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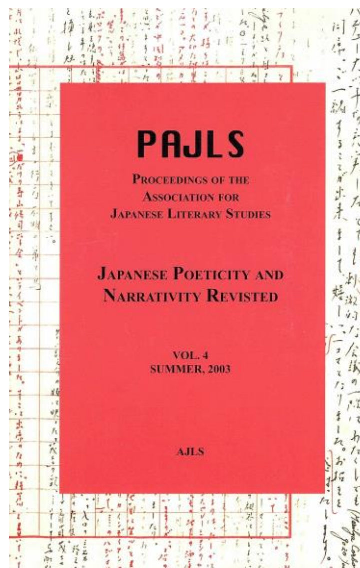

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THE FORMATION OF ALLUSIVE RESILIENCE IN *WAKA* AND ITS RELEVANCE TO MEIJI *SHINTAISHI*

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> …[It] is through symmetry that rectilinear systems limit repetition, preventing infinite progression and maintaining the *organic* domination of a central point with radiating lines, as in reflected or star-shaped figures. It is free action, however, which by its essence unleashes the power of repetition as a *machinic* force that multiplies its effect and pursues an infinite movement. Free action proceeds by disjunction and decentering, or at least by peripheral movement: disjointed polythetism instead of symmetrical antithetism. Traits of expression describing a smooth space and connecting with a matter-flow thus should not be confused with striae that convert space and make it a form of expression that grids and organizes matter.[1]
>
> Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari

Although we might think of pre-Meiji *waka*[2] as limited and a function of a closed world, these *waka* may perhaps better be characterized as intertextually porous (transparent), open texts coterminous with accepted canons of *waka* (which varied by school). In this way *waka* were meant to be read in dialogue with a larger corpus in effect so as to disseminate subject-centered concentrations of meaning in any given poem at hand. The following paper examines how the *waka* poetics developed by Ki no Tsurayuki in its inception in the early tenth

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[1] Gilles Deleuze, tr. and foreword by Brian Massumi. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987, 498. I want to thank especially Bill Sibley and Susan Klein as well as Norma Field, Rein Raud and Lewis Cook for helpful comments on an earlier version of this or for discussing related issues with me.

[2] Although I treat *waka* primarily in terms of the *Kokinshū* and its "*Kana* Preface," glossing over a long tradition of *waka* criticism (*karon*), this is sufficient for the purpose and scope of the primary topic, Meiji *shintaishi*. Moreover, as Thomas Lamarre has pointed out, the *Kokinshū* and prefaces initiated the primary poetics for *waka* over the centuries to follow. See Thomas Lamarre. *Uncovering Heian Japan: An Archaeology of Sensation and Inscription.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2000, especially 14.

century intended to realize a degree of cultural independence vis-à-vis Chinese poetry and culture, and how this ideologically imbedded poetics was what mid-Meiji founders of new-style poetry (*shintaishi*) felt most compelled to displace as they attempted to build up a national poetry comparable to the epic and narrative poetry of the Western Great Powers.

It is in the founding collection of *waka*, the *Kokin(waka)shū*, that one can see the convention of simply alluding to Chinese and Japanese mytho-historical prose and poetry being overtaken by a broader intertextuality. The *Kokinshū* (with its "*Kana* Preface") opened the poetic canon to the depiction of the interaction of self and scene, emotions and others in ways that superceded the dominant Confucian approach to poetry (as explicated in the *Great Preface*) and entertained its own ranges of topics (a rubric which only skims the surface of conventions for the placement of imagery). Ki no Tsurayuki's "*Kana* Preface," as will be explored below, puts forward its own conventional formal expectations that reinforced the associative sequencing in the anthology, and in practice founding a new poetic lexicon and canon on the precedent set by the *Man'yōshū* (759).

Especially the more contemporary *waka* included in the *Kokinshū* were entrenched in both the conventions and language drawn from other *waka* (equivalent to *tanka* in my usage) and *chōka* (extended *waka*) of the *Man'yōshū*, as well as Chinese poetry—but the allusive methods themselves differ from that found in Chinese poetry. Even when not explicitly alluding to a precedent text, so many phrases are recycled into poems that nearly any poem can be found to allude to a range of poems or build on connotations found in earlier examples. Moreover, in any given part of a sequence, say on spring, one will come to hold certain expectations, for instance, that plum blossoms will appear fairly early on. Poems situated in summer will likely have a cuckoo (*hototogisu*). *Waka* on love may be expected to include, depending on the stage in the affair, love before being seen, love compared to a river, questioning what occurred in a dream and what in reality, or "the autumn of the heart."[3] This arrangement was invented in the *Kokinshū* and supported by the "*Kana* Preface." Though the topics are arranged in books primarily on the seasons and love, many of the seasonal poems also deal with

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[3] See Nicholas John Teele. *The Love Poems of the "Kokinshū": A Translation, with Commentary, and Study of the Influence of Chinese and Earlier Japanese Poetry*. Austin: The University of Texas at Austin, 1980, 178–195.

romance, and seasonally suggestive imagery is commonplace throughout the anthology.

