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THE SUGAWARA CENTURY

The Ecosystem of Sinitic Poetry in Early Heian Japan (ca 800-950)

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the socio-political dynamics informing the production of Sinitic poetry (*shi*) by means of three interconnected parameters that together, I argue, contribute to define the specificity of the early Heian literary field. First, the cultural relevance of the institutionalized poetry banquets, such as the Palace Banquet (*naien*) and the Double Nine Banquet (*chōyō no en*). Second, poetic erudition as a capital of cultural and political legitimation for the imperial household. Third, the development of Sinitic poetry into a form of cultural capital specifically connected to the scholarly Sugawara House. This dissertation argues that the interconnection between these three aspects is a phenomenon that specifically identifies the early Heian period, thus creating an analytical model that allows to better understand the dynamics of cultural production of this period. Specifically, the thesis delineates the path that leads to the development of Sinitic poetry as an autonomous and prestigious form of cultural capital, and the role of the Sugawara House in this process. By considering also the socio-political changes that occurred from the second half of the tenth century, this work is thus configured as the study of the rise and fall of a specific cultural ecosystem.

Conventions

This thesis follows the conventions for shortened citations of the Chicago Manual of Style (17th edition). Following standard academic convention, dates are expressed in a hybrid system where years are given according to their equivalent in the Western calendar preceded by the name and year of the era (*nengō*), while months and days are given according to the pre-modern lunar calendar. For romanization, Japanese names and terms are transcribed in the modified Hepburn system and Pinyin is used for Chinese. Characters are provided for quoted texts throughout the thesis. Whenever possible, I have tried to reproduce the old and variant forms of the characters according to the printed editions of the texts. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

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Introduction

1. Sugawara no Michizane Reconsidered

In the autumn of Engi 延喜 1 (901), in a poem entitled “Tenth day of the ninth month” (九月十日), recalling nostalgically a poetry banquet that was held at the imperial palace the year before, the renowned statesman and poet Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845-903) wrote the following verses:

去年今夜侍清涼 Last year, this very night, I attended at the [Hall of] Purity and Coolness;
御在所殿名。 (This is the name of the palace where the sovereign resides)
秋思詩篇獨斷腸 My poem on “autumn thoughts” was particularly moving.
敕賜秋思賦之。臣詩多述所憤。 (We received a command to compose on the topic “Autumn thoughts.” My poem expressed my profound frustration)
恩賜御衣今在此 The imperial grace bestowed me a royal robe which is now here with me:
捧持每日拜餘香 Every day I raise it, bowing to the scent that still lingers.
宴終晚頭賜御衣。今隨身在笥中，故云。 (At night, upon the end of the banquet, I was bestowed a royal robe. It has followed me here where I keep it in a box. This is why I say so)¹

This quatrain hints specifically at the poem that Michizane presented at the poetry banquet held by Emperor Daigo 醍醐 (885-931, r. 897-931) on the tenth day of the ninth lunar month of Shōtai 昌泰 3 (900). The banquet of the tenth day of the ninth month was first started by Daigo’s father Emperor Uda 宇多 (867-930, r. 887-897), as a follow-up private small-scale banquet to the grander official ceremony held on the Double Nine (ninth day of the ninth month) annual festivity (*sechie* 節会).² The fact that Daigo continued to hold this banquet after his ascension to the throne testifies to the extent by which this ceremony had become an institution in the late ninth-century Heian court.³

¹ *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 482. The numbers refer to the critical edition of Sugawara no Michizane’s poetry collections by Kawaguchi.

² Hatooka, *Sugawara no Michizane*, 91-110.

³ The poem that Michizane presented at the Shōtai 3 banquet is also extant. *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 473.

Sugawara no Michizane is arguably one of the best-known authors of Sinitic poetry (*sbi* 詩) from the Heian 平安 period (794-1185), and within the Japanese history of Sinitic writing in general. Born in a family that had maintained a hold of bureaucratic offices traditionally associated with the Bureau of High Education (*daigakuryō* 大学寮) in the course of the ninth century, Michizane attained the status of Confucian scholar (*jusha* 儒者) and served in various bureaucratic positions appropriated to such status during his life.⁴ As one result of his training, Michizane was very active as a composer of literary writings. His works of poetry and prose were reunited in a twelve-volume collection titled *Kanke bunsō* 菅家文章 (Literary Drafts of the Sugawara House) that Michizane presented to the throne in Shōtai 3 (900) alongside the literary collections of his father and grandfather.

