū refers to Inpumon'in no Taiyū (fl. 1130-1200), who was a servant to the consort of Emperor Go-Shirakawa, Ryōshi (1147-1216). Inpumon'in no Taiyū was a female waka poet and participant in numerous poetic events by the end of the 12th century.

²⁵⁰ Fujiwara Sadanaga is the secular name of Jakuren (1139-1202), an adopted son of Fujiwara Shunzei and a well-known waka poet of his time.

sigururu sora fa
afare narazu ya

Is not the rainy sky
melancholic?

The line: ‘stained with red clay of the bank’ in the left poem feels ‘unpolished’ but it seems to be in the *Man’yōshū* style. The right poem is composed with a pleasant feeling but to whom is the poet saying: ‘think about it!?’ Such kinds of expressions are much better used in a reply poem or in a love poem. The left poem prevails.

This judgment is the first extant example of Shunzei’s open praise of the *Man’yōshū* poetic style. Even though Shunzei did not comment on any direct reference to *Man’yōshū* poems, Inpumon’in no Taiyū likely referred to a poem from *Man’yōshū* volume I (#69) by a maiden of Suminoe (late 7th c.):

草枕客去君跡知麻世婆崖乃埴布尔仁寶播散麻思呼 I (#69)

くさまくらたびゆくきみとしらませばきしのはにふににほはさましを

kusamakura

If I had known it was you

tabi yuku kimi to

Who travels

siramaseba

Sleeping on a grass pillow,

kisi no fanifu ni

I would have stained you

nifofasamasi wo

With red clay of the bank.

The *Man’yōshū* poem is about parting. The female speaker rhetorically wishes she knew of her husband’s travels, since she would have stained his garments in red for good luck. In premodern Japan, the red color was believed to have the power to ward off misfortunes and calamities but in waka it also symbolizes love.²⁵¹ Inpumon’in no Taiyū’s poem is composed in the voice of a traveling man, whose clothes are dyed in red from sleeping on the ground while the winter rain is falling. The rain coloring someone in red is usually symbolic of falling in love but here the cold suggests the man’s solitude during the nighttime.

Shunzei described Inpumon’in no Taiyū’s allusion to an ancient poem as “unpolished” (*kofasi*). Perhaps he would have liked to see a more sophisticated allusion to a *Man’yōshū* poem, where the poet borrows a more elegant phrase. However, it was undeniably the appropriation of a *Man’yōshū* poem that caused the win in favor of Inpumon’in no Taiyū. Shunzei’s comment informs us that his expectations toward contemporary poets attempting to borrow from ancient

²⁵¹ Haruo Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of Four Seasons: Nature, Literature, and the Arts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 161.

poetry were quite different from those of earlier generations of waka poet-scholars. Let us not forget that since Fujiwara Kintō and his poetic treatise *Shinsen zuinō*, it was generally agreed that there is no value in allusions to ancient poems if no one recognizes them.²⁵² Thus, this *hanshi* reflects another step towards the formation of Shunzei's notion of poetic borrowing – approval of allusion to lesser-known poems, and his liking for less obvious references.

Another example of Shunzei's appreciation for skillful imitation of the *Man'yōshū* style may be found in the forty-second round of *Ken'nin gan'nen hachigatsu jūgoya senka'awase*, where a poem composed in Hitomaro's style was granted a win.²⁵³ Both poems were composed on the topic of *take no tukimi* (Looking at the Moon from the Field House):

Round Forty-Two, the same topic

Left

wasada moru
toko no akikaze
fukisomete
karine sabisiki
yama no be no tuki

The autumn wind
Begins to blow on my bed
As I guard the seedling rice fields,
Lonesome is my rented sleep
By the moon over mountain's side.

Fujiwara Hideyoshi²⁵⁴

Right win

safosika no
tumadofu woda ni
simo okite
tukikage samusi
woka no be no yado

The frost falls
On the plain, where
A stag calls to his beloved.
Chilly is the moonlight
In a hut on the hillside.

Lord Teika

The right poem reminds me of the old poetic style of Hitomaro. I judge that it is superior to the 'moon over mountains' side.'

²⁵² Hisamatsu, ed., 29.

²⁵³ Robert Huey has emphasized that *Ken'nin gan'nen hachigatsu jūgoya senka'awase* from 1201 was one of the most significant poetry contests of its time. Not only was new vocabulary introduced and appreciated on a larger scale but also poets were finally evaluated more based on their poetic ability than rank or position in the court society. See Huey 2002, 123-135.

²⁵⁴ Fujiwara Hideyoshi (1184-1240) was one of the members of *Wakadokoro* (Bureau of Poetry), established by Go-Toba in 1201.

Shunzei's judgment not only shows that he valued the poetry of Kakinomoto Hitomaro, who was a *Man'yōshū* poet worshiped by the Rokujō school, but above all reveals his level of knowledge about Hitomaro's poetry. Teika refers to a poem listed in *Man'yōshū* as anonymous X (#2220), and also included in *Hitomaroshū* (#168):²⁵⁵

左小壯鹿之妻喚山之岳邊在早田者不芻霜者雖零	
さをしかのつまよぶやまのをかへにあるわさだはからじしもはふるとも	
<i>safosika no</i>	Seedling rice fields
<i>tuma yobu yama no</i>	On a mountain
<i>wokabe ni aru</i>	Where a stag calls his beloved –
<i>wasada fa karadji</i>	I will not cut them,
<i>simo fa furu tomo</i>	Even if frost falls there.

Hitomaro's poem is a love poem utilizing elements of nature. The stag symbolizes a lonely lover who longs and cries for his wife. His solitude is emphasized by the frost lingering on the fields, since there is no one to warm him at night. The rice sprouts signify affection between the two separated lovers; cutting the rice would mean a further separation or a total rejection of love, which does not take place in the poem. Teika's *tanka* is composed in a similar tone, where a traveler is separated from his wife, whom he misses and cries for. The moonlight, absent in the *Man'yōshū* poem, should traditionally be a unifying image for the two lovers who cannot be together. However, since Teika's poem is composed in the voice of a hermit, possibly a monk, who abandoned secular life and should detach himself from earthly matters, the moonlight is chilly and thus does not necessarily bring the lovers together. Such aesthetics of lonesome and hermitage will become one of the trademarks of the poetic style of the *Shinkokinshū* era.

It is significant that the Mikohidari poets recognized and promoted skillful allusions to Hitomaro's poems and his style of poetry composition. We see that Shunzei was able to show off not only his expertise on *Man'yōshū* but also Hitomaro's poetic style, which required reaching beyond the *Man'yōshū* manuscript and challenged the Rokujō school's expertise on their poetic idol and their position in the poetic world. Thus, this judgment demonstrates that the Rokujō poets were not the only ones who studied and valued *Man'yōshū* and Hitomaro's poems. We see that by early 1200's Shunzei and the next generation of the Mikohidari school, represented by

²⁵⁵ *Hitomaroshū*: さをしかの妻とふやまのをかべなるわさ田はからし霜はおくとも

Teika, dared to enter a space in the early medieval poetic discourse that had been so far reserved for the Rokujō group. Interestingly, the *Man'yōshū* poem also appears in *Kokinwaka rokujō* (#673) where it is attributed to Fujiwara Tadafusa (d. 928), a relatively unknown poet from the *Kokinshū* era, but it was later compiled into *Shinkokinshū* under Hitomaro's name (#459).²⁵⁶ In fact, the poem, as attributed to Hitomaro, became one of Teika's favorite examples of ancient poetic style and we find it in a number of his poetic treatises.²⁵⁷

Hideyoshi's poem is quite unorthodox, even though we find in it images appearing in the same *Man'yōshū* poem – *wasada* (seedling rice fields) and *yama* (mountain). The last line in Hideyoshi's poem – *yama no be no tuki* (by the moon over mountain's side) – plays off a line *yama no fa no tuki* (moon on the mountain rim), which became frequently used by poets in the late 1100's.²⁵⁸ However, the line was in fact a failed attempt at combining *yama* and *wokabe* and did not accord with accepted waka vocabulary; one wonders why Shunzei does not comment on it.

We have so far seen that Shunzei was generally supportive of his contemporaries appropriating ancient poetry in their waka. Nevertheless, in his contest judgments, Shunzei did not always favor references to *Man'yōshū*. Take, for example, the second round of the *Jijō san'nen jūgatsu jūhachinichi Udaijin no ie no uta'awase* organized by Kujō Kanezane. The round was composed on the topic of *kasumi* (Spring Haze):

²⁵⁶ *Kokinwaka rokujō*: さをしかのつままつ山のをかべなるわさ田はからじ霜はおくとも

²⁵⁷ Textual differences between the *Nishihonganji-bon Man'yōshū* and the *Hitomaroshū/Kokinwaka rokujō* versions of this poem do not necessarily prove that Teika channeled his appropriation through secondary resources. In fact, *Ruijū koshū* presents this poem in a manner similar to *Hitomaroshū* and *Kokinwaka rokujō*, which means it was the standard reading of the poem in Sengaku's third glossing (*shinten*).

²⁵⁸ One the most famous poems with the line is a *tanka* by Izumi Shikibu (b. 970?) included in *Izumi Shikibushū* (#150, #834) and *Shūishū* (#1342):

性空上人のもとに、よみてつかはしける
暗きより暗き道にぞ入りぬべき遥に照せ山のはの月

Composed and sent to Shōku Shōnin

<i>kuraki yori</i>	Out of darkness
<i>kuraki miti nizo</i>	Onto the path of darkness
<i>irinubeki</i>	I am bound to enter.
<i>faruka ni terase</i>	Shine upon me from afar
<i>yama no fa no tuki</i>	Moon on the mountain rim!

Round Two

Left win

Lady-in-Waiting²⁵⁹

kasumi siku As I look far across
faru no sifodi wo At the spring tideway
miwataseba Covered with the spring haze,
midori wo wakuru White waves in the offing
okitu siranami Making their way through the ocean-blue.

Right

Minamoto of the Third Rank Yorimasa

azumadi wo When this very morning
asa tatiyukeba I set out along the Eastern Road,
katusika ya The spring haze has spread
mama no tugifasi Over the wooden bridge of Mama
kasumi watareri In Katsushika!²⁶⁰

The left poem seems very elegant. While the spring haze spreads across the blue sea, adding a hue of light green to it, I envision the white waves in the offing cleaving the sea. The right poem mentions Katsushika. This reminds us of a *Man'yōshū* poem, in which the speaker crosses the wooden bridge of Mama.²⁶¹ It calls to mind the haze on the Eastern Road and conveys a feeling of solitude, but the poem's form is not so different from the *Man'yōshū* poem. More so, then, the line: 'white waves in the offing making their way through the ocean-blue' is superior.

The poetic judgment is one of the very few extant examples when a poem containing an allusion to *Man'yōshū* loses a round in an *uta'awase* judged by Shunzei. There are other cases, mostly involving Kenshō's poems; one of them will be discussed further on. We notice that even

²⁵⁹ *Nyōbō* usually referred to a lady-in-waiting but in poetry contests from the 12th century on, emperors and high-ranking nobles sometimes adopted the term *nyōbō* as a nickname. See Bundy 2010, 21. In this case, *nyōbō* refers to Kujō Kanezane, who hosted *Udaijin no ie no uta'awase* in 1179.

²⁶⁰ *Mama no tugifasi* is an *utamakura* (poetic place name) in Shimōsa Province (currently Chiba Prefecture). In *Man'yōshū*, it appears in the eastern poems (*azuma uta*) but was not popular until the late Heian Period. *Katsushika* is also an *utamakura* associated with Shimōsa Province. In *Man'yōshū*, it is a symbol of the East (*azuma*) and has love undertones.

²⁶¹ Shunzei probably meant a poem from volume XIV (#3387) by an anonymous poet, which is the only poem in *Man'yōshū* containing this vocabulary:

安能於登世受由可牟古馬母我可都思加乃麻末乃都藝波思夜麻受可欲波牟
あのおとせずゆかむこまもがかづしかのまものつぎはしやまずかよはむ
ano oto sezu If I had a pony
yukamu koma mo ga That could soundlessly
kadusika no Cross the wooden bridge of Mama
mama no tugifasi In Katsushika,
yamazu kayofamu I would visit you constantly.

though Yorimasa's poem lost the round, Shunzei did not criticize it or express disapproval for its reference to a *Man'yōshū* poem *per se*. In fact, I believe that Shunzei liked Yorimasa's appropriation of this *Man'yōshū* poem, which he later included in his *Korai fūteishō* and alluded to in his own waka (Chapter 3). However, we see that already by the late 1170's Shunzei expected his contemporaries to refer to ancient poems in a more sophisticated and indirect manner, since he states that: "the poem's form is not so different from the *Man'yōshū* poem." In fact, both poems end with a verb; also, in Yorimasa's poem the borrowed lines are in exactly the same place as in the *Man'yōshū* poem, which is one of the forbidden practices in *honkadōri* as claimed years later by Shunzei's son, Fujiwara Teika, in his poetic treatise entitled *Maigetsushō* (Monthly Notes, 1219).²⁶² Thus, Shunzei's *hanshi* suggests that he had already begun developing the basic principles of poetic borrowing by ca. 1180's.

It is possible that Shunzei actually did like the image and vocabulary of the left poem better and granted it a win. However, poems on the Left team by emperors and high-ranking organizers of poetry contests would customarily win in the first few rounds. Thus, besides the poem's intrinsic value, another reason Shunzei awarded the win to the left poem in this round is because it was authored by Kujō Kanezane, the host of this *Udaijin no ie no uta'awase*, who was Minister of the Right at the Time. The timing of this poetry contest and Kanezane's win are not coincidental; Minegishi Yoshiaki has pointed out that this *uta'awase* was organized shortly after Shunzei became closer to Kanezane and it was a great success for the Mikohidari poet.²⁶³ In my opinion, *Udaijin no ie no uta'awase* involved, together with *Udaijin no ie no hyakushū* (One Hundred Poems at the Residence of Minister of the Left, 1178), a process of testing Shunzei's skills as the next great waka master. As discussed in Chapter 1, following Kiyosuke's death in 1177, Shunzei was introduced to Kanezane through Fujiwara Takanobu, Shunzei's son-in-law. Thus, this poetry contest marks not only new patronage for the Mikohidari school, but also Shunzei replacing Kiyosuke's position as a new waka leader.

²⁶² (...) 'Ordinarily, there should be some change – with a poem on spring used for one on autumn or winter, or a poem on love incorporated into a mixed seasonal topic – yet done in such way that it is clear that one has used the older poem. Taking too many of the words of the foundation poem must be avoided. The proper method is perhaps to use two phrases or so that seem to be very essence of the poem and space them out between the upper and lower verses of the new one.' See Brower and Miner, 46.

²⁶³ Minegishi, 219.

Based on all Shunzei's poetry contests' judgments quoted above, it may be concluded that Shunzei generally approved of his contemporaries referring to *Man'yōshū* poetry. However, Shunzei disliked Kenshō's style of referring to *Man'yōshū* poems, which became particularly obvious in Shunzei's judgments of *Ropyyakuban uta'awase*.²⁶⁴ In this poetry contest, Shunzei did not grant any wins to Kenshō when his poems referred to *Man'yōshū* poetry.²⁶⁵ This was likely the main reason why Kenshō wrote his critique of Shunzei's *hanshi* – *Ropyyakuban chinjō* (Complaint to the Six Hundred Rounds, 1193), in which he emphasized Shunzei's unfairness as a poetic arbiter. Indeed, Shunzei rather harshly criticized Kenshō's approach to appropriating *Man'yōshū*, as can be seen in the seventh round of the seventh love section:

Round Seven, 'Love as expressed by the ocean'

Left

kudira toru
kasikoki umi no
soko made mo
kimi dani sumaba
namidi sinogan

Even if you dwelled
 At the very bottom
 Of the limitless ocean
 Where whales are caught,
 I would still plunge through the waves to you.

Kenshō

Right win

ifamigata
tifiro no soko mo
tatofureba
asaki se ni naru
mi no urami kana

Infinite depths
 Of the Sea of Iwami
 Are mere shallows,
 When compared
 To my longing for you.

Jakuren

The right side says: the left poem is fearsome. The left side says: there are no flaws in the right poem.

The judge says: even though I do recall that expressions like 'catching whales,' notable in the left poem, appear in *Man'yōshū*, it is probably among the eccentric style poems.²⁶⁶ And it sounds extremely fearsome. Even when the Qin Emperor visited Penglai, he just

²⁶⁴ In his *Ropyyakuban uta'awase* judgments, Shunzei commented on borrowing from *Man'yōshū* eleven times. Seven of those were Kenshō's compositions.

²⁶⁵ Kenshō's poems borrowing *Man'yōshū* expressions lost four times and tied five times.

²⁶⁶ Shunzei uses an expression *kyōka* (eccentric poems), which is a variant of the 31-syllable *tanka*. It depended heavily on the *kakekotoba* (pivot word) and *engo* (associated word) techniques of *waka* but often used vocabulary and subject matter foreign to that genre for comic effect.

said: ‘shoot the big fish!’ and he did not go so far as to say: ‘catch it!’²⁶⁷ In general, poetry should aim at grace and beauty. It serves no purpose either for the Path of Poetry or for the poets themselves to cause fear in people. The expressions ‘the Sea of Iwami’ and ‘my longing for you’ in the right poem are like a government official who resents his failure to be promoted. The mood of love is practically non-existent. However, the left poem is indefensible, so the right poem wins.

This judgment from *Ropyyakuban uta’awase* is a famous example of Shunzei’s critique of Kenshō’s appropriation of *Man’yōshū* vocabulary and is thus frequently used as a proof of his open conflict with the Rokujō school. This *hanshi* was first partially translated and commented on by Rosalee Bundy, who argued that Shunzei might have disliked the expression *kudira toru* (to catch whales) because it did not suit his poetic ideal of *en*, which may be defined as “elegance of expression.”²⁶⁸

Shunzei’s comments were interpreted by Robert Huey as a sign of Shunzei’s disapproval and Kenshō’s lack of knowledge about *Man’yōshū*. Huey has concluded that “Shunzei evinced less enthusiasm for *Man’yōshū* as an appropriate source for vocabulary, much less allusion,” which in the case of *Ropyyakuban uta’awase* is correct.²⁶⁹ Even in the rounds in which poems borrowing from *Man’yōshū* were granted wins, Shunzei focused on their flaws, not strengths. However, he did express enthusiasm for allusions to *Man’yōshū* poetry and style in many previously judged poetry contests. As emphasized by Kubota Jun, Shunzei generally praised allusions to *Man’yōshū* poems in his *uta’awase* judgments.²⁷⁰ Thus, such a radical shift in his evaluation of the *Man’yōshū* vocabulary in the case of *Ropyyakuban uta’awase* must have been motivated by some other factors than the style of *Man’yōshū* poetry imitation or the poems’ quality.

²⁶⁷ “The Qin Emperor” refers to Emperor Shi Huang (259-210 BC), who in 221 BC became the first emperor of the unified China. Penglai refers to a legend from *Shi ji* (Historical Records, ca. 109-191 BC), in which the Qin Emperor ordered one of his retainers, named Xu Fu, to go to Penglai Island to find the elixir of immortality. Some legends say that when Xu Fu returned without the elixir, he explained he was unable to land on Penglai because of a huge whale. See Haruo Shirane, *Traditional Japanese Literature: An Anthology, Beginnings to 1600* (New York: Columbia University Press), 2007, 604.

²⁶⁸ Rosalee Bundy has claimed that “for Shunzei, *en* was associated with an elegance of expression, found in the poetry of that earlier time” and that vocabulary depicting *en* should be predominantly taken from *Kokinshū* and *Genji monogatari*. See Bundy 1994, 220. The same round from *Ropyyakuban uta’awase* was also fully translated by Gian Piero Persiani and Lewis Cook but no commentary or analysis of it was provided. See Shirane 2007, 603-604.

²⁶⁹ Huey 2002, 20.

²⁷⁰ Kubota 1973, 468.

In this *hanshi* Shunzei criticized Kenshō's line about catching whales and called it frightening. Moreover, as pointed out by Robert Huey, Shunzei recognized Kenshō's allusion to *Man'yōshū* XVI (#3852).²⁷¹

鯨魚取海哉死為流山哉死為流死許曾海者潮干而山者枯為礼
いさなとりうみやしにするやまやしにするしぬれこそうみはしほひてやまはかれすれ
isana tori Whale hunting -
umi ya si ni suru Does the sea die?
yama ya si ni suru Do the mountains die?
sinure koso Indeed, they die -
umi fa sifofite Sea dries out with the tide
yama fa karesure And mountains wither away.

However, Kenshō later implied in his *Ropyyakuban chinjō* that he meant to refer to a different poem – the famous *chōka* from volume II (#220) about seeing a dead man's body, attributed to the Rokujō school's poetic idol, Kakinomoto Hitomaro, thus questioning Shunzei's expertise on *Man'yōshū* poetry:

(...)鯨魚取海乎恐行船乃梶引折而 (...) II (#220)
 (...) いさなとりうみをかこみゆくふねのかぢひきをりて (...)
isana tori In fear of the sea
umi wo kasikomi Where whales are caught,
yuku fune no We pushed the oars
kadi hikiorite Of our moving boat.

Differences of opinion between the two poets might be indicative of textual differences in their *Man'yōshū* manuscripts and above all attempts to establish their own texts as widely accepted standards.²⁷² In addition, Kenshō emphasized that the poem with a line *kudira toru kasiko no umi* (frightening ocean, where whales are caught) is not included among the *kyōka* (eccentric poems) in *Man'yōshū*, thus correcting Shunzei's mistaken

²⁷¹ Huey 2002, 20.

²⁷² Huey has also claimed that 'Shunzei misread the character for "whale" in a poem by Kenshō as *kuzira*.' This was, however, not the point of their misunderstanding. In fact, *kudira* is recognized by both poets as the reading for 'whale,' even though majority of texts and poetic collections signify the word as *izana* (or *isana*). See Huey 2002, 20; Kubota Jun and Akiho Yamaguchi, *Ropyyakuban uta 'awase* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1998), 341. Konishi Jin'ichi, ed., *Kenshō chinjō*, in *Ropyyakuban uta 'awase* (Tōkyō: Yūseidō, 1976): 502-503.

understanding of his appropriation channel, and claiming that the expression itself is not “frightening.” Kenshō also stated that Shunzei incorporated a similar line a few times in his own poems included in his private poetic collection *Chōshū eisō*.²⁷³ Unfortunately, in no extant manuscripts of the *Chōshū eisō* do we find any of Shunzei’s poems utilizing the line *kudira toru*, so it is difficult to determine whether Kenshō misrepresented the facts or whether Shunzei’s poems alluding to “catching whales” were later wiped out from *Chōshū eisō*. Knowing that Shunzei was in the process of establishing standards of his new poetic school and willing to push waka into a new direction, it is not impossible to assume that later copyists of *Chōshū eisō* might have expunged any references to “catching whales” and other less known *Man’yōshū* expressions. Mikohidari poets were definitely going for some level of codification in the practice of borrowing from ancient poetry, during which such textual manipulations as omission of poems containing obscure or vulgar vocabulary are likely to be applied. Therefore, I see Shunzei’s *hanshi* as an attempt to establish more rigorous standards in allusions to ancient poetry for the early medieval poetic discourse.²⁷⁴ Shunzei’s disagreement with Kenshō signifies separation from norms promoted by a Rokujō poet.

Shunzei’s conflict with Kenshō escalated in *Ropyakuban uta’awase*, when Shunzei presented Kenshō’s poetic allusions as unorthodox. Shunzei was clearly using his knowledge about *Man’yōshū* poetry to demonstrate that he considered Kenshō to be generally an unskilled waka poet unable to allude to poetry even from a collection that had always been believed to fall under the Rokujō school’s expertise. In his *Ropyakuban chinjō*, Kenshō tried to legitimize his own appropriations of less known *Man’yōshū* poems because he clearly thought he was unjustly judged by Shunzei. Even though it was likely Kiyosuke’s younger brother, Suetsune, who was given the official leadership of the Rokujō school traditions, Kenshō was the one Rokujō scholar who continued to compose poetic treatises, actively participate in poetry contests, and aggressively promote *Man’yōshū* poetry.²⁷⁵ He was thus a potential threat to the rise of the Mikohidari house. Discrediting Kenshō as a waka

²⁷³ Kubota 1998, 341; Konishi 1976, ed., 502-503.

²⁷⁴ Rosalee Bundy has claimed that Shunzei was simply against unskillful application of the obscure or vulgar, non-courtly *Man’yōshū* expressions. Fusae Ekida, too, has argued that Shunzei was fonder of an elegant, courtly poetic style rather than blind imitation or careless appropriation of *Man’yōshū* vocabulary or expressions from any other poetic collections. See Bundy 1994, 220; Ekida, 153-156.

²⁷⁵ Nishimura 1997, 180-181.

poet based on his allusions to *Man'yōshū* conveniently helped Shunzei to establish himself as a specialist also in the area of ancient poetry, and thus undermine Kenshō position in the poetic world. However, his criticism of Kenshō's allusions to *Man'yōshū* lines in *Ropyyakuban uta'awase* was not an ultimate criticism of *Man'yōshū* itself.

Fusae Ekida has claimed that in *Ropyyakuban uta'awase* Kenshō tried to promote *Man'yōshū* as “a sacred text and the very embodiment of the essence of Japanese poetry,” while Shunzei “condemned a simplistic imitation of the *Man'yōshū*, instead advocating a search for a refined sensibility in poetic anthologies of the past.”²⁷⁶ However, we cannot forget that Shunzei paid clear respect to *Man'yōshū* poetry in the *Korai fūteishō* in 1197. Moreover, he praised a poem by Minamoto Michichika (1149-1202) alluding to *Man'yōshū* in the forty-sixth round of *Sentō jūnin uta'awase* (Ten-Person Poetry Contest in the Retired Emperor's Palace, 1200) and he granted a win to Kujō Yoshitsune's poem appropriating a *Man'yōshū* poem in the sixty-first round of the *Minasedono koi jūgoshu uta'awase* (Poetry Contests of the Fifteen Love Poems at the Minase Palace, 1202), which were two post-*Ropyyakuban uta'awase* poetic events.²⁷⁷ Putting poetry aside, Shunzei was politically astute in applauding those poets' allusions to *Man'yōshū*, since both Michichika and Yoshitsune were from families that had previously supported the Rokujō school – Tsuchimikado and Kujō respectively; families that Shunzei had clear interest in being close to.

Thus, in *Ropyyakuban uta'awase* *Man'yōshū* became a battleground for Shunzei and Kenshō demonstrating whose expertise was more in tune with the early medieval poetic world. It means that both poets-scholars considered *Man'yōshū* as important, and that they both wanted to establish their authority regarding scholarship about this poetic collection. As much as Kenshō tried to push the boundaries of the early medieval poetic discourse by appropriating eccentric vocabulary from *Man'yōshū*, so did Shunzei start openly promoting *Genji monogatari* as a valid source for waka composition. In the round thirteen's winter section of *Ropyyakuban uta'awase*, Shunzei commented: “to compose poetry without

²⁷⁶ Ekida, 9.

²⁷⁷ *Sentō jūnin uta'awase* was a poetic event organized by Retired Emperor Go-Toba. Scholars believe it to have been one of the most important poetry contests held in the eve of the *Shinkokinshū*'s compilation. *Minase-dono koi jūgoshu uta'awase* was another poetic event organized by Retired Emperor Go-Toba. Fifteen poems from this poetry contest were included in the *Shinkokinshū*. It also is believed that this *uta'awase* produced ones of the most excellent and representative love poems of the *Shinkokinshū* style. See Huey 2002, 166-187.

knowing *Genji* is a regrettable thing.”²⁷⁸ He emphasized *Genji monogatari*’s significance to find an alternative literary focus, reaching beyond the already known poetic discourse until then dictated by the Rokujō school’s standards. As noted by Robert Huey, emphasis on *Genji monogatari* was an intentional move on the side of Shunzei, who had to appear as an expert of some important text to his patrons and in the whole early medieval world.²⁷⁹ This would give the Mikohidari school a base on which they could build their brand.

However, we cannot forget that he was not the first one to mention *Genji monogatari* in his poetry criticism. In fact, it was unfair of Shunzei to accuse Kiyosuke and other Rokujō scholars of a lack of knowledge about *Genji monogatari*, since Kiyosuke had already noticed the importance of this tale for poetry composition in his poetic treatises. As noted by Teramoto Naohiko, it must have been however a different text of *Genji monogatari* than the one owned by the Mikohidari poets.²⁸⁰ Thus, Shunzei was not attacking only one’s lack of knowledge about certain literary works; he was again trying to establish the legitimacy of those manuscripts that he himself owned, and simultaneously to undermine the authority of other alternative texts. Moreover, *Genji monogatari* did not come up as frequently in Shunzei’s poetry contests’ judgments as we might expect. In fact, *Genji monogatari* was brought up only once in Shunzei’s *hanshi* before and only once after *Ropyyakuban uta’awase*, while *Ise monogatari* appeared in his judgments more frequently, though not as often as references to *Man’yōshū*. Kenshō recognized Shunzei’s strategy to emphasize the Heian period tales, and he mentioned *Genji monogatari* seventeen times in his own judgments of *Sengohyakuban uta’awase*. I believe that Kenshō was recognizing allusions to *Genji monogatari* so that the Rokujō school could not be accused of a lack of knowledge about this Heian period tale, and so that Shunzei and the Mikohidari school could not claim

²⁷⁸ Shunzei wrote his comment about *Genji monogatari* in a judgment of a poem by Fujiwara Takanobu, whom he raised himself. In this case Shunzei’s comment was thus not aimed at the Rokujō school. However, he reiterated his statement in *Shōji sōjō* from 1200, where he referred to poetry of Fujiwara Norinaga (1109-1180) and Kiyosuke. See Huey 2002, 20, 409.

²⁷⁹ Robert Huey has noted that in *Ropyyakuban uta’awase* Shunzei started to “articulate his *honkadori* aesthetic more clearly,” which I think was about establishing new standards in the art of poetic borrowing and for the early medieval poetic discourse. See *Ibid.*, 20-22

²⁸⁰ Teramoto, 661-686.

to be the sole experts on *Genji monogatari*.²⁸¹ However, as waka history has shown us, Kenshō failed.