A hermeneutic reading (aimed at eliciting an interpretation "out of" a self-contained text) of *waka*, with its vitally intertextual poetics, is thus not effective as a mode of reading. *Waka* do not follow, at least in this intertextual respect, logocentric (nor metaphor-oriented) paradigms that closed, internally structured (autonomous) texts foreground, mirroring the "presence" of the reader.[4] English poetry (especially those Victorian models used by *shintaishi* poets) tends toward internal, intratextual coherence, with the figurative and lexical ambiguities of words comprising tensions that constitute the lyrical saturation or narrative continuity within a poem. Some form of hermeneutical reading is a matter of course, and interpretation focuses primarily on the poem and only secondarily on allusive language. This balance differs from *waka*, where ambiguities and metaphorical language exist, but in a way that tends not to make an issue of the hermeneutics of a given poem. Rather than reading to recover the intentions of the poet or the meaning of the poem, *waka* are better read within a range of expressive capabilities, including stylistic positioning within a long tradition of schools.

This non-hermeneutic tradition can be understood in part in terms used to discuss *waka* poetics (*karon*), in which literal, "direct language" (*chokugo*) and "metaphorical language" do not form the exclusive contrasting pair one finds in Western poetics. "Direct language" in classical Japanese poetry also contrasts with *koji* (古事, *waka*-specific conventional diction, literally "ancient matters"), which Amagasaki Akira describes as beginning with "pillow words *[makura kotoba]* in a broad sense," but also "the calling up of certain specific phrases that have important functions." These *koji* appear as if italicized and linked to prior uses in other *waka* (and *chōka*).[5]

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[4] The relationship of metaphor and philosophy has been explored as a central figure in Western thought in Jacques Derrida, "White Mythology," trans. by Alan Bass, in *Margins of Philosophy,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982, 207–271. For an outline of various figures and terms comparable to "metaphor" in classical Japanese literature and many examples, see Kokubungaku henshūbu, *Koten bungaku retorikku jiten*. Gakutō, 1993.

[5] See Amagasaki Akira, *En no bigaku—Uta no michi no shigaku, II*. Keikō Shobō, 1995, 22. He also points out that Fujiwara no Hamanari (724–790) had situated this distinction as one of three aspects of a *waka*, along with "fresh meaning" (*shin-i*, also understandable as "new intention or sense") that presents the image (*butsuzō,* 物像), and *kekku* (結句), concluding verse, which was for him the delivery, the singing the "the thoughts of the author."

Waka, being of a non-logocentric tradition, can in part be understood in contemporary terms in light of a distinction made by Udo Hebel, who approaches allusion (out of the context of *waka*) as a tension between readers and writers, rather than the initiation of an encyclopedic task of investigating references, whereby the more obscure generates more interpretive work in elucidating texts.[6] In reading *waka* it is not the degree of covertness that makes a text engaging in terms of allusions, but rather the very intertextual 'activation of multiple texts'.[7] The intertexts are generally to be understood as multiple and not hermeneutic in the sense of eliciting a potentially unified reading by way of intertexts.[8] The intertexts form an extra-text-based array of potential allusions that diffuse the opposition of covert and overt allusion. In the end, assuming a text has an autonomous inner system is not a feasible method of reading *waka*.

Waka intertextuality opens multiple arrays of details, various allusions already figured into earlier *waka*. Rather than the question of "originality" in compositions which merely happen to "include" allusions secondarily, there is the open practice of composing variations on previous *waka* (*honka,* base *waka*). The consummate *waka* poet more fluidly orchestrates allusions in the phrasing of the *waka,* with recognizable echoes of combinations of words and entire 5- and 7-syllable segments from earlier *waka*, or in some cases memorable phrases from prose works or Chinese poetry.

Moreover, because *waka* derive from a poetics open to conventionally associated words (*engo,* 縁語) in different lines within a *waka*, and conventional *pivot words* (*kakekotoba*, 掛詞, an elaborate form

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[6] Hebel, Udo J. "Towards a Descriptive Poetics of *Allusion*," in Heinrich F. Plett, ed., *Intertextuality*, New York: de Gruyter, 1991, 135–164. Hebel also cites Harold Bloom in *Maps of Misreading*, writing that "Bloom's conclusive dichotomy draws attention to a significant point of controversy among scholars of *allusion* as it foregrounds the definitional opposition 'covert' vs. 'overt'." Hebel, 1991, 136.

[7] I am paraphrasing Ziva Ben-Porat, cited in Hebel, 1991, 136.