Perhaps because it was composed by Michizane at Dazaifu 太宰府, in modern-day Kyūshū, where he had been demoted as supernumerary governor at the beginning of Shōtai 4 (901), the above poem is tinged with nuanced expressions of loyalty and remembrance. The perceived sincerity of his poetic language and the expression of personal feelings despite the use of a “foreign medium” (the literary Sinitic), especially in his exile poetry, appears to be precisely what granted Michizane his long-lasting cultural renown. While the roots of the cultural process that engraved Michizane into his prestigious place within Japanese literary history are to be found in the early interest of Edo 江戸 period (1603-1868) scholars, it is in fact with the Meiji 明治 era (1868-1912) that, as the modern Japanese state took shape, Michizane gradually came to be conceptualized as both the embodiment of the loyal imperial minister and the outstanding champion of Sinitic writings who, as a poet, mastered a foreign linguistic medium to suit his own lyricism.⁵ In short, nineteenth-century nationalistic ideas of literature and language were inscribed on a strategically crafted image of Sugawara no Michizane. The above poem, in particular, was singled out and references to it circulated widely in history books, textbooks, and even military songs insofar as, as Robert Tuck puts it, “the image of Michizane treasuring a keepsake of the emperor as an expression of undying loyalty was above all else emblematic of the Michizane mythos during Meiji.”⁶

⁴ Robert Borgen’s monumental study of Sugawara no Michizane and the historical context of ninth-century Heian Japan, *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court*, remains to date the best English reference on the biography, career, and poetry of Sugawara no Michizane.

⁵ See further Tuck, “Poets, Paragons, and Literary Politics.”

⁶ Tuck, *ibid.*, 66.

It is arguable that such Meiji conceptualizations of Michizane still informs the way this historical character is studied today. Discussing Michizane's self-proclaimed identity of "poetizing minister" (*shishin* 詩臣), the scholar Takigawa Kōji presents an image of him as a loyal servant who is eager to serve his ruler through poetry:

[T]he words "poetizing minister" clearly symbolize the attitude of a royal subject who serves the state by means of poetry. It is here that we can see Michizane's strong sense of self-awareness as a subject who makes poetry his pursuit. At this time, the places where one could address the state as a poetizing minister were the poetic gatherings at institutionalized banquets.⁷

Takigawa's remarks can be put in relation with the attitude that underlies most of modern scholarship about Michizane, who is traditionally considered both the most accomplished lyric poet *and* the most politically invested Confucian scholar of his time whose ultimate goal was to use poetry as a socio-political tool for statecraft. All of the recent book-length studies of Michizane invariably interpret the term "poetizing minister" as the ideal accommodation of both personae.⁸ In particular, the last decade of the ninth century is considered the golden age for Michizane's agenda, with Emperor Uda's political and literary sponsorship allowing him to direct poetry towards its supposed Confucian goals.⁹

Here I wish to direct attention to two other important elements in Takigawa's quoted remark. That Michizane made "poetry his pursuit" and that the outlet for doing so were "poetic gatherings at institutionalized banquets." This dissertation, as a matter of fact, is a study of the dynamic ways in which the Sugawara House claimed poetry as a specific form of cultural capital whose main environment of production was offered by institutionalized poetry banquets during the early Heian period. Following Takigawa's detailed study on early Heian poetry banquets, I define "institutionalized poetry banquets" as the imperially-sponsored ceremonies that were held officially at the imperial palace invariably every year in which the poetic performance on topics bestowed by the sovereign took central stage.¹⁰ Hints that Michizane valued banquet poetry as his primary form of activity as a Confucian scholar are disseminated in the contents and structure of his personal collection. A careful reading of the above-quoted poem reveals that it is in fact informed as much by the culture of imperially-sponsored banquets as it is dense with emotional

⁷ Takigawa, "Shishin toshite no Sugawara no Michizane," 8.

⁸ See for example Fujiwara, *Sugawara no Michizane to Heianchō kambungaku*, 193-243; Hatooka, *Sugawara no Michizane*, 19-39.

⁹ Taniguchi, *Sugawara no Michizane no shi to gakumon*, 153-62.

¹⁰ Takigawa defines the early Heian period as a historical moment based on the production of "official (*kōteki* 公的) literature." See further Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 3-28.

language. Consider, for example, a standard headline for a poem composed at the Residential Palace Banquet (*naien* 内宴) of the first lunar month:

早春内宴侍清凉殿同赋草树暗迎春应製。

Early spring, Residential Palace Banquet, attending at the Hall of Purity and Coolness [Seiryōden], composing together on the topic *Grass and trees quietly welcome spring* in response to a command by the sovereign.¹¹