Thus, in *Ropyakuban uta'awase* Shunzei not only attempted to take authority over *Man'yōshū* scholarship away from the Rokujō scholars, but he also openly validated new channels for poetic allusions by emphasizing works like *Genji monogatari*. The emphasis of this Heian Period tale was later strongly advocated by his son, Fujiwara Teika and became one of the core features of the Mikohidari school's contribution to the history of waka and its scholarship.²⁸² In fact, deriving inspiration from earlier poetry, reflected in the Mikohidari school's motto *kotoba furuku, kokoro atarasi* (old words, new heart), which became the trademark of the new poetic style, has a much longer history than is currently acknowledged. Moreover, even though some scholars have claimed that this motto did not include *Man'yōshū* poetry, I think my research proves otherwise.

²⁸¹ Huey 2002, 21.

²⁸² Kamijō, 67-68.

CHAPTER 3. *MAN'YŌSHŪ* APPROPRIATION IN POETRY BY FUJIWARA KIYOSUKE, FUJIWARA SHUNZEI AND OTHER EARLY MEDIEVAL POETS

As much as the history of *Man'yōshū*'s reception has been quite extensively studied, research on the history of *Man'yōshū*'s appropriation focuses on the examination of major poetic events and collections that are believed to have emphasized the significance of the *Man'yōshū* poetry, like *Horikawa hyakushū* or *Shinkokinshū*. Publications dealing with the appropriation of the *Man'yōshū* poetry in work of individual poets, including Fujiwara Kiyosuke, Fujiwara Shunzei, Princess Shikishi, Minamoto Ienaga (fl. 1170-1234), Fujiwara Teika, and many others, constitute a much smaller branch of contemporary Japanese scholarship. One common feature of all those publications, including many modern editions of annotated medieval private collections, is the manner in which the appropriated *Man'yōshū* poems, lines and expressions are tracked and presented – they usually point to a particular poem in the version we have of *Man'yōshū* today (often *Nishi Honganji-bon*) when discussing *honka* (original poems) and/or *sankō* (reference poems).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, many of these contemporary scholarly works contribute to a misleading impression that early medieval poets frequently appropriated *Man'yōshū* poetry directly from *Man'yōshū* manuscripts. Modern annotations often fail to provide references to secondary sources, in which the appropriated *Man'yōshū* poems reappear, for example *Kokinwaka rokujō*, as well as many poetic treatises and handbooks discussed previously in this dissertation. As a result, readers end up with limited information about possible channels of appropriation of the *Man'yōshū* vocabulary, and likely remain unaware of the existence of the early medieval *Man'yōshū* discourse, which encompassed not only *Man'yōshū* manuscripts, but also other poetic collections and treatises that featured *Man'yōshū* poems without always identifying them as such. Being deprived of the reception and appropriation history, modern readers and students of waka are likely to assume Japanese court poetry evolved in a linear fashion, with each generation of poets building on the canonical works of an earlier age; they are thus often unable to comprehend how complex the channels of poetry appropriation were in the late Heian period.

Thus, apart from the distance between the readers-scholars and manuscripts that the modern annotated editions of medieval works create, we are presented with a linear, uni-

directional (from past to present) version of earlier poetry appropriation channels. This approach does not take into account the existence of a more general poetic discourse, which would enable us to view poetic borrowing as a less structured, more “chaotic” and thus multi-directional practice. In my analysis, I do not argue for the earliest or the “most correct” channels of appropriation of earlier poetry. Instead, my approach is to present as many potential channels of appropriation as possible, treating them as equal variables regardless of their possible origins (original manuscripts or secondary sources), and acknowledging the complexity of this web of intertextuality. The goal is to show that it is frequently impossible to find out exactly how and from where early medieval poets borrowed vocabulary and poetic expressions. Sōtome Tadashi has already noted that in the case of *Man'yōshū* it is difficult to determine the source of appropriation of *Man'yōshū*-like vocabulary, since poems from the collection were included in the third imperial collection, *Shūishū*, and a number of other secondary sources.¹ It is thus futile to point to one direct reference due to the fluidity of textual attribution and appropriation channels. Moreover, it is problematic to track all changes in the early medieval poetic discourse – itself a fluid space of constant change and knowledge negotiation. As mentioned in Chapter 1, parts of the discourse existed in the form of written texts, like works of *karon*, but parts of it involved orally transmitted knowledge, some of which have not survived.²

3.1 – Appropriation of *Man'yōshū* vocabulary in Kiyosuke's poems

It is well known that *honkadori* was codified by Fujiwara Teika as a poetic technique. However, as discussed in Chapter 1, despite some diffidence toward *honkadori* evident in numerous poetic treatises, it does not mean that pre-Teika poets did not utilize similar techniques in their own poetry. In fact, as pointed out by Nakagawa Hiro'o, a *honkadori*-like technique of poetic “stealing” or borrowing was established and discussed already by poets like Minamoto

¹ Sōtome Tadashi, “*Man'yō sesshu ron: Toshiyori kara Teika made,*” in *Fujiwara Teika ron*, 1-25 (Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 2011), 7.

² For the “originals” of all individual waka poems by Fujiwara Kiyosuke, Fujiwara Shunzei and other poets, I have followed the electronic version of *Kokka taikan* available through the *Nihon bungaku web toshokan*. I understand that these texts are ultimately as unstable as any others, but I do need a consistent benchmark. For the analysis of Kiyosuke's poetry, I have consulted Ashida Kōichi's annotation of Kiyosuke's private collection, *Kiyosukeshū* (ca. 1177). For the analysis of Shunzei's poems, I have consulted Kubota Jun and Kawamura Teruo's annotation of Shunzei's private collection, *Chōshū eisō*. See Ashida Kōichi, *Kiyosukeshū shinchū* (Tōkyō: Seikansha, 2008); Kubota Jun and Teruo Kawamura, *Chōshū eisō, Toshitadashū* (Tōkyō: Meiji Shoin, 1998).

Toshiyori, Fujiwara Akisuke and Fujiwara Kiyosuke.³ Ashida Kōichi has correctly noted that Kiyosuke described such poetic technique as *furu'uta* or *koka* (ancient poems), or *tōkoka no shōka* (proof-poems stolen from ancient poetry) in his works of poetry criticism, discussed in detail in Chapter 2.⁴ Moreover, as noted by Kokumai Hideyuki, the Rokujō poets also used similar poetic techniques to *honkadōri* in their poems, but their strategies of poetic borrowing were different from the Mikohidari poets, which will become evident in this chapter.⁵ In fact, I argue that what Teika later described and codified as the *honkadōri* technique, Kiyosuke had already partially attempted to describe and codify under a different term. Kiyosuke's progressive views on poetic "stealing" suggest that pre-Shunzei and pre-Teika poets were referring to a similar poetic technique that had been long a part of waka practice. Despite that, Kiyosuke is not given enough credit for developing earlier concepts of poetic borrowing.

Kiyosuke was one of the early medieval poets who discussed in his *karon* and applied in his own poetry *honkadōri*-like techniques. Even though borrowing from *Man'yōshū* vocabulary in Kiyosuke's poetry has not received much scholarly attention, there are two publications by Ashida Kōichi dealing with this subject.⁶

Ashida has identified about fifty of Kiyosuke's poems that directly or indirectly referred to *Man'yōshū* poetry.⁷ I have found sixty-four such poems, which constitutes about 10% of Kiyosuke's currently extant poetic corpus. Moreover, the majority of these poems refer to volumes X-XI, which are the most popular *Man'yōshū* volumes in early medieval poetic treatises. Poems from these volumes are also the most frequently used ones in compositions by early medieval poets. In addition, most of the *Man'yōshū* poems Kiyosuke alluded to were included in earlier secondary sources of some kind. For example, 32 of the *Man'yōshū* poems overlap with

³ Ever though the character used for borrowing from old poems (盗) means "stealing," Kiyosuke and other waka theoreticians likely meant not "stealing," but rather "appropriating," "borrowing," or "acquiring." See Nakagawa 2001, 199.

⁴ Ashida 1995, 30.

⁵ Kokumai Hideyuki, "Fujiwara Shunzei no *honkadōri* to bōdai ishiki nitsuite," in *Nihon no bukkyō to bunka* (Kyōto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 1990), 756.

⁶ The annotated edition of *Kiyosukeshū*, also by Ashida, contributes to my analysis of appropriation channels most frequently used by Kiyosuke. See Ashida Kōichi, "Fujiwara Kiyosuke no eika – toku ni *Man'yō* uta no juyō nitsuite," *Shimane Daigaku hōbungakubu kiyō*, *Bungaku kahen* 22, no. 12 (1994): 1-20; Ashida Kōichi, "Fujiwara Kiyosuke eika no fuso ei no juyō o megutte," *Shimane Daigaku hōbungakubu kiyō*, *Bungaku kahen* 24, no. 12 (1995): 13-32; Ashida 2008.

⁷ Kiyosuke's extant poetic corpus is estimated at about 600 poems, 444 of them constitute *Kiyosukeshū* (Poetic collection of Kiyosuke). See Ashida 1994, 2; Ashida 2004, 215; Appendix 3.

Kokinwaka rokujō; 20 overlap with *Waka shogakushō* (1169), the last one of Kiyosuke's extant poetic handbooks:

<i>Kokinwaka rokujō</i>	<i>Hitomaro shū</i>	<i>Toshiyori zuinō</i>	<i>Kigoshō</i>	<i>Ōgishō</i>	<i>Waka dōmōshō</i>	<i>Waka ichijishō</i>	<i>Fukuro zōshi</i>	<i>Godaishū utamakura</i>	<i>Waka shogakushō</i>
32	19	3	15	5	19	0	1	26	20

This suggests that, despite Kiyosuke's alleged expertise in *Man'yōshū* poetry and history, secondary sources were likely a very significant source of *Man'yōshū* poetic allusions in his poems. On the other hand, as also noted by Ashida, eight *Man'yōshū* poems (mostly *chōka*) Kiyosuke referred to were not included in any earlier secondary source, which suggests that he also used a *Man'yōshū* manuscript.⁸ Furthermore, based on my own research, at least 30% of Kiyosuke's poems borrowing from *Man'yōshū* refer to the same *Man'yōshū* poems that other poets of the early medieval era alluded to, which implies that there was a contemporary discourse-level understanding of *Man'yōshū* that Kiyosuke was participating in.

Let us begin the discussion of Kiyosuke's approach to the appropriation of *Man'yōshū* poetry with a poetic example demonstrating not only the flexibility of what is or was a "*Man'yōshū* poem" but also disclosing the complexity of the intertextual channels that we need to deal with in the process of analyzing early medieval poetry. We will also see that Kiyosuke contributed (consciously or not) to the popularization of some unknown *Man'yōshū* poems in the late Heian period. The poem analyzed appears in *Kyūan hyakushū* (#954), and is also included in *Kiyosukeshū* (#221), and *Shinkokinshū* (#616):

君こずはひとりやねなん籬のはのみ山もそよにさやぐ霜よを
kimi kozu fa If you, my lord, do not come
fitori ya nenan Will I sleep alone?
sasa no fa no On a frosty night
miyama mo soyo ni When the bamboo leaves
sayagu simo yo wo Rustle quietly in the mountains.

⁸ Ashida 1994, 5.

Kiyosuke's poem borrowed vocabulary from a very famous *Man'yōshū* poem (besides *Hitomaroshū*, the poem is also included in *Kokinwaka rokujō*): volume II (#133) by Kakinomoto Hitomaro, composed as a *hanka* (envoy poem) to a *chōka* on an occasion of Hitomaro's parting with his wife in the province of Iwami:⁹

小竹之葉者三山毛清尔乱友吾者妹思別来礼婆	
ささのははみやまもさやにさやげどもわれはいもおもふわかれきぬれば	
<i>sasa no fa fa</i>	Even though the bamboo leaves
<i>miyama mo saya ni</i>	Rustle quietly
<i>sayagedomo</i>	In the mountains,
<i>ware fa imo omofu</i>	My thoughts go to my dear wife
<i>wakare kinureba</i>	Whom I have left behind.

In contrast to Hitomaro's *tanka*, composed in a voice of a husband who parted from his wife, Kiyosuke's poem is written in the voice of an abandoned woman, who awaits her beloved man in solitude. Despite the difference in the gender of the two speakers, Kiyosuke's *tanka* maintains the original theme of love, longing and separation notable in Hitomaro's poem. The expression *sasa no fa* (bamboo leaves) is in both poems a reminder of the couple's separation and mutual longing. However, the lady from Kiyosuke's poem is additionally lonely and cold, which is symbolized by *simo yo* (frosty night) and emphasizes the woman's physical solitude, as there is no one to warm her up at night.

This image of the "frosty night," missing in Hitomaro's poem, complicates the seemingly straightforward channel of appropriation in Kiyosuke's poem, because it is a fairly unusual poetic expression and thus evidence that there might be other "channels of intertextuality." In fact, Kiyosuke likely borrowed the "frosty night" trope from one or more of several sources: (a) another *Man'yōshū* poem by an anonymous author composed in Eastern Old Japanese, volume XX (#4431), which was not included in any of the secondary resources until Sengaku's *Man'yōshū chūshaku* (Annotation of *Man'yōshū*, ca. 1269), (b) an anonymous *Kokinshū* poem (#1047), or (c) a *tanka* by Akisue, who was Kiyosuke's grandfather and founder of the Rokujō school, included in *Akisueshū* (#238). All of those poems contain similar poetic expressions:¹⁰

⁹ Iwami was an old province in southern Honshū. It is in what is now the western part of Shimane Prefecture.

¹⁰ Eastern Old Japanese is a term that collectively describes the eastern dialects of Old Japanese in the Nara period.

佐左賀波乃佐也久志毛用尔奈々弁加流去呂毛尔麻世流古侶賀波太波毛 *Man'yōshū* XX:
(#4431)

ささがはのさやぐしもよにななへかるところもにませるところがはだはも

sasa ga fa no On this frosty night
sayagu simo yo ni When bamboo leaves rustle,
nanafe karu Better than the seven layers
koromo ni maseru Of garments I am wearing
koro ga fada fa mo Would be the skin of my dear wife.

さかしらに夏は人まね笹の葉のさやぐ霜夜を我がひとり寝る *Kokinshū* (#1047)

sakasira ni The bamboo leaves
natu fa fitomane That slept apart cleverly imitating us
sasa no fa no In the summertime
sayagu simo yo wo On this frosty night, rustle:
wa ga fitori neru 'I sleep alone.'

さむしろにおもひこそやれささのはのさやくしもよのをしのひとりね *Akisueshū* (#238)

samusiro ni Lying on a straw mat
omofi koso yare In think to myself:
sasa no fa no 'How pitiful it is
sayagu simo yo no To sleep alone on a frosty night
osi no fitori ne When bamboo leaves rustle.'

Kiyosuke's poem demonstrates that what on a surface may seem like a direct reference to *Man'yōshū* vocabulary, in fact combines a variety of appropriation channels. Moreover, it is difficult to determine whether Kiyosuke intended to imitate "*Man'yōshū* poems," since Hitomaro's *tanka* is also included in *Kokinwaka rokujō* and *Hitomaroshū*, or whether he was rather paying tribute to a poet worshipped by the Rokujō school. Moreover, we see that a textual variant of this *Man'yōshū* poem notable in *Hitomaroshū* – *soyo ni* instead of *saya ni*, and absent from *Ruijū koshū* – a *Man'yōshū* manuscript believed to have been in Kiyosuke's possession – also appears in Kiyosuke's poem.¹¹ This suggests that Kiyosuke might have been inspired by

¹¹ Ueda, ed., vol. 3, 106. The *Hitomaroshū* version:

ささのはもみやまもそよにみだらんわれはいも思ふおきてきつれば
sasa no fa mo Why do bamboo leaves
miyama mo soyo ni In the mountains
midaruran Rustle in disarray?
ware fa imo omofu My thoughts go to my dear wife
okite kitureba Whom I have left behind.

some version of *Hitomaroshū*, not directly through a *Man'yōshū* manuscript. This confirms Ashida's claim that *Hitomaroshū* was one of Kiyosuke's main channels of allusions to *Man'yōshū* poetry.¹² We also cannot ignore the second *Man'yōshū* poem, *Kokinshū* poem and Akisue's *tanka* as possible sources of inspiration for Kiyosuke. All of the above makes it difficult to assume that Kiyosuke alluded directly to an "original *Man'yōshū* poem." Thus, the awareness of various possible channels of appropriation that constitute a web of intertextuality is a crucial factor in the analysis of the early medieval poems borrowing from *Man'yōshū* poetry.

Significantly enough, Kiyosuke's poem is evidence that it was acceptable for early medieval poets, and even waka masters, to imitate old poems and expressions without directly studying the old manuscripts, like *Man'yōshū*, but mediated through secondary sources and later poems. Moreover, the line from Hitomaro's poem from volume II (#133) – *sasa no fa miyama mo saya ni*, and to a lesser extent the image of a "frosty night" – became quite popular in the early medieval era, since a number of other contemporary poets applied similar imagery in their own poetic compositions, like Kujō Yoshitsune, Fujiwara Teika, Asukai Masatsune (1170-1221), Retired Emperor Go-Toba, Minamoto Sanetomo, Retired Emperor Juntoku (1197-1242), and many others.¹³ Moreover, a textual variant of Hitomaro's poem was also included in *Shinkokinshū* (#900), which suggests that Kiyosuke likely contributed to the increased popularization of this *Man'yōshū* poem and thus pushed the boundaries of the poetic discourse.¹⁴

Another example of a poem by Kiyosuke containing vocabulary from *Man'yōshū* again confirms the complexity of appropriation channels and Kiyosuke's attempt to popularize a poem attributed to Hitomaro. It is found in *Kiyosukeshū* (#175):

紅葉

露むすぶ秋はいくかにあらねども岡のくず葉も色付きにけり

Autumn Leaves

¹² Ashida 1994, 7-10.

¹³ See Appendix 5.

¹⁴ The *Shinkokinshū* version of Hitomaro's poem is yet different:

ささのははみやまもそよにみだるなり我はいもおもふ別れきぬれば	
<i>sasa no fa fa</i>	The bamboo leaves
<i>miyama mo <u>soyo ni</u></i>	In the mountains
<i><u>midaru nari</u></i>	Rustle in disarray,
<i>ware fa imo omofu</i>	My thoughts go to my dear wife
<i>wakare kinureba</i>	Whom I have left behind.

<i>tuyu musubu</i>	Though it is only
<i>aki fa ikuka ni</i>	A few days into autumn,
<i>aranedomo</i>	The dew forms
<i>woka no kuzufa mo</i>	And even kudzu leaves in the foothills
<i>iro dukinikeri</i>	Are imbued with color.

Kiyosuke's poem depicts the solitude of a waiting woman who, recently abandoned by her lover, misses and awaits him in the kudzu fields in autumn. While the dew symbolizes woman's tears, the surface of the kudzu vines colored in purple during early autumn depicts her love visible to the world. Ashida has noted that Kiyosuke's *tanka* alludes to an anonymous *Man'yōshū* poem from volume X (#2208):¹⁵

鴈鳴之寒鳴従水莖乃岡乃葛葉者色付尔来	
かりがねのさむくなきしゆみづぐきのをかのくずははいろづきにけり	
<i>karigane no</i>	Through the woeful crying
<i>samuku nakisiyu</i>	Of wild geese,
<i>miduguki no</i>	Even the kudzu leaves
<i>woka no kuzufa fa</i>	At the dampened foothills
<i>iro dukinikeri</i>	Are imbued with color.

We see that the last two lines in Kiyosuke's *tanka* are almost identical with the *Man'yōshū* poem. However, another anonymous poem from volume X (#2193) seems to be an equally possible reference, especially given that it also appears in *Hitomaroshū* (#176), *Kokinwaka rokujō* (#1038), in *Shūishū* (#1114), *Waka dōmōshō* (#187) and *Godaishū utamakura* (#603):

秋風之日異吹者水莖能岡之木葉毛色付尔家里	
あきかぜの日に異にふけばみずぐきのをかのこのはもいろづきにけり	
<i>akikaze no</i>	As the autumn wind
<i>fi ni ke ni fukeba</i>	Blows increasingly day by day,
<i>miduguki no</i>	Even the leaves
<i>woka no ko no fa mo</i>	Of the dampened foothills
<i>iro dukinikeri</i>	Are imbued with color.

¹⁵ Besides *Man'yōshū* this poem appears only in *Godaishū utamakura*.

In this case as well, the last two lines in Kiyosuke's *tanka* are almost identical with the *Man'yōshū* poem. Moreover, we see that Kiyosuke's poem was likely another attempt to popularize waka attributed to the Rokujō school's poetic idol, Hitomaro.

In both of the *Man'yōshū* poems, we find similar vocabulary and imagery of the coloring kudzu leaves, the bottom side of which turns white in autumn. The pale bottom side of the kudzu vines is visible only when the wind blows, and they start to flutter as if the woman was waving her sleeves in farewell. An image of the kudzu vines fluttering in the autumn wind is symbolic of woman's sleeves and her waiting and loneliness. This type of visual image, sometimes named elegant confusion (*mitate*), which allows one object or image to stand in for another or to be confused with it, was a poetic device existing since the Nara period and it became widespread in *Kokinshū*.

The similarity of the two *Man'yōshū* poems makes it difficult to establish a single channel of appropriation. It turns out, however, that *Waka dōmōshō* contains a textual variant of X (#2193) also notable in Kiyosuke's poem – *woka no kudufa mo iro dukinikeri* (even kudzu vine leaves in the foothills are imbued with color) instead of *woka no ko no fa mo iro dukinikeri* (even the leaves in the foothills are imbued with color) – absent from its versions in other secondary sources, and even *Ruijū koshū*.¹⁶ This textual difference suggests that Kiyosuke might have used an alternative version of a *Man'yōshū* poem from a secondary source like *Waka dōmōshō*, or had a *Man'yōshū* manuscript containing this textual difference. Again, it is quite difficult to select one definite source of reference, which demonstrates that this type of mechanical matching of later poems with their older inspirations is not necessarily the most effective manner to trace channels of appropriation. It does, however, provide us with a better understanding of the web of intertextuality, which allows multiple texts from different eras as equally valid sources of old vocabulary. This provides evidence that poetic allusion was already an accepted practice in early medieval poetic discourse, long before Teika codified it.

Kiyosuke's poem contributed to the popularization of some ancient vocabulary on the eve of *Shinkokinshū* compilation. In fact, a poem by Kenshō's utilizing similar poetic expressions,

¹⁶ *Waka dōmōshō* (#187) あきかぜのひごとにふけばみづぐきのをかのくずはもいろづきにけり
Ueda, ed., vol. 1., 225-226.

composed for the famous *Sengohyakuban uta'awase* held in 1203 (#1078) and granted a win, was later included in *Shinkokinshū* (#296):

みづぐきのをかのくずはも色づきてけさうらがなし秋のはつかぜ
miduguki no Even kudzu leaves
woka no kuzufa mo In the water-stem foothills
iro dukite Are imbued with color –
kesa uraganasi So forlorn is this morning
aki no fatukaze In the first breeze of autumn.

Moreover, Shunzei's son, Fujiwara Teika, used the same vocabulary in his *tanka* also composed in for *Sengohyakuban uta'awase* (#1087); Teika's poem, which is very similar to Kenshō's *tanka*, was also granted a win and later included in an imperial collection – *Shinshoku kokinwakashū* (#348), as one of the opening poems in the autumn volume:

みづぐきのをかのくずはらふきかへし衣手うすき秋のはつかぜ
miduguki no They blow inside out,
woka no kuzufara The kudzu vines
fukikafesi In the water-stem foothills,
koromode usuki Pale are the sleeves
aki no fatu kaze Light is the first breeze of autumn.

It is difficult to conclude who borrowed from whom in this case, though it seems safe to assume that both Kenshō and Teika were aware of Kiyosuke's poem. If two poets from two different and allegedly rival poetic schools, and from a generation younger than Kiyosuke and Shunzei, utilized the same expressions from old poems in a very similar manner, it means that we need to look far beyond the *Man'yōshū* poems to find possible sources of inspiration for newly composed waka. Moreover, those poems are, in my opinion, evidence that the early medieval poetic discourse was a notion existing above any poetic factions; it was a space where certain fashions in the style of poetic borrowing were shared and their origin often negotiated.

The two examples discussed above show that, as argued by Ashida Kōichi, some of the *Man'yōshū* vocabulary found in Kiyosuke's waka had not been referred to before.¹⁷ Some of

¹⁷ Ashida 1994, 4-10.

those poems became famous after Kiyosuke, which suggests that his references to ancient poems might have been one of the sources of inspiration for later generations of poets. There are, however, also examples of Kiyosuke's allusions to *Man'yōshū* vocabulary that is channeled not through *Man'yōshū* manuscripts or secondary sources but mediated via other poems. An example is a poem from *Kiyosukeshū* (#396), in which *Horikawa hyakushu* is the most probable channel of appropriation:

ふるさとを <u>しきしのぶるもあやむしろをになる</u> 物といまぞしりぬる	
<i>furusato wo</i>	Now I have realized that
<i>sikisinoburu mo</i>	As I continue
<i>ayamusiro</i>	To long for my dear home
<i>wo ni naru mono to</i>	This twill-patterned straw mat
<i>ima zo sirinuru</i>	Will turn to threads.

Kiyosuke's poem borrows vocabulary from an anonymous *Man'yōshū* poem from volume XI (#2538) and also an uncommon lexical form – *sikisinobu* (to miss more and more) – from early medieval versions of another *Man'yōshū* poem from volume IV (#521) by Hitachi Otome, also included in Kiyosuke's *Ōgishō*:

獨寝等朽目八方綾席緒尔成及君乎之将待 XI (#2538)	
ひとりぬともくちめやもあやむしろをになるまでにきみをしまたむ	
<i>fitori nu to</i>	While it may not rot away
<i>komo kuti meyamo</i>	When I sleep alone,
<i>ayamusiro</i>	I will wait for you
<i>wo ni naru made ni</i>	Until this twill-patterned straw mat
<i>kimi wo si matamu</i>	Turns to threads.

庭立麻手苧干布暴東女乎忘賜名 IV (#521)	
にはにたつあさでかりほしぬのさらすあづまをみなをわすれたまふな	
<i>nifa ni tatu</i>	Do not forget!
<i>asade karifosi</i>	The young lady of the East
<i>nuno sarasu</i>	Who, standing in the garden,
<i>aduma womina wo</i>	Cuts the hemp and bleaches cloth,
<i>wasuretamafu na</i>	While drying her morning sleeves.

Ashida has pointed out that a textual variant *sikisinobu* (to miss more and more) was a misreading of *man'yōgana* (布暴) for *nuno sarasu* (to bleach cloth) in the medieval era.¹⁸ *Utakotoba utamakura daijiten* also explains that *nuno sarasu* (布暴) was read as *sikisinobu* until the Edo period. And indeed, all secondary sources containing Hitachi Otome's poem and early medieval *Man'yōshū* manuscripts, even the *Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū* manuscript, seem to confirm his assumption. However, I argue that this alternative reading likely comes from a variant text, where the line *nuno sarasu* actually appears as *sikisinobu* in *kana* (not *man'yōgana*). Moreover, the fact that the *sikisinobu* reading is found in all major secondary sources citing Hitachi Otome's poem demonstrates how influential that text must have been. Thus, I do not see *sikisinobu* as a misreading but evidence that we are dealing a textual variant of significant impact. Such multiplicity of lexical forms may make it more difficult for us nowadays to interpret Kiyosuke's *tanka* in connection to the *Man'yōshū* poems he seems to be appropriating, but it demonstrates that early medieval poets read and understood *Man'yōshū* poetry differently from us.

Both of the *Man'yōshū* poems are composed in a female voice, that of a waiting woman who pleads to her husband not to forget her and promises to wait for him forever. Kiyosuke's *tanka*, on the other hand, is composed in a male voice of a faithful husband, who expresses his constant feeling of longing for his beloved, symbolized by *furusato* (home), yet it retains the theme of love, longing and separation of both *Man'yōshū*'s poems. Such a change in the voice of speaker and repurposing a theme from an ancient poem in a newly composed waka – in this case love into nature and change of the speaker's gender – reminds us of Fujiwara Teika's later principles of *honkadōri* practice.¹⁹ This provides support for my argument that Teika was not entirely innovative in his approach towards poetic borrowing, and that he acquired ideas from Kiyosuke's theories and poetic examples.

Interestingly, not so many of Shunzei's poems utilize ancient expressions found in Kiyosuke's waka, which suggests that this Mikohidari leader was perhaps avoiding certain parts of old vocabulary in order not to get too closely associated with the Rokujō group. Perhaps he was afraid of being accused of copying Kiyosuke, or maybe he wanted to distinguish himself

¹⁸ Ashida 2008, 307.

¹⁹ Hashimoto, Ariyoshi and Fujihara, ed., 473-475.

from the Rokujō poets because he was in the process of creating his own poetic school. Regardless of Shunzei's reasons for such strategy in his practice of poetic borrowing, we observe a change in Teika's poetry. In fact, many of Teika's poems contain allusions to *Man'yōshū* expressions frequently found in waka by Kiyosuke.²⁰ We may even argue that as much as Shunzei borrowed from Kiyosuke's *karon* regarding *Man'yōshū*, Teika borrowed from the Rokujō school's poetry in his allusions to ancient poems. That is likely how they created the base of the Mikohidari label. Those processes were possible only because certain parts of poetic discourse were publicly displayed in the works of *karon* and during poetic events like poetry contests.

As argued by Yoshida Kaoru, it is evident that early medieval poets borrowed not only from earlier poetry but also from each other.²¹ As much as Shunzei and Teika acquired parts of the Rokujō tradition, Kiyosuke also searched for sources of inspiration in other poets' work. In fact, that same pair of *Man'yōshū* poems discussed above (XI [#2538] and IV [#521]) had earlier been brought together in a poem composed by Minamoto Toshiyori for *Horikawa hyakushū* (#1144):

あさでほすあづま乙女のかや蓑敷きしのびても過す比かな	
<i>asade fosu</i>	Alas! It has been a long time
<i>aduma wotome no</i>	Since I shared a thatched sleeping mat
<i>kayamusiro</i>	With my lady from the East
<i>sikisinobite mo</i>	Who dries her morning sleeves -
<i>sugusu koro kana</i>	My longing continues.