[8] Citing Riffaterre, Hebel writes, "any allusion acts as a 'stumbling block', drawing the reader's attention to the text's intertextual relationships. From this perspective, the allusive system of a text becomes the verifiable cross section where text and intertext meet, and where the intertextual background of the text becomes tangible for the reader. In terms of intertextual theory, allusions are manifestations of the text's *idéologème* that marks the text's historical and social coordinates." Hebel, 1991, 139. In *waka*, the allusions are as likely to be points of dispersion in a chain of intertexts as to be references that ground the *waka* at hand in a specific literary scene in a specific earlier work.

of often only partial double-entendre employed to eke out additional and surplus meanings within a *waka*), *waka* texts—at least those employing these figures (which often appear together in *waka*, the alternate meanings of the pivot-word reinforced by the associated words)—are by convention already internally disintegrated, with no expectation of a rhetoric of self-contained "completion" appearing, as in much Western lyric poetry, nor of parallelism as found in Chinese poetry within a Confucian framework. As Amagasaki emphasizes, the fundamental rhetoric in *waka* is linking by way of associated words (*engo*).[9] It is by way of the importance of these associations (*en*) that the frame and autonomy of *waka*, in contrast to Western poetry, is diminished.[10]

Given these *waka*-specific varieties of intertextuality, prominent Western approaches to intertextuality, though (or perhaps due to) synthesizing a broad range of studies of intertextuality,[11] appear overly centered on conventional Western rhetorical models (logocentrically situating every utterance as reflecting a paradigmatic "*idéologème*"). The intertextuality within a poetics of allusion, central to *waka* culture, cannot be fairly reduced to these prevalent conventions of composition and appreciation. The semantic and syntactic texture of *waka* itself might be said to reference other *waka* so as to engage not only in making an allusion, but also in the intertextual displacement of the given *waka* itself. The emotive force often derives from a nostalgia called upon to the degree one or more *honka* (*waka* alluded to, lit. "base poems") come to express an intensity that displaces the scene within the *waka* at hand. Thus in various ways the *waka* does not favor a hermeneutic mode of reading, which would deduce the working parts within a working whole.

Though restricted in syllables, *waka* exhibit a high degree of intertextual congruity within the broader socio-literary context of contending schools of *waka*. In the very rhetoric of equanimity so common to the experience intimated in many *waka*, there is a sense that all things, people and inanimate objects included, coexist with varying degrees of intimacy. It was this poetics that the *Shintaishishō* (1882) poets sought to suppress, knowing it would not conform to their new Western models of poetry.

In terms of meaningfulness, allusions coexist with the literal, the intertextual constantly undermining the present in a given *waka*. Western

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[9] Amagasaki, 1995, 19.
[10] Amagasaki, 1995, 20.
[11] See, for instance, Hebel, 1991.

hermeneutic concerns often reduce meaning to questions of the sign. Reflected in the *Kokinshū "Kana* Preface," Earl Miner writes, "the signifier and signified [in Japanese poetry] are not taken to be different so much as versions of each other in another aspect. The distinction between signifier and signified in western thought is thereby blurred: the two terms merge. And Japanese [readers of *waka*] find that natural."[12] Thomas Lamarre approaches this issue somewhat differently, writing: "This is the great project of *Kokinwakashū*: to fix the relations between words, emotions, occasions (not in order to inhibit motion but to channel it)," and, "the function of poetic signs in waka" is "to act at various levels and to align them."[13] Miner focuses on the importance of blurring signifier and signified in reading *waka*, an approach which describes of how "pivot words" and "associated words" are valued in *waka* culture in general. Lamarre sees the induction of a process in the *Kokinshū*, a mapping of relations between conventional topics, words, and emotions in conjunction with Chinese precedents. If one concurs with Lamarre, following a line of scholars who see the *Kokinshū* as incorporating Chinese poetics and culture,[14] then his poetics of alignment is appropriate. Yet if one admits that a *waka* poetics was significantly shaped in resistance to Chinese culture, one may interpret *waka* as foregrounding a more intertextually open and playful poetics. By reading parts of the *Kokinshū* and Ki no Tsurayuki's "*Kana* Preface" against the *Great Preface* after which it was putatively modeled, I hope to demonstrate that *waka* was instituted to provide a modicum of resistance to the highly ordered, Confucian verse culture and affirm a distinct, Japanese (Yamato) verse culture.

How we understand the *waka*, with its playful intertextual openness within a fairly closed lexicon, informs how we situate the new styles of poetry in the Meiji period. The end of the "closed door policy" and the introduction of a wide range of discourses that entered into all aspects of daily life rendered Meiji Japan a more sociolinguistically open environment. Poetry based on *waka*'s closed poetic lexicon could not speak to the new context in this period of change.[15] Yet it was *waka*'s

[12] Miner, 1990, 93.
[13] Lamarre, 2000, 58 and 62.
[14] Lamarre, 2000, 145.
[15] The famous scholar Yoshida Seiichi links *kanshi* to a feudal character, and cites Tsubouchi Shōyō, who called *tanka* and *chōka* "the poetry (*shiika*) of a closed world." See Yoshida Seiichi, 7–8. It is this closed aspect that complicates consideration of how we might situate its intertextuality, which is precisely what

"open" poetics of allusion within this closed context for poetry that led it to be widely acclaimed as poetry.