The standard titles of banquet poems indicate the temporal framework (“early spring”), the type of banquet (“Residential Palace Banquet”) and the venue (“attending at the Hall of Purity and Coolness”), followed by the caption “composing together” (同賦) and the topic of composition. Lastly, a reference to the fact that the poem was composed upon a command issued by the sovereign (應製). Reading Michizane’s exile poem “tenth day of the ninth month” it is thus easy to observe all these elements appearing in sequence in the poem: in the first verse there is a reference to the time (“last year, this very night”) followed by a reference to the place of composition (“I attended at the [Hall of] Purity and Coolness”). In the second verse, also supported by the interlinear comment, there is a reference to the topic of composition (poem on “autumn thoughts”) bestowed by the sovereign. All in all, Michizane’s supposed expression of personal emotions is framed within a language that associates the poem with the context of imperially-sponsored banquets. In other words, the poetic recollection of the past experience of participating in a poetry banquet held by the sovereign is also made possible by the use of a language that mirrors it closely. In the last line of the poem, the robe received by Michizane as a special present granted by the sovereign for his particularly moving poem hints at the transaction of capital at play at poetry banquets, where poetry was exchanged by especially summoned individuals for one-time emoluments specifically granted for their literary service to the court.

Such reading of Michizane’s exile poem directs our attention to the fact that poetic language is never neutral nor absolute, but it is invariably embedded in a particular socio-political context of production.¹² The poem serves thus as an expression of unconditional loyalty to the sovereign as well as a recollection of his continued service as a court poet. More generally, this reading prompts us to reconsider how Michizane operated as a poet in the early Heian court. As will be argued throughout the dissertation, the Sugawara House consistently provided literary service for

¹¹ *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 446.

¹² On the importance of socio-political context in directing the way we read Michizane’s poems, and Heian Sinitic poetry in general, see Van der Salm, “Biographies of Sugawara no Michizane and the Praxis of Heian Sinitic Poetry.”

the Imperial Household at institutionalized banquets during the early Heian period. Central to this thesis is therefore the relationship between the Sugawara House and the institution of imperially-sponsored official poetry banquets. More specifically, it will be argued that the institutionalization of poetic production from the beginning of the ninth century redefined the position of poetry within the system of literacy of Confucian scholars, opening a professional niche that could be strategically occupied by the Sugawara House. I argue that the continued participation of members of the Sugawara House and its affiliates to poetic events sponsored by the sovereign engendered the creation of a cultural ecosystem balanced on the tight connection between the Sugawara House and the Imperial Household in terms of the literary service provided by the former to the latter. This cultural ecosystem, I posit, constituted a relevant feature of the early Heian period and contributed to define its boundaries. From the second half of the tenth century, institutionalized poetry banquets gradually disappeared from the events sponsored by the imperial court. At the same time, the members of the Sugawara House also abandoned the prominent position that they had previously occupied as banquet poets. In this thesis I posit a connection between these two events to formulate a historical narrative that puts the Sugawara House - Imperial Household ecosystem as the driving force that sustained the production of poetry during the early Heian period. This dissertation is thus configured as a cultural history of the early Heian period (ca 800-950) through the lenses of institutionalized poetic production.

2. Early Heian Institutionalized Poetry Banquets

From Tenchō 天長 8 (831), imperial excursions to the Shinsen'en 神泉苑 park on the festivity of the Double Nine ceased to be made, and the poetic banquet that took place there started to be performed in Shishinden 紫宸殿, the public hall of the imperial palace. By the reign of Emperor Ninmyō 仁明 (810-850, r. 833-850), the informal “residential palace banquets” that the sovereign bestowed to his personal entourage during the year were reduced to only one that was invariably held in his personal residence on the 20th, 21st, or 22nd of the first lunar month. From the Tenchō (823-833) and the Jōwa 承和 (833-848) eras, then, these two poetry banquets were held consistently every year. While scholarship has traditionally seen this process as a retraction of imperially sponsored poetic activity, the scholar Takigawa Kōji has argued that the gradual institutionalization of the Residential Palace Banquet (*naien* 内宴; from here on “Palace

Banquet”) and the Double Nine Banquet (*chōyō no en* 重陽宴) amplified the significance of poetry composition as a form of state ritual, insofar as both banquets became annual ceremonies that no longer depended on the sovereign’s personal fondness for poetry.¹³

I have chosen to refer to these banquets as “institutional” inasmuch as both symbolized two complementary aspects of the institutions of the centralized state.¹⁴ The Palace Banquet was a relatively small-scale event that was centered on the body of attendants closer to the sovereign and was held in the latter’s personal living quarters. In a way, the institutionalization of the Palace Banquet can be seen as a formalization of sovereign-centered private relationships that gradually came to define and differentiate socio-political status in the course of the ninth century.¹⁵ By contrast, the Double Nine Banquet was held in the correspondence of a state official festivity (*sechie*) and was held in the public space of the imperial palace representing the broader bureaucratic structure of the court. Both banquets, however, were ritual gestures through which the sovereign symbolically asserted his authority over the assembled court. The sequences of performed actions were similar: while the order of appearance and the spatial disposition of the participants around the sovereign reproduced the court bureaucratic hierarchies, the actions surrounding the composition of poetry on a topic bestowed by the sovereign echoed the daily activities of court officials that were ostensibly royally presided.¹⁶ Institutional banquets, therefore, were a powerful means to symbolize the hierarchical and bureaucratic socio-political order of the imperial court. At the same time, they were integral to the definition and perpetuation of the ritual and cosmological imagination of the state.¹⁷

¹³ Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 6-13. On the origin and development of the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet see further Takigawa, *ibid.*, 165-71 and 211-24. On the relationship of the Palace Banquet with models from the continent see Takigawa, “Naien no kigen,” where the author makes the case that the Palace Banquet was a Heian autonomous cultural practice.