Toshiyori's poem is the first extant case of appropriating those particular *Man'yōshū* expressions.²² His *tanka* corresponds to those earlier poems much more literally than Kiyosuke's poem, although we observe a similar alteration in the speaker's gender. There is, however, a curious element in Toshiyori's poem – the word *kayamusiro* (thatched sleeping mat) which does not appear in any other textual variant of the *Man'yōshū* poems to which he is referring.

²⁰ See Appendix 5.

²¹ Yoshida Kaoru, "Fujiwara Shunzei no *honkadori* nitsuite: *uta'awase hanshi* ni yoru kōsatsu," in *Ōchō no bungaku to sono keifu*, ed. Katagiri Yōichi (Ōsaka: Izumi Shoin, 1991), 211.

²² While XI (#2538) was included already in *Kokinwaka rokujō* and *Hitomaroshū*, IV (#521) was not included in any extant earlier secondary sources besides *Kigoshō* but, based on my research, was later included in a number of the Rokujō school's works of *karon*.

Kiyosuke's poem contains instead the term *ayamusiro* (twill-patterned straw mat), which is the word found in all extant secondary sources and *Man'yōshū* manuscripts of this source poem. *Kaya* means “grass” in Western Old Japanese, while *aya* refers to a “patterned fabric.”²³ Even though Kiyosuke seems to have imitated Toshiyori's acquisition of these particular vocabulary items from *Man'yōshū*, he did not blindly imitate Toshiyori. Thus, this is an example of the early medieval poets reading and borrowing from *Man'yōshū* vocabulary differently from each other because they were channeling poetic expressions through different manuscripts or secondary sources.

Kiyosuke undeniably was inspired by Toshiyori's allusions to *Man'yōshū* vocabulary here but he was not the only one. Besides Kiyosuke, a number of other contemporary and later poets, for example Shun'e, Lady Sanuki (1141-1217), Fujiwara Ietaka, Fujiwara Teika, Retired Emperor Juntoku, and Teika's son, Fujiwara Tameie (1198-1275), applied the same poetic expressions in a very similar manner in their own compositions.²⁴ This demonstrates that the early medieval poets were borrowing from each other as much as they were basing themselves on old manuscripts.

While *Horikawa hyakushu* certainly was one of the sources of inspiration for Kiyosuke's allusions to *Man'yōshū*, another significant channel of appropriation of *Man'yōshū* vocabulary is the poetry of his Rokujō ancestors, especially his grandfather Akisue. See, for example, a poem from *Kiyosukeshū* (#214):

寒夜千鳥

ひさぎおふるあそのかはらの川おろしにたぐふち鳥の聲のさやけさ

Cold-night Plovers

fisagi ofuru

In the wind blowing

aso no kafara no

Along the Aso River bed

kafa orosi ni

Where catalpas grow –

tagufu tidori no

The clearness of plover's cries

kowe no sayakesa

Lined up there.²⁵

²³ Jōdaigo Jiten Henshū I'inkaihen, *Jidaibetsu kokugo daijiten: jōdai hen* (Tōkyō: Sanseidō, 1968), 50, 227.

²⁴ See Appendix 5.

²⁵ Aso is an *utamakura* associated in *Man'yōshū* with Shimotsukeno Province (currently Tochigi Prefecture).

Kiyosuke's poem borrows vocabulary from a *Man'yōshū* poem from volume VI (#925)
by Yamabe Akahito:²⁶

烏玉之夜乃深去者久木生留清河原尔知鳥數鳴	
ぬばたまのよのふけゆけばひさぎおふるきよきかはらにちどりしばなく	
<i>nubatama no</i>	When night deepens
<i>yo no fukeyukeba</i>	Into the jet-black darkness,
<i>fisagi ofuru</i>	Plovers cry endlessly
<i>kiyoki kafara ni</i>	By the clear stream
<i>tidori sibanaku</i>	Where catalpas grow.

Akahito's *hanka* emphasizes the continuity of the imperial reign by using the imagery of *tidori* (plovers) crying by the riverside, which is symbolic of recalling the past due to the phoneme *ti* (one thousand) suggesting that many years have passed.²⁷ Kiyosuke's poem continues this theme but adds an image of wind carrying the plovers' cries, which implies that those sounds are from afar. Kiyosuke also changed vocabulary associated with the river and birds' cries from *kiyoki kafara* (clear river) into *aso no kafara* (the Aso River), and from *sibanaku* (to cry endlessly) into *kowe no sayakesa* (clearness of voice). Kiyosuke's alterations themselves, however, have antecedents in ancient vocabulary, since *aso no kafara* may be found in another *Man'yōshū* poem from volume XIV (#3425), composed in Eastern Old Japanese by an anonymous author, while *kowe no sayakesa* appears in yet another *Man'yōshū* poem from volume X (#2141) also by an anonymous author.²⁸ Based on my research, neither of these terms

²⁶ Akahito's poem is the second of two *hanka* composed after a *chōka* in volume VI (#923) about the greatness of the Yoshino imperial palace and divinity of the imperial reign.

²⁷ Haruo Shirane has pointed out that since *Shūishū*, *tidori* is associated with the winter season. By the time of *Shinkokinshū* compilation, it became a symbol of loneliness and the difficulty of bearing the cold. See Shirane 2012, 53-54.

²⁸ 志母都家努安素乃河泊良欲伊之布麻受蘇良由登伎奴与奈我已許呂能礼 XIV (#3425)

しもつけのあそのかはらよいしふまずそらゆときぬよながこころのれ	
<i>simotukeno</i>	I came along the Aso River
<i>aso no kafara yo</i>	In Shimotsukeno
<i>isi fumazu</i>	As if from the sky,
<i>sora yu to kinu yo</i>	Leaving no trace on the stones!
<i>naga kokoro nore</i>	Unveil your heart to me!
比日之秋朝開尔霧隱妻呼雄鹿之音之亮左 X (#2141)	
このころのあきのあさけにきりごもりつまよぶしかのこゑのさやけさ	
<i>kono koro no</i>	At this time
<i>aki no asake ni</i>	Of autumn dawning,
<i>kiri gomori</i>	Out of depths of mist

is widespread in Heian period waka, which again demonstrates that Kiyosuke was quite progressive in his approach to borrowing from ancient vocabulary and utilized a lot of less known expressions.

We see that Kiyosuke's poem is a patchwork of poetic expressions from three different *Man'yōshū* poems, which, as emphasized by Ashida, is one of the features of Kiyosuke's appropriation strategy.²⁹ In this particular case, however, the idea of referring to Akahito's poem was not original to Kiyosuke, since there is a poem by his grandfather, Akisue, composed for *Horikawa hyakushu* (#981) that borrows similar vocabulary:

夜ぐたちに千どりしばなく楸生ふる清き河原に風やふくらん

<i>yogutati ni</i>	In the slack of night
<i>tidori siba naku</i>	Plovers cry endlessly.
<i>fisagi ofuru</i>	The wind must be blowing
<i>kiyoki kafara ni</i>	Along the clear stream bed
<i>kaze ya fukuran</i>	Where catalpas grow.

Akisue's poem also refers to a *Man'yōshū* poem from volume VI (#925) and in addition contains similar poetic expressions found in another *Man'yōshū* poem – XIX (#4146) by Ōtomo Yakamochi – *yogutati* (slack of night), which refers to a time past midnight, *kafa* (river) and *naku tidori* (crying plover).³⁰ Moreover, Akisue's poem contains an image of the blowing wind, also notable in Kiyosuke's *tanka*. Ashida has argued that the idea of borrowing vocabulary from Akahito's poem itself was probably inspired by Kiyosuke's grandfather's *tanka*.³¹ In fact, I think that both poets contributed to the popularization of a relatively unknown poem.³² Akahito's poetic composition was later included in *Shinkokinshū* (#64), while a number of early medieval

<i>tuma yobu sika no</i>	Calling for his beloved wife -
<i>kowe no sayakesa</i>	The clear crying voice of a deer.

²⁹ Ashida 1995, 30.

³⁰ 夜具多知尔寐覺而居者河瀬尋情毛之努尔鳴知等理賀毛 XIX (#4146)
よぐたちにねさめておればかはせとめこころもしのになくちどりかも

<i>yogutati ni</i>	As, in the slack of night,
<i>nesamete oreba</i>	I lie awake in my bed –
<i>kafase tome</i>	In the river shoals,
<i>kokoro mo sino ni</i>	His heart soaked with grief,
<i>naku tidori kamo</i>	A crying plover.

³¹ Ashida 1994, 7.

³² Based on my analysis of the data, VI (#925) was included only in *Waka domoshō* and Kiyosuke's own *Waka shogakushō*.

poets utilized similar vocabulary in their poems, for example Shun'e, Fujiwara Sanesada (1139-1191), Minamoto Michichika, Fujiwara Ietaka, Fujiwara Nobuzane (1177-1265), and Fujiwara Teika.³³

Based on the examples discussed above, we may conclude that Kiyosuke did not condemn the practice of poetic borrowing and followed his own theories presented in his works of *karon*. As emphasized by Ashida, Kiyosuke's approach to appropriating from ancient poetry was inspired by poetry from *Horikawa hyakushu* and poems by his grandfather and the founder of the Rokujō school, Akisue.³⁴ Despite a general tendency to refer predominantly to *Man'yōshū* love poetry, which is notable in works of many other early medieval poets, Kiyosuke did not blindly imitate the way other poets imitated ancient poems. In fact, he often managed to allude to *Man'yōshū* poetry in his own way by either borrowing from a few *Man'yōshū* poems or alluding to less known poetic expressions that nobody had ever referred to, or simply maintaining the theme of the original *Man'yōshū* poem but changing the speaker's gender. Thus, he did more than contribute to the early medieval poetic discourse; his manner of appropriation of ancient vocabulary was later appreciated and followed by many poets, including Fujiwara Teika, who likely based his *honkadori* rules on some of Kiyosuke's allusive strategies.

Furthermore, we observe that some of Kiyosuke's poems alluding to *Man'yōshū* poetry show evidence of having come through secondary sources, for example *Hitomaroshū* and *Waka dōmōshō*, rather than *Man'yōshū* manuscripts, which provides evidence for my argument that secondary sources were significant for the channeling of *Man'yōshū* poetry and expressions in the early medieval era. Overall, Kiyosuke's approach to borrowing from *Man'yōshū* shows that we need to take into consideration a much wider web of intertextuality, which often includes poetry of other poets and is thus a discursive poetic space, rather than try to track down one "original poem."

Finally, one significant feature notable in Kiyosuke's manner of referring to ancient poetry is his focus on vocabulary and rather faithful imitation of certain lines or expressions from *Man'yōshū*. This constitutes perhaps the biggest differences between Kiyosuke and Shunzei's strategies toward alluding to old poems. As we will see in the following sections of this chapter,

³³ See Appendix 5.

³⁴ Ashida 1995, 13-32.

Shunzei utilized *Man'yōshū* poetry more as a background for his compositions rather than copying particular lines. As pointed out by some Japanese scholars, it seems that Shunzei cared more about the “ancient feel” or “ancient style” and his allusions are less obvious and thus more difficult to track than in Kiyosuke’s *tanka*.³⁵

3.2 – Appropriation of *Man'yōshū* vocabulary in Shunzei’s poems

Fujiwara Shunzei was one of the theoreticians and promoters of the appropriative poetic technique *honkadori*, as well as one of its practitioners. However, Shunzei’s own approach to allusions to *Man'yōshū* poetry has not been given much scholarly attention. There is only one publication, authored by Higaki Takashi, dealing with the allusions to *Man'yōshū* poetry in Shunzei’s waka. Higaki has generally argued that Shunzei’s allusions to *Man'yōshū* were a manifestation of his will to innovate and renew waka tradition, as well as his significant impact on later generations of poets.³⁶

Based on my analysis of the data, sixty-three of Shunzei’s poems borrow from *Man'yōshū* expressions, which constitutes about 2.5% of his currently extant poetic corpus.³⁷ Like Kiyosuke, Shunzei seemed to refer most frequently to *Man'yōshū* volumes X-XI, and also often alluded to *Man'yōshū* poems that were included in earlier secondary sources; for example, 35 of *Man'yōshū* poems Shunzei refers to overlap with *Kokinwaka rokujō*, and 26 overlap with *Waka dōmōshō* and *Godaishū utamakura* (Poetic Landmarks in Collections of Five Eras, bef. 1165):

<i>KWR</i>	<i>Hitomaro shū</i>	<i>Toshiyori zuinō</i>	<i>Kigoshō</i>	<i>Ōgishō</i>	<i>Waka dōmōshō</i>	<i>Waka ichijishō</i>	<i>Fukuro zōshi</i>	<i>Godaishū utamakura</i>	<i>Waka shogakushō</i>	<i>Shūchū shō</i>	<i>KFS</i>
35	22	6	16	4	26	3	6	26	5	17	25

³⁵ Kami, 17; Kokumai, 756-757; Yoshida, 202-203.

³⁶ Higaki, 34-35.

³⁷ Shunzei’s extant poetic corpus is estimated to be about 2,600 poems. 810 of them constitute his private collection, *Chōshū eisō*. See Matsuno Yōichi and Kaoru Yoshida, *Fujiwara Shunzei zenkashū* (Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin, 2007); Kubota and Kawamura, 1998.

Even though Shunzei's poetry does not refer to all *Man'yōshū* volumes (no allusions to volumes II, XIII, XVII, and XVIII), the table above suggests that Shunzei, in a manner similar to Kiyosuke, might have used secondary sources more than manuscripts as sources for his allusions to *Man'yōshū*.³⁸ Moreover, based on my examination of the data, it seems that about 17% of Shunzei's poems alluding to *Man'yōshū* refer to the same poems as other poets of his era. On the other hand, six *Man'yōshū* poems Shunzei borrowed from were not included in any earlier secondary sources, which implies that he had access to some *Man'yōshū* manuscript, and may have used his poetry, in some sense, to advertise this.³⁹

Let us begin the discussion with a poetic example demonstrating Shunzei's contribution to early medieval poetic discourse, as well as his attempt to combine old vocabulary with poetic expressions popular during the late Heian period. The poem analyzed was submitted to *Sengohyakuban uta'awase* (#2401) on the topic of *kofu* (Love), where it lost to a poem composed by an imperial personage:⁴⁰

せきわびぬ逢ふ瀬も知らぬ涙河かたしく袖や井手のしがらみ	
<i>sekiwabinu</i>	Unable to meet with you,
<i>afuse mo siranu</i>	I cannot stop
<i>namidagafa</i>	This stream of tears.
<i>katasiku sode ya</i>	Let then my spread-out sleeves
<i>wide no sigarami</i>	Be the weir of Ide. ⁴¹

Shunzei's poem borrows vocabulary found in a *Man'yōshū* poem from volume XI (#2721) by an anonymous poet:

玉藻苧井堤乃四賀良美薄可毛戀乃余杼女留吾情可聞	
たまもかるゐでのしがらみうすみかもこひのよどめるわがこころかも	
<i>tamamo karu</i>	Like the weir of Ide

³⁸ See Appendix 4.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Shunzei was in a disadvantaged position in this case: Kenshō, who had hotly contested his judgments in *Ropyyakuban uta'awase*, was the judge for this section of *Sengohyakuban uta'awase*, and on top of that, by convention, poems composed by members of the imperial family were usually awarded either a win or at least a tie.

⁴¹ Shunzei's poem is also included in *Utamakura nayose* (Reference Book of Poetic Place-Names, 1336) – #856, but not in his private collection, *Chōshū eisō*. Ide is an *utamakura* for a place in Yamashiro Province (currently in the southern part of Kyoto area).

<i>wide no sigarami</i>	Where they cut the gemlike seaweed,
<i>usumi kamo</i>	My heart is too weak
<i>kofi no yodomeru</i>	To stop the flow
<i>wa ga kokoro kamo</i>	Of my love for you.

Shunzei's *tanka* is faithful to the theme of overflowing and unstoppable love in the *Man'yōshū* poem, which can be regulated only with some kind of barrier. The expression *wide no sigarami* (the weir of Ide), used in Shunzei's poem metaphorically as the only possible way to stop the flow of tears, was, however, not very well known in the early medieval era.⁴² In fact, Shunzei's *tanka* is the first extant example of this line's appropriation in the history of *waka*, and it is evident that his allusion had some impact on later generations of poets. A number of other poets, for example Retired Emperor Go-Toba, Fujiwara Teika, Minamoto Sanetomo, Fujiwara Ietaka, later appropriated the same vocabulary in their own poetic compositions.⁴³

On the other hand, it should be noted that this poem contains lines also present in *tanka* by other poets contemporary to Shunzei – the phrases *namidagafa* (the stream of tears) and *afuse mo siranu* (not able to meet). One poem was composed by Jien (1155-1225), under the pseudonym Nobusada, in the Love Section of *Ropyyakuban uta'awase*, where it tied with Kenshō's poem.⁴⁴ Another poem is authored by Fujiwara Sanefusa (1147-1225):

<u>なみだがはあふせもしらぬみをつくしたけこすほどになりけるかな</u>	
<i>namidagafa</i>	To the stream of tears
<i>afuse mo siranu</i>	That knows not the meaning of 'meet'
<i>mi wo tukusi</i>	I entrust my weakened body.
<i>take kosu fodo ni</i>	I have surpassed
<i>narinikeru kana</i>	My own limit!

Jien, *Ropyyakuban uta'awase* (#986)

⁴² Based on my examination of the data, XI (#2721) was listed only in *Kokinwaka rokujō* (#1630) prior to Shunzei's *Korai fūteishō* (#134).

⁴³ See Appendix 5.

⁴⁴ Jien (1155-1225) was the younger brother of Kujō Kanezane and uncle of Kujō Yoshitsune. He was active in the poetic world and helped Kanezane sponsor various poetic events. He was one of the judges and contributing poets to *Sengohyakuban uta'awase*, he has the second largest number of poems (92) in *Shinkokinshū*. He served as Chief Abbot of the Tendai Sect four times during his life. After Kanezane and Yoshitsune died, he became the head of the Kujō house.

恋衣袖のしら浪せきかねて逢せもしらぬ涙川かな
kofikoromo My love robe,
sode no siranami White waves on its sleeves
sekikanete That I cannot hold back -
afuse mo siranu It knows not the meaning of 'meet,'
namidagafa kana This stream of tears.

Fujiwara Sanefusa, *Shōji hyakushu* (#1579)

Both poems are very similar in theme to Shunzei's *tanka* and the *Man'yōshū* poem from volume XI (#2721). They depict an image of river-like tears of love that cannot be stopped, but they have more in common with Shunzei's poem than the *Man'yōshū* poetic reference. Moreover, it seems that Shunzei must have been particularly aware of Jien's composition because he judged all rounds in *Ropyyakuban uta'awase*, although it is Sanefusa's poem that contains another overlapping image with Shunzei's *tanka* – *sode* (sleeves).

This poetic example demonstrates Shunzei's attempt to combine the trends in *waka* during his own time with ancient vocabulary. He was poetically dialoging not only with poets from the old times but with some of his contemporaries – a feature unseen in any of Kiyosuke's poems alluding to *Man'yōshū* vocabulary. In fact, while Kiyosuke participated in and contributed to the poetic discourse, he did it from the position of a *waka* master, who was being followed by other poets and was thus above them. Meanwhile, Shunzei participated and contributed to the poetic discourse by borrowing poetry from his own era and thus obscuring his allusions. He positioned himself not above but among his contemporaries, which I believe was his intentional strategy aimed at acquiring the position of the early medieval poetic world's leader.

In this particular case, the Mikohidari leader's effort to introduce more old-style vocabulary into the early medieval poetic discourse was relatively effective because a few later poets utilized the line *wide no sigarami* in their own compositions. However, the majority of less-known *Man'yōshū* poems alluded to by Shunzei did not become very popular in the following eras, even though some obscure *Man'yōshū* expressions appear also in Teika's poetry. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, it seems that *Man'yōshū* poems appropriated by Kiyosuke became much more popular among the later generations of poet-scholars. Teika, for example, frequently referred to the same *Man'yōshū* poems as Kiyosuke, and to a lesser extent to the

Man'yōshū poems alluded to by his own father.⁴⁵ Such flexibility in the way poets borrowed from *Man'yōshū* in the early medieval era suggests that one's affiliation with the Rokujō or Mikohidari schools did not seem overly important. Poetic trends were thus more a matter of the poetic discourse and fashions of a particular moment in the history of waka, rather than a matter of poetic factions.

The next poetic example demonstrates that Shunzei's approach to borrowing from *Man'yōshū* vocabulary was at least partially channeled through earlier poetry. It comes from Shunzei's private collection *Chōshū eisō* (#548), and is composed on the topic of *tabi* (Travel):

あはれなる野島が崎の庵かな露置袖に浪もかけけり	
<i>afare naru</i>	How moving is
<i>nosima ga saki no</i>	The thatched hut
<i>ifori kana</i>	At the Cape of Noshima.
<i>tuyu oku sode ni</i>	Waves reach my sleeves,
<i>nami mo kakekeri</i>	Already covered with dew. ⁴⁶

Shunzei's *tanka* overlaps with a *Man'yōshū* poem from volume XV (#3606) by an anonymous poet but attributed to Akahito in *Kokinwaka rokujō* (#1851) and reattributed to Hitomaro in *Godaishū utamakura* (#1612):

多麻藻可流乎等女乎須疑弓奈都久佐能野嶋我左吉尔伊保里須和礼波	
たまもかるをとめをすぎてなつくさののしまがさきにいほりすわれは	
<i>tamamo karu</i>	I passed the maidens
<i>wotome wo sugite</i>	Cutting the gem-like seaweed,
<i>natukusa no</i>	And amid summer grasses
<i>nosima ga saki ni</i>	At the Cape of Noshima
<i>ifori su ware fa</i>	I built myself a thatched hut.

The *Man'yōshū* poem portrays a man who, despite having some worldly temptations represented by the presence of young women, decided to abandon the secular life and seclude himself in a thatched hut. Shunzei's poem, on the other hand, describes one's moment of

⁴⁵ See Appendix 5.

⁴⁶ Shunzei's poem is also included in *Senzaishū* (#531). The Cape of Noshima is an *utamakura* in Awaji Province (currently in Hyōgo Prefecture).

reflection on and appreciation for the beauty of a thatched hut, but it also expresses sorrow likely caused by the longing for the secular life and for his beloved whom he probably had left behind. The two poems thus represent two stages of one's life – before and after taking tonsure or deciding to live in seclusion. As much as the *Man'yōshū* poem represents the man's decision about his life as a monk or hermit, Shunzei's depicts the difficulties of and maybe even regret about this secluded way of life. Such duality of lifestyles must have appealed to the poets of the early medieval period, since a number of them, for example Fujiwara Shigeie, Kamo no Chōmei, Shun'e, Fujiwara Norimune (1171-1233), Fujiwara Ietaka, Retired Emperor Go-Toba, and many others, appropriated similar vocabulary and images in their own poetic compositions.⁴⁷

However, while Shunzei's *tanka* echoes vocabulary from XV (#3606), his is not the first poem to do so. *Nosima ga saki* (Cape of Noshima) appears in Minamoto Toshiyori's poem from *Sanka goban uta'awase* held in 1100 (#12).⁴⁸ The poem was surely known to Shunzei, since it was later included in his *Senzaishū* (#1045).⁴⁹ Moreover, in a similar context to Shunzei's poem *nosima ga saki* appears in a *bussokusekika* (a *tanka* with an extra line of 7 syllables added to the end) authored by Kiyosuke's father, Fujiwara Akisuke from *Kyūan hyakushu* (#396):

東路の野しまがさきのはま風にわがひもゆひしいもがかほのみおもかげにみゆ	
<i>azumadi no</i>	On the Eastern Road
<i>nosima ga saki no</i>	At the Cape of Noshima
<i>famakaze ni</i>	In the shore wind –
<i>wa ga fimo yufisi</i>	The face of my beloved
<i>imo ga kafo nomi</i>	With whom I tied the knot
<i>omokage ni miyu</i>	Seems like a dream.

Akisuke's *bussokusekika* reminds us of the *Man'yōshū* poem, since the speaker has parted from his wife and is travelling. The previous life and love appear to the speaker as a

⁴⁷ See Appendix 5.

⁴⁸ Kubota and Kawamura, 121.

⁴⁹ しほみてばのじまがさきのさゆりばになみこすかぜのふかぬ日ぞなき

<i>sifo miteba</i>	When tides overflow,
<i>nojima ga saki no</i>	At the Cape of Nojima
<i>sayuriba ni</i>	There is no day when
<i>nami kosu kaze no</i>	A breeze crossing over the waves
<i>fukanu fi zo naki</i>	Blows not onto the young lily leaves.

dream, while his current lifestyle of a traveler has become an everyday reality. Akisuke's poem contains, like Shunzei's *tanka*, a theme of longing for one's previous secular lifestyle, even though this *tanka* does not openly speak of the hermit. While the *Man'yōshū* poem describes the decision about and the start of one's new life, Shunzei's poem depicts the early stage of adjustment to it when the memory of previous secular life is still vivid, while Akisuke's *tanka* explores a later phase of gradual coming to terms with the new way of life. All three poems constitute a story about the transformation of a man from a lover into hermit or traveler, and are in fact representative of a shift from the Heian period aesthetics into a more alternative style of living on the margins of society, notable in *Shinkokinshū*.⁵⁰ Kiyosuke's poems alluding to *Man'yōshū* vocabulary do not show any appreciation for the hermitic or traveling lifestyle, even though Toshiyori and his father made some references to the hermit life.⁵¹ The fact that Shunzei's poetry does so is one mark of his dialoging with earlier poets, and should be perceived as a significant stage in the evolution of borrowing practices during the early medieval era.

Despite some similarities between Akisuke and Shunzei's poem, it is difficult to establish Akisuke's *tanka* as the only channel of appropriation for Shunzei's composition. In fact, since the *Kokinwaka rokujō* and *Godaiishū utamakura* versions of XV (#3606) do not display any textual variants that might have affected Shunzei's poem, it is impossible to point to one particular reference. The following examples will show that Shunzei might in fact have intentionally obscured the channels of his allusions to ancient vocabulary, and thus purposely manipulated the reception of his own poems. Such a practice of "hiding *honka*" is not found in works by earlier poets, including Kiyosuke.

The next poem analyzed demonstrates that, like Kiyosuke, Shunzei was aware of and affected by the way in which poems in *Horikawa hyakushū* utilized vocabulary from *Man'yōshū*. However, unlike Kiyosuke, Shunzei seems to have made poetry by Fujiwara Mototoshi one of the channels of appropriation for his own poetic compositions, which confirms his close association with Mototoshi. One such example, authored by Shunzei, is included in *Omuro*

⁵⁰ For more about recluse poetry in medieval Japan, see Smits 1995, 16-18, and Michael Marra, *Aesthetics of Discontent: Politics and Reclusion in Medieval Japanese Literature* (Honolulu: Hawai'i University Press, 1991), 70-100.

⁵¹ Smits 1995, 130-141, 175-180.

gojussu (Fifty Poems of Omuro, 1198-1199) (#251) and does not appear in his private collection:

春やたつ雪げの雲はまきもくのひばらに霞たなびきにけり

faru ya tatu Spring has arrived!
yukige no kumo fa For clouds that seemed to bring snow
makimoku no Now drift off,
fibara ni kasumi Haze is trailing over
tanabikinikeri The cypress plain of Makimoku.⁵²

Shunzei's poem utilizes vocabulary found in two *Man'yōshū* poems from volume X (#1813) and (#1815):

卷向之檜原丹立流春霞鬱之思者名積米八方 (#1813)

まきむくのひばらにたてるはるかすみおほにしおもはばなづみこめやも

makimuku no The spring haze rises
fibara ni tateru Over the cypress plain
farugasumi Of Makimuku -
ofo ni si omofaba If my longing for you is hazy too,
nadumi kome yamo Would you still come to me?

子等我手乎卷向山丹春去者木葉凌而霞霏劫 (#1815)

こらがてをまきむくやまにはるさればこのはしのぎてかすみたなびく

kora ga te wo When spring arrives
makimuku yama ni At Mt. Makimuku,
faru sareba Like my lady's cradling hands
konofa sinogite The spring haze drifts over,
kasumi tanabiku Covering the leaves.

Based on my research, versions of both poems appear in *Hitomaroshū* and *Akahitoshū*, and other secondary sources. However, Shunzei's *tanka* seems to have omitted the theme of love and longing associated with Makimoku in the *Man'yōshū* poems, and is a typical spring poem. Such divergence from the source-poem, notable also in Kiyosuke's poems, later became the

⁵² Omuro is another name for Nin'na Temple in Kyoto. *Omuro gojussu* was organized by Prince Shukaku, who was at that time its abbot. The poem is also included in *Fuboku wakashō* (#502), and in *Shinsen-zai wakashū* (New Collection of Thousand Years, 1359) as #1. *Makimoku* (or *makimuku*) is an *utamakura* associated with the Yamato Province (currently in Sakurai town in Nara Prefecture).

trademark of the Mikohidari school's *honkadori* technique. We observe a similar borrowing practice of the same *Man'yōshū* expressions in a poem by Fujiwara Mototoshi from *Horikawa hyakushu* (#43):

<u>まきもくの檜原の山のふもとまで春の霞はたな引きにけり</u>	
<u>makimoku no</u>	Downward to the foot
<u>fibara no yama no</u>	Of the mountain
<u>fumoto made</u>	In the cypress plain of Makimoku,
<u>faru no kasumi fa</u>	The haze of spring
<u>tanabikinikeri</u>	Has trailed over.

Mototoshi's poem contains the same *Man'yōshū* expressions present in Shunzei's *tanka*. It also omits the theme of love and longing originally associated with Makimoku. Prior to Shunzei, we see allusions to such ancient expressions from *Man'yōshū* only in Mototoshi's *tanka*, which suggests that in this particular case Shunzei channeled old expressions not directly through any of the *Man'yōshū* manuscripts or secondary sources but through work of an earlier Heian poet. Moreover, perhaps Shunzei may not have even originally intended to allude to *Man'yōshū* poetry but was simply reconsidering Mototoshi's *tanka*, which demonstrates the flexibility of how terms like “*Man'yōshū* poems” and “appropriation” were understood in the early medieval era.