In Ki no Tsurayuki's seminal statement on *waka*, the "*Kana* Preface" to the *Kokinshū*, one can outline a genealogy of ideological tensions incorporated into *waka* by his use of examples, the counter-examples introduced by a later editor, and how these relate to the original Chinese six principles of poetry (*rikugi*) of the *Great Preface*. Here the distinction between polythetism and antithetism (referred to in the above epigraph) in the context of how the subject is situated in poetry and poetics of early China and Heian Japan, Victorian England and Meiji Japan provides a contrastive point of reference by which one can examine a genealogy of prominent Japanese poetic forms. In short, the *waka* as founded in Heian period will be shown to have resisted the antithetism of Chinese poetics by asserting an intertextuality that allowed for a thoroughgoing polythetism, which in turn did not meet the needs of the founding *shintaishi* poets who in emulating English poetry needed to displace *waka* and ground a narrative, historical poetry that engaged contemporary issues in the service of elevating the nation.

While Shirane demonstrates the unconscious analogy modern *waka* critics made with romanticist expressivism at the expense of understanding intertextuality in Fujiwara no Shunzei, one may add an argument that intertextuality (in *waka*-specific figures) was already a national cultural asset consciously cultivated by Ki no Tsurayuki.[16] In his preface, we can see him situating *waka* in terms of the politics of the subject, positioning Japanese conventions of *waka* composition in contrast to Chinese stylistic precedents, especially the Six Principles of Chinese poetry (*rikugi*).[17] In his own principles and examples one discerns a conscious divergence from the Chinese classifications, and suggestions that *waka* should rely on a combination of conventional allusions (such as *honkadori*), standardized phrasing (*makurakotoba*) and polysemic phrases (*kakekotoba* and *engo*). This in effect characterizes a poetics that is not simply "affective-expressive" (focusing on the author),

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makes old and new forms of poetry so divergent and politically contentious.

[16] See Shirane, 1994, 90, 93.

[17] Accounts of the relation of the six Chinese principles of poetry and the principles and examples given in Ki no Tsurayuki's preface tend to emphasize the passive reception of ideas, not his own agenda of defining Yamato. See John Timothy Wixted, "Chinese Influences on the *Kokinshū* Prefaces," in Rodd, Laurel Rasplica, with Henkenius, Mary Catherine. *Kokinshū: A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern.* Boston: Cheng and Tsui Company, 1996, 387–400.

but rather a writing process that is by convention intertextually bound up in antecedent texts to the point of deferring to them, and in the various ways described above, a process that also assumes verbal play that conceals and multiplies expressions of a persona.

In attempts to construct a *shintaishi* poetics for the Meiji period as well, though not referred to by name of course, intertextuality was an integral component of Japanese *waka* and had to be addressed if one were to overcome the influence of this prominent form. *Shintaishi* poets opened poetic lines to otherness—other discourses, Western poetry and even the sciences—and in this process also to expressions of nationalism and identity politics. The old intertextuality in *waka* relied on a closed, classical lexicon, while the new poetry incorporated new words and ideas, as if part of an argument to embrace the perpetual material revolution under capitalism.

Tsurayuki's seminal attempt to carve out a "Japanese" realm of poetic discourse, distinct from Chinese poetry (and thus foreshadowing Nativism), articulated an ideological role for *waka* that relied on intertextual figures, and thus provides an important point of reference when considering the Meiji assault on *waka* and attempts to develop *shintaishi* in this period. Though the examples of *waka* types that Ki no Tsurayuki offered in his preface have been challenged in extent copies of the preface, which have editorial insertions of "better examples," it should be apparent from a close reading that he, in fact, meant what he wrote when he gave the six examples of the six modes of poetry.[18] These examples not only reflect the influence of the Chinese principles, but are chosen so as to showcase *waka* poetic modes as surpassing the Chinese ones in splendor.

As Amagasaki Akira points out, though the Chinese reference to the *rikugi* or six poetic principles from the *Great Preface* appears in the "*Manyō* (or Chinese) Preface" to the *Kokinshū*, in the corresponding point in the definitive "*Kana* Preface" the phrase "there are six forms of expression (*sama*) in poetry" appears. The word *sama* (様 or "style") becomes an important term in *waka* poetics (*karon*), and here indicates a conflation of the categories of "forms of expression" and "contents." Thus it is safe to say that Tsurayuki sought in this first treatise to shape a

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[18] The anonymous editor is thought to be Fujiwara no Kintō. Thanks to Susan Klein for pointing this out. See Rodd, 1996, 36; and Nishishita Kyōichi and Sanekata Kiyoshi, *Kokinshū, Shinkokinshū*, in *Zōhō kokugo kokubungaku kenkyūshi taisei*, vol. 7. Sanseidō, 1977, 80. Also see Wixted in Rodd, 1996, 387–400.

critical discourse specific to "Japanese poetry" (*Yamato uta*), which was indeed the opening phrase and topic of this preface. Other critical writings had merely replicated Chinese treatises. Replacing "principles" (*gi*) with *sama* was a cornerstone of his attempt to extricate critical writings on poetry from Confucian thought. He seems to have worked to established a focus on the immanent fusion, in *sama*, of what is in one's heart (*kokoro*) with the means of expressing it in words (*kotoba*) selected from an intertextually bound range.[19] The new discursive community defining Japanese poetry would foreground tangled emotions, rather than Confucian principles.