¹⁴ This choice was also made to avoid such terminology as “official/unofficial” and “public/private” that risks to created dichotomies that are problematic in the context of Heian Japan.

¹⁵ See further Furuse, *Nihon kodai ōken to gishiki*, 317-64.

¹⁶ Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 52-56. The procedures for the Double Nine Banquet are recorded in the mid-ninth century ritual manual *Gishiki* 儀式 (Ritual Procedures); those for the Palace Banquet survive in the extant quotations from the mid-tenth century *Seiryōki* 清涼記 (Records of [the Hall of] Purity and Coolness).

¹⁷ One way in which institutionalized poetry banquets such as the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet informed the cosmological imagination of the Heian court was through a continued reproduction of poetry composed on similar topics. Poems composed for the Palace Banquet normally celebrated the beginning of the new year and the arrival of spring by depicting the germinating beauty of natural scenery as a mirror to the sovereign’s virtue and to the well-being of his realm. Topics for the Double Nine Banquet usually depicted autumn natural splendor as well as elements associated with the Double Nine continental lore such as chrysanthemums, travelling geese, and folkloristic ornaments. For a list of the topics of institutionalized banquets of the early Heian period see Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 441-82.

From the early ninth century, the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet were held regularly every year until the early tenth century. From Enchō 延長 8 (930) the Double Nine was suspended due to the date's proximity to Emperor Daigo's 醍醐 (885-930, r. 897-930) death. In Tenryaku 天曆 5 (951), the Lingering Chrysanthemum Banquet (*zangiku no en* 殘菊宴) was established in the tenth month in substitution to the Double Nine Banquet, but it was held only during the reign of Emperor Murakami 村上 (926-967, r. 946-967). The Double Nine Banquet was briefly reenacted (in fact, only three times) during the reign of Emperor Ichijō (980-1011, r. 986-1011). From the Engi 延喜 era (901-923), the Blossom-Viewing Banquet (*hana no en* 花宴) began to be performed, and it was later codified in the mid-tenth century ritual manual *Shingishiki* 新儀式 (New Ritual Procedures), and became a cultural institution during Emperor Murakami's reign.¹⁸ From the mid-tenth century, institutionalized banquets began to be held discontinuously only to disappear completely by the end of the tenth century. Arguably, the rise and fall of institutionalized poetry banquets can be taken as one indication of the temporal boundaries of the early Heian period. Central to this thesis is thus the argument that for roughly one and a half century (ca 800-950) this relentless institutional poetic machine produced and perpetuated an environment of literary production that was tightly associated with the representation and legitimation of imperial and institutional cultural power and with an institutionally sanctioned socio-political configuration of poetic activity.

One key aspect of the institutionalized banquets that took form from the early ninth century is the consistent participation of a selected professional category of poets. Consider the following entries in historiographical works of the time:

重陽節也。天皇御紫宸殿、宴于公卿及文人如常。

On the Double Nine festivity, the Sovereign appeared at Shishinden and offered a banquet to nobles and to *monnin*, as is customary.¹⁹

於仁壽殿，內宴近臣。教坊奏女樂。近臣之外、文人預席者五六人賦詩。

¹⁸ The Blossom-Viewing Banquet was originally held institutionally at the beginning of Emperor Saga's 嵯峨 (786-842, r. 809-823) reign. On the origins and development of the Blossom-Viewing Banquet see Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 252-261.

¹⁹ *Shoku Nihon koki*, Kashō 嘉祥 3 (850)/9/9.

The Palace Banquet was offered to the courtiers in Jijūden. Music was provided by the Palace Office of Female Performers. In addition to courtiers, five, six *monnin* were summoned and composed poetry.²⁰