One is tempted to conclude that Shunzei's manner of borrowing ancient vocabulary was meant more to confuse readers and poetic arbiters, and make it harder rather than easier to recognize the connection to the *honka*. Kiyosuke was much more obvious in the way he borrowed *Man'yōshū* expressions. Perhaps that is why Shunzei does not seem to have always alluded only to *Man'yōshū* lines that were widely cited by other poets. On the contrary, a number of his poems contain references to rather obscure *Man'yōshū* poems that were not popular either before or after Shunzei's time. In fact, he seems not to have had much impact on the broadening of the early medieval poetic discourse – the majority of *Man'yōshū* expressions that Shunzei appropriated in his poems, however skillfully, did not become popular in the following eras. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Shunzei's own son, Teika, alluded much more frequently to the same *Man'yōshū* vocabulary as Kiyosuke or Kenshō, thus participating in a common poetic discourse.

Moreover, Shunzei's poems, unlike earlier poets' *tanka* (including Kiyosuke's), contain mostly shorter excerpts from ancient poems – usually one or two lines. This feature of poetic borrowing was later codified by Shunzei's son, Fujiwara Teika, in his poetic treatise *Eiga no taigai*.⁵³ I believe that one of the most distinguishing features of Shunzei's approach to *Man'yōshū* poetry is the fact that, in comparison to his contemporaries, Shunzei's poetic allusions are at times less obvious and thus more difficult to track. One such example is a poem from Shunzei's private collection *Chōshū eisō* (#309), originally composed ca. 1166 as a *byōbu no uta* (poems with pictures on panel screens) on the occasion of Daijōe (ceremony of imperial accession) for Emperor Rokujō:

松賀江岸 松樹茂盛辺山有紅葉

紅葉ばを染る時雨は降りくれど緑ぞまさる松賀江の岸

The pine shore: pine trees in abundance, leaves color in red on a mountain nearby⁵⁴

momidiba wo

Even though chilly rain

somuru sigure fa

Falls on autumn leaves

furikuredo

Dyeing them red,

midori zo masaru

Boughs of pine along the shore

matugae no kisi

Deepen in green.⁵⁵

Shunzei's poem contains vocabulary found in a *Man'yōshū* poem from volume X (#2196). In the *Nishi Honganji-bon* manuscript the author is marked as unknown, but the poem is attributed to Kakinomoto Hitomaro in *Kokinwaka rokujō* and in *Shinkokinshū*:⁵⁶

四具礼能雨無間之零者真木葉毛争不勝而色付尔家里

しぐれのあめまなくしふればまきのはもあらそひかねていろづきにけり

sigure no ame

The autumn rain

manaku si fureba

Falls so ceaselessly,

maki no fa mo

That even cypress needles,

⁵³ Hashimoto, Ariyoshi and Fujihara, ed., 473-475.

⁵⁴ As explained by Edward Kamens, prefaces for those poems are descriptions of scenes painted on the corresponding panel screens. More about Daijōe waka and Shunzei's Daijōe poems, see Kamens 2017, 19-75, 211-218.

⁵⁵ Kubota and Kawamura, 66.

⁵⁶ Besides *Man'yōshū*, this poem is also included in *Kokinwaka rokujō* (#494), in *Waka dōmōshō* (#60), in *Godaishū utamakura* (#77), and in *Shinkokinshū* (#582). *Waka dōmōshō* and *Godaishū utamakura* do not attribute authorship of the poem.

arasofikanete
irodukinikeri

Unable to resist it,
Are imbued in color.

Shunzei's allusion is not immediately obvious. First of all, it does not simply copy the *Man'yōshū* vocabulary but instead rephrases it and applies similar imagery. Moreover, Shunzei's *tanka* describes a situation in which the pine needles resist *sigure* (autumn rain) and continue to deepen in green, as opposed to the *Man'yōshū* poem where the cypress needles, affected by the autumn rains, become colored. In the *Man'yōshū* poem, the poetic situation allowed the impossible – the evergreen tree's needles to change color – while Shunzei's *tanka* returned to a more natural order of things, in which only deciduous leaves turn red.

Shunzei's application of this set of *Man'yōshū* vocabulary was not the first instance in the history of waka, since based on my search in the electronic version of *Kokka taikan* the poet-monk Nōin (b. 988), and Fujiwara Kinzane (1053-1107), one of *Horikawa hyakushu* poets, as well as Fujiwara Ienari (1107-1154), had previously alluded to similar poetic expressions. Moreover, although none of the earlier poets referred to it in a manner similar to Shunzei, I believe that Shunzei's poem is an appropriative combination of a theme found in X (#2196) from *Man'yōshū* and a poem composed by Fujiwara Norinaga (1109-1180), who was an active poet at Emperor Sutoku's court and in the Nin'na Temple's poetic salon. The poem, composed on the topic of *sigure* (Autumn Rain), is included in Norinaga's private poetic collection compiled ca. 1178, *Hindōshū* (#535):

讃岐院位におはしましし時、百首の歌たてまつりしに、時雨をよめる
もみぢばをそむるしぐれにたび人のかづくたもとはいろもかはらず

Composed on Autumn Rain and offered in a one-hundred-poem sequence to Sutoku, when he took the rank of Retired Emperor

momidiba wo Drenched in autumn rain
somuru sigure ni That dyes autumn leaves –
tabibito no Traveler's sleeves,
kaduku tamoto fa Which used to cover their heads,
iro mo kafarazu Do not change in color.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ The preface of the poem refers to a poetic event held by Retired Emperor Sutoku in ca. 1151, the *Sutoku'in kudai hyakushu* (One Hundred Poems on Chinese Verse Topics for Retired Emperor Sutoku) prior to the compilation of *Shikashū*. It does not exist in its entirety, but scholars believe that the *hyakushu* was modeled after earlier similar poetic events, like *Horikawa hyakushu*. It focused on poetry composition on assigned topics.

Norinaga's poem does not seem to utilize vocabulary from the *Man'yōshū* poem mentioned above. The image of autumn rain's ineffective power to dye things red, in this case symbolizing the lack of change in the traveler's feelings, could have been, however, a point of inspiration for Shunzei's poem, in which we find the similar theme of an unchanged color. Moreover, it seems that not only did Shunzei refer to an ancient poem in a more indirect manner than other poets of his era, but he again combined allusions to ancient poetry with lines found in the work of his contemporaries. I argue that the indirectness of poetic allusions notable in some of Shunzei's waka was another important step towards the broadening scope of appropriative practices, which pushed the boundaries of the early medieval poetic discourse.

Based on the analysis of four of Shunzei's poems, we may conclude that, like Kiyosuke, he was strongly affected by *Horikawa hyakushū* and earlier poetry in general in his approach to borrowing from *Man'yōshū*. However, Shunzei also alluded to obscure *Man'yōshū* poems that had never been utilized before. Both poets frequently imitated love themes from *Man'yōshū*, even though Shunzei would stray away from the theme of the original poem more often than Kiyosuke in his own compositions. Also, Shunzei's work, like Kiyosuke's, reveals no clear evidence of a connection to any of the extant *Man'yōshū* manuscripts, which calls into question the need to provide a single original poem (*honka*) as the main reference. Instead, Shunzei's poetry demonstrates that he was aware of how his contemporaries were borrowing *Man'yōshū* vocabulary in their own work, which discloses the complexity of the appropriation channels and confirms the existence of the web of intertextuality during the early medieval era.

Furthermore, while Kiyosuke seemed to follow Minamoto Toshiyori's earlier allusions to *Man'yōshū* vocabulary, Shunzei's allusions reflect Fujiwara Mototoshi's work. As argued by Okamoto and Tamura, this confirms that Shunzei's approach towards *Man'yōshū* was strongly affected by Mototoshi's teachings.⁵⁸ Moreover, even though Shunzei's waka frequently refer to quite obscure *Man'yōshū* expressions, those same expressions were not always taken up by Shunzei's heirs and did not necessarily become widely utilized poetic vocabulary in the following eras. The opposite may be observed in the case of *Man'yōshū* lines utilized by

⁵⁸ Okamoto Atsuko, "Fujiwara Shunzei no kafū," *Nihon bungei kenkyū* 32, no. 2 (1980): 12; Tamura, 186.

Kiyosuke, which were often picked up by later poets. This confirms that the Rokujō school did not completely fall into oblivion after the establishment and success of the Mikohidari school in the poetic world, as is sometimes implied in the field of the waka studies. In fact, this suggests that some of the Rokujō traditions were incorporated into the Mikohidari school's teachings.

Kiyosuke's and Shunzei's approaches to borrowing from *Man'yōshū* poetry are at times similar and at times different. Kiyosuke followed the waka tradition and borrowed from *Man'yōshū* vocabulary in an uncomplicated manner by copying *Man'yōshū* lines from love poems and incorporating them into his own poetic compositions. He did it in a way that allowed other people to recognize his poetic allusions. As emphasized by Ashida, Kiyosuke followed his own dictums about poetic allusions, as presented in his poetry criticism, and, in his own compositions also frequently referred to poetic examples from *Man'yōshū* that appear in his poetry treatises.⁵⁹ On the other hand, Shunzei's at-times indirect allusions to *Man'yōshū* vocabulary, which were perhaps not intended to be easily recognized, may suggest that his appropriation is contesting the more traditional approach represented by earlier poets, like Minamoto Toshiyori and Fujiwara Kiyosuke, who stated in their poetic treatises that there was no point in making references to earlier poems if the readers do not recognize them. We may conclude that while Kiyosuke sought specific *Man'yōshū* expressions, Shunzei was more after an alternative definition of the practice of poetic borrowing that would allow composing poetry in a manner imitating the *Man'yōshū* style, not simply copying its vocabulary. This confirms what Japanese scholars generally conclude about the Mikohidari poets – that what they take from *honka* is not only vocabulary but above all the style or *kokoro* (essence), on which they create a new poetic situation.⁶⁰ The later definition and principles of *honkadori*, codified by Fujiwara Teika, reveal a much stricter agenda in the practice of poetic borrowing than ever before.

Even if he referred to *Man'yōshū* poetry, Shunzei seemed to reach for a different, more non-courtly and hermitic type of aesthetics, in which the lack of love, loneliness, and hermitage are virtues, not calamities. This suggests that Shunzei was perhaps rejecting the classical Heian aesthetics, which were subsequently canonized by Teika and later generations of the Mikohidari poets. This topic is far too broad and different from the focus of this dissertation; yet, Shunzei might have created an interim poetic standard for the Mikohidari school, and so the topic does

⁵⁹ Ashida 1994, 9-19.

⁶⁰ Kokumai, 758; Yoshida, 202.

deserve some scholarly attention. The change of theme and aesthetics between the original poem and the newly composed poem, quite frequent in Shunzei's *tanka* alluding to ancient poetry, was perhaps one of the first steps in a change toward a new philosophy of borrowing practices and their redefinition that would later lead to the codification of the *honkadori*. I argue that Shunzei's different perspective on and use of Japanese poetic antiquity were significant contributions to the evolution of *waka*, which broadened the early medieval poetic discourse not by providing new lines or vocabulary but rather recognizing and legitimizing certain concepts.

3.3 – Appropriation of similar *Man'yōshū* vocabulary by Kiyosuke and Shunzei

As it turns out, there are a few cases that enable us to examine how Kiyosuke and Shunzei borrowed similar *Man'yōshū* expressions for their own *waka*. I would like to analyze two such cases: four poems – two by Kiyosuke and two by Shunzei. These poetic examples demonstrate not only that there are many differences and similarities between Kiyosuke and Shunzei's style of borrowing from the *Man'yōshū* vocabulary, but also that it is impossible to conclude who appropriated certain ancient poetic expressions first, and through which channels. The aim is to demonstrate that in fact it does not matter; rather, we see the impact of a broader concept of early medieval poetic discourse.

The first set of poems, one by Kiyosuke and one by Shunzei, demonstrate undeniable similarities in the two poets' approach to applying *Man'yōshū* vocabulary.

月三十五首のなかに
 紫のねはふよこ野にてる月はその色ならぬ影もむつまし
 From among a thirty-five poem sequence about the Moon
murasaki no Over the field of Yoko
nefafu yokono ni Where purple gromwells grow thick,
teru tuki fa The moon that shines –
sono iro naranu While not of their color
kage mo mutumasi Its radiance matches theirs.⁶¹

⁶¹ Kiyosuke's poem appears only in his private collection. The headnote of the poem refers to a poetic event known as *Tadamichi no ie no tsuki sanjūgoshu kai* (Thirty-Five Poems about Moon at the residence of Tadamichi, ca. 1160) held by Fujiwara Tadamichi (1097-1164) at his residence. Besides Tadamichi, Shigeie, Kiyosuke, Shun'e, and

Kiyosuke, *Kiyosukeshū* (#149)

紫の根はふ横野の壺すみれま袖に摘まん色もむつまし

murasaki no In the field of Yoko
nefafu yokono no Where purple gromwells grow thick,
tubosumire A young violet –
masode ni tuman I would pluck it for my sleeve
iro mo mutumasi For the color matches it.⁶²

Shunzei, *Kyūan hyakushū* (#808)

Both poems borrow their two first lines found in a *Man'yōshū* poem from volume X (#1825) by an unknown author.⁶³

紫之根延横野之春野庭君乎懸管晚名雲

むらさきのねばふよこののはるのにはきみをかけつつうぐひすなくも

murasaki no In the field of Yoko
nefafu yokono no Where purple gromwells grow thick
faruno ni fa In field of spring,
kimi wo kaketutu A warbler cries –
ugufisu naku mo Thinking of you, my lord.

The *Man'yōshū* poem was composed from a perspective of a woman (symbolized by a warbler) who longs for her beloved. The shining moon in Kiyosuke's *tanka* is likely a symbol of a man, who left his beloved wife. *Mutumasi* (familiar, intimate), not found in the *Man'yōshū* poem, is a word implying close familial connection between two people. The setting of Kiyosuke's *tanka* reminds us of the *Man'yōshū* poem but the focus is not on the waiting woman but the moon, which here symbolizes a memory of a past relationship. The difference in the color of purple flowers and the moon may suggest that two people involved in this relationship were not of the same social class – purple color was in the Heian period a symbol of aristocracy. The purple color is also associated with deep feelings of love and intimacy between two people. This connotation works well in both poems, since profound connection is symbolized by the thick

Sai'onji Kin'michi (1117-1173) participated in this event. Tadamichi was a powerful politician and skilled poet of both Japanese and Chinese poetry, he was also a father of Kujō Kanezane and Jien.

⁶² Shunzei's poem is also included in *Chōshū eisō* (#8) and *Shinshoku kokinshū* (#187).

⁶³ Based on my research, the poem also appears in *Kokinwaka rokujō* (#3502), *Akahitoshū* (#126), *Kigoshō* (#167), *Waka dōmoshō* (#604), and *Godaishū utamakura* (#740).

roots of familiarity (*mutumasi*). The Buddhist symbolism of the moon may even suggest that the man was a monk. Shunzei's poem, on the other hand, is quite different – composed on the topic of Spring, it suggests the beginning rather than the end of a love relationship. Moreover, we may read this *tanka* from the viewpoint of a man, who writes a message to a potential lover. The poem seems to say that the man is tempted to engage in a relationship with a young woman with an appropriate social background, symbolized by purple flowers. Since purple color was a symbol of aristocracy, perhaps the speaker of Shunzei's poem is a courtier – he wears purple robes – who tries to make a good love match for himself.

The two poems are faithful to the theme of the *Man'yōshū* poem, even though Kiyosuke is more directly connected to it. Shunzei's style of allusion, on the other hand, contains far less connection to the source poem, also included in a number of secondary sources, so it is impossible to determine the exact source of inspiration for both poets. We observe that even though the two poems' topics are different – Moon vs. Spring, they have similar structures and almost identical last lines – *kage mo mutumasi* (matching radiance), and *iro mo mutumasi* (matching color). Those similarities suggest that Kiyosuke and Shunzei might have been aware of one another's poems. Even though it may seem that Shunzei's poem was composed first because it was submitted to *Kyūan hyakushū* in 1150 and *Tadamichi no ie no tsuki sanjūgoshu kai* was held in 1160, the publication or presentation date of early medieval poems does not always determine their composition date.⁶⁴ Some poems might have been composed earlier or recited during a poetic event for which we currently do not have records. In fact, Shunzei's *tanka* seems like a love or friendship poem that could have been sent along with a bundle or pot of violets. The fact that we are unable to determine who composed their poem first confirms the significance and power of early medieval poetic discourse. It also takes away part of the authority of the Rokujō poets as ultimate masters of *Man'yōshū* poetry, and confirms that it was above all the fluidity of channels of appropriation and the web of intertextuality that affected which poetic expressions became popular in the early medieval era.

In fact, things get even more complicated when we have a closer look at the channels of inspiration for both poems. Besides the *Man'yōshū* vocabulary from X (#1825), each poem borrowed vocabulary from at least one other earlier poetic composition. While a *tanka* attributed

⁶⁴ As noted by Kristeva, intertextuality is not necessarily temporally linear. See Julia Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language*, trans. Margaret Waller (New York: Columbia University Press 1984), 111.

to Ono no Komachi is another possible channel for both Shunzei and Kiyosuke's poems, I believe that a *tanka* by Minamoto Akinaka (1058-1138) composed on the topic of *tubosumire* (Violets) seems to be an additional source of inspiration for Shunzei.⁶⁵

むさしのおふとしきけばむらさきのその色ならぬ草もむつまし

musasino ni When I hear they cover
ofu to si kikeba Fields of Musashi,
murasaki no I feel attached even to those grasses
sono iro naranu Bearing no color
kusa mo mutumasi Of the purple gromwells.⁶⁶

Ono no Komachi, *Komachishū* (# 83)

あさぢふやあれたるやどのつぼ堇たれむらさきの色にそめけん

asadifu ya Oh, the violets
aretaru yado no Of the ruined house
tubosumire Where the cogon grass grows!
tare murasaki no Whom did you dye
iro ni someken With your purple color?

Minamoto Akinaka, *Horikawa hyakushu* (#250)

Both poems contain elements also notable in Kiyosuke and Shunzei's compositions. Komachi's *tanka* depicts a similar kind of intimacy or familiarity between two people found in both poets' *tanka*. Kiyosuke's poem shares the word *mutumasi* and an almost identical structure of the second half with Komachi's *tanka*. The only difference is that Komachi's poem utilizes *Musasino* (Fields of Musashi), while Kiyosuke and Shunzei's *tanka* basically quote a line from the *Man'yōshū* poem containing Yokono (Yoko Field). Moreover, we note the same kind of mismatch between the purple color of violets (aristocracy) and the grass (commoners) as we saw in Kiyosuke's poem.

Composed with the following preface – *misi fito no nakunarisi koro* (when a person I was fond of, left) – Komachi's poem is about a man who has departed to travel to the eastern provinces. The female speaker finds comfort in looking at the grasses, even though they are not

⁶⁵ Ashida 2008, 119.

⁶⁶ The Musashi Field (Musashino) no is an *utamakura* for the Province of Musashi (currently Tokyo City, Saitama and Kanagawa).

purple like the color of her lover's robe, because she knows that the place he has gone – Musashino – is famous for its grasses. A trope of two people gazing at similar objects in nature while separated from each other and thus unifying their feelings, is a common poetic technique in waka. We find such an image in Kiyosuke's poem too – the moon and its color not matching with purple gromwells. Moreover, since Akinaka's poem contains an additional image of *tubosumire* (violets), and presents an image of *murasaki* (purple gromwells) coloring one's feelings, it was likely a reference for Shunzei's *tanka* where we find a parallel image of violets coloring the speaker's sleeves. Unlike Komachi's *tanka*, Akinaka's poem reveals the significance of the social class of one of the two lovers in the relationship.

We see that poems by Kiyosuke and Shunzei not only borrow from *Man'yōshū* and possibly from each other, but are above all a patchwork of multiple additional allusions which demonstrates the complexity of the appropriation channels in the early medieval period. In fact, in this particular case both poets clearly contributed to the early medieval *Man'yōshū* discourse by taking interest in a virtually unknown poem. Even though it is true that besides *Man'yōshū*, poem X (#1825) was included in quite a few earlier secondary sources, it attracted no attention until Kiyosuke and Shunzei alluded to it. Later the poem was referenced by a number of other poets, including Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado (1196-1231), Fujiwara Ietaka, Fujiwara Mototsuna (1181-1256), Fujiwara Tameie, among others.⁶⁷

The second set of poems demonstrating Kiyosuke and Shunzei's application of similar *Man'yōshū* vocabulary is an interesting example of how the poets interacted with each other through waka. We again see that they both participated in and contributed to early medieval poetic discourse. Kiyosuke and Shunzei borrowed popular poetic expressions that had their origin in ancient poetry, but it is more significant that they were mutually aware of each other's poetic activity and work. In this case, too, it is impossible to identify which poet utilized old vocabulary first.

俊成入道うちぎきせらるるとききて、我がことのはのいりいらずきかまほしきことをた
づぬとて
さをしかのいる野のすすきほのめかせ秋のさかりになりはてずとも

⁶⁷ See Appendix 5.

Having heard that monk Shunzei is compiling a poetic collection, I wanted to ask whether he would include my poems or not

sawosika no Fields of Iru
iruno no susuki Where stags roam –
fonomekase Reveal your plumes of pampas grass,
aki no sakari ni Even though autumn
narifatezu tomo Is not yet in its prime.

Kiyosuke, *Kiyosukeshū* (#404)

誰がための手枕にせんさをしかの入野のすすき穂に出でにけり

ta ga tame no For whom should I
tamakura ni sen Make them into an arm-pillow –
sawosika no Those plums of pampas grass
iruno no susuki In the fields of Iru
fo ni idenikeri Where stags roam?

Shunzei, *Shōji hyakushū* (#1145)

Both poems acquire vocabulary from a *Man'yōshū* poem in volume X (#2277) by an unknown author, included in *Hitomaroshū* (#154) and attributed to Hitomaro in *Godaishū utamakura* (#765) and *Shinkokinshū* (#345):⁶⁸

左小壯鹿之入野乃為酢寸初尾花何時加妹之手將枕
さをしかのいりののすすきはつをばないつしかいもがてをまくらかむ

sawosika no The first plumes
irino no susuki Of pampas grass in fields of Iri
fatuwobana Where stags roam -
itusika imo ga When will I put my head
te wo makura kamu On my wife's arm-pillow?

Sawosika no iruno no susuki (the pampas grass in the Iru Field, where stags roam) symbolizes a man who pays his lover a visit. However, the question in the *Man'yōshū* poem suggests that the speaker is growing impatient – time passes and it is already autumn, and yet he is still separated from his wife. Kiyosuke's poem, appearing only in his private collection, identifies itself as sent to Shunzei with a request to include his poetry in a collection that Shunzei

⁶⁸ The poem is also included in *Kokinwaka rokujō* (#3691), *Waka dōmōshō* (#582), *Godaishū utamakura* (#765), *Shūchūshō* (#544), and *Korai fūteishō* (#114), but it is not attributed to Hitomaro.

was presumably compiling. Since Kiyosuke died in 1177 and Shunzei's *Senzaishū* was not ordered by Retired Emperor Go-Shirakawa until 1183, it is uncertain what collection Kiyosuke might have been referring to.

Since Kiyosuke's *Shokushikashū* was denied the recognition of an imperial collection, which surely caused Kiyosuke's self-consciousness about his own and the Rokujō school's position in the poetic world, he might have suspected that Shunzei would be the one to compile the next imperial anthology. Shunzei's reply, if it ever existed, has not been uncovered to date but Shunzei ended up including twenty poems by Kiyosuke and twenty poems by Akisuke in *Senzaishū*. This made the Rokujō school poets two of the top ten best-represented poets in this imperial collection, and I believe it should be interpreted as a sign of respect for the Rokujō school and their poetic activity.

Scholars claim that it was customary to prepare earlier versions of imperial anthologies even before receiving an official order, so it is not impossible that Shunzei was in the process of compiling a private collection that would later become the basis for the next *chokusenshū* long before an official imperial commission was announced. While Ashida has pointed out that the term *utigiki* in the preface to Kiyosuke's poem, refers to a kind of a private collection, Matsuno has claimed that Shunzei was working on a proto-imperial anthology between 1166 and 1177, which would explain Kiyosuke's request to take into consideration his poems.⁶⁹ Perhaps Kiyosuke sent his poem along with a set of other *tanka* that he wished Shunzei to consider for inclusion.

Aki no sakari (autumn in prime) is the mating period for deer but in Kiyosuke's poem it symbolizes some sort of mismatch in timing. His *tanka* expresses a sort of false modesty by stating that even though his poems are only drafts – not fully ripe yet, perhaps they can be “revealed” in Shunzei's anthology. Another explanation for the preface to Kiyosuke's poem is its imaginative character – the extant copies of *Kiyosukeshū* are from the Muromachi and Edo period (one of them is by a *Kokugaku* scholar Keichū [1640-1701]), so it is possible that the preface to this poem was added later on.

Shunzei's poem, not included in his private collection, was submitted as one of the love poems in a sequence for *Shōji hyakushū*. Shunzei borrowed *Man'yōshū* vocabulary in a more

⁶⁹ Ashida 2008, 315-316; Matsuno, 524, 663.

traditional manner but he obscured the speaker's gender and implied that the speaker is a traveler. I believe that in this poem we again observe Shunzei's developing technique of *honkadori*, in which he borrowed from ancient vocabulary but utilized it in a totally different setting, employing the aesthetics of travel poetry. Moreover, we cannot even be certain that both poets were deliberately borrowing poetic expressions from *Man'yōshū* poetry, since the same vocabulary and imagery appear in multiple post-*Man'yōshū* collections, including the *Kokinshū*.

In fact, complex intertextual connections between their own poems, ancient waka and *tanka* composed by their contemporaries, signify not only that the Rokujō poets were not ultimate masters of the *Man'yōshū* poetry, but also that Kiyosuke and Shunzei were updating larger concepts of *furu'uta* or *koka* (old poems) and poetic borrowing, later codified as *honkadori* – poetic trademark of the Mikohidari school. Both poets were looking for revisions that would enable them to establish themselves and their schools as brands of new poetic styles. Shunzei, who took over a large part of the Rokujō school's *Man'yōshū* scholarship, remains a symbol of the waka tradition's continuity and renewal. Moreover, the inability to resolve who imitated whom suggests that the web of intertextuality and instability of appropriation channels were the features of a much wider concept of early medieval poetic discourse; a concept that ultimately determined the popularity of certain poetic expressions and styles.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of *Man'yōshū*'s reception and appropriation strategies in Fujiwara Kiyosuke and Fujiwara Shunzei's *karon* and waka demonstrates that we cannot truly know what *Man'yōshū* is or was. We can, however, inquire about how it was seen and utilized by generations of waka poets and scholars. It is evident that our current approach to *Man'yōshū* makes an attempt to stabilize its image instead of paying more attention to how its shape and reception have been changing over the centuries. Such an approach ignores the fluidity of knowledge that affects all texts, definitions and allegedly fixed concepts in premodern Japanese literature.

This dissertation demonstrates that not only texts, but also their reception and appropriation strategies are significantly altered over time by many factors. My research is, of course, only a glimpse into much more complex histories of *Man'yōshū* reception and appropriation; yet, it hopefully raises some issues and potential questions to be addressed in future research projects. Moreover, it shows the need to look at Japanese literary history from a different angle, where instead of providing definitions that constantly change, we acknowledge the complexity and instability of textual and literary histories, and destabilize and complicate seemingly fixed ideas.

Man'yōshū undeniably was a vehicle through which various early medieval waka poets and scholars moved their art in new directions. It is evident that the collection was not one stable text in that era, which is itself a complex reality requiring contemporary scholars to examine such matters as the instability of texts and channels of knowledge transmission, the characteristics of early medieval poetic discourse and, related to it, the complexity of the Rokujō-Mikohidari rivalry, as well as the distinction between reception and appropriation as different channels of knowledge transmission existing in the realm of poetic discourse. It is impossible to judge from our contemporary perspective whose interpretation or which *Man'yōshū* text in early medieval Japan was "better" or "correct." In fact, the intricate web of intertextuality among various *Man'yōshū* manuscripts and secondary sources discloses the existence of a peculiar variability of not only texts themselves but also fluidity of knowledge and of channels through which knowledge is carried.

It is clear that a significant amount of linguistic and factual knowledge about *Man'yōshū* had been lost by the early medieval period. The collection was available in the form of multiple manuscripts containing numerous textual variants. What we today call “*Man'yōshū*” was in fact a rather fluid text throughout the late Heian and early Kamakura periods; a text in which poems were likely replaced, added, and modified by various copyists. That is why I see “*Man'yōshū*” more as a concept or genre, not only as one or a multitude of different texts. In addition, until Kiyosuke, the predominant mode of knowledge transmission about waka was verbal. All those factors made the collection a convenient object to clash over, to demonstrate one’s expertise in, to re-stabilize and claim knowledge about, and eventually thereby to gain support of powerful literary patrons, who could afford to sponsor the activity of a poetic school. There was a need to fill in some gaps in the poetic discourse, and this is exactly what happened in the late Heian and early Kamakura periods in Japan, when the gradual decline of the Rokujō school and the rise of the Mikohidari school took place. Kiyosuke and Shunzei were the main figures in this process, and they both derived power from the instability of knowledge about *Man'yōshū*. By collecting, copying, editing and correcting, studying and teaching about various literary works and their manuscripts, the poets were trying to claim their own lines of knowledge transmission as the most legitimate ones. That is why they produced many treatises and handbooks, in which they revealed those parts of oral transmissions about *Man'yōshū* that had never before been recorded in writing. This process was started by the Rokujō poets, who failed to achieve their goal and establish their texts as definitive, and continued by Shunzei and Teika, who succeeded in stabilizing the Mikohidari manuscripts of various literary works as the most reliable, thus already creating for us a considerable part of the premodern Japanese literary canon.