For instance, the example of "comparison" (*nazuraeuta*) suggests that Ki no Tsurayuki sought to present a refined Japanese song (*Yamato uta*) that incorporated, along the lines of the categories of Chinese poetry, *figures specific to* a Japanese poetics and which were not found in Chinese poetry. Three such figures are found, not by chance it would seem, in his example of "comparison." These figures are a prefatory statement (*joshi,* italicized in the example), a pivot word (*kakekotoba,* underlined), and associated words (*engo,* in bold).[20] Thus he highlights differences between the poetries and languages: phonetic play not possible in Chinese:

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[19] Amagasaki Akira. *Hanatori no tsukai—uta no michi no shigaku, I*. Keisō Shobō, 1983, 34–39; on separation from Chinese poetics and Confucian thought, see 43–47; in "*Kana* Preface," Ozawa Masao. *Kokinshū*, in *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*, vol. 7. Shogakukan, 1971, 51, and note 19.

[20] *Pivot words (kakekotoba,* 掛詞*)* - *kana* characters that can be read in two or more ways, not only so as to present semantic ambiguity, but also multiple syntactical ways of reading a string of characters (usually, a noun is also read as a verb or adjective with a very different meaning, such as using *matsu* to mean both "(I) wait" and "pine tree"). *Associated words (engo* 縁語*)* are words within waka (usually different phrases) that are intratextually related by way of common context (such as the sea, freezing weather, spring occurrences, etc.), often suggesting this context as a vision or metaphorical backdrop for the more immediate scene depicted in the poem. A *prefatory statement* or *preface (jokotoba* or *joshi,* 序詞), resembles the common *makurakotoba* (枕詞) usually translated as "pillow words" (epithets), but was not fixed, often extended for two or three lines, and connected to the rest of the poem by either sound or sense: repetition of sounds to bind the conjoined parts of the poem, or by sense, setting up an analogy of natural occurrence or scene with the social, for instance using nature imagery to suggest some aspect of a love affair. Those phrases bound by sense would in the late Heian period be distinguished as "meaningful prefaces" (*ushin no jo*).

If in the morning
you awake as the day's ***frost***
has just settled,
as it begins to **melt**,
so will my love.

kimi ni kesa
ashita no ***shimo*** *no*
okite inaba
koishiki goto ni
kie ya wataran

*君に今朝 朝 の****霜****のおきていなば*
恋しきごとに**消え**やわたらむ[21]

The comparison is not simply in the metaphorical mode suggested by a later editor who thought the following a better example, where a cloistered male is compared straightforwardly to a silkworm in a cocoon:

A silkworm raised
by his mother and left
to mope in his cocoon.
Will the gloom ever lift,
unable to meet my love?

tarachime no
oya no kau ko no
mayu komori
ibuseku mo aru ka
imo ni awazute

たらちめの親のかふ蚕の繭こもりいぶせくもあるか妹に逢わずて[22]

The editor, with his would-be "improvement," misses what is apparently Tsurayuki's underlying point. In Tsurayuki's example, the comparison is multiple, as is readily possible with pivot words, with the *engo* in relationship to multiple contexts interposed by way of the associations (the alba motif and morning frost melting). These multiple intertextual and intratextual[23] relations exist within and without the example, which is not closed in the sense associated with hermeneutical textual studies, which aim to extract interpretive structures and meanings. Ki no Tsurayuki's example deliberately flaunts the capacity of the Japanese language, using *kana*, to exploit polysemous strings, unlike the character-based Chinese, which is not capable of being rendered in

[21] Ozawa Masao. *Kokinshū,* in *Nihon koten bungaku zenshū*, vol. 7. Shogakukan, 1971, 52.
[22] Ozawa, 1971, 52.
[23] Joseph Allen's use of "intratextuality" in his study of *Yuefu* poetry contributed to my understanding of the importance of distinguishing various forms of this mode. See Joseph Allen. *In the Voice of Others*. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies Publications, 1992.

phonetic script and thus exploit a large pool of double-entendres. Choosing a phrasing that repeats the character for *ashita* in succession (in *kesa* and *ashita*) would also seem to underscore the doubled senses of graphic and phonetic elements in *waka* and its inherent potential for playfulness. Moreover, at the time of the *Kokinshū, kana* had not been entirely recognized as an acceptable alternative to Chinese or *man'yōgana*,[24] and thus foregrounding this aspect of *waka* also attempts to tip the scale in favor of *kana* usage, displaying its distinct virtues.