Literally meaning “men of letters,” *monnin* 文人 originally denoted individuals skilled in writing or, at times, Confucian scholars. With the institutionalization of the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet, in which poetry was performed as a rewarded form of bureaucratic service, in the early ninth century, the meaning of *monnin* gradually shifted to indicate the official status—akin to court rank or bureaucratic position and thus eligible for material stipend—that was temporarily assigned to those specifically summoned to the banquets to provide poetry. The role of *monnin* contrasted that of attending senior nobles (*kyūgō* 公卿) and courtiers (*kinsbin* 近臣) who could optionally offer a poem and receive extra compensation, but whose attendance was determined by their status and bureaucratic office, not by the poetic service requested to them.²¹ As is clear from the first entry quoted above, *monnin* appears in tandem with senior nobles, suggesting that the term indicated a specific social status. Moreover, in the second entry the term circumscribes specifically a selected group of individuals in charge of poetry composition. As a matter of fact, *monnin* were normally recruited from the body of graduates of the *kidendō* 紀伝道 (Way of Annals and Biographies) curriculum, who received extensive training in writing prose and poetry in literary Sinitic. Education in the *kidendō* curriculum focused on literary writing. Originally named *monjōdō* 文章道 (Way of Patterned Writing), in the early ninth century it was merged with the newly established *kidendō* track, which focused on the study of continental histories, and retained the latter’s name while maintaining the centrality of writing proficiency.²² For the Palace Banquet, for example, *monnin* were selected among “Confucian scholars (*jushi* 儒士) and one or two outstanding literary talents among scholarship students (*monjō tokugōshō* 文章得業生), literature students (*monjōshō* 文章生) in service at the Chamberlain’s Office (*kurōdodokoro* 藏人所), and former literature students in service in various bureaucratic offices.”²³ Literature students, scholarship students, and Confucian scholars all represented different statuses within the subsequent stages of *kidendō* education at the Bureau of High Education

²⁰ *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, Ninna 仁和 1 (885)/1/21.

²¹ Kudō, *Heianchō ritsuryō shakai*, 78-83.

²² On the establishment of the *kidendō* curriculum see further Momo, *Jōdai gakusei*, 132-52.

²³ *Hokuzanshō*, 326.

(*daigakuryō* 大学寮). The connection between *kidendō* scholarship and banquet poetry was reinforced by the fact that topics of composition were normally submitted for imperial approval by current professor of literature (*monjō bakase* 文章博士) in service at the Bureau. Poetic composition at the early Heian court was thus gradually established as a formally recognized quasi-bureaucratic service for the state performed at institutionalized poetry banquets, where it was mainly provided by a specialized body of poets.

Inasmuch as they placed the sovereign at the vertex of an ordered community through a continuous ritual reenactment, institutionalized poetry banquets such as the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet were, like all state-run ceremonies, a prominent means to legitimize institutional power.²⁴ In particular, attendance to these banquets produced a continued legitimation of one's position at court in relation to the sovereign and the state. This was particularly true for *kidendō* graduates summoned as *monnin*. In addition to being able to enter the imperial palace and enjoy social proximity to the sovereign, institutionalized banquets gave them a formal, though temporary, position within the institutional court community. I therefore suggest that the continuous enactment of institutional banquets generated a distinct form of symbolic capital whose efficacy to formalize and legitimize these socio-political positions was precisely predicated on its reiterated invocation and accumulation through the composition of imperially-sponsored poetry. This symbolic capital produced and accumulated at institutionalized banquets, then, could be strategically appropriated and manipulated in order to make claims of cultural and socio-political power.

The notion of capital (cultural, social, and economic), and of symbolic capital in particular can be useful for understanding early Heian poetry banquets as sites that produced not only cultural but also socio-political meaning. One significant aspect of imperially-sponsored poetry banquets is that they were a site of socio-political harmonization that was affirmed through the distribution and transformation of cultural capital. Put it simply, poetry, as a form of cultural capital exchanged between the poets and the commissioner, was converted into social, economic, and symbolic capital. Both the sovereign and the poets (*monnin*) produced and received socio-political legitimation at banquets. For the *monnin*, cultural expertise was also converted in

²⁴ Recently, poetry banquets of the early Heian period have been interpreted as state ritual meant to symbolically reaffirm power relationships and cosmologically represent the structure of the court. See Smits, "Poets in Their Place;" Webb, "In Good Order," 77-92; Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 51-59; Gerlini, *Heian Court Poetry*, 23-65. Following the theories of the religious studies scholar Catherine Bell, Brian Steininger has posited poetry banquets as rituals whose effectiveness was guaranteed by the literary texts presented therein and that at the same time engendered the ritualization of those same texts, in a mutually reinforcing symbiotic relationship. Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 48-50.

economic capital insofar as the presentation of poetry would grant them material compensation, usually in the form of silk.²⁵ Within the environment of early Heian literary production, “symbolic capital” is best understood as a set of cultural elements whose accumulation could produce a privileged position in the social and political fields. Defining poetry banquets as a site of generation and exchange of different forms of capital can be productive for investigating how poetic composition was not only governed by dynamics of power, but also how it generated a symbolic capital that could support the imagination and the representation of specific socio-political identities.²⁶