Kiyosuke and Shunzei were not just rivals; they above all represented different stages in the consolidation of poetry criticism and development of waka tradition, even though Shunzei’s networking skills undeniably had a much more far-reaching impact on the dynamics of the early medieval poetic world. By Shunzei’s time, many waka-related concepts had already been established in the Rokujō school’s theoretical works, including a codified vocabulary and the basic rules of the practice of poetic borrowing. Shunzei was thus not the first innovator of early medieval waka. Instead, he reclaimed and redefined many of Kiyosuke’s ideas in his own poetry criticism without giving his predecessor any credit – the importance of *monogatari* (tales) for the

study of waka or presenting *Man'yōshū* poems in his *karon* according to a given *Man'yōshū* manuscripts volume order – and advertised them under the Mikohidari brand thus validating his own stake in *Man'yōshū* scholarship. In fact, Shunzei's capacity to notice, emphasize and codify certain ideas about waka as his own was, in my opinion, one of the most significant factors for his and the Mikohidari poets' success in the poetic world. This made him look like a poetic innovator.

Moreover, by challenging Kiyosuke and Kenshō's opinions on various waka issues, for example the definition of *chōka* and *tanka*, or by criticizing Kenshō's lack of expertise in *Man'yōshū* vocabulary, Shunzei created an image of rivalry with the Rokujō school because he needed a framework of competition to present himself as a more legitimate though also more progressive waka scholar. This is why we are nowadays presented with the oversimplified dichotomy that the Rokujō poets were the experts on *Man'yōshū* while the Mikohidari poets promoted the Heian tales and collections, when in fact their rivalry was more related to the struggle for patronage and power, than to which literary work was more relevant to the late Heian waka public. It is true that Mikohidari poets promoted the study of the Heian period literary works, effectively emphasized their significance for the art of waka, and thus claimed that part of the discourse; yet, they did the same with *Man'yōshū*. The rivalry between Shunzei and Kiyosuke did not involve a simple binary of whether poets should return to *Man'yōshū* or *Genji monogatari*; it involved the claim to leadership in the poetic world, in which texts were tools – objects of scholarship and means of expertise. Rivalry was a matter of who advertised their expertise about *Man'yōshū* and other texts more effectively and in a manner accessible to their patrons or in the waka circles. It was thus more about politics and predominance of one poetic school over another, rather than the literature itself.

The framework of the Rokujō-Mikohidari rivalry, itself a result of the variability of texts and knowledge owned by the two schools, disguises the existence of the much more challenging concept of a poetic discourse that undeniably lies above all poetic circles, factions, schools or houses. My research shows that both Kiyosuke and Shunzei operated within the same broader *Man'yōshū* discourse; they challenged it, claimed parts of it, and pushed its boundaries, at times in a similar manner, and at times differently. Both poets were progressive in their own ways in their own time about various issues regarding waka and its history, such as the art of poetic

borrowing or the circumstances and process of *Man'yōshū* compilation. We realize that the Mikohidari poets, considered to be specialists on the Heian period tales like *Genji monogatari*, paid much more attention to *Man'yōshū* scholarship than is currently acknowledged. Shunzei, wishing to build a new brand of waka school, developed a strategy to make a claim to knowledge about *Man'yōshū*, a collection that had started to attract more and more attention in the early medieval poetic world. The very production of *Man'yōshū jidaikō* for Kujō Yoshitsune demonstrates the extent to which Shunzei was developing a new brand of poetic school, and the claim to a part of Rokujō school's scholarship. *Korai fūteishō* also represent Shunzei's claim to knowledge about *Man'yōshū*, which obviously challenged the Rokujō school's apparent claim to status as *Man'yōshū* specialists, and demonstrated that the Mikohidari school had access to the collection and scholarship about it as well. Compilation of both those treatises was meant to cause a shift of power and knowledge about the collection from the Rokujō school, where it had been previously located.

Man'yōshū was undeniably an important area of expertise and tool for Kiyosuke and Shunzei, and I consider them both specialists on the collection, who had direct access to *Man'yōshū* scholarship and hand-made manuscripts, which was rare in their times. Either of them was entitled to the position of the leader of the waka world. However, it was Kiyosuke, not Shunzei, who started the process of modifying the waka tradition. Only after Kiyosuke's death in 1177 was Shunzei able to establish himself as the main modernizer of the poetic craft. Thus, both poets and their respective schools had much more in common than is usually acknowledged, and the Mikohidari school was a continuity of, not a break from, the Rokujō school and waka tradition in general.

Kiyosuke and Shunzei had much in common but their approach to *Man'yōshū* and appropriative practice was by no means identical. We notice that Kiyosuke is much more progressive about the art of poetic borrowing in his *karon* than in the *uta'awase* setting. Such a difference is a result of Kiyosuke's different approach to poems composed for and presented in poetry contests. *Uta'awase* were considered to be public events and waka submitted to such events (*hare no uta*) were expected by some poet-scholars, like Kiyosuke, to follow specific standards. Through the analysis of Kiyosuke's *hanshi*, we notice that he considered some poets' attempts to borrow from ancient poetry as inappropriate for public

occasions. Were those poems composed or published in different circumstances, Kiyosuke would have probably been less critical of them. Thus, the last influential Rokujō leader was less conservative in his *karon* than in his *hanshi*, and thus not in tune with own times. He was a better theoretician than promoter of his own area of expertise. Shunzei, on the other hand, was more progressive in both his *karon* and *hanshi*, which appealed to many poets. After Kiyosuke's death, Kenshō was the one Rokujō scholar who continued to compose poetic treatises, actively participate in poetry contests, and aggressively emphasize the value of *Man'yōshū* poetry, quoting unknown poems and vocabulary from the collection that significantly strayed away from the mainstream poetics and aesthetics of that time. His views never became popular among waka poets and patrons, so he began to be perceived as an unorthodox Rokujō waka scholar and poet already by his contemporaries. This created an opportunity for Shunzei to become a more appealing choice for the next leader of the early medieval poetic world. Shunzei became an upgrade to an older tradition, not burdened by his ancestors and their secret teachings and was thus able to push the boundaries of the poetic discourse a little bit stronger than Kiyosuke.

Kiyosuke and Shunzei's approaches to borrowing from *Man'yōshū* show that we need to take into consideration a much wider web of intertextuality, which often includes poetry of other poets and is thus a discursive poetic space, rather than try to track down one "original poem." However, one significant feature notable in Kiyosuke's manner of appropriation of ancient poetry is his focus on vocabulary and rather faithful imitation of certain lines or expressions from *Man'yōshū* that allowed other people to recognize his poetic allusions. This constitutes perhaps the biggest differences between Kiyosuke and Shunzei's strategies toward alluding to old poems. Shunzei utilized *Man'yōshū* poetry as a background for his compositions rather than copying particular lines. His at-times indirect allusions to *Man'yōshū* vocabulary, which were probably not intended to be easily recognized, may suggest that his appropriation is contesting the more traditional approach represented by earlier poets, like Minamoto Toshiyori and Fujiwara Kiyosuke, who advocated in their poetic treatises that there is no point in making references to earlier poems if the readers do not recognize them. It seems that Shunzei cared more about the "ancient feel" or "ancient style" and his appropriations are less obvious and thus more difficult to track than in Kiyosuke's *tanka*.

The change of theme and aesthetics between the original poem and the newly composed poem, quite frequent in Shunzei's *tanka* alluding to ancient poetry, was likely one of the first steps in a change toward a new philosophy of appropriative practices and their redefinition that would later lead to the codification of *honkadōri* in Teika's *karon*. I believe that Shunzei's different perspective on and application of Japanese poetic antiquity was one of his most significant contributions to the evolution of *waka*, which broadened the early medieval poetic discourse by not providing new lines or vocabulary but rather recognizing and legitimizing certain concepts. In addition, Shunzei seems to have generally reached for an unconventional, hermitage-centered kind of poetic aesthetics, in which the unrequited love, loneliness detachment from earthly matters are virtues, not misfortunes. This suggests that he in fact rejected the Heian period aesthetics, later canonized by his son, Teika, and later generations of the Mikohidari poets. Thus, the Mikohidari school under Shunzei's leadership was likely going for the canonization of different concepts than the Mikohidari during Teika's times. This, again, demonstrates that there was a considerable amount of instability within the Mikohidari school in regard to what should be emphasized and promoted as progressive and fashionable.

In addition, even though Shunzei's *waka* frequently refer to quite obscure *Man'yōshū* expressions, those same expressions were not always appropriated by Shunzei's heirs and did not necessarily become widely utilized poetic vocabulary in the following eras. The opposite may be observed in the case of *Man'yōshū* lines appropriated by Kiyosuke, which were often picked up by later poets. This confirms that the Rokujō school did not completely fall into oblivion after the establishment and success of the Mikohidari school in the poetic world; instead, the Rokujō tradition was incorporated into what the Mikohidari tradition was about to become.

Thanks to Kiyosuke and Shunzei's scholarship we see that the common knowledge about *waka* or *Man'yōshū* in the early medieval era was much more indefinite than we currently believe, and that the collection underwent a significant process of reconsideration over many centuries; this acts as a reminder that texts constantly change over time. We also realize that their works of poetry criticism did not only present new or altered information about the collection to their patrons or the *waka* world. *Karon* were above all tools to lay claim to a part of *Man'yōshū* discourse by challenging earlier views about it, and attract potential patrons, with whom they would share their secret knowledge in private rather than in public. Kiyosuke and Shunzei wrote

those texts for a particular audience, which suggests that in the medieval era we are dealing with not only professionalization and politicization of poetic practice, but also the beginnings of professionalization and politicization of *karon* production and knowledge transmission. Differences in how they displayed their knowledge about such works as *Man'yōshū*, indicate that they possessed different manuscripts of the collection; copies that likely contained some textual discrepancies and presented alternative interpretations of various issues on waka poetics or history.

The analyses of poems, on the other hand, suggest that in addition to *Man'yōshū* manuscripts, Kiyosuke and Shunzei relied on secondary sources and were aware of each other's and other poets' allusions to *Man'yōshū* vocabulary. In fact, early medieval poets rarely appropriated vocabulary from only one poem. Their poems often seem more like patchworks containing layers of references from poems of various eras. Moreover, the fact that the same *Man'yōshū* poems keep appearing in numerous secondary sources, like works of *karon* or private collections, and were also appropriated by other senior and fellow poets, suggests that some poems included in *Man'yōshū* were not treated as "*Man'yōshū* poems." They were already a part of the poetic discourse, and in some cases not even understood to be from *Man'yōshū*. Thus, there is a need for a redefinition of the term *honkadōri* that would take into consideration the existence of poetic discourse, which provides a dispersal and multi-directional approach to allusive practices in waka, crucial for the poetry borrowing practices in the early medieval era. Modern editions and annotations of many poetic collections unfortunately have yet to account for reception and appropriation histories, the significance of the poetic discourse, the complexity of channels of appropriation and the existence of the web of intertextuality.

Even though appropriation belongs to a broader frame of reception, I see the need to distinguish between them, since they are not the same practices. Reception and appropriation are inter-related concepts of continuous nature, they are different variables in the constellation of a much broader concept of the poetic discourse – a shared space where the circulated knowledge continues to be added, replaced, modified and negotiated. In fact, it is the very notion of discourse that enables circular, not just linear, transmission of knowledge and poetic borrowing; it is thus a space of continuous and uninterrupted negotiation of what its participants believe knowledge is. It was the already-established *Man'yōshū* discourse, not necessarily any particular

line of knowledge transmission or affiliation to any poetic school, that caused numerous poets to allude to the same *Man'yōshū* poems and expressions in the early medieval era. The practice of poetic borrowing itself, approved first by Kiyosuke and then codified by Shunzei and other Mikohidari poets, pushed the limits of traditional poetic discourse and enabled the existence of a wider web of intertextuality.

As indicated above, this dissertation does not exhaust questions regarding *Man'yōshū* reception and appropriation strategies, the existence and significance of early medieval poetic discourse and the complexity of the appropriation channels. There is surely the need to have a closer look at Shunzei's son, Fujiwara Teika, whose activities of extensive manuscript collection and copying are indicative of his attempt to establish the classical Japanese literary canon. Moreover, it would be interesting to investigate historical stages of the *Man'yōshū*'s reception and reconsider processes that led to the canonization of a singular text. A short history of the *Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū* manuscript from the late Kamakura period, which modern scholars have deemed the most credible, included in Chapter 1, is a good starting point for such a project.

Starting with the mid-10th c. *Man'yōshū* underwent many stages of canonization since the Heian period, but until the medieval era none of numerous *Man'yōshū* manuscripts had ever been considered to be “the *Man'yōshū* text.” Only in the Muromachi period did the majority of waka scholars and poets cease to copy *Man'yōshū* manuscripts descending from any other lines of transmission than monk Sengaku's, because there was a general belief that Sengaku had solved all mysteries regarding this collection. Then, the *Kokugaku* movement from the Edo period established the *Man'yōshū* as a national poetry anthology – the label that it bears up to date. However, what contemporary scholars tend to overlook is the fact that the *Kokugaku* movement did not canonize *Man'yōshū* itself but one specific *Man'yōshū* manuscript: the *Kan'ei Hanpon* from 1643. Even though *Kan'ei Hanpon* is no longer “the *Man'yōshū* text,” and despite Teika's efforts to establish the Mikohidari manuscripts as the ultimate standards, it was the *Kokugaku* scholars who paved the way for the canonization of one manuscript of a given literary work during the modern era. However, there is a need to examine the reasons why this particular manuscript came to be treated as most legitimate in the Edo Period.

Moreover, it would be interesting to examine a different side of the poet-scholars and patron equation, and conduct a research project on the Rokujō and Mikohidari schools' patrons, for example Kujō Kanetane and his son, Kujō Yoshitsune from the powerful Kujō house. Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural production allows us to position intellectuals from the literary or artistic fields, like Kiyosuke and Shunzei who were in possession of symbolic forms of capital (manuscripts and knowledge about poetry) within his "field of power." Medieval Japanese poet-scholars' power was located in their literary knowledge, while patrons had power in the financial means to support the poets' activity. Only once both sides entered into a symbiotic relationship based on the exchange of their symbolic and material assets, were they fully able to perform their assigned roles. In fact, the prestige and significance of medieval waka poets and their patrons depended heavily on the existence of their mutual relationship, support, and some level of loyalty. Therefore, a closer look at the Kujō patrons and how they interacted with their providers of knowledge and prestige, would certainly contribute to the scholarship on the early medieval literary world.

**Appendix 1 – Originals of Translated Excerpts from Poetry Criticism
by Fujiwara Kiyosuke and Fujiwara Shunzei**

1.1. Ōgishō 1

(...) 又ふるくよめる詞をふしにしたるはいとわろし。ひともじにてもめづらしき事をよみ出づべし。さりとてよみもならはさぬ事などをいへるもわろし。又内外典のふみ、ふるき詩歌もしは物がたりなどの心をもととしてよめる事あり。古歌の心、ものがたりなどは、古きことのみな人知りぬべきならずばよむべからず。われは思ひえたりとおもへども、人の心えぬ事はかひなくなむある。又むかしのさまをのみこのみて今の人ごとにこのみよむは、我ひとりよしと思ふらめども、なべての人さも思はねばあぢきなくなむあるべき。いにしへのよき歌

世のなかを何にたとへむあさぼらけこぎゆく舟のあとの白なみ
天の原ふりさけみればかすがなるみかさの山にいでし月かも¹

1.2. Shinsen zuinō

(...) 一ふしにてもめづらしきことばを、詠みいでんとおもふべし。古歌を本文にして詠める事あり。それはいふべからず。すべて我はおぼえたりとおもひたれども、人の心得がたき事はかひなくなむある。むかしの様をこのみて、今の人にことにこのみ詠む、われ一人よしとおもふらめど、なべてさしもおぼえぬは、あぢきなくなむあるべき。²

1.3. Ōgishō 2

ふるき歌のこゝろはよむまじきことなれ共、よくよみつればみなもちみらる。名をえたらむ人はあながちの名歌にあらずば、よみだにましてば憚るまじきなり。又なからをとりてよめる歌もあり。それは猶こゝろえぬこと也。³

1.4. Fukurozōshi 1

一、故き撰集の子細

万葉集 和歌 四千三百十三首、この中、長歌二百五十九首。ただし本ゝ同じからず、定数を用ゐ難し。

¹ Sasaki 1957, ed. 290.

² Hisamatsu, ed., 29.

³ Sasaki 1957, ed. 294-295.

この集世もつて大同の撰と謂ふ。これ奈良の号に付くるの故か。極めたる僻事か。およそ聖武ならびに桓武、大同の朝をもつて平城帝と号す。国史に見ゆ。ただし大同に至りては山陵に付きてこれを号す。古今の序の如きは、「時は十代を歴、数は百年を過ぎたり」と云々。然れば桓武の御時に相当す。ただし疑ひ多し。一にはかの集は宝字三年以後の年号は載せず。一は家持の天平勝宝以後の官見えず。載する所の官はただ内舎人、越中守、兵部少輔、少納言、左中弁等なり。就中、公卿の時の歌はこれ載せず。一は古今集に云はく、「貞観の御時万葉集は何比に撰ぜられたるぞ」と問はるるの時、文屋有季詠じて云はく、「ならのみやこのふることぞこれ」と云々。また野宮歌合の時、源順称して云はく、「むかしならのみやこふる歌よみしときなり」と云々。而れども桓武はこの京に遷都の帝なり。平安宮において集を撰ずるには専ら「奈良の都の古事」とぞ称すべからず。また桓武は延暦三年甲子十一月十一日戊申長岡宮に移幸したまふの由国史に見えたり。その以前の代の始めの纒か一兩年の間、和歌を撰ずる事を先となさざるか。就中、かの帝歌を作るの由所見なし。方々疑殆有り。⁴

1.5. Fukurozōshi 2

予これを案ずるに、この集聖武の撰か。その故は、かの帝の御時和歌始めて興るの由、古今の序に在り。随つて能く和歌を作らしめたまふ。これ一。同序に、人丸と同時の奈良帝の時、万葉集を撰ずるの由と云々。而して桓武の時は人丸逢ふべからず。その年を計り驗るに、殆ど百六十歳に及ぶ。随つて人丸死去の間の歌、かの集に載る。これ二。また皇代記に云はく、天平元年正月十四日諸の歌を奏すと。これ三。ただしかの集の如きは、天平勝宝二、三、八年の歌等これを載す。もし孝謙の時に太上皇これを撰ぜらるるか。金葉ならびに詞花集の如し。また宝字元、三年の歌これ在り、展転の誤りか。かくの如きは聖武の撰に当るといへども、古今の序の「十代」の文は避け難き者なり。ただし文書の習ひ、もしくは過ぎもしくは減じ、皆大数の儀を存じ、余数を棄てて「十代」を取るか。同序に云はく、「ここにふるき事をもしり歌をも知れる人纒かに二、三人」と云々。而るに上ぐる所は六人なり。また「千歌廿卷」と称すといへども、実は千九十首なり。かくの如きは文花に付きて、必ずしも定数を称さざるか。もしくは「十代」は字の誤りか。

撰者あるいは橘大臣と称し、あるいは家持と称す。件の大^{くだん}臣は宝字元年薨卒すと云々。かの集桓武の撰ならば相違せり。家持は延暦四年謀反、薨去すと云々。その以前の遷都造営の間に撰歌の条、疑ひ有り。いよいよ聖武の撰と謂ふべし。そもそもある人の云はく「世継物語の如きは「万葉集は高野の御時諸兄大臣これを奉じて

⁴ Fujioka 1995, ed., 35-36.

これを撰ず」と。高野は季謙か。然らば愚儀に叶ふ。季謙の時太上天皇の撰注したまふ所か。ただしかの書を引見するの後、左右すべし。⁵

1.6. *Fukurozōshi 3*

この集、末代の人「古万葉集」と称す。源順集にも「古万葉の中に」と云ふ事あり。これ新撰万葉集もしくは菅家万葉集等有る故か。新撰万葉集は延喜の御時これを抄出すと云々。五巻なり。万葉集、昔は在る所希なりと云々。而して俊綱朝臣、法成寺宝蔵の本を申し出でてこれを書写す。その後、顕綱朝臣また書写す。これより以来多く流布して、今に至りて諸家に在りと云々。⁶

1.7. *Waka shogakushō 1*

歌をよまむにはまづ題をよく思ひとき心うべし。花をよまむには花の面白く覚えむずる事、月を詠ぜむに月のあかず見ゆる心を思ひつづけてをかしく取りなして、古き詞のやさしからむを選びてなびやかにつづくべき也。⁷

1.8. *Waka shogakushō 2*

これはさもある所をせう／＼かきいだしたるなり。その所にのぞみてよむには、よしあしいはず。かしこの名をよむべし。さらぬにはふしになることこそあれ、さらぬはききなれたるところのよきなり。⁸

1.9. *Hanshi 1, Kiyosuke - Nin'an ninen hachigatsu Taikō Taigōgū no suke Taira no Tsunemori ason no ie no uta'awase (1167)*

四番 左勝

頼輔朝臣

色ふかきやしほの岡の紅葉ばに心をさへもそめてけるかな

右

通能朝臣

しぐれつつ秋こそふかく成りにけり色どりわたるやのの神山

左、めづらしからねどなだらかにくだりてきこゆ、右、万葉集はかくはとらぬ事とこそききたまへおきて侍れば、色どりわたるやのの神山、などおいおいしきさまなれば可為左勝⁹

⁵ Ibid., 37-38.

⁶ Ibid., 38.

⁷ Sasaki 1956, ed. 172.

⁸ Ibid., 238.

⁹ All citations of Kiyosuke and Shunzei's judgements from *uta'awase* are based on the *Kokka taikan* as available through *Nihon bungaku web toshokan*.

1.10. Hanshi 2, Kiyosuke - Nin'an ninen hachigatsu Taikō Taigōgū no suke Taira no Tsunemori ason no ie no uta'awase (1167)

八番 左

心覚

さもあらばあれ涙に袖はくちぬとも衣のすそのあひだにもせば

右勝

登蓮

あふまでをいのらばさもや恋せじのみそぎも今はかなはぬやなぞ

左、ころものすそのあひだにもせば、とよめるいかなる事にか、したのおもひこそゆきめぐりてあふ事にはいふめれ、さやうのこと葉の侍るにや、もし万葉集に、から衣すそのうちかへあはねどもけしき心をあがおもはななくに、といふ歌をおもひてよめるにや、衣のすそはあはぬ事とこそきこゆるに、いまの歌にはあふこととおぼしくよまれたるはこのことにはあらぬにや、おほかたかかる事は物ごしよりおちたることをよむべきなり、万葉集にありとても、いひならはさぬことはよしなし、四条大納言新撰髓脳にも、歌は一もじにてもめづらしきことをよみ出づべし、さりとてよみならはさぬ事などをいへるもわろし、われはおもひえたりとおもへど人の心えぬことはかひなくなむある、とこそ侍るめれ、右おぼつかなき事はなければ勝とも申つらん

1.11. Hanshi 3, Kiyosuke - Angen gan'nen jūgatsu tōka Udaijin no ie no uta'awase (1175)

九番 左勝

基輔

めづらしや今朝初雪に宮城のの萩の古枝に花さきにけり

右

尹明

今日よりは谷の岩道雪ふりて跡たえぬべきみ山べのさと

左歌、萩の花はしろくやはさく雪におもひまがふべからず、と人人申されしかれど雪は花に似たるものなれば色までの事はあまりにや、又万葉集にはしら萩などもよめればあながちのとがにはあらじ、歌がらあしからず

右は、谷のいはみちなどなき事にはあらねどききつかぬ心ちすればとて左勝と申してき

1.12. Korai fūteishō 1

(...) 世にある人は、たゞ歌はやすく詠むことぞとのみ心を得て、かくほど深くたどらむとまでは、思ひ寄らぬものなり。しかるを、この道の深き心、なを言葉の林を分け、筆の海を汲むとも、書き述べんことは難かるべければ、たゞ、上、万葉集より始めて、中古、古今、後撰、拾遺、下、後拾遺よりこなたさまの歌の、時世の

移り行くに従ひて、姿も詞もあらたまりゆくありさまを、代々の撰集に見えたるを、はしゞ記し申べきなり。¹⁰

1.13. *Korai fūteishō 2*

(...)たゞし、上古の歌は、わざと姿を飾り詞を磨かむとせざれども、世もあがり人の心も素直にして、たゞ詞にまかせて言ひ出だせれども、心も深く姿も高く聞こゆるなるべし。又、そのかみは、ことに撰集などいふ事もなかりけるにや、たゞ山上憶良といひける人なん、類聚歌林といふもの集めたりけれど、勅事などにしもあらざりければにや、ことに書きとゞむる人も少なくやありけん、世にもなべて伝はず、見たる人も少なかるべし。たゞ万葉集の詞に「山上憶良が類聚歌林にいはいく」など書きたるばかりにぞ、さる事ありけりと見えたる。「宇治の平等院の宝蔵にぞあなると聞く」とぞ、少納言の入道通憲と申し物知りたりし者、むかし鳥羽の院にて物語りのついでに語り侍りし。この憶良と申は、柿本朝臣人丸など同じ時の者なり。少し人麿よりは後進にはありけん、とぞ見えて侍。憶良は遣唐使に唐に渡りなどしたる者なり。

その後、奈良の都聖武天皇の御時、橘諸兄の大臣と申人、勅を承りて、万葉集をば撰ぜられける。そのころまでは、歌の善き悪しきなど、しみて撰ぶことなどはいともなかりけるにや、公宴の歌も、私^{わたくし}の家々の歌も、その筵に詠めるほどの歌は、数のまゝにも入りたるやうにぞあるべき。それより先、柿本朝臣人麿なん、ことに歌の聖にはありける。これはいと常の人にはあらざりけるにや、かの歌どもは、その時の歌の姿心に適へるのみにもあらず。時世はさま／＼改まり、人の心も歌の姿も、折につけつゝ移り変はるものなれど、かの人の歌どもは、上古中古、今の末の世まで鑑みけるにや、昔の世にも、末の世にも、みな適ひてなん見ゆめる。¹¹

1.14. *Korai fūteishō 3*

(...)まづ長歌短歌といふこと、もとより争ひある事なり。しかれどもまづこゝには、万葉集につきて長歌をば略する申侍なり。このことは古今集より疑ひの侍なり。その故は、雑体の巻に「短歌部」と書いて、まさしきその歌の詞の所には、貫之が「古歌奉るとき添へて奉りける長歌」と書き、躬恒・忠岑が歌の所にも「同じく添へて奉りける長歌」と書いて侍なり。それを、崇徳院に百首の歌人々に召しゝとき、「おのくが述懐の歌は、みな短歌に詠みて、奉れ」と仰せられて侍しがは、おのく

¹⁰ Watanabe, Kobayashi and Yamamoto, ed., 29-30.

¹¹ Ibid., 39-40.

「短歌」と書いて長歌を奉り侍にき。又俊頼朝臣の口伝にも、たしかには申切らざるべし。それを、清輔朝臣と申し者の、奥義とかいひて髓脳とて書いて侍なるものには、ひとへに長きを「短歌」と定め書いて侍とかや。大方は、かやうの事万葉集をぞ証拠とはすべきところに、万葉にはすべて三一字の歌をば「短歌」「反歌」など書いていかにも「長歌」とは書かず侍なり。¹²

1.15. *Korai fūteishō 4*

(...)しかれども万葉集の事を言ひながら、ひとへに三一字の反歌・短歌を「長歌」と言ふらん髓脳は、万葉集を詳しく見ざるに似たり(...)¹³

1.16. *Korai fūteishō 5*

(...)又歌どもは、まことに心もをかしく詞づかひも好もしく見ゆる歌どもは多かるべし。又万葉集にあればとて、詠まん事はいかゞと見ゆる事どもも侍なり。第三の巻にや、太宰帥大伴卿酒を讃めたる歌ども十三首まで入れり。又第十六巻にや、池田の朝臣、大神の朝臣などやうの者どもの、かたみに戯れ罵り交はしたる歌などは、学ぶべしとも見えざるべし。かつはこれらはこの集にとりての誹諧歌と申歌にこそ侍めれ。又まことに証歌にもなりぬべく、文字遣ひも証に成ぬべき歌どもも多く、おもしろくも侍れば、片端とは思ふ給へながら多くなりにて侍なり。又古き詞どもの今は人詠まずなりにたるも、かくこそはありけれと人に見せんため、記し入れて侍り。又拾遺集などにも入り、さらでもおのづから人の口にある歌も、漏らさむも口惜しくて、書き記し侍ほどに、なにとなく数多くなりにて侍なり。万葉集の歌は、よく心を得て取りても詠むべき事とぞ、古き人申おきたるべき。¹⁴

1.17. *Hanshi 1, Shunzei - Chūgūnosuke Shigeie uta'awase (1166)*

五番 左持

中宮亮重家朝臣

小はつ瀬の花のさかりを見わたせば霞にまがふみねのしらくも

右

兵庫頭頼政

あふみちやまのの浜辺に駒とめてひらのたかねの花を見るかな

此左右の歌、已如看陵雲台在望海楼、いづれもまことに見どころ侍るかな、それにとりて、左歌は後撰集にも入れるにや、すがはらやふしみの暮に見わたせば霞にまがふをはつせの山、といへる歌を、はなの歌にひきなされたるなるべし、かやうのことは、いみじくはからひがたきことになん、ふるき名歌も、よくとりなしつるは、

¹² Ibid., 47-48.

¹³ Ibid., 49.

¹⁴ Ibid., 88-89.