Similarly, the example of a "corrective poem"[25] (*tadagotouta*) suggests a redistribution of both Chinese poetic values and a differentiation from Chinese poetry and poetics:

If this world were free	itsuwari no
of falsehood,	naki yo nariseba
how joyous might	ika bakari
the words of my love be.	hito no koto no ha
	ureshikaramashi

いつわりのなき世なりせばいかばかり人の言の葉うれしからまし[26]

It is not presented as "elegantia," as has been used by Laurel Rasplíca Rodd and John Timothy Wixted,[27] an approximation of the Chinese term of the fifth principle of poetry in the *Great Preface* to the *Book of Songs*, the category of "odes" (雅 *ya* in Chinese, *ga* in Japanese). In both Chinese and Japanese this character has a sense of courtly elegance (its *kun'yomi* being "*miyabi*"). Yet the example Tsurayuki uses replaces the principle (*gi*) of *ga* with a *sama* (composition fusing words and heart), called *tadagotouta,* which can be interpreted in two ways in light of the example. First, *tadagoto* (originally written in *kana* in the preface) can mean "everyday affairs" (徒事・唯事・只事) as suggested

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[24] Teele, 1980, 38.
[25] Rein Raud interprets *tadagotouta* as poems using "plain language," Kubota Shōichirō as poems using "everyday words just as they are." Both of these approaches avoid the mimetic connotation possible if one were to associate ordinary words with description. See Rein Raud, *The Role Of Poetry in Classical Japanese Literature: A Code and Discursivity Analysis.* Tallinn: Eesti Humanitaarinstituut, 1994, 99. Kubota Shōichirō, *Kokinwakashū.* Kadogawa Shoten, 1973, 11.
[26] Ozawa, 1971, 53.
[27] See Rodd, 1996, 39 and 393.

by the *Kōjien* (with an example from the early Heian *Taketori monogatari*). In this sense, the spirit Tsurayuki would convey in the mere use of *tadagoto* explicitly contrasts with the elegance of *ga.* Second, *tadagoto* can, following Ozawa Masao in his notes to the "*Kana* Preface," suggest one interpret the poem in terms of the contents of the poem, not the form, which reinforces the need to comprehend *sama* as more than merely "style," but also the fusion of *kokoro* and *kotoba* in the organic sense presented in the opening of the preface. Ozawa argues that the contents of this *waka* refer to "a wish to be in a world as it should be, devoid of deceit."[28] The poem sings of the barrier words bring to any romance, as words provide both affirmations of interest and the seeds of doubt. In the example the poet reflects introspectively on a romantic encounter, while linking his own joy to the shared medium of words.

It must have been the culmination of these treasons against the sense of elegance and propriety in the *Great Preface* that annoyed the later editor, who prefaces his counter-example with references to the Chinese poetic and political ideals of a properly ordered world,[29] and uses in his example itself, "a world without wind to scatter the petals":

I have had my fill	yamazakura
of gazing at the colors	aku made iro o
of mountain cherry blossoms	mitsuru kana
in a world without wind	hana chiru beku mo
to scatter the petals.	kaze fukanu yo ni

山桜飽くまで色を見つるかな花散るべくも風吹かぬ世に[30]

This is an example that, while incorporating irony, derides being reflexive and playful in *waka* while encouraging a courtly pathos of distance. It implies an aloof and pretentious critique of Ki no Tsurayuki's example, which is personal by comparison. The editor seems to be conveying that, if only Tsurayuki had stayed with the *ya* (*ga*) category, he would have demonstrated adequate comprehension of the *Great Preface*, especially its sense of orderliness and propriety.[31]

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[28] Ozawa, 1971, 53.
[29] See Ozawa, 1971, 53, note 16.
[30] Ozawa, 1971, 53. Notice how the image of "last three lines" was used with a similar eye on "national" interests in Yoshida Shōin's *waka* (cited in an earlier chapter).
[31] Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, Cambridge, Mass.:

Tsurayuki's example underscores the conventional assertion of the unreliable character of the human heart as mediated through words, while the counter-example avoids such ambiguity in human affairs. In creating this anthology, certainly after careful consideration Tsurayuki must have decided that unresolved threads or tensions should be defining elements in the dominant topic of love in the *Kokinshū* and by analogy influencing the construction of *waka* in general. Love and disorder go together in the very word *midareru*, to be dizzy with infatuation, much to the apparent irritation of the later editor, who seemed to have preferred a stricter adherence to the Confucian tradition of songs as sources of public order, as can be inferred from how the later editor goes out of his way to choose a *waka* that denies the very thrust of Tsurayuki's example, namely that the world is characterized by falsehood, death, falling blossoms. Instead he inserts a poem that displays disdain (even if conventional) for excessive indulgence in flower-viewing, and imagines a scene without wind, refusing the underling theme of love and disarray (*midareru*) in Tsurayuki's *waka*.

Moreover, as Fujiwara no Kintō's editorial correction includes a negatively situated *yo*, in the phrase *kaze fukanu yo* (a world where the wind does not blow), one wonders if there was a rift among poets, even of different generations in the tenth century, between poets more interested in how Buddhism encourages a predilection for multiply positions, the polythetic, exploration of a phenomenology of poetic composition, and more conservative poets who sought to preserve the Confucian poetics that characterized the prestigious Chinese poetry and Classics. Tsurayuki's example, after all, implies a Buddhistic assumption of *itsuwari*, all being vanity (lies), in wishing: "If this world were free / of falsehood, / how joyous might / the words of my love be."[32] Nagafuji Yasushi argues that the use of "*yo no naka*" (世の中, in this world/life [of change]), first appearing in the *Man'yōshū*, suggesting a shift in temporal consciousness accompanied the introduction of Buddhist thought to Japan. "*Yo no naka*" implicitly challenged the spatial world view that "*yo*" originally suggested. We can extend this to objections to the highly spatially regulated views of society and the self within Confucian thought. Tanaka Gen, who focuses on the *Kokinshū*, sees the *Man'yōshū* as "substantive texts" based primarily on the presence or absence of

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Harvard University Press, 1992, 49.