Thus, broadly speaking, this dissertation focuses on the representations and claims to a specific socio-political identity by early Heian poets. As it will be argued, the status of “poet” at the early Heian court needed to be repeatedly defined, claimed, and negotiated. If banquets can be thought of as sites in which these identity claims particularly converge, then banquet poetry (or the relationship to banquet culture of the poetry composed in any context) can also be interpreted as a means to lay and circulate such claims. By extension, poetry collection become a productive site to accumulate symbolic capital and produce socio-political identities. In this thesis, particular attention is given to *Kanke bunsō*, the personal collection of the *kidendō* scholar Sugawara no Michizane, as a way to identify the strategic construction of his self-proclaimed identity as a court poet. As will be seen, within the early Heian cultural ecosystem formed at the intersection of the imperial clan, the Sugawara House, and institutionalized banquet culture, Michizane’s identity as a poet would become inextricably intertwined with the modality of literary production of institutional *monnin*. Institutionalized poetic activity, thus, reveals to be a crucial cultural phenomenon upon which the identity of poets needs to be negotiated during the early Heian period.

3. Outline of Dissertation

On a general level, this dissertation is configured as a study of the effects that the early Heian institutionalization of poetic activity exerted on those *kidendō* graduates who were involved in the

²⁵ For the procedures that regulated the distribution of material stipends at the Double Nine Banquet, see for example *Engi shiki*, 736.

²⁶ Although now widely used, the notion of symbolic capital is perhaps most strongly associated with the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. While I loosely draw on Bourdieu’s notions of “field of power” and “position-taking” governed by the accumulation, distribution, and conversion of different forms of capital, my discussion of poetic banquets is not necessarily based on Bourdieu’s concept of “field.” In fact, I do not see poetic activity in the early Heian period as an autonomous field driven by a field-specific capital (e.g. literary prowess). See further Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 29-73. For insights on the application of Bourdieu’s concepts of “field” and “capital” in the context of Heian poetic activity see Smits, “Places of Mediation.”

field of literary production. More specifically, the thesis investigates the dynamics that governed the formation, the perpetuation, and the decline of what I call the “early Heian ecosystem of Sinitic poetry.” This ecosystem, I posit, was generated by the growing interconnection of the Imperial Household and the Sugawara House during the early Heian period. The dissertation is structured in four chapters. Each chapter explores the culture of imperially-sponsored institutionalized banquets from different perspectives. The first chapter investigates the process of institutionalization of poetry banquets from early ninth century and the initial marginal and unstable position of Sinitic poetry within the activities of *kidendō*-trained Confucian scholars at the Bureau of High Education (*daigakuryō*). Furthermore, it explores the occupation by the Sugawara House of the professional niche represented by poetic composition at institutionalized banquets. The second chapter proposes a multilayered reading of Sugawara no Michizane’s personal collection *Kanke bunsō* (Literary Drafts of the Sugawara House), as a case study to highlight the cultural significance of institutionalized banquet culture for the definition of self-identity of an early Heian *kidendō* scholar whose primary activity is identified in poetic practice. The third chapter contributes with an epistemological analysis of the early Heian “poetry banquet” by recovering the modalities and the functions of poetic literacy within the Imperial Household. The underlying thesis here is that the development of poetic activity during the early Heian period was indissolubly tied to its significance as a form of cultural legitimacy of the imperial clan. The fourth chapter examines the structure of the cultural ecosystem which is proposed as a descriptive model of the modalities of poetic production in the early Heian period. The model is analyzed through the analysis of the textual production of the early tenth-century scholar Ōe no Asatsuna 大江朝綱 (886-957). Furthermore, this model is also put to test with a discussion of the representation of the Sugawara House in mid-Heian literary anthologies and with an analysis of the early eleventh-century poetry collection *Honchō reisō* 本朝麗藻 (Poetic Masterpieces of Our Court). By confronting the early Heian model of literary production with the cultural and socio-political shifts occurred from the second half of the tenth century, this dissertation therefore examines the rise and fall of a specific cultural ecosystem. In addition, I have also added three appendixes. The first appendix offers the complete translation of all the poem titles in Sugawara no Michizane’s collection *Kanke bunsō*. The second one consists in the translation of the section “Celebrated [places]” (所誉) of the collection generally referred to as *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui* 平安朝佚名詩序集拔萃 (Refined Excerpts from an Anonymous Preface Collection of the Heian Court). The last appendix offers the translation of the preface

and poems from Emperor Uda's lingering chrysanthemum banquet of Kanpyō 寛平 1 (889), the only complete poetry banquet that survives from the early Heian period.