をかしきこととなむ、ふるき人申し侍りし、白氏文集、古万葉集などは、いささかとりすぐせるに、とがなきにやあらむ、まことによくなりけるものは、かれをまなべると見ゆるに、なさけそふわざなればなるべし、ただし、ふるき名歌をばとるべきこと、いむなりなむどはおもうたまふるに、かの、ふしみのくれにといへる歌をことに心にそめならひにければにや、この、かすみにまがふみねのしら雲と侍るも、いみじくをかしくおぼえ侍るなり、右歌のまののわたりの眺望も、いとをかしくおもひやられて、ひらの高ねをたちまさるとまうさば、みねのしら雲すてがたく、をはつせ山に心をよせむとすれば、ふるきとが、さだめがたし、よりて持と申すべきや

1.18. Hanshi 2, Shunzei - Kaō ninen jūgatsu kokonoka Sumiyoshi no Yashiro no uta'awase (1170)

九番 左勝

大輔

うらさむくしぐるるよはのたびごろもきしのはにふにいたくにほひぬ

右

定長

おもへただみやこのうちのねざめだにしぐるるそらはあはれならずや

左歌、きしのはにふにいたくにほひぬといへるすがたこはきこちすれど、万葉の風体とみえたり、右歌、こころはよろしきを、おもへただとおける、たれにいへるにかあらむ、かやうのことばは、うたのかへし、こひのうたなどにこそつかふことなれ、左歌つよかるべし

1.19. Hanshi 3, Shunzei - Ken'nin gan'nen hachigatsu jūgoya senka'awase (1201)

四十二番 題同 左

藤原秀能

わさ田もるとこの秋風吹きそめてかりねさびしき山のべの月

右勝

定家朝臣

さをしかの妻どふを田に霜おきて月影さむしをかのべの宿

右、柿本古風を思へり、山の辺の夜月にまさると定め申す

1.20. Hanshi 4, Shunzei - Jijō san'nen jūgatsu jūhachinichi udaijin no ie no uta'awase (1179)

二番 左勝

女房

霞みしく春のしほちを見わたせばみどりを分くるおきつしらなみ

右

源三位頼政

あづまちを朝たちゆけばかつしかやまの継橋霞みわたれり

左歌いとをかしくこそ見え侍れ、春の霞、蒼海のうへにひきわたるさま、あさみどり色をそへたるに、おきつ白なみたちわけたらむほど、面影おぼえ侍れ、右歌、かつしかや、といへる、彼、まものつぎ橋やまずかよはん、といへる万葉集の歌をおもひて、東路のかすみおもひやられて、こころぼそく覚え侍れど、歌のすがたはしひてことならぬなるべし、なほ、みどりを分くるおきつしらなみは、たちまさりて侍る

1.21. Hanshi 5, Shunzei - Ropyakuban uta'awase (1193)

七番 寄海恋 左

頭

くぢらとるかしこきうみのそこまでも君だにすまばなみぢしのがん

右勝

寂蓮

いはみがたちひろのそこもとふればあさきせになる身の恨かな

右申云、左歌おそろしくや、左申云、右歌難なし

判云、左歌、くぢらとるらんこそ、万葉集にぞあるやうに覚え侍れど、さやうの狂歌体の歌共多く侍る中に侍るにや、然而、いとおそろしくきこゆ、秦皇の蓬壺をたづねしも、ただ大魚をいよなどはおほせしかど、とれとまではきこえざりき、凡は歌は優艶ならん事をこそ可庶幾を、故令恐人事、為道為身無其要也、右のいはみがた、身のうらみかなといへる、如官途怨望にもや、恋の心はすくなくや、但、尚左歌ゆるしがたし、以右

Appendix 2 – Original and Translation of Fujiwara Shunzei's
Man'yōshū Jidaikō (Reflections on the *Man'yōshū* Era, 1195)

万葉集時代事、もとよりひと方にさためかたく候て、ろむしあひたる事に候。

清和天皇御時、文室有季¹にとはれ候時は

神な月時雨ふりをけるならのはの名におふ宮のふることそこれ

と申て候へは、ならのみかとゝはきこえ候。

ならのみかとゝは、うちまかせては

この京へ宮こうつりしてのち、さらにならにわか身許かへりておはしましたるみかと。

桓武の御こ、嵯峨の御あにのみかとを、御名には 平城天皇と申。

たゝならのみやこにおはしましたる。六七代のみかとをは、をの／＼御名ありて、ならのみかとゝ申さす。

元明、元正、聖武、孝謙、淡路、光仁也。

古今の序には

いにしへよりかくつたはるうちにも、ならの御時よりそひろまりにける。かの御世やうたの心をしろしめしたりけむ。かの御時に、おほきみつのくらみかきのもとの人まろなん。うたのひしりなりける。これはきみも人も身をあはせたりといふなるへし。秋のゆふへ龍田河になかるゝ紅葉をは、みかとの御めににしきと見たまひ、春のあした吉野の山のさくらは、人丸か心には雲かとのみなんおほえける。又山辺赤人といふ人ありけり。うたにあやしくたへなりけり。この人／＼をゝきて、またすぐれたる人も、くれ竹のよゝにきこえ、かたいとのより／＼にたえすそありける。かゝりけるさきのうたをあはせて、万葉集となづけられたりける。かの御時よりこのかた、としはもゝとせあまり、世はとつきになんなりにける。

とかきて候。

代をかそふれは、平城より醍醐天皇まで十代。年をかそふれは、平城天皇のはしめ大同元年より、延喜五年にいたるまで百年。

世つきにはならのみかとの御時、左大臣橘諸兄^{モロエ}うけたまはりて、万葉集をえらふと申て候。

顯昭法師はこの世は十つきになんなりにけると申。古今の序をつよくまもりて、

大同のみかとの御撰と申。

さなき人は、おほくさきのならの御よにえられたりと申は、たゝ世十つきのことは許こそ大同にあたりたれ。

すへて人丸あか人をめしつかふよりはしめて、なにこともさきのならの御よにあたりて見ゆれは、大同にあらすと申あひて候めり。

¹ Surname Fun'ya is usually written with the following characters: 文屋. Since there is no evidence that Fun'ya was written in this manner too, 屋 might have been a scribal error.

このせちにつく人、またおなし序をひきて、もゝとせあまりとかけるに、もゝとせにみつとしなれば、一定さきなりと申。

又このせちにつきて、人丸赤人をめしつかふ御世に、万葉集をえらふと申さは、むけのひか事也。

万葉集には時代あらはに見えて候。

人丸あか人はふるき人になりて、家の集を見てそのうたを見る。當時ある人あらは。

聖武天皇をは 太上天皇と申。

孝謙天皇をは 天皇と申たり。

中納言^{ヤカモチ}家持は

^{光仁御時}寶龜十一年二月一日参議になる。

^{桓武}延暦二年七月十三日中納言になりて、おなし四年八月にうせて候へは、

大同の人その哥をかき候はゝ、中納言とかき候へし。

万葉集には、内舍人^{ウトネリ}より越中守左中弁^{式部少輔}などまで、次第になり^{カムタチへ}のほりたる上達部よりさきのつかさを、やう／＼にかきて候。

又さなき人／＼も、光仁桓武の御よの公卿をは、おほく殿上人よりしものつかさにかきて候へは、

あらはに聖武天皇くらみをおりさせ給て、孝謙天皇くらみにおはしますころの集とは見えて候へとも、たれうけたまはりて、一定えりたりとも、いつれのみかたのおほせ事にてありとも、たしかにかきたる物はなにも見え候はず。

諸兄大臣は天平勝寶八年 聖武天皇のうせさせたまふとし^{チシ}致仕。つきの年うせて候へは、人のほど、まことにうけたまはりてえらんも、あたりたる人に候へとも、ものなとにうろわしくかきたる事は見をよひ候はず。人のつかさ世のありさまにて、あらはに聖武御時のことゝは見え候へとも、さま／＼ろんしいさかひ申あひて候。

やす／＼と人のしりたることにては候はぬ也。むかしのことはなにこともかすかにたしかならて、人の心はしなやかに心にくゝ候へは、ものをあなちにあたてきたすることも候はず。かきつくる事も、申さはしとけなきことおほく申ちらして候を、よのすゑには、いかにせんとしらぬ事もしりかほに、見さためぬことをも、事をきるやうに申あひ候へは、きゝにくゝも又おこかましくも候なり。これよりすきてたしかなる説は、たれもえ申候はしとおほえ候。²

² Takeshita, ed., 194-201.

The period of the *Man'yōshū*'s compilation has been a matter difficult to determine from the very beginning, and there are numerous competing views about it. When Emperor Seiwa asked Fun'ya Arisue a question about this issue, Arisue recited the following poem:³

<i>kaminaduki</i>	It is an ancient piece
<i>sigure furiwokeru</i>	Of the capital
<i>nara no fa no</i>	Named after the <i>nara</i> oak leaves,
<i>na ni ofu miya no</i>	Sprinkled with the autumn rain
<i>furu koto zo kore</i>	Of the Month of Gods. ⁴

thus, implying that *Man'yōshū* is associated with the Nara Emperor.

In my opinion, Nara Emperor generally refers to the emperor who had returned to Nara after moving the capital to this capital.⁵ Emperor Heizei, who was a son of Kanmu and an elder brother of Saga, was referred to as the Nara Emperor. However, there were variously other named emperors of six or seven eras who dwelled in the Nara Capital and were also called the 'Nara Emperor.' Those were Emperors Genmei, Genshō, Shōmu, Kōken, Awaji and Kōnin.⁶

In the preface to *Kokinshū*, it states:

“While poetry was composed since the antiquity, it became especially widespread since the reign of Nara Emperor. Perhaps it was because this Emperor understood the essence of poetry. During his reign, there lived Kakinomoto no Hitomaro of the senior third rank, who was

³ Seiwa (850-878) was the 56th Japanese emperor according to the traditional count, which includes several legendary emperors. He reigned in 858-876. Fun'ya Arisue (late 9th century) was a poet of the pre-*Kokinshū* period, who had only one poem included in this imperial collection. Not much is known about his life.

⁴ The poem is included in *Kokinshū* (#997). Even though *kaminaduki*, which is the 10th month of the Japanese lunar calendar, is usually translated as 'godless month,' I follow Vovin's opinion that *-na-* is not a negative but one of the plural markers in the Western Old Japanese. See Vovin, 100-103. This duality of interpretation results from the fact that by the Heian period *-na-* had come to be misunderstood as a negative. Thus, while Shunzei probably interpreted *kaminaduki* as 'godless month,' it is difficult to determine Arisue's interpretation of the word.

⁵ It is not clear what Shunzei meant by 'this capital' but since the capital of Japan was transferred from Nara to Nagaoka in 784 during the reign of Emperor Kanmu, he might have referred to Nagaoka. Fujiwara Kiyosuke also wrote about this capital transfer in his *Fukurozōshi*, so it was likely a well-known historical fact in the early medieval era.

⁶ Empress Genmei (660-721) was the 43rd Japanese ruler according to the traditional according to the traditional count. She reigned in 707-715. Empress Genshō (683-748) was the 44th Japanese ruler. She reigned in 715-724. Awaji refers to Emperor Jun'nin (733-765), who was the 47th Japanese emperor. He reigned in 758-864. Kōnin (709-782) was the 49th Japanese emperor. He reigned in 770-781.

a sage of poetry.⁷ This must have been truly a unification of the sovereign with the subject.⁸ Red leaves, floating on the Tatsuta River on an autumn evening, appeared as brocade to the Emperor's eyes.⁹ Cherry blossoms, opening in the Yoshino Mountains on a spring morning, were like clouds to Hitomaro's heart.¹⁰ There was also a man named Yamabe no Akahito, who had extraordinary skill for poetry.¹¹ Besides those people, there were other distinguished poets, who gained fame in successive reigns, like nodes in a stalk of bamboo, woven together like strands into a single thread. Their poems were gathered in a collection entitled *Man'yōshū*.¹² Since that age, more than a hundred years over ten different eras have elapsed.”

When we count the reigns, there are ten of them between Emperors Heizei and Daigo.¹³ When we count the years, a hundred years elapse between the first year of the Daidō era that

⁷ Helen McCullough emphasized that it was very unlikely for Kakinomoto Hitomaro to have ever received senior third rank (*shōsanmi* or *ōi no kurai*). She believed that one of the *Kokinshū* compilers, Ki no Tsurayuki, attributed this rank to Hitomaro in order to elevate him as a poet. See McCullough 1985, 6.

⁸ This ‘unification’ refers to the fact that both the Emperor and Hitomaro composed and understood waka.

⁹ This part of *kanajo* refers to an anonymous poem from *Kokinshū* (#283), here attributed to the Emperor:

竜田河もみぢみだれて流るめりわたらば錦なかやたえなむ

<i>tatutagafa</i>	The stream of colored leaves
<i>momidi midarete</i>	Flows in disarray
<i>nagarumeri</i>	On the Tatsuta River.
<i>wataraba nisiki</i>	If I crossed it
<i>naka ya taenamū</i>	I would tear this brocade.

¹⁰ This part of *kanajo* refers to an anonymous poem from *Godaishū utamakura* (#136), here attributed to the Emperor:

御吉野のよしのの山の山桜しら雲とのみ見えまがひつつ

<i>miyosino no</i>	The mountain cherry blossoms
<i>yosino no yama no</i>	On Mt. Yoshino
<i>yamazakura</i>	In the fair Yoshino -
<i>sirakumo to nomi</i>	They look like nothing so much
<i>miemagafitutu</i>	As white clouds.

¹¹ At this point, Shunzei's citation of the *kanajo* text is missing the following lines, which appear in our extant *Kokinshū* text: ‘it was impossible for Hitomaro to excel Akahito, or for Akahito to be ranked below Hitomaro,’ as well as three poems by the Nara Emperor, Hitomaro and Yamabe Akahito. See McCullough 1985, 6. It is impossible to know whether Shunzei deliberately left these passages out of his citation, or whether he was working from a *Kokinshū* text – there were many in circulation – that is different than the one scholars now consider standard. In any case, this speaks in favor of the fluidity of many old texts, not only *Man'yōshū*.

¹² Again, the following part of the currently accepted *kanajo* text is missing from Shunzei's citation here: ‘Since then only one or two people have been acquainted with the poetry of antiquity and understood the true nature of the art, but even they had weaknesses to detract from their virtues.’ See McCullough 1985, 6.

¹³ Daigo (884-930) was the 60th Japanese emperor according to the traditional count. He reigned in 897-930.

marks the reign of Emperor Heizei and the fifth year of the Engi era.¹⁴ In the *Yotsugi* it states that Minister of the Left, Tachibana Moroe, received an order to compile *Man'yōshū* during the reign of Nara Emperor.¹⁵

Monk Kenshō asserts that from the time of the compilation till the Fifth Year of Engi exactly ten reigns have passed. He closely follows the *kana* preface and says that *Man'yōshū* was imperially commissioned by the Emperor of the Daidō era.¹⁶

Those who disagree believe one must go back to the reign of a previous Nara Emperor in order to locate the Daidō era in the ten reigns. These people argue that if it was the same era as when Hitomaro and Akahito were in service, then it could not be the Daidō era. Those who hold this view read the same preface and argue that “more than a hundred years” meant “a hundred and three years.” But even if we follow this theory, it would be a mistake to think that *Man'yōshū* was compiled during the time of Hitomaro and Akahito.

In *Man'yōshū*, one can notice various eras being represented. Hitomaro and Akahito were ancient poets. Looking at their poems in their private collections, if they were people from the era of the *Man'yōshū* compilation, they would refer to Emperor Shōmu as ‘Retired Emperor’ and to Empress Kōken as the ‘Ruler.’

On the first day of the second month in the eleventh year of Hōki era, during the reign of Emperor Kōnin, Yakamochi became Consultant (*sangi*).¹⁷ On the thirteenth day of the seventh month in the second year of the Enryaku era, during the reign of Emperor Kanmu, he became Middle Counselor (*chūnagon*).¹⁸ In the eighth month of the fourth year in the same era (785), he passed away. When people of the Daidō era cited his poems, they gave his title as Middle Counselor.

In *Man'yōshū*, Yakamochi appears under various titles that he acquired over the years, starting from the Palace Attendant, through Governor of the Etchū Province, then, having entered

¹⁴ The Daidō era spanned between 806-810, which refers to Emperor Heizei’s reign. Thus, the year mentioned above corresponds to 806. The Engi era spanned between 901-923, so the year mentioned above corresponds to 906. *Kokinshū* was ordered in 905, so Shunzei is trying to take the *Kokinshū* perspective and trace back those hundred years to determine the emperor who might have ordered the compilation of *Man'yōshū*.

¹⁵ *Yotsugi* refers to *Eiga monogatari* which does, in fact, say that *Man'yōshū* was compiled by Tachibana Moroe in 753. See Nakanishi 1995, 301-305.

¹⁶ “Emperor of the Daidō era” refers to Emperor Heizei.

¹⁷ The Hōki era spanned between 770-781, so the year mentioned above corresponds to 781.

¹⁸ Enryaku era spanned 782-806, so the year mentioned above corresponds to 783. Middle Counselor or the Left refers to *sachūben*, which was a position through which the Minister of the Left, *sadaijin*, controlled various departments in the government.

the top ranks, the offices mentioned above.¹⁹ Since other courtiers of the Emperors of the Kōnin and Kanmu era are presented in the *Man'yōshū* as people of various lower fourth- and fifth-ranking posts, the collection is older than those emperors' reigns.

Even if this collection obviously seems to be of the time after Emperor Shōmu abdicated and Empress Kōken ascended the throne, there is truly no documentary evidence about who received an order to compile it, and which of the Emperors commissioned it.

The eighth year of the Tenpyō Shōhō era was the year when Emperor Shōmu died and Tachibana Moroe retired from service.²⁰ Since Moroe also died the next year, even if he was in fact serving the Emperor and indeed received an order to compile *Man'yōshū*, we do not see any official records of it in the chronicles. Thus, even though *Man'yōshū* seems to be a product of Shōmu's reign according to the historical records of that age and the ranks and offices by which the poets were labeled, it is a matter of considerable dispute.

None of this is possible for people to comprehend without considerable effort. Since matters in ancient times were subtle and not easy to ascertain, and people's sensitivities were very elegant and refined, one cannot be absolutely confident about what their intentions were. And if I may say so, there is a lot of nonsense being said about this. Since in this degenerate age people pretend to know what to do, and give definitive answers about unknowable things, it is all laughable and difficult to listen to. One truly cannot say with any certainty much more than I have stated above.²¹

¹⁹ Palace Attendant refers to *udoneri*, who was a minor functionary in the Ministry of Central Affairs, chosen during the Nara Period among junior members of leading families, but later drawn from among men in the service of the great houses. See McCullough & McCullough 1980, p. 135. Etchū was an old province in central Honshū. It is currently the Toyama Prefecture.

²⁰ Tenpyō Shōhō era spanned between 749-757, so it encompasses 756.

²¹ Shunzei refers to his assertion that *Man'yōshū* must have been compiled sometime during the reigns of Shōmu or Kōken.

Appendix 3 – Table: Appropriation of *Man'yōshū* Vocabulary in Fujiwara Kiyosuke's Poems

The table indicates which *Man'yōshū* poems Kiyosuke alluded to in his own *tanka*, and which of those *Man'yōshū* poems appear in secondary sources, thus helping to track possible channels of appropriation of *Man'yōshū* vocabulary in Kiyosuke's poetry.

Kiyosuke	KWR 976- 982	Toshiyori zuinō 1111-15	Kigoshō 1099- 1188	Ōgishō 1124- 1144	Wakadō mōshō 1145- 1153	Waka ichijishō 1153	Fukuro zōshi 1157	Godaiishū utamakura bef. 1165	Wakasho gakushō 1169	Shūchū shō 1186	Chinjō 1193	KFS 1197	Godai kanyō 1209	MYSchū shaku 1269	Other
I															
No. 15		○	○		○					○			○	○	GYS Yakumo mishō
No. 57								○	○	○			○	○	Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
II															
No. 133	○								○				○	○	HMS, SKKS Hachidaishō
No. 190															
III															
No. 213															
No. 249															Yakumo mishō
No. 255			○						○	○		○	○		HMS, SKKS Hachidaishō Yakumo mishō
No. 332								○							
No. 364	○		○		○										
IV															
No. 455															
No. 500	○	○	○	○	○					○	○		○	○	HMS, Ise mon. SKKS Hachidaishō Waka iroha
No. 501	○			○	○			○	○			○	○	○	HMS, SIS Hachidaishō Seishō Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
No. 521			○	○	○					○		○	○		

Kiyosuke	KWR 976- 982	Toshiyori zuinō 1111- 1115	Kigoshō 1099- 1188	Ōgishō 1124- 1144	Wakadō mōshō 1145- 1153	Waka ichijishō 1153	Fukuro zōshi 1157	Godaishū utamakura bef. 1165	Wakasho gakushō 1169	Shūchū shō 1186	Chinjō 1193	KFS 1197	Godai kanyō 1209	MYSchū shaku 1269	Other
----------	--------------------	-------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	----------------------------------	---------------------------	-------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	-----------------------	----------------	-------------	------------------------	-------------------------	-------

No. 694	○						○					○	○		SCSS Yakumo mishō
No. 792	○		○												
VI															
No. 925					○				○	○					SKKS Kindaishūka Yakumo mishō
No. 983			○		○					○					
VII															
No. 1118	○				○			○	○				○		HMS, SIS Hachidaishō Yakumo mishō
No. 1130								○	○	○			○		ShinSZS Yakumo mishō
No. 1406	○							○							Seishō
VIII															
No. 1435	○							○			○	○	○	○	Shinsenzuinō WRS, SKKS Hachidaishō Eigataigai Yakumo mishō
IX															
No. 1711	○							○							HMS
No. 1712	○									○					ShinSZS
No. 1751									○						Yakumo mishō
X															
No. 1825	○		○		○			○	○				○	○	AHS, HMS Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
No. 2013	○							○	○	○			○	○	AHS, HMS ShokuKKS

Kiyosuke	KWR 976- 982	Toshiyori zuinō 1111- 1115	Kigoshō 1099- 1188	Ōgishō 1124- 1144	Wakadō mōshō 1145- 1153	Waka ichijishō 1153	Fukuro zōshi 1157	Godaishū utamakura bef. 1165	Wakasho gakushō 1169	Shūchū shō 1186	Chinjō 1193	KFS 1197	Godai kanyō 1209	MYSchū shaku 1269	Other
----------	--------------------	-------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	----------------------------------	---------------------------	-------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------	-----------------------	----------------	-------------	------------------------	-------------------------	-------

No. 2050									○						AHS
No. 2096								○	○						YMS, GYS Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
No. 2117										○			○	○	HMS ShinSIS Yakumo mishō
No. 2138					○										
No. 2141	○		○												ShokuKKS
No. 2193	○				○			○							KHS, HMS SIS
No. 2208								○					○		GYS
No. 2239	○		○					○		○	○				HMS Yakumo mishō
No. 2277	○				○			○	○	○		○	○		HMS, SKKS Hachidaishō Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
No. 2320															HMS
XI															
No. 2422					○				○				○		HMS, SIS Ise mon. Hachidaishō
No. 2538	○		○		○							○	○		HMS ShinSZS
No. 2541								○					○		Genji mon. Yakumo mishō
No. 2542	○			○					○			○	○		HMS Genji mon. Kakaishō Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
No. 2567															
No. 2588													○		HMS, SCSS
No. 2655	○												○		Yakumo

Kiyosuke	KWR 976- 982	Toshiyori zuinō 1111- 1115	Kigoshō 1099- 1188	Ōgishō 1124- 1144	Wakadō mōshō 1145- 1153	Waka ichijishō 1153	Fukuro zōshi 1157	Godaishū utamakura bef. 1165	Wakasho gakushō 1169	Shūchū shō 1186	Chinjō 1193	KFS 1197	Godai kanyō 1209	MYSchū shaku 1269	Other
															mishō
No. 2719	○				○										Waka iroha
No. 2755									○						
No. 2763	○		○		○			○					○		
XII															
No. 3002	○									○			○		HMS, SIS Hachidaishō
No. 3073								○	○	○			○	○	SCSS Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
XIII															
No. 3255														○	
No. 3266															
No. 3272															
No. 3305															
XIV															
No. 3376								○	○	○		○	○	○	Yakumo mishō
No. 3417	○		○					○					○	○	HMS Yakumo mishō
No. 3425								○							Yakumo mishō
No. 3429	○							○	○	○		○	○	○	Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
XV															
No. 3625													○		
No. 3632								○							Yakumo mishō
No. 3716													○		
XVI															
No. 3791										○	○		○	○	
No. 3836	○			○	○			○		○		○		○	Kakaishō Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
No. 3875															

Kiyosuke	<i>KWR</i> 976- 982	<i>Toshiyori</i> <i>zuinō</i> 1111- 1115	<i>Kigoshō</i> 1099- 1188	<i>Ōgishō</i> 1124- 1144	<i>Wakadō</i> <i>mōshō</i> 1145- 1153	<i>Waka</i> <i>ichijishō</i> 1153	<i>Fukuro</i> <i>zōshi</i> 1157	<i>Godaishū</i> <i>utamakura</i> bef. 1165	<i>Wakasho</i> <i>gakushō</i> 1169	<i>Shūchū</i> <i>shō</i> 1186	<i>Chinjō</i> 1193	<i>KFS</i> 1197	<i>Godai</i> <i>kanyō</i> 1209	<i>MYSchū</i> <i>shaku</i> 1269	Other
No. 3885														○	
XVII															
No. 3970	○														ShinSZS
No. 4017	○		○		○			○	○	○		○	○	○	Yakumo mishō
XVIII															
No. 4122														○	
XIX															
No. 4164														○	
No. 4257	○	○	○		○			○		○				○	Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
XX															
No. 4296															YMS ShokuGSIS
No. 4326	○													○	Yakumo mishō
No. 4418															
No. 4452	○														YMS ShokuGSS

Appendix 4 – Table: Appropriation of *Man'yōshū* Vocabulary in Fujiwara Shunzei's Poems

The table indicates which *Man'yōshū* poems Shunzei alluded to in his own *tanka*, and which of those *Man'yōshū* poems appear in secondary sources, thus helping to track possible channels of appropriation of *Man'yōshū* vocabulary in Shunzei's poetry.

Shunzei	KWR 976- 982	Toshiyori zuinō 1111-15	Kigoshō 1099- 1188	Ōgishō 1124- 1144	Wakadō mōshō 1145- 1153	Waka ichijishō 1153	Fukuro zōshi 1157	Godai utamakura bef. 1165	Wakasho gakushō 1169	Shūchū shō 1186	Chinjō 1193	KFS 1197	Godai kanyō 1209	MYSchū shaku 1269	Other
I															
No. 64			○		○							○	○	○	SCSS Yakumo mishō
III															
No. 252	○				○			○					○		HMS
No. 255			○							○		○	○		HMS, SKKS Hachidaishō Yakumo mishō
No. 272	○		○		○			○	○				○	○	KKS Hachidaishō Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
No. 298							○	○	○				○	○	SCSS Seishō Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
IV															
No. 521			○	○	○					○		○	○		
No. 545								○							Yakumo mishō
No. 694	○						○					○	○		SCSS Yakumo mishō
No. 737								○				○	○	○	ShinSIS Kakaishō Waka iroha Yakumo mishō

Shunzei	KWR 976- 982	Toshiyori zuinō 1111-15	Kigoshō 1099- 1188	Ōgishō 1124- 1144	Wakadō mōshō 1145- 1153	Waka ichijishō 1153	Fukuro zōshi 1157	Godaishū utamakura bef. 1165	Wakasho gakushō 1169	Shūchū shō 1186	Chinjō 1193	KFS 1197	Godai kanyō 1209	MYSchū shaku 1269	Other
V															
No. 818														○	YMS, SCSS Yakumo mishō
VI															
No. 919	○	○		○				○		○	○	○			AHS, Kanajo, WRS, KYS ShokuKKS Seiashō Yakumo mishō
No. 923														○	
No. 939								○						○	
VII															
No. 1142			○					○		○					Yakumo mishō
No. 1156	○				○			○		○			○		ShinSZS Yakumo mishō
No. 1331	○				○									○	Kakaishō Yakumo mishō
No. 1351	○				○							○		○	HMS, KKS, SIS Hachidaishō
VIII															
No. 1418	○	○	○		○					○		○	○	○	WRS, Genji mon., SKKS Hachidaishō Kakaishō Waka iroha
No. 1435	○							○			○	○	○	○	Shinsenzuinō WRS, SKKS Hachidaishō Eigataigai Yakumo mishō
No. 1437	○		○					○							
No. 1473	○												○		ShokuKKS
No. 1500	○				○		○				○	○	○		ShokuGSIS Yakumo

Shunzei	KWR 976- 982	Toshiyori zuinō 1111-15	Kigoshō 1099- 1188	Ōgishō 1124- 1144	Wakadō mōshō 1145- 1153	Waka ichijishō 1153	Fukuro zōshi 1157	Godaiishū utamakura bef. 1165	Wakasho gakushō 1169	Shūchū shō 1186	Chinjō 1193	KFS 1197	Godai kanyō 1209	MYSchū shaku 1269	Other
															mishō
No. 1579	○														
No. 1599													○		Yakumo mishō
No. 1634													○		Yakumo mishō
IX															
No. 1716	○	○								○					KHS
X															
No. 1813								○							AHS, HMS ShokuKKS
No. 1815	○					○	○	○		○					AHS, HMS FGS Yakumo mishō
No. 1825	○		○		○			○					○	○	AHS, HMS Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
No. 1844	○							○							AHS, HMS SCSS
No. 1897	○	○	○	○	○					○	○	○	○	○	GYS Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
No. 1966															AHS, HMS ShinSIS
No. 1971															AHS
No. 1978			○											○	AHS, HMS Kakaishō
No. 2055	○											○			HMS, WKS GSS, GSIS Seiashō Kakaishō
No. 2132	○				○								○		HMS, YMS ShinSIS
No. 2154															Yakumo mishō
No. 2196	○				○			○					○		HMS, SKKS Hachidaishō
No. 2202					○	○	○						○		

Shunzei	KWR 976- 982	Toshiyori zuinō 1111-15	Kigoshō 1099- 1188	Ōgishō 1124- 1144	Wakadō mōshō 1145- 1153	Waka ichijishō 1153	Fukuro zōshi 1157	Godaiishū utamakura bef. 1165	Wakasho gakushō 1169	Shūchū shō 1186	Chinjō 1193	KFS 1197	Godai kanyō 1209	MYSchū shaku 1269	Other
No. 2225															HMS Yakumo mishō
No. 2256	○		○							○	○	○	○		HMS, GYS
No. 2277	○				○			○		○		○	○		HMS, SKKS Hachidaishō Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
No. 2303															HMS, GYS
XI															
No. 2326															HMS
No. 2427													○		HMS
No. 2630	○											○			
No. 2651	○		○		○								○		HMS, SIS Hachidaishō
No. 2721	○											○	○		
No. 2745												○	○		HMS, SIS Genji mon. Ise mon. Hachidaishō Kakaishō
No. 2753	○							○				○	○		HMS, SIS Ise mon. Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
No. 2824	○				○								○		Yakumo mishō
No. 2839					○			○	○	○		○	○		HMS ShokuKKS Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
XII															
No. 2855					○										
No. 3025			○		○					○		○			
No. 3048								○		○			○		Genji mon. SKKS Hachidaishō Waka iroha

Shunzei	KWR 976- 982	Toshiyori zuinō 1111-15	Kigoshō 1099- 1188	Ōgishō 1124- 1144	Wakadō mōshō 1145- 1153	Waka ichijishō 1153	Fukuro zōshi 1157	Godaiishū utamakura bef. 1165	Wakasho gakushō 1169	Shūchū shō 1186	Chinjō 1193	KFS 1197	Godai kanyō 1209	MYSchū shaku 1269	Other
															Yakumo mishō
No. 3076					○					○			○	○	Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
XIV															
No. 3369			○		○					○			○	○	
No. 3387								○	○			○	○	○	Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
XV															
No. 3605	○							○	○				○		ShinSZS Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
No. 3606	○							○					○		
No. 3607	○				○			○					○	○	Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
XVI															
No. 3807	○	○	○		○			○				○	○		Yamato mon Kanajo Ise mon. Genji mon., Kakaishō Waka iroha Yakumo mishō
No. 3979												○			SSKKS
XIX															
No. 4199	○							○				○	○	○	
XX															
No. 4448	○				○	○	○						○		Yakumo mishō
No. 4493	○	○	○	○	○					○		○	○		SKKS Hachidaishō Waka iroha Yakumo mishō

Appendix 5 – Examples of Other Poets’ Appropriation of *Man’yōshū* Vocabulary¹

Examples Referred to in Chapter 3

In order to show the scale of web of intertextuality and significance of the early medieval poetic discourse for the art of poetic borrowing, in this section of Appendix 5, I also include poems by other poets who alluded to the same *Man’yōshū* lines and expressions as Fujiwara Kiyosuke and Fujiwara Shunzei.