[32] *Yo* appears 71 times in the *Manyōshū*, while "*yo no naka*" appears 44 times. See Nagafuji Yasushi, *Kodai Nihonjin no jikan ishiki—Sono kōzō to tenkai*. Miraisha, 1979, 66.

things: objects, people ideas, emotions. Though these “substantive texts are essentially expressions of decisions, and negotiate no temporal relation,” *waka* in the *Kokinshū* are “predicative texts that have an essentially deep relation to time,” he writes. In predicative *waka* the occurrence, progress, and continuance are expressed according to the speaker’s choices.[33] Given the various temporal gradations classical conjugation affords depiction of the relation of poet to his or her fiction, Japanese *waka*, written with *kana*, in contrast to *kanshi*, had an opportunity to resituate the expressive technology of the *kanshi* culture as articulated in the *Great Preface*, as Tsurayuki’s examples in the “*Kana* Preface” show.

Another example written by Ki no Tsurayuki and included in the *Kokinshū* explicitly uses *midareru* to describe a spring scene of blossoms, probably cherry, blown about by a profusion of hanging willow branches. Clarifying a major difference from Fujiwara no Kintō’s poetics, here external “confusion” is central to the excitement in the poem, suggesting an ironic appreciation without need of carefully balancing inner and outer realms in the veiling and unveiling that surely pleased Fujiwara no Kintō.

Threads of willow	*aoyagi no*
tangled in the wind	*ito yori kakuru*
this very spring,	*haru shi mo zo*
in the frenzy of full bloom	*midarete hana no*
the cherry blossoms are unraveled.	*hokorobinikeru*

青 柳の糸よりかくる春しもぞ乱れて花のほころびにける[34]

Thus from the very origins of the imperial *waka* tradition, an aesthetics and ideology of countermanding the influence of other types of poetry, whether Chinese (beginning with Tsurayuki) or Western lyricism in the Meiji period, are available in the very dispersive effects inherent to

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[33] See Tanaka Gen, *Kodai nihonjin no jikan ishiki: sono kozo to tenkai.* Yoshikawako bunkan, 1975, 121. Similarly, the famous early twentieth century scholar of Nietzsche and Hegel, Watsuji Tetsujirō wrote that lyric time in the *waka* of the *Kokinshū* entailed avoiding outright exclamation, maintaining a measure of composure, analyzing the psychology of love or describing the atmosphere of love, and overall paying attention to “the processes of emotions.” Cited in Tanaka, 1979, 65–66.

[34] Ozawa, 1971, 71. See very helpful notes in Kubota, 1973, 23.

waka poetic discourse. Rhetorically, *waka* poetics (*karon*) can be seen as inherently sustaining a mode of ideological displacement of other poetics (Chinese and later Western). Historically, these *intra*textually "associated words" and "pivot words" (*engo* and *kakekotoba*) and *inter*textually recycled phrases ("pillow words," "prefatory words," *honkadori* and allusions, and so forth) became integral to the demonstration of mastery of the form and participation in elite cultural and political circles. *Waka* may be seen as in part a form of poetry founded within a closed poetic lexicon expressly designed to replicate the playful dispersion of meaning, Confucian gravity and its ideal of the mindful subject, and to in this way remain somewhat distinct from Chinese poetry and culture. Deconstructing this aspect of *waka* helps to explain the genealogy of its role in Japanese nationalism.

In the context of the *Great Preface*'s Confucian poetics, with its metaphysics of recovering a utopian socio-political order, *waka* in the *Kokinshū* as well as the *Shinkokinshū* establish a cyclical sense of time moving forward seasonally and/or in accord with matters of love, not bound to an essentialist metaphysics.[35] The poetics is grounded in dominant imagery and themes, such as "early spring" as it transitions to "spring proper." As Konishi Jin'ichi et al describe the sequence in the seasonal poems:

> *the overall time progression from early to late spring is very subtly handled in order to create a total effect of the passage of the season which is in harmony with the physical world. This effect is achieved through the conscious manipulation of certain dominant images; the key "spring" image in one poem is juxtaposed to the key images in the preceding and following verses in such a way that the reader is carried along through the vicissitudes of early spring weather….*[36]

The effect is that of situating each *waka* in an implicit drama of life larger than the poem itself, which is dependent on the poems preceding and following it. This ordering of *waka* became the foundation for all pre-Meiji poetics, for the themes of seasons and love would dominate not

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[35] Konishi (1989, 99) calls this a "retrospective orientation" in describing the centrality of allusion in Chinese poetics.

[36] Konishi Jin'ichi, tr. and adapted by Robert Brower and Earl Miner, "Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in Anthologies and Sequences of Japanese Court Poetry, A. D. 900-1350." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,* Vol. 21 (Dec., 1958), 74.

only *waka*, but be codified even more strictly in *renga* (linked poetry), *haikai no renga* (non-standard linked poetry) and *haiku*.