Chapter One

THE CONFUCIAN GROVE AND THE GARDEN OF WRITING *Kidendō* Literacy, Banquet Culture, and the Sugawara House

The promulgation of a set of administrative and legal codes (*ritsuryō* 律令) at the beginning of the eighth century ushered in an era that was characterized by the spread of literacy and the performance of various genres of Sinitic writings. For the most part possessed by a group of specialized, low-ranking bureaucrats, literary skills were crucial for the production and circulation of the written documents that sustained the state machinery of the Nara and Heian periods.¹ The Bureau of Education generally functioned as a training institution that produced literate officials who could enter the bureaucracy of the centralized state.² Among the Bureau's curricula, the *monjōdō* 文章道 (the letters curriculum, which later merged with the newly established *kidendō*, the way of annals and biographies) specifically focused on writing.³ This curriculum produced individuals who were highly skilled in the composition of types of writings categorized as 'literary,' that is, as a category of language separated and distinct from the realm of everyday speech and script. Writings composed, circulated, and performed in bureaucratic and ritual contexts, such as edicts (*shō* 詔), memorials (*hyō* 表), and petitions (*jō* 状), were drafted in the formally codified style of parallel prose and typically referred to as 'patterned writing' (*bunshō*, or *monjō* 文章), an ornate language characterized by a high degree of formal constructedness and elaborate vocabulary and diction deemed appropriate for political and ritualistic contexts.⁴

Sinitic poetry (*shi* 詩), in particular, fell within the larger realm of *bunshō*, and its composition at official events was normally entrusted to learned individuals. With the compilation of *Kōnin shiki* 弘仁式 (Ceremonial Procedure of the Kōnin era) in Kōnin 11 (820)

¹ On the expansion of literacy in the late seventh and early eighth centuries see Lurie, *Realms of Literacy*, 115-66.

² The earliest extant regulations concerning the Bureau of Education were recorded in the administrative codes compiled prior to the Nara period in 701 (Taihō 大宝 1).

³ In the early ninth century, this curriculum, originally named *monjōdō* (The Way of Patterned Writing), was merged with the *kidendō* track, which focused on the study of the continental histories, and retained the latter name along with the focus on writing proficiency. See Momo, *Jōdai gakusei*, 132-52.

⁴ Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 79-83. The formal qualities of Heian parallel prose are described in Ōsone, *Ōchō kanbungaku ronkō*, 288-312. For a discussion on the category of 'pattern' (*wen* 文) in ancient China and the historical transfer of the meaning to ornate writing, see Kern, *Ritual, Text, and the Formation of the Canon*.

these learned individuals were explicitly identified with the members of the *kidendō* graduate elite. As a form of writing associated to a particular professional class, that of the graduates of the *kidendō* curriculum at the Bureau of High Education, then, poetry existed within a range of textual forms and genres. In turn, because of its connection to other forms of literary writings, the composition of poetry in literary Sinitic became fundamentally tied to the literary expertise of the *kidendō* professional class, especially at the venues where poetry was composed in official capacity on the sovereign's request. However, not every literary genre had an equal standing within the cultural system of *kidendō* literacy and performance. As a matter of fact, it seems that during the early Heian period poetry was yet to become a recognized and self-sustaining field of activity for *kidendō* graduates, especially those of higher status, the so-called Confucian scholars (*jusha* 儒者). The renewed importance that Sinitic poetry acquired with the tremendous expansion of the culture of poetic banquets from the beginning of the ninth century generated both tensions and possibilities. Before becoming a fully recognized genre of *kidendō* activity by the second half of the tenth century, poetry conspicuously appears as a cultural asset of the Sugawara House, who sought to demarcate a field of specialized activity for its members. In the trajectory by which poetry emerged as one major genre for *kidendō* graduates, the Sugawara House seems to have played a paramount role in presenting poetry as an autonomous field of action for Confucian scholars. In the memorial presented together with the presentation of Sugawara no Michiazane's collection *Kanke bunsō* (The Literary Drafts of the Sugawara House) to the throne in Shōtai 3 (900), the last paragraph opens with the line:

臣伏惟臣家為儒林文苑尚矣

Prostrate on the ground, this subject recalls his house long dwelling in the garden of writing amidst the Confucian grove.⁵

This passage signals an important move on the part of the Sugawara House: to extrapolate the writing of *bun* 文 (i.e. the composition of Sinitic poetry) as an autonomous realm of activity within the performative world of Confucian scholarship. As will be seen, the socio-political tensions and possibilities for those who composed poetry generated by the growing importance of banquet culture ensured that during the early Heian period the relationship between poetry and Confucian literacy remained somewhat unstable. In this process, the Sugawara House

⁵ *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 674.

claimed authority over the field of poetic activity at institutionalized banquets and contributed to elevate poetry as a prestigious genre for *kidendō* graduates.

This chapter explores the complex dynamics that governed the position of poetry within *kidendō* literacy in the early Heian period. First, it will be argued that poetry moved from being performed by virtue of status to being composed on account of expertise. In particular, historiographical works from the early ninth century document this shift, where the category of the so-called *monnin* 文人 in the occasion of official poetry banquets came to identify not merely those who possessed literary skills, but a precise professional category centered on the *kidendō* track at the Bureau of High Education. Furthermore, the initial uneasy relationship between status and expertise in coordinating the participation and the performance of poetry in the early Heian court is analyzed with reference to the first imperially-commissioned anthology, *Ryōunshū* 凌雲集 (Collection Soaring Above the Clouds, 814).