1. *Man’yōshū* II (#133), Hitomaro, *Hitomaroshū* (#39), *Kokinwaka rokujō* (#2364), *Shinkokinshū* (#900)

小竹之葉者三山毛清尔乱友吾者妹思別来礼婆

ささのははみやまもさやにさやげどもわれはいもおもふわかれきぬれば

1.1. Kujō Yoshitsune, *Shōji hyakushu* (#463), *Shinkokinshū* (#615), *Shigetsukishū* (#759)

ささの葉はみ山もさやにうちそよぎこほれる霜をふく嵐かな

1.2. Fujiwara Teika, *Shōji hyakushu* (#1384), *Shūigūsō* (#981), *Shinshoku kokinshū* (#973)

草枕ゆふ露むすぶささのはの深山もそよにいく夜しをれぬ

1.3. Fujiwara Teika, *Shūigūsō* (#2398)

ささ枕み山もさやにてる月の千世も経 (ふ) ばかりかげのひさしさ

1.4. Minamoto Sanetomo, *Kinkaishū* (#349)

ささのはのみ山もそよにあられふりさむき霜よを独かもねん

1.5. Asukai Masatsune, *Masatsuneshū* (#592)

ねざめするみやまもそよにささのはにひとよともなき嵐をぞきく

1.6. Fujiwara Mitsutsune, *Mitsutsuneshū* (#220)

あきかぜにみだれてなびくささのはのみやまもさやにすめる月かげ

1.7. Retired Emperor Go-Toba, *Go-Tobainshū* (#1251)

ささの葉は深山もさやにおく霜のこほれるにさへ月はすみけり

1.8. Retired Emperor Juntoku, *Shikinshū* (#550)

ささの葉や置きある露も夜ごろへぬみやまもさやに思ひみだれて

¹ Citations of all poems are based on the *Kokka taikan* as available through *Nihon bungaku web toshokan*.

2. Man'yōshū XI (#2538), anonymous, Hitomaroshū (#439), Kigoshō (#547), Waka dōmōshō (#499), Korai fūteishō (#127), Shinsenzaishū (#1249)

獨寝等匆朽目八方綾席緒尔成及君乎之将待

ひとりぬとこもくちめやもあやむしろをになるまでにきみをしまたむ

Man'yōshū IV (#521), Hitachi Otome, Kigoshō (#321, #432), Ōgishō (#375), Waka dōmōshō (#304), Korai fūteishō (#50)

庭立麻手苧干布暴東女乎忘賜名

にはにたつあさでかりほしぬのさらすあづまをみなをわすれたまふな

2.1. Fujiwara Shunzei, Kyūan hyakushū (#880), Chōshū eisō (#79), Senzaishū (#942)

しきしのぶ床だに絶えぬ涙にも恋は朽せぬ物にぞ有ける

2.2. Shun'e, Rin'yōshū (#705)

しるらめや涙の床のあやむしろをになるまでにしき忍ぶとは

2.3. Lady Sanuki, Sengohyakuban uta'awase (#2354)

いたづらにさてやはくちんあやむしろながす涙をしきしのびつつ

2.4. Fujiwara Ietaka, Komyōbuji sessho uta'awase (#160)

くちねただ人やあやめむあやむしろをになるまでもしきしのべども

2.5. Kujō Norizane, Komyōbuji sessho uta'awase (#160)

あや筵なみだの露のたてぬきにたれおりそめてしきしのぶらん

2.6. Fujiwara Teika, Komyōbuji sessho uta'awase (#16057), Shūigūsō (#2597), Utamakuramyō (#9393), Fubokushō (#15411)

東野の露のかりねのかやむしろ見ゆらんきえてしき偲ぶとは

2.7. Retired Emperor Juntoku, Shikinshū (#1244)

山がつのうづみ火近きかやむしろ花のあたりやしき忍ぶらん

2.8. Fujiwara Tameie, Tameieshū (1501)

涙をばしきしのべどもかやむしろよのうきふしにくちぬべきかな

3. Man'yōshū VI (#925), Yamabe Akahito, Waka dōmōshō (#753), Shūchūshō (438), Shinkokinshū (#64)

烏玉之夜乃深去者久木生留清河原尔知鳥數鳴

ぬばたまのよのふけゆけばひさぎおふるきよきかはらにちどりしばなく

3.1. Shun'e, Rin'yōshū (#662)

ひさぎおふるきよきかはらに月さえてともなし千鳥ひとり鳴くなり

3.2. Fujiwara Teika, Shūigūsō (#2907)

さ夜千鳥やちよと神やをしふらんきよきかはらに君いのる也

3.3. Fujiwara Sanesada, Ringeshū (#216)

ひさぎおふるきよきかはらにいぐしたてあらぬしにせむとやはいのりし

3.4. Minamoto Michichika, Shōji hyakushū (#566), Mandaishū (#1440)

ひさぎおふるきよき河原に月すめばしばなく千鳥声さえわたる

3.5. Fujiwara Ietaka, Sengohyakuban uta'awase (#1851), Minishū (#562), Fubokushō (#13876)

ひさぎおふるさほのかはらにたつ千鳥そらさへきよき月になくなり

3.6. Fujiwara Nobuzane, Nobuzaneshū (#32), Fubokushō (#3232)

ひろふてふ玉にもがもな楸生ふるきよきかはらに螢とぶなり

3.7. Asukai Masa'ari, Rinjoshū (#1210)

ふけぬともあかですぎめやひさぎおふるきよき川原のあきのよの月

4. Man'yōshū XI (#2721), anonymous, Kokinwaka rokujō (#1630), Korai fūteishō (#134)

玉藻菫井堤乃四賀良美薄可毛戀乃余杼女留吾情可聞

たまもかるゐでのしがらみうすみかもこひのよどめるわがこころかも

4.1. Fujiwara Teika, Shūigūsō (#419)

ちらすなよゐでのしがらみせきかへしいはぬ色なる山吹の花

4.2. Fujiwara Teika, Shūigūsō (#1573)

道のべのゐでのしがらみ引きむすびわすればつらしはつ草の露

4.3. Minamoto Sanetomo, Kinkaishū (#115), Shinchokusenshū (#128)

玉もかるゐでのしがらみ春かけて咲くや河せのやまぶきのはな

4.4. Retired Emperor Go-Toba, Go-Tobainshū (#1089)

もろ神をたのみしかひぞなかりける井でのしがらみ手にはくまねど

4.5. Fujiwara Ietaka, Minishū (#669)

恋の淵涙のそこも尋ねみよゐでのしがらみうすくやはおもふ

4.6. Inpumon-in no tayū, Shinkokinshū (#1089), Teika hachidaishō (#911), Utamakuramyō (#855)

もらさばやおもふ心をさてのみはえぞ山しろのゐでのしがらみ

5. *Man'yōshū XV* (#3606), anonymous, *Kokinwaka rokujō* (1851#), *Godaishū utamakura* (#1611, #1612)

多麻藻可流乎等女乎須疑弓奈都久佐能野嶋我左吉尔伊保里須和礼波
たまもかるをとめをすぎてなつくさののしまがさきにいほりすわれは

5.1. Fujiwara Shigeie, *Shigeieshū* (#400)

あさましやなどやかわかぬあさなつむのじまがさきのあまの袖かは

5.2. Kamo no Chōmei, *Chōmeishū* (#32)

音すなり野じまがさきの霧のまにたがこぐ舟のともろなるらん

5.3. Shun'e, *Rin'yōshū* (#520)

霧がくれのじまがさきに鳴く鹿はいつれの方の妻をよぶらん

5.4. Fujiwara Norimune, *Kenpō meisho hyakushu* (#574), *Norimuneshū* (#378), *Utamakuramyō* (#8770), *Fubokushō* (#4390)

なみのよる野じまが崎のいとすすきみだれにけりなぬけるしら玉

5.5. Fujiwara Ietaka, *Minishū* (#647), *Fubokushō* (#12142)

庵りさす野島がさきのはまかぜに薄おしなみ雪は降りきぬ

5.6. Fujiwara Ietaka, *Kenpō meisho hyakushu* (#571), *Minishū* (#748), *Utamakuramyō* (#8772), *Fubokushō* (#5671)

風ふけば波にや床の荒れぬらん野島が崎に鶉なくなり

5.7. Retired Emperor Go-Toba, *Go-Tobainshū* (#1034), *Shokugoshūishū* (#567)

露しげき野じまが崎の旅ねには浪こさぬ夜も袖はぬれけり

5.8. Retired Emperor Juntoku, *Kenpō meisho hyakushu* (#565), *Shikinshū* (#662), *Mandaishū* (#913), *Shokushūishū* (#236)

をとめが玉ものすそやしをるらん野島崎の秋の夕露

5.9. Retired Emperor Juntoku, *Kenpō meisho hyakushu* (#348), *Shikinshū* (#829)

五月雨にかりほすひまもなつ草のじまが崎も浪越ゆる比

6. *Man'yōshū X* (#1825), anonymous, *Hitomaroshū* (#72), *Kokinwaka rokujō* (#3502), *Waka dōmōshō* (#604), *Godaishū utamakura* (#740)

紫之根延横野之春野庭君乎懸管晩名雲

むらさきのねばふよこののはるのにはきみをかけつつうぐひすなくも

6.1. Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado, *Tsuchimikadoinshū* (#26)

紫のねはふよこののつぼすみれ春やゆかりの色に咲くらん

6.2. Fujiwara Ietaka, *Minishū* (#12)

むらさきのねはふよこ野の春駒は草のゆかりになつくなりけり

6.3. Fujiwara Mototsuna, *Tōsenwaka rokujō* (#268)

紫のねはふよこ野のつぼすみれその色にこそ花もさきけれ

6.4. Fujiwara Tameie, *Tameieshū* (#91)

ひとつなる色のゆかりか紫のねはふよこ野の春のさわらび

Other Examples Not Referred to in Chapter 3

7. Man'yōshū IV (#501), Hitomaro, Hitomaroshū (#72), Kokinwaka rokujō (#2549), Shūishū (#1210), Ōgishō (#594), Waka dōmōshō (#377), Godaishū utamakura (#510), Korai fūteishō (#47)

未通女等之袖振山乃水垣之久時從憶寸吾者

をとめらがそでふるやまのみづかきのひさしきときゆおもひきわれは

7.1. Ōe Masafusa, Horikawa hyakushu (#34), Masafusashū (#4), Senzaishū (#9), Utamakuramyō (#2947)

わぎも子が袖ふる山も春きてぞ霞のころもたちわたりける

7.2. Fujiwara Kiyosuke, Kiyosukeshū (#31), Shokushūishū (#56), Mandaishū (#223), Utamakuramyō (#2948)

をとめこの袖ふる山をきてみれば花の袂もほころびにける

7.3. Taira Chikamune, Wakeikazuchisha uta 'awase (#32), Chikamuneshū (#3)

わぎもこが袖ふるやまも見えぬかな霞の衣たちしこむれば

7.4. Fujiwara Ietaka, Dairi uta 'awase (#11), Minishū (#2412), Mandaishū (#915), Shokugoshūishū (#269)

をとめ子が袖ふる山のたまかづらみだれてなびく秋の白露

7.5. Fujiwara Teika, Shōji hyakushu (#1318), Shūigūsō (#915), Shinshoku kokinshū (#115)

花の色をそれかとぞ思をとめごか袖ふる山の春のあけぼの

7.6. Fujiwara Teika, Shūigūsō (#2285), Shingosenshū (#1581), Utamakuramyō (#2953)

幾千代ぞそでふる山のみづかきもおよばぬ池にすめる月かけ

7.7. Asukai Masatsune, Dairi uta 'awase (#96), Masatsuneshū (#1218)

夜をさむみいまはあらしのをとめ子が袖ふる山の秋の初霜

7.8. Retired Emperor Go-Toba, Go-Tobainshū (#15)

風は吹けどしづかににほへをとめ子が袖ふる山に花のちるころ

7.9. Retired Emperor Juntoku, Dairi uta 'awase (#105), Shikinshū (#388)

ゆく末をおもへばひさし乙女子が袖ふる山の秋の夜の月

8. Man'yōshū VI (#919), Akahito, Kokinwaka rokujō (#4353), Akahitoshū (#45, #352), Wakan rōeishū (#451), Toshiyori zuinō (#105), Ōgishō (#106), Godaishū utamakura (#1055), Shūchūshō (#675), Korai fūteishō (#66), Shokukokinshū (#1634)

若浦尔塩満来者滷乎無美葦邊乎指天多頭鳴渡

わかのうらにしほみちくればかたをなみあしべをさしてたづなきわたる

8.1. Fujiwara Kinzane, Horikawa hyakushu (#1345), Utamakuramyō (#8308)

わかの浦のひがた遥に鳴くつるの独あさはむ友なしにして

8.2. Shun'e, Rin'yōshū (#29)

たづのあるあしべをさして難波がたむこの浦まで霞しにけり

8.3. Fujiwara Shunzei, Chōshū eisō (#186)

年だにもわかの浦廻の鶴ならば雲居を見つつ慰みてまし

8.4. Fujiwara Teika, Kenpō meisho hyakushu (#1167), Shūigūsō (#1298)

寄りくべき方もなぎさのしほ草かきつくしてし和歌の浦波

8.5. Princess Shikishi, Sanbyaku rokujūban uta'awase (#478)

難波濁芦辺をさしてこぎゆけばうらがなしかる鶴の一声

8.6. Minamoto Ienaga, Sengohyakuban uta'awase (#2899), Utamakuramyō (#8313)

かたをなみあしべをさしてなくたづのちよをともなふわかのうら人

8.7. Fujiwara Ietaka, Minishū (#85)

しほみてはあしべをさして行く鶴の声もかたぶく在明の月

8.8. Retired Emperor Juntoku, Shikinshū (#271)

難波江やたみのの島になく鶴のあしべをさして宿も尋ねん

9. Man'yōshū XI (#2753), anonymous, Hitomaroshū (#341), Kokinwaka rokujō (#4313), Shūishū (#856), Ise monogatari (#197), Godaishū utamakura (#1500), Korai fūteishō (#136)
浪間従所見小嶋之濱久木久成奴君尔不相四手
なみのまゆみゆるこしまのはまひさぎひさしくなりぬきみにあはずして

9.1. Fujiwara Mototoshi, Mototoshishū (#190)
君といへばなどみまほしき波間なるおきつこ島の浜ひさぎかな

9.2. Minamoto Toshiyori, Sanbokushū (#1417)
ななそちにみちぬるしほのはまひさぎひさしくもよにむもれぬるかな

9.3. Fujiwara Shunzei, Chōshū eisō (#314), Shinchokusenshū (#767)
わが恋は浪こす磯の浜楸沈はつれど知る人もなし

9.4. Retired Emperor Go-Toba, Rōnyaku gojusshu uta'awase (#452), Sanbyaku rokujūban uta'awase (#587), Go-Tobainshū (#1144)
はまひさぎなみのまにまにながむればみゆるこじまの有あけの月

9.5. Retired Emperor Go-Toba, Sengohyakuban uta'awase (#2550), Go-Tobainshū (#486)
はまひさしひさしくも見ぬ君なれやあふよをなみのなみまなければ

9.6. Retired Emperor Go-Toba, Go-Tobainshū (#1038)
物おもへとなるみのうらのはまひさぎ久しくなりぬうき身ながらに

9.7. Fujiwara Yoshitsune, Shigetsukishū (#1010), Fubokushō (#13879)
ながめこしおきつなみまのはまひさぎひさしく見せぬはるがすみかな

9.8. Fujiwara Teika, Shūigūsō (#1592)
知るらめやたゆたふ舟の波間より見ゆる小嶋の本の心を

9.9. Princess Shikishi, Shōji hyakushu (#286), Shikishi Naishinnōshū (#284), Utamakuramyō (#8177), Shokugosenshū (#1325)
宮古人おきつ小島の浜ひさし久しく成りぬ浪路へだてて

9.10. Minamoto Sanetomo, Kinkaishū (#490), Fubokushō (#13882)
おきつ波うち出のはまの浜ひさぎしをれてのみや年のへぬらん

9.11. Asukai Masatsune, Masatsuneshū (#668)
さりともとおもひこしまのはまひさぎひさしきなをやなみにのこさん

9.12. Jien, Shūgyokushū (#4532)
はまひさぎ波にかわかぬしづえかなうきになれたるわがたもとかは

9.13. Fujiwara Ietaka, Minishū (#2727), Shokugosenshū (#1004), Utamakuramyō (#9659)
跡たえて今はこぬみのはまひさぎいくよの浪の下に朽ちなん

9.14. Fujiwara Ietaka, Shōji shodo hyakushu (#1487), Minishū (#384)
はまびさしはるかにかすむながめにもこじまの浪は袖にかかれる

9.15. Minamoto Ienaga, Shōji godo hyakushu (#577)
ながめやるをじまがさきのはまびさし軒ばにきゆるおきつ白波

9.16. Fujiwara Norimune, Gekkei unkakunetami uta'awase (24), Norimuneshū (#558)
はまびさしひさしくなりぬうらみてもすゑのまつ山なみもこえつつ

9.17. Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado, Tsuchimikadoinshū (#323)
あさぎりのなみまにみゆるはまひさぎさやかに秋の色はわかれず

10. Man'yōshū XI (#2763), anonymous, Kokinwaka rokujō (#3595), Kigoshō (#139, #169), Waka dōmōshō (#201), Godaishū utamakura (#761)

紅之淺葉乃野良尔苜草乃束之間毛吾忘渚菜

くれなゐのあさはののらにかるかやのつかのあひだもあをわすらすな

10.1. Fujiwara Kiyosuke, Kyūan hyakushu (#982), Kiyosukeshū (#234), Senzaishū (#859)

露ふかきあさはののらにをがやかるしづの袂もかくはしをれじ

10.2. Fujiwara Teika, Shōji hyakushu (#1362), Shūigūsō (#959)

冬はまだ浅葉の野らにおく霜の雪よりふかきしののめのみち

10.3. Princess Shikishi, Shōji hyakushu (#281), Shikishi Naishinnōshū (#279), Shinshūishū (#1014), Shufūwakashū (#715), Utamakuramyō (#5486)

我が袖はかりにもひめや紅の浅葉の野らにかかる夕霧

10.4. Fujiwara Mitsuie, Dairi uta'awase (#26), Mitsuieshū (#3)

ふくかぜもいろやはみえぬくれなゐのあさはののらにかかるゆふつゆ

10.5. Fujiwara Norimune, Norimuneshū (#219)

あきはまだあさはののらの朝露にひとはなさけるもとあらの萩

10.6. Fujiwara Ietaka, Minishū (#2697), Shokugosenshū (#930), Utamakuramyō (#5483, #6687)

紅のあさはののらの露の上に我がしく袖ぞ人なとがめそ

10.7. Retired Emperor Juntoku, Shikinshū (#1236)

くれなゐのあさはの野らの夕露にふり出でてなくすず虫のこゑ

10.8. Sai'onji Saneuji, Mandaishū (#1898), Utamakuramyō (#5485), Shokugoshūishū (#671)

くれなゐのあさはの野らに置く露の色に出でてもほさぬ袖かな

11. Man'yōshū XI (#2839), anonymous, Godaishū utamakura (#813), Waka shogakushō (#207), Korai fūteishō (#139), Shokukokinshū (#1050)

如是為哉猶八成牛鳴大荒木之浮田之社之標尔不有尔
かくしてやなほやなりなむおほあらしきのうきたのもりのしめにあらなくに

11.1. Minamoto Toshiyori, Sanbokushū (#227), Fubokushō (#2861, #10040)

ほのめかすうきたのもりの郭公思ひしづみてあかしつるかな

11.2. Shun'e, Rin'yōshū (#229)

大あら木のうきたの森のほととぎすくさわかしとや忍びねになく

11.3. Fujiwara Shunzei, Kyūan hyakushū (#869), Chōshū eisō (#68), Mandaishū (#2691)

人心浮田の森に引標めのかくてややがてやまむとすらん

11.4. Fujiwara Shunzei, Chōshū eisō (#523), Shokugosenshū (#211)

したくさは葉ずゑばかりになりにけりうきたのもりの五月雨のころ

11.5. Kenshō, Sengohyakuban uta'awase (#2548), Utamakuramyō (#1548)

あだに吹く風にはいかが散らすべき浮田の杜の秋のことは

11.6. Fujiwara Teika, Shūigūsō (#2704)

君はひけ身こそ浮田の杜のしめただひとすぢにたのむ心を

11.7. Minamoto Sanetomo, Kinkaishū (#455)

大あらしきのうき田の杜に引くしめのうちはへてのみこひやわたらん

11.8. Fujiwara Ietaka, Minishū (#1206), Shokushūishū (#133), Utamakuramyō (#1543)

春くればうきたの杜に曳く注連や苗代水のたよりなるらん

11.9. Fujiwara Ietaka, Minishū (#3047), Fubokushō (#10042)

なをたのみうきたのもりにいのるとも身をむもれ木の朽ちやはてなん

Bibliography

- Arnesen, Peter J. "Suō Province in the Age of Kamakura." In *Court and Bakufu in Japan: Essays in Kamakura History*, edited by Jeffrey P. Mass, 92-120. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982.
- Asada Tōru. "Rokujō-ke shian-genryaku goro wo chūshin ni." In *Heian kōki no waka*, edited by Waka Bungaku Ronshū Henshū I'inkai, 165-198. Tōkyō: Kasama Shobō, 1994.
- Ashida Kōichi. "Fujiwara Kiyosuke no eika – toku ni *Man'yō* uta no juyō nitsuite." *Shimane Daigaku hōbungakubu kiyō*, *Bungaku kahen* 22, no. 12 (1994): 1-20.
- Ashida Kōichi. "Fujiwara Kiyosuke eika no fuso ei no juyō o megutte." *Shimane Daigaku hōbungakubu kiyō*, *Bungaku kahen* 24, no. 12 (1995): 13-32.
- Ashida Kōichi. "*Fukurozōshi* chojutsu ito ni kan suru ikkōsatsu." *Shimane Daigaku hōbungakubu kiyō*, *Bungaku Kahen* 3, no. 1 (1980): 75-97.
- Ashida Kōichi. "*Fukurozōshi* ni mieru Ōnakatomi ie o megutte – Rokujōtōke to Ōnakatomi ie." *Shimane Daigaku hōbungakubu kiyō*, *Bungaku kahen* 8, no. 1 (1985): 1-16.
- Ashida Kōichi. *Kiyosukeshū shinchū*. Tōkyō: Seikansha, 2008.
- Ashida Kōichi. "Ōgishō ni mirareru *Man'yōshū* uta – sono dokuji honbun nitsuite." *Kokubun ronsō* 25, no. 3 (1997): 1-11.
- Ashida Kōichi. *Rokujō tōke Kiyosuke no kenkyū*. Ōsaka: Izumi Shoin, 2004.
- Ashida, Kōichi. "*Shokushika wakashū* senshū no tame *Fukurozōshi*." *Shimadai kokubun* 19, no. 11 (1990): 43-53.
- Atkins, Paul. *Teika. The Life and Works of a Medieval Japanese Poet*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. "Discourse in the Novel." In *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*, edited by Michael Holquist, 301-331. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981.
- Barry, Peter. *Beginning Theory: An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002.

- Bentley, John. *A Descriptive Grammar of Early Old Japanese Prose*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2001.
- Bentley, John. "The Creation of Hitomaro, a Poetic Sage." In *The Language of Life, The Life of Language: Selected Papers from the First College-wide Conference for Students in Languages, Linguistics and Literature*, edited by Dina Rudolph Yoshimi and Marilyn K. Plumlee, 37-44. University of Hawai'i-Mānoa: National Foreign Language Resource Center, 1998.
- Bialock, David T. "Voice, Text, and the Question of Poetic Borrowing in Late Classical Japanese Poetry." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 54, no. 1 (1994): 181-231.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.
- Brower, Robert H. "The Reizei Family Documents." *Monumenta Nipponica* 36, no. 4 (1981): 445-461.
- Brower, Robert H. and Earl Miner. *Japanese Court Poetry*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961.
- Brownstein, Michael. "From Kokugaku to Kokubungaku: Canon-Formation in the Meiji Period." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 47, no. 2 (1987): 435-460.
- Bundy, Roselee. "Gendering the Court Woman Poet: Pedigree and Portrayal in Fukurozōshi." *Monumenta Nipponica* 67, no. 2 (2012): 201-238.
- Bundy, Roselee. "Santai Waka. Six Poems in Three Modes." *Monumenta Nipponica* 49, no. 2 (1994): 197-227.
- Bundy, Roselee. "Siting the Court Woman Poet: *Waka no kai* (Poetry Gatherings) in Rokujō Kiyosuke's *Fukurozōshi*." *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal* 37, no. 1 (2010): 3-32.
- Burk, Stefania. "Reading Between the Lines: Poetry and Politics in the Imperial Anthologies of the Late Kamakura Period (1185-1333)." Ph.D., Stanford University, 2001.
- Busby, Keith. *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, vol.1-2. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2002.
- Butler, Kenneth. "The Textual Evolution of the *Heike Monogatari*." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 26 (1966): 5-51.

- Carter, Steven, D. "Chats with the Master: Selections from *Kensai Zōdan*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 56, no. 3 (2001): 295-347.
- Carter, Steven D. "Seeking What the Master Sought: Masters, Disciples, and Poetic Enlightenment in Medieval Japan." In *The Distant Isle*, edited by Thomas Hare, Robert Borgen, and Sharalyn Orbaugh, 35-58. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1996.
- Chō Riki'i. "Korai fūteishō ni okeru Manyō shōshutsuka no honbun idō nitsuite." *Tōkyō Daigaku kokubungaku ronshū* 1, no. 5 (2006): 77-91.
- Chūsei Uta'awase Kenkyūkai hen. *Chūsei uta 'awase denpon shomoku*. Tōkyō: Meiji Shoin, 1991.
- Cohen, Phillip G. *Texts and Textuality: Textual Instability, Theory, and Interpretation*. New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1997.
- Commons, Anne. *Hitomaro: Poet as God*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Craig McCullough, Helen. *Kokin Wakashū: the First Imperial Anthology of Japanese Poetry: with Tosa Nikki and Shinsen Waka*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- Culler, Jonathan. *On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism*. New York: Cornell University Press, 2007.
- Dagenais, John. *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture: Glossing the "Libro de Buen Amor"*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Duthie, Torquil. *Man'yōshū and the Imperial Imagination in Early Japan*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014.
- Ehiro Sadao. "Korai fūteishō ni okeru Man'yō uta no kunten." *Gakugei* 7, no. 11 (1960): 73-83.
- Ekida Fusae. "A Reception History of the *Man'yōshū*." Ph.D., University of Washington, 2009.
- Emmerich, Michael. *The Tale of Genji: Translation, Canonization, and the World Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.
- Endō Hiroshi. *Kodai waka no kisō: Man'yōshū sakusha mishō karon josetsu*. Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin, 1991.

- Esenbel, Selçuk, ed. *Japan on the Silk Road: Encounters and Perspectives of Politics and Culture and Eurasia*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018.
- Fish, Stanley. *Is there a Text in this Class? The Authority of Interpretative Communities*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge and London, 1980.
- Foucault, Michel. *Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1972.
- Foucault, Michel. "The Order of Discourse." In *Untying the Text: a Post-Structuralist Reader*, edited by Robert Young, 51-78. Boston, London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981.
- Foucault, Michel. "Two Lectures." In *Power/knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, edited by Colin Gordon, 78-108. New York: Pantheon, 1980.
- Frellesvig, Bjarke. *A History of the Japanese Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Fujioka Tadaharu. ed. *Fukurozōshi*. In Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai 29. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1995.
- Fukuda Yūsaku. "Uta 'awase no hanshi ni arawareta hanja no seisaku." *Heian bungaku kenkyū* 29, no. 11 (1962): 143-151.
- Gu Jeoung-ho. "Korai fūteishō ni okeru Shunzei Man'yō uta senka ishiki." *Kokugo kokubun kenkyū* 93, no. 2 (1993): 16-32.
- Gu Jeoung-ho. "Korai fūteishō no Man'yō uta nitsuite – iwayuru Fūteishō Man'yōshū no jittai ni kan suru ikkōsatsu." *Kokugo kokubun kenkyū* 96, no. 9 (1994): 1-15.
- Hanawa Hoki'ichi and Tōshirō Ōta, ed. *Man'yōshū jidaikō*. In *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 16 (2), 497-499. Tōkyō: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1957.
- Hardacre, Helen and Adam L. Kern, ed. *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1997.
- Harries, Phillip T. "Personal Poetry Collections: Their Origin, and Development through the Heian Period." *Monumenta Nipponica* 35, no. 3 (1980): 299-317.