The progression of romantic entanglements and relationships too was codified in the *Kokinshū*, in which the six books on love dominate explicitly in poems 469 thru 828, 359 of the 1111 poems in the collection. For instance, the sequences on love can be broken down roughly into, according to Konishi: "The development of an affair from 'love yet undeclared' (469–551), through such phases as courtship (552–615), love after first meeting (616–704), the lover's growing coolness (705–746), and, the ending of the affair in bitterness and misery (747–828)."[37] Teele breaks down five such generally grouped *waka* sequences on stages of a romance into between 14 and 29 sub-topics each (differing with Konishi only slightly in his general grouping).[38]

The point is that any *waka*, given the importance of the *Kokinshū* and later imperial *waka* anthologies that emulated its ordering, such as the *Shinkokinshū*, affirmed and defined not only a de-Sinified orthographically (primarily *kun'yomi* or Japanese reading in lieu of only *kanji* in *kanshi*) but also a de-Confucianized poetics, which partially exempted itself from the focus on the metaphysical, socio-political relationship of intent and landscape, and instead focused on an more open horizon of possibilities in the correspondence of human affairs and natural affairs, inner heart and outer landscape.

The new scheme would in itself constitute a poetics by which all *waka* refer, not with the aim of addressing the matter of one's intent and social standing, as Chinese poetry ultimately did, and in doing so encouraged a place for hermeneutically unpacking a given poem in terms of the historical and allusive literary command the poet demonstrated within Confucian values of uprightness in expression that naturally flows from the morally engaged poet.[39] On the contrary, *waka* would increasingly become opaque to such hermeneutic attempts to read them, and merely reinforce in the performance of writing itself (not its socio-political "contents") the courtly status of those already within aristocratic families. They would resist this foreign system that included poetry as part of its civil service examinations, as well as resist stylistically the parallel structuring integral to Chinese poetry, which was predicated on couplets and generally reflected the recovery and exhibition of Confucian

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[37] Cited in Teele, 1980, 177. Konishi, 1958, 100.
[38] See Teele, 1980, 178–195.
[39] See Owen, 1992, 37–49.

values in society and self (putting aside the poetry inspired by Taoism and Buddhism, since the poetics resisted in the "*Kana* Preface" of the *Kokinshū* was clearly Confucian).

The intertextual poetics of allusion referred to in this paper, though still part of the reading of *waka* today, would not survive in its intertextually open form as material changes transformed society and rendered the established poetic diction antiquated. In the Meiji period in particular, new contexts emerged by which the ideological usefulness of *waka* intertexts and the restricted poetic lexicon changed dramatically. Though some *shintaishi* poets, such as those contributing to the *Shintaishishō*, sought to eliminate *waka* from the literary horizon, for others its apparent disappearance would be an error to be corrected (in the development of modern *tanka* by poets appearing in the journal *Myōjō*, especially Yosano Akiko). In general, "Bit by bit a past work of literature will come to refer to one environment while its readers refer to another."[40] As the Meiji changes were so abrupt, *waka* composition in the mode sustained for over a thousand years would become alienated from the new Japan.

Moreover, while some *shintaishi* would exhibit the occasional *waka* figure, most of the early poetry presented as *shintaishi*, as Kamei Hideo observes, being narrative poetry (*monogatari-shi*), was not conducive to such *waka* figures of polysemy,[41] which function by convention best in

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[40] See J. R. de J. Jackson, *Historical Criticism and the Meaning of Texts.* London and New York: Routledge, 1989, 39. Jackson provides numerous diagrams of the historically changing relationships between the socio-literary environment, the language, the text at hand, and the readers of different time periods. See Jackson, 24, 40, 45–49, and 52. Though paying less attention to the historical dimension, a more nuanced approach to intertextual differences of context for pretexts and texts at hand is suggested by Hebel's summary of Ben-Porat's four stages of processing allusion; these are: "recognition of a marker," which is a "directional signal ... always identifiable as an element or pattern belonging to another independent text," "identification of the evoked text, modification of the initial interpretation of the signal, activation of the evoked text as a whole in an attempt to form a maximum of intertextual patterns," Hebel, 1991, 137–38.

[41] This is true of all the earlier *shintaishi* anthologies: the *Shintaishishō*, Yamada Bimyō's *Shintaishisen*, and the five *Shintaishika* volumes. Yamada Bimyō uses pivot words in the narratives poems in *Shōnen sugata,* though even these can be attributed to *gesaku shōsetsu* models, not *waka*, and are themselves atypical *shintaishi* in a style that Bimyō himself would soon abandon in favor of experimental *shōka* (唱歌) and *shintaishi*. The self-published Yuasa Hangetsu, though not very influential, had some training in *waka*, and lines in his *monogatari-shi* occasionally include *kakekotoba*, and often mix *waka* diction

very short poems that rely on such allusive resilience and intratextual play, and that tend to untangle the linear "presence" of a given voice, whether directed at Confucian, Western or Japanese thought that strays from the established diction of *waka*.

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with his Christian subject matter. See Yamamiya, 1950, I: 115–133.