- Hashimoto Fumio, Tamotsu Ariyoshi and Haruo Fujihara, ed. *Eiga no taigai*. In *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 87. Tōkyō: Shōgakukan, 2002.
- Hashimoto Fumio, Tamotsu Ariyoshi and Haruo Fujihara, ed. *Toshiyori zuinō*. In *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū* 87, 15-245. Tōkyō: Shōgakukan, 2002.
- Heldt, Gustav. “Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114-1204).” In *Dictionary of Literary Biography. Vol. 203: Medieval Japanese Writers*, edited by Steven Carter, 15-25. Washington, D.C.: Brucoli, Clark, Layman, 1998.
- Hibino Hironobu. “*Ōgishō* kantō no mokuji nitsuite.” *Aichi Shukutoku Daigaku kokugo kokubun* 16, no. 3 (1993): 73-89.
- Hibino Hironobu. “*Ōgishō* shakubu no taido – sono bunkengakuteki sokumen.” In *Waka kaishaku no paradaimu*, edited by Jun Suzuki and Yoshio Kashiwagi, 193-212. Tōkyō: Kasama Shobō, 1998.
- Hibino Hironobu. “*Waka ichijishō* – ‘Utamanabi’ no gugen.” *Kokubungaku* 50, no. 4 (1998): 132-139.
- Higaki Takashi. “Shunzei no *Man’yōshū* juyō nitsuite.” *Nihon bungei ronkō* 7, no. 3 (1977): 30-35.
- Higashino Yasuko. “*Ōgishō* kamo no maki jo no tokuritsu ito – Kiyosuke kagaku ni okeru kūden.” *Shinjodai kokubun* 13, no. 3 (2002): 53-69.
- Higashino Yasuko. “*Ōgishō* no ‘kafayasiro’ chū nitsuite.” In *Kokugo kokubungaku ronshū*, edited by Ōsaka Shiritsu Daigaku Bungakubu, 213-255. Ōsaka: Izumi Shoin, 1999.
- Hisamatsu Sen’ichi. “Fujiwara Shunzei and Literary Theories of the Middle Ages.” *Acta Asiatica* 1, no. 1 (1960): 29-42.
- Hisamatsu Sen’ichi. *Nihon karonshi no kenkyū*. Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1963.
- Hisamatsu Sen’ichi, ed. *Shinsen zuinō*. *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 65, 25-30. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1971.
- Horton, H. Mack. *Traversing the Frontier: the Man’yōshū Account of a Japanese Mission to Silla in 736-737*. Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 2012.

- Hosoya Naoki. *Chūsei karon no kenkyū*. Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin, 1976.
- Hosoya Naoki. “Shunzei no *Man’yō*-kan to *Kokin*-kan.” *Kokubungaku gengo to bungei* 40, no. 5 (1965): 20-27.
- Huey, Robert N. “The Medievalization of Poetic Practice.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 50, no. 2 (1990): 651-668.
- Huey, Robert N. *The Making of Shinkokinshū*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Huey, Robert N. “Warrior Control over the Imperial Anthology.” In *The origins of Japan’s medieval world*, edited by Jeffrey P. Mass, 170-191. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.
- Hutcheon, Linda with Siobhan O’Flynn. *A Theory of Adaptation*. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Inada Shigeo. “*Taikō Taigōgū no suke Taira no Tsunemori ason no ie no uta’awase ni nozomu Kiyosuke no taido*.” *Nagasaki Daigaku kyōiku gakubu jinbun kagaku kenkyū hōkoku* 18, no. 3 (1969): 1-7.
- Inada Shigeo. “*Uta’awase hanshi ni okeru Kiyosuke no karon*.” *Nagasaki Daigaku kyōiku gakubu jinbun kagaku kenkyū hōkoku* 18, no. 3 (1970): 7-14.
- Inoue Muneo. “Fujiwara Kiyosuke-den ni kan suru ni-san no nondai to *Waka ichijishō*.” *Kokubungaku kenkyū* 25, no. 3 (1962): 107-115.
- Inoue Muneo. *Kamakura jidai kajinden no kenkyū*. Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1997.
- Inoue Muneo. “Rokujō tōke no seisui.” *Kokubungaku kenkyū* 15, no. 3 (1957): 45-57.
- Iwabuchi Tadasu. “*Waka shogakushō* ‘yuisho kotoba’ ni okeru goi.” *Gakujutsu kenkyū* 15, no. 12 (1966): 81-95.
- Jauss, Hans Robert. *Towards an Aesthetic of Reception, vol. 2*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982.
- Jōdaigo Jiten Henshū I’inkaihen. *Jidaibetsu kokugo daijiten: jōdai hen*. Tōkyō: Sanseidō, 1968.
- Konishi Jin’ichi, Earl R. Miner and Aileen Gatten. *A History of Japanese Literature, Volume 3: The High Middle Ages*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Konishi Jin’ichi, ed. *Kenshō chinjō*. In *Ropyyakuban uta’awase*. Tōkyō: Yūseidō, 1976.

- Kabasawa Aya. “Kago ‘kasumi no soko’ to wa ikanaru kūkan ka. Shunzei, Kiyosuke no kokoromi nitsuite.” *Mukogawa bungaku* 66, no. 11 (2005): 50-59.
- Kagō Takafumi. “*Korai fūteishō no Man’yōshū uta.*” In *Man’yōshū to sono dentō*, edited by Tadashi Ōkubo, 256-279. Tōkyō: Ōfūsha, 1980.
- Kamens, Edward. *Utamakura, Allusion, and Intertextuality in Traditional Japanese Poetry*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Kamens, Edward. *Waka and Things, Waka as Things*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017.
- Kami Hiroyuki. “*Honkadōri no hōhōteki seiritsu.*” *Bunkyō Daigaku joshi tanki daigaku gakubu kenkyū kiyō* 33, no. 12 (1989), 11-18.
- Kamijō Shōji. *Fujiwara Toshinari ronkō*. Tōkyō: Shintensha, 1993.
- Kamijō Shōji, ed. *Godai kan’yō: Teika kagaku*. In *Reizei-ke Shiguretei bunko sōsho* 37. Tōkyō: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1996.
- Kamimori Tetsuya. “*Fujiwara Shunzei no Man’yō uta ninkan - Korai fūteishō no shōshutsu uta o megutte.*” *Gogaku to bungaku* 15, no. 3 (1985): 9-23.
- Katagiri Yōichi. “*Chūsei Man’yō gika to sono shūhen.*” *Man’yō* 126, no. 7 (1987): 1-14.
- Kato, Hilda. “*The Mumyosho.*” *Monumenta Nipponica* 23, no. 3/4 (1968): 351-430.
- Kernan, Alvin B. *The Death of Literature*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Kikuchi Ryōichi. “*Kiyosuke, Shunzei no karon ni miru bukkyō shisō – Fukurozōshi, Korai Fūteishō.*” *Tōyō bunka* 6 (1982), 1-17.
- Kitahara Motohide. “*Hitomaro eigu to inseiki kadan.*” *Kodai bunka* 51, no. 4 (1999): 28-39.
- Kitamura Susumu. *Kodai waka no kyōju*. Tōkyō: Ōfūsha, 2000.
- Kokumai Hideyuki. “*Fujiwara Shunzei no honkadōri to bōdai ishiki nitsuite.*” in *Nihon no bukkyō to bunka*, 755-777. Kyōto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 1990.
- Komatsu Shigemi. *Kohitsugaku taisei. Dai-12 kan. Man’yōshū*. Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1990.
- Kōnen Tsunemitsu. *Meiji no bukkyōsha, ge.* Tōkyō: Shunjunsha, 1969).

- Kornicki, Peter. *The Book in Japan: a Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2001.
- Kristeva, Julia. *Revolution in Poetic Language*, trans. Margaret Waller. New York: Columbia University Press 1984.
- Kristeva, Julia. “Word, Dialogue, and Novel.” In *Desire in Language: a Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, edited by Leon S. Roudiez, 64-91. New York, Columbia University Press, 1980.
- Kubota Jun. *Chūsei wakashi no kenkyū*. Tōkyō: Meiji Shoin, 1993.
- Kubota Jun and Akiho Yamaguchi, ed. *Ropyyakuban uta ’awase*. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1998.
- Kubota Jun and Teruo Kawamura, ed. *Chōshū eisō, Toshitadashū*. Tōkyō: Meiji Shoin, 1998.
- Kubota Jun. *Shinkokin kajin no kenkyū*. Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1973.
- Kuranaka Sayaka. “Furuki kotoba e no izanai – Waka ichijishō, Fukurozōshi shōka o megutte.” In *Kodai chūsei wakabugaku no kenkyū*, edited by Tadaharu Fujioka. Ōsaka: Izumi Shoin, 2003.
- Kyūsojin Hitaku, ed. *Man’yōshū jidai nanji*. In *Nihon kagaku taikei*. Betsu 4. Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1980.
- Kyūsojin Hitaku, ed. *Waka ichijishō*. In *Nihon kagaku taikei*. Betsu 7, 193-330. Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1986.
- Lessa, Iara. “Discursive Struggles within Social Welfare: Restaging Teen Motherhood.” *British Journal of Social Work* 36, no. 2 (2006): 283–298.
- Littau, Karin. *Theories of Reading: Books, Bodies and Bibliomania*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006.
- Lurie, David. *Realms of Literacy: Early Japan and the History of Writing*. Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 2011.
- Maeno Sadao. *Man’yō kuntenshi*. Tōkyō: Shinobu Shoin, 1958.
- Marra, Michael. *Aesthetics of Discontent: Politics and Reclusion in Medieval Japanese Literature*. Honolulu: Hawai‘i University Press, 1991.

- Marra, Michael. *Essays on Japan: Between Aesthetics and Literature*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Marotti, Arthur. "Patronage, Poetry, and Print." In *Patronage, Politics, and Literary Traditions in England, 1558-1658*, edited by Cedric C. Brown. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991.
- Matsumura Yūji. "Honkadori-kō – seiritsu ni kan suru nōto." In *Waka to retorikku*, edited by Waka bungakukai. Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin, 1986.
- Matsuno Yōichi. *Fujiwara Shunzei no kenkyū*. Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin, 1973.
- Matsuno Yōichi and Yoshida Kaoru, ed. *Fujiwara Shunzei zenkashū*. Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin, 2007.
- McGann, Jerome. *The Textual Condition*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- McCullough, William H. and Helen Craig McCullough. *A Tale of Flowering Fortunes: Annals of Japanese Aristocratic Life in the Heian Period*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980.
- Meigetsuki Kenkyūkaihen. "Meigetsuki (Kangi Ninen Shichigatsu) o yomu." *Meigetsuki kenkyū: kiroku to bungaku* 6, no. 11 (2001): 2-55.
- Miller, Stephen. *The Wind from Vulture Peak: the Buddhification of Japanese Waka in the Heian Period*. New York: Cornell University, 2013.
- Mio Kumie, "Sasaki Nobutsuna no Man'yōgaku: Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū ni kan suru Masamune Atsuo enshokan o tsūjite." *Shokan kenkyū* 5, no. 1 (1993): 80-87.
- Minegishi Yoshiaki. *Karon uta 'awaseshū*. Tōkyō: Ōfūsha, 1959.
- Minegishi Yoshiaki. *Uta 'awase no kenkyū*. Tōkyō: Sanseidō, 1958.
- Miner, Earl, Hiroko Odagiri, and Robert E. Morrell. *The Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Miyamoto Ki'ichirō. "Korai fūteishō ni shōshutsu serareta Man'yōshū." *Kokugo kokubun* 12, no. 10 (1942): 52-66.
- Montrose, Louis. "The Poetics and Politics of Culture." In *The New Historicism*, edited by H. Aram Veaser, 15-24. New York and London: Routledge, 1989.

- Morinaga Maki. *Secrecy in Japanese Arts: "Secret Transmission" as a Mode of Knowledge*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Moriyama Shigeru. "Karon to setsuwa – Ōgishō to Fukurozōshi to o taishō ni." *Onomichi Daigaku geijutsubunka gakubu kiyō* 1, no. 3 (2002): 12-22.
- Moriyama Shigeru. "Toshiyori zuinō to Ōgishō to no sōi." *Onomichi Tanki Daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 48, no. 3 (1999): 27-56.
- Mostow, Joshua. *Courtly Visions: The Ise Stories and the Politics of Cultural Appropriation*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2014.
- Mostow, Joshua. *Pictures of the Heart: the Hyakunin Isshu in Word and Image*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996.
- Murata Masahiro. "Sengaku *Man'yōshū chūshaku* no keisei – Kiyosuke *Fukurozōshi* to no kakawari o megutte." In *Manyō gakuō*, edited by Haku Itō. Tōkyō: Hanawa Shobō, 1996.
- Nakagawa Hiro'o. "Chūko 'honkadōri' gensetsushi shiron." In *Heian bungaku ronkyū* vol. 15, edited by Heian bungaku ronkyūkai. Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 2001.
- Nakamura Aya. *Go-Shirakawain jidai kajinden no kenkyū*. Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin, 2005.
- Nakanishi Susumu. *Kokin rokujō no Man'yō uta*. Tōkyō: Musashino Shoin, 1964.
- Nakanishi Susumu. *Man'yōshū keisei no kenkyū*. Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1995.
- Newhard, Jamie L. *Knowing the Amorous Man: a History of Scholarship on Tales of Ise*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, ed. *The Manyōshū*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1965.
- Nipponica: Nihon daihyakka zensho*. In *Japan Knowledge*. Net Advance, 2012.
- Nishida Masahiro. "Rokujō-ke *Kokin wakashū denju* no ichi: Teitoku-ryū hidensho to Keichū." *Bungakushi kenkyū* 38, no. 12 (1997): 37-51.
- "*Nishi Honganji-bon Man'yōshū* 1-20." Tōkyō: Shufunotomoshia, 1993-1996.
- Nishiki Hitoshi. "Koka o honka to suru eihō – 'honkadōri' saikō, joron." In *Nihon bungei no chōryū: Kikuta Shigeo kyōju taikan kinen*, edited by Shigeo Kikuta. Tōkyō: Ōfūsha, 1994.

- Nishimura Kayoko. *Heian kōki kagaku no kenkyū*. Ōsaka: Izumi Shoin, 1997.
- Nishimura Kayoko. “Kenshō no Kokin denju to waka bunsho.” *Kokubun ronsō* 12, no. 3 (1985): 42-53.
- Nishimura Kayoko. “Furuki kotoba no i’idai o shitatte. Fujiwara Kiyosuke.” In *Chūsei kajin no kokoro*, edited by Hajime Yamamoto. Tōkyō: Sekai Shisōsha, 1998.
- Nosaka Mari. “Bungakushi ni okeru *honkadori* no kachi.” *Hirosakidai gobun* 21, no. 6 (1995): 32-42
- Nose Asaji. “Rokujō-ke no kajin to sono kagaku shisō. Ichi.” *Kokugo kokubun no kenkyū* 18, no. 3 (1928): 1-61.
- Nose Asaji. “Rokujō-ke no kajin to sono kagaku shisō. Ni.” *Kokugo kokubun no kenkyū* 25, no. 10 (1928): 1-96.
- Ogawa Yasuhiko. *Man’yōgakushi no kenkyū*. Tōkyō: Ōfūsha, 2007.
- Ogawa Yasuhiko. “Yomi no seitei - *Man’yōshū* no kundokushi no naka no *Shinkokinshū* no *Man’yō* uta.” *Kokubun mejiro* 38, no. 2 (1999): 24-36.
- Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko. *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms and Nationalisms: the Militarization of Aesthetics in Japanese History*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Okada, Richard. *Figures of Resistance: Language, Poetry and Narrating in the ‘Tale of Genji’ and Other*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1991.
- Okamoto Atsuko. “Fujiwara Shunzei no kafū.” *Nihon bungei kenkyū* 32, no. 2 (1980): 12-20.
- Ōkuma Ki’ichirō. *Man’yōshū kajin jiten*. Tōkyō: Yūzankaku Shuppan, 1982.
- Ong, Walter J. “Orality, Literacy, and Medieval Textualization.” *New Literary History* 16, no. 1 (1984), 1-12.
- Teele, Roy E., Nicholas J. Teele, and H. Rebecca Teele, tr. *Poems, Stories, Nō Plays*. New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1993.
- Ozawa Masao. *Heian no waka to kagaku*. Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin, 1979.
- Pascal, Nicklas and Oliver Lindner. *Adaptation and Cultural Appropriation: Literature, Film, and the Arts*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012.

- Plutschow, Herbert E. *Chaos and Cosmos: Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature*. Leiden: Brill, 1990.
- Rosenfield, John M., Elizabeth Ten Grotenhuis. *Journey of the Three Jewels: Japanese Buddhist Paintings from Western Collections*. New York: Asia Society, 1979.
- Royston, Clifton. "The Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei (1114-1204)." Ph.D., Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1974.
- Royston, Clifton W. "Utaawase Judgments as Poetry Criticism." *Journal of Asian Studies* 34, no. 1 (1974): 99-108.
- Sasaki Katsue. *Chūsei karon no sekai*. Tōkyō: Sōbunsha Shuppan, 1992.
- Sasaki Nobutsuna, Akihiro Satake and Sutezō Hirose. *Hirose-bon Man'yōshū*, 1-3. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1994.
- Sasaki Nobutsuna. *Man'yōshū no kenkyū. Sengaku oyobi Sengaku izen no Man'yōshū no kenkyū*. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1942.
- Sasaki Nobutsuna. *Man'yōshū no kenkyū. Man'yōshū koshahon no kenkyū*. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1944.
- Sasaki Nobutsuna, ed. *Ōgishō*. Nihon kagaku taikei 1, 270-418. Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1957.
- Sasaki Nobutsuna, ed. *Waka shogakushō*. In Nihon kagaku taikei 2, 172-248. Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1956.
- Sasaki Tadasato. *Chūsei karon to sono shūhen*. Tōkyō: Ōfūsha, 1984.
- Satō Akihiro. "Uta'awase ni okeru 'furu'uta nari' o megutte." *Ōsaka Daigaku kokugo kokubungaku* 80-81, no. 2 (2004): 43-52.
- Satō Akihiro. "Waka shogakushō butsumei 'ina' no mado kara." In *Kōza Heian bungaku ronkyū* 15. Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 2001.
- Sato Hiroaki and Burton Watson. *From the Country of Eight Islands: An Anthology of Japanese Poetry*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.
- Sharma, Srinivasa, C. K. Seshadri, June Gaur. *Ancient Indian Literature: an Anthology*. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2000.

- Shibayama Saeko. “Ōe no Masafusa and the Convergence of the “Ways”: the Twilight of Early Chinese Literary Studies and the Rise of Waka Studies in the Long Twelfth Century in Japan.” Ph.D. New York: Columbia University, 2012.
- Shibuya Torao. “*Korai fūteishō no Man’yō uta nitsuite.*” *Gakudai kokubun* 10 no. 12 (1966): 1-13.
- Shinada Yoshikazu. *Man’yōshū no hatsume: kokumin kokka to bunka sōchi to shite no koten.* Tōkyō: Shin’yōsha, 2002.
- Shinpen kokka taikan.* In *Nihon bungaku web toshokan* ver. 5.0.1d- 5678. Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2015.
- Shirane, Haruo. “Canon Formation in Japan: Genre, Gender, Popular Culture, and Nationalism.” In *Reading East Asian Writing: the Limits of Literary Theory*, edited by Michael Hockx and Ivo Smits, 22-38. London and New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Shirane, Haruo. *Classical Japanese: a Grammar.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.
- Shirane, Haruo and Tomi Suzuki. *Inventing the Classics. Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature.* Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Shirane, Haruo. *Japan and the Culture of Four Seasons: Nature, Literature, and the Arts.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
- Shirane, Haruo. “Lyricism and Intertextuality: an Approach to Shunzei’s Poetics.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 50, no. 1 (1990): 71-85.
- Shirane, Haruo. “Mediating the Literary Classics in Premodern Japan.” In *Rethinking East Asian Languages, Vernaculars, and Literacies, 1000–1919*, edited by Benjamin A. Elman, 129-146. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Shirane, Haruo. *Traditional Japanese Literature: An Anthology, Beginnings to 1600.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.
- Shirane, Haruo, Nobuyuki Kanechiku, Kumiko Tabuchi, Hidenori Jinno. *Waka Opening up to the World: Language, Community, and Gender.* Tōkyō: Bensei Shuppan, 2012.
- Shirosaki Yōko. *Man’yōshū no hensan to kyōju no kenkyū.* Tōkyō: Ōfūsha, 2004.

- Smits, Ivo. "Places of Mediation: Poets and Salons in Medieval Japan." In *Reading East Asian Writing: the Limits of Literary Theory*, ed. Michael Hockx and Ivo Smits, 204-219. London and New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Smits, Ivo. *Pursuit of Loneliness: Chinese and Japanese Nature Poetry in Medieval Japan, ca. 1050-1150*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1995.
- Sōtome Tadashi. "Man'yō sesshu ron: Toshiyori kara Teika made." in *Fujiwara Teika ron*, 1-25. Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 2011.
- Steininger, Brian. *Chinese Literary Forms in Heian Japan*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2017.
- Stilerman, Ariel. "Cultural Knowledge and Professional Training in the Poetic Treatises of the Late Heian Japan." *Monumenta Nipponica* 72, no. 2 (2017): 153-187.
- Suzuki, Takeharu. "Kai to Man'yōshū (5) – Minobukagami kisai no Shunzei, Teika ryōhitsu Manyōshū o megutte." *Tsuru Bunka Daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 63, no. 3 (2006): 27-33.
- Szebla-Morinaga, Karolina. *Tajemna Głębia (Yūgen) w Poezji Japońskiej*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2012.
- Tajiri Yoshinobu. "Waka shogakushō no meisho kisai." *Atomi Gakuen Tanki Daigaku kiyō* 22, no. 3 (1986): 31-50.
- Takagi Ichinosuke, Gomi Tomohide, Ōno Susumu, ed. *Manyōshū*. In *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 4. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1957.
- Takeda Motoharu. "Chūgūnosuke Shigeie Ason no ie uta'awase." *Ōsaka Joshi Daigaku Kiyō* 32, no. 3 (2000), 31-62.
- Takeshita Yutaka. "Rokujō tōke o megutte: kadōka no seiritsu to tenkai." *Joshidai bungaku kokubunhen* 30, no. 3 (1979): 44-61.
- Takeshita Yutaka, ed. *Manji*. In *Kanazawa bunko-bon Man'yōshū. 18. Chūsei Man'yōshū, Reizei-ke Shiguretei sōsho* 39. Tōkyō: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1994.
- Tamura Ryūichi. "Shunzei karon ni okeru Man'yō sesshu nitsuite." *Gobun* 39, no. 3 (1974): 173-188.

- Taniyama Shigeru. *Shinkokin jidai no uta'awase to kadan*. Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten, 1983.
- Taniyama Shigeru. *Shinkokinshū to sono kajin*. Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten, 1983.
- Taniyama Shigeru. "Shunzei to Kiyosuke. Sakka e no michi, gakusha e no michi." *Kokubungaku* 20, no. 10 (1967): 57-65.
- Teele, Nicholas J. "Rules for Poetic Elegance. Fujiwara no Kinto's *Shinsen Zuino & Waka Kuhon*." *Monumenta Nipponica* 31, no. 2 (1976): 145-164.
- Teramoto Naohiko. *Genji monogatari juyōshi ronkō*. Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō, 1984.
- Terashima Shūichi. "Kadōka to *Man'yōshū* no denrai". In *Ōchō Bungaku no nonshitsu to hen'yō*, edited by Yōichi Katagiri, 483-501. Ōsaka: Izumi Shoin, 2001.
- Terashima Shūichi. "Kiyosuke no kagaku to *Toshiyori zuinō* – *Fukurozōshi* o chūshin ni." In *Ōsakashi Ritsu Daigaku bungakubu sōritsu gojūsshūnen kinen kokugo kokubungaku ronshū*, 227-249. Ōsaka: Izumi Shoin, 1999.
- Terashima Shūichi. "Mikohidari-ke sōden no *Man'yōshū* no keitai." *Mukogawa kokubun* 65, no. 3 (2005): 1-12.
- Terashima Shūichi. "Ōgishō furu'uta no kotoba no *Man'yōshū* kyōju." *Mukogawa kokubun* 49, no. 3 (1997): 21-38.
- Terashima Shūichi. "Ōgishō no chūsetsu no keisei - *Toshiyori zuinō* to no kakawari kara." In *Mukogawa Joshidaigaku bungakubu gojūsshūnen kinenronbunshū*, 53-64. Ōsaka: Izumi Shoin, 1999.
- Terashima Shūichi. "Ōgishō no *Man'yōshū* kyōju – waka honbun no seikaku nitsuite." *Bungakushi kenkyū* 36, no. 12 (1995): 44-59.
- Terashima Shūichi. "Ōgishō to *Toshiyori zuinō* – Kiyosuke no chojutsu taido nitsuite." *Mukogawa Bungaku* 50, no. 12 (1997): 36-51.
- Tompkins, Jane P. "The Reader in History." In *Reader-Response Criticism: from Formalism to Post-Structuralism*, edited by Jane P. Tompkins. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.

- Tori'i Chikako. "Kigoshō seiritsu no bungakuteki haikai – Nakazane no jidai no *Man'yō* sesshu." In *Ōchō bungaku no honshitsu to hen'yō*, edited by Yōichi Katagiri, 395-411. Ōsaka: Izumi Shoin, 2001.
- Ueda Kazutoshi, ed. *Ruijū koshū*, vol. 1-4. Tōkyō: Rinsen Shoten, 1992.
- Umeda Kei. "Fujiwara Akikata – Rokujō-ke kajin no ichisokumen." *Bungei to hiyō* 11, no. 6 (2012): 1-9.
- Umeda Kei. "Waka shogakushō no shomen sen'i – kōmoku haichi to kyōju." *Jinbungaku no shōgo* 4, no. 2 (2012): 39-56.
- Utakotoba utamakura daijiten* ver. 4.1.2. In *Nihon bungaku web toshokan* ver. 5.0.1d-5678. Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2015.
- Vovin, Alexander. *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar of Western Old Japanese: Sources, script and phonology, lexicon, nominals*. Wilts: Global Oriental, 2006.
- Vovin, Alexander. *Man'yōshū. Book 15. A New English Translation Containing the Original Text, Kana Transliteration, Romanization, Glossing and Commentary*. Wilts: Global Oriental, 2009.
- Vovin, Alexander. *A Reference Grammar of Classical Japanese Prose*. London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003.
- Yamada An'eī, ed. *Gyokuyō*, vol. 1-3. Kamakura: Geirinsha, 1975.
- Yamazaki Yoshiyuki. "Shunzei-bon *Man'yōshū* shiron – Shunzei jihitsu *Korai fūteishō* no *Man'yō* uta no ichi." *Mibugushi* 53, no. 10 (1996): 5-25.
- Yamaguchi Hiroshi. *Man'yōshū keizei no nazo*. Tōkyō: Ōfūsha, 1983.
- Yamazaki Yoshiyuki. "Teika-bon *Man'yōshū* – Reizei-ke-bon *Godai kan'yō* no shūhen." *Jōdai bungaku* 89, no. 11 (2002): 44-62.
- Yasui Shigeo. *Fujiwara Shunzei. Hanshi to kago no kenkyū*. Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin, 2006.
- Yoshida Kaoru. "Fujiwara Shunzei no honkadori nitsuite: *uta'awase hanshi* ni yoru kōsatsu." In *Ōchō no bungaku to sono keifu*, edited by Yōichi Katagiri, 195-213. Ōsaka: Izumi Shoin, 1991.

- Yoshizaki Keiko. “Shikishi Naishinnō no kanshi sesshu no waka o yomu.” *Musashino Daigaku daigakuin gogakubunka kenkyūka, Ningenshakai kenkyūka kenkyū kiyō* 1, no. 1 (2001), 112-122.
- Waka bungaku daijiten ver. 4.1.2. In *Nihon bungaku web toshokan* ver. 5.1.1c-5678. Kadokawa Gakugei Shuppan, 2015.
- Watanabe Yasuaki. *Chūsei waka no seisei*. Tōkyō: Wakakusa Shobō, 1999.
- Watanabe Yasuaki. *Chūsei waka shiron*. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 2017.
- Watanabe Yasuaki. “Fujiwara Kiyosuke no honkadōri ishiki – Ōgishō tōkoka no shōka o megutte.” *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 72, no. 5 (1995): 81-94.
- Watanabe Yasuaki. “‘Furumafu’, ‘furumafi’ kō – Fujiwara Shunzei, Kenshō no uta ’awase hanshi o chūshin ni shite.” *Tamamo* 25, no. 3 (1990): 44-66.
- Watanabe Yasuaki. “Inseiki no engo no isō – Fujiwara Kiyosuke Waka shogakushō no suku o megutte.” *Jōchi Daigaku kokubungakka kiyō* 11, no. 3 (1994): 1-27.
- Watanabe Yasuaki, Kazuhiko Kobayashi and Hajime Yamamoto, ed. *Korai fūteishō*. Karon kagaku shūsei 7. Tōkyō: Miyai Shoten, 2006.
- Watanabe Yasuaki. “Korai fūteishō ni okeru Man’yōshū. Metatekisuto toshite no shōshutsu.” In *Gensetsu to tekisutogaku*, edited by Hiroshi Araki, 98-118. Tōkyō: Shin’washa, 2002.
- Watanabe Yasuaki. “Shunzei no shūkasen – Korai fūteishō ron.” In *Hyakunin issu no shūkasen*, edited by Waka bungaku ronshū henshū i’inkai, 59-86. Tōkyō: Kazama Shōbō, 1994.
- Worton, Michael and Judith Still. *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices*. Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 1990.