Second, I determine the position of poetry within the broader realm of *kidendō* literacy in the early Heian period. Starting from the reading of sources that testify to the prominent position of poetic composition within the array of Confucian scholarship by the mid- and late Heian period, this section then goes on to instead investigate the unstable place of poetry during the early Heian period. On the one hand, the relative position of poetry as a field of Confucian activity is analyzed with reference to the distribution of literary capital in anthologies such as *Honchō monzui* 本朝文粹 (Literary Essence of This Court, ca 1060) and *Ruijū kundaishō* 類聚句題抄 (Collection of Classified Verse-topic Poems, 11th century). This analysis reveals that poetic talent is associated to a handful of individuals, whereas the majority of historically known early Heian Confucian scholars only make a scant appearance in literary anthologies. On the other hand, I revisit the so-called *shijin muyō* 詩人無用 (“useless poets”) discourse associated to the *kidendō* graduate and poet Shimada no Tadaomi 島田忠臣 (828-891). In contrast to previous scholarship on this subject, I suggest that this discourse is less a criticism to the inherent value of poetry *per se* than a commentary on the socio-political possibilities and limitations of those who like Tadaomi pursued poetry as a primary form of occupation in early Heian Japan. In this light, the *shijin muyō* discourse reveals poetry as a marginalized field of activity for Confucian scholars in the early Heian period.

Last, I investigate the role of the Sugawara House in seeking to extrapolate poetry composed at institutional venues as a specific domain of Confucian literary activity upon which it

could claim authority. In this section, I support the argument that in the early Heian period poetry was a field of activity actively claimed by the members of the Sugawara House by reading one indirect source. In particular, I read the preface to a now lost collection of poetry by the *kidendō* graduate and Confucian scholar Ki no Haseo 紀長谷雄 (845-912), *Engi igo shijo* 延喜以後詩序 (Preface to the Poetry Composed After the Engi Era). On the one hand, this text reveals the crucial importance of the Sugawara House in supplying poetic training and legitimation for poets who were active in the field of institutionalized poetry banquets; on the other hand, it suggests the formation of a poetic community around the Sugawara House whose underlying communal ground was the participation to imperially sponsored poetry banquets. All in all, early Heian sources narrate a history of Sinitic poetry in Japan as growing from a marginalized niche of Confucian activity first occupied by the Sugawara House to a fully autonomous and prestigious field of action for Confucian scholars.

1. Sinitic Poetry, Status, and Expertise

The Shift from Social Status to Professional Expertise in Early Heian Poetry Banquets

By the mid-ninth century, two poetry banquets were being held as state rituals, meaning that they were included on the calendar of the Heian court's annual ceremonies: the 'Palace Banquet' (*naien* 内宴), normally held on either the 20th, 21st, or 22nd day of the first month, and the 'Double Nine Banquet' (*chōyōen* 重陽宴), also known as the Chrysanthemum Festival, so called because it was held on the ninth day of the ninth month. Beginning with the *Kōnin shiki* 弘仁式 (Procedures of the Kōnin era, ca 820), the ceremonial procedures for these banquets included performances by specialized poets, called *monnin* 文人 (literally 'men of letters'), stipulating that they be selected from the graduates of the *kidendō* 紀伝道 (the Way of Annals and Biographies)—the *belles lettres* curriculum at the Bureau of Education. The participation of *kidendō* graduates to institutionalized banquets was therefore specifically contingent on their formal literary training. Further, the provision of an official stipend specifically to poets of *monnin* status in effect inscribed their performances within the bureaucracy of the state in a quasi-institutional manner. The Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet were staged regularly as official annual state ceremonies from the beginning of the ninth century until the early tenth century and then they were held

sporadically for a time before being discontinued entirely sometime after 950.⁶ For roughly one-and-a-half centuries, then, this efficient poetic machinery produced and perpetuated an institutionally sanctioned socio-political configuration of literary activity.

The poets' responses to the institutionalized configuration of poetic practice and their development as a professional category during the early Heian period paralleled the gradual conceptualization of poetry in literary Sinitic as a distinct form of cultural capital. Already in the late eighth century, the composition of poetry had been integrated into the Winding Stream Banquet (*kyokusui no en* 曲水宴), which Emperor Kanmu 桓武 (737-806, r. 781-806) held on the third day of the third month both before and after moving the court to the new capital of Heian in 794.⁷ Perhaps in response to the regularity with which poets were now being summoned to perform at state rituals, and following the precedents of the Tang civil service examinations, the Bureau of Education included poetic composition on assigned topics as a test subject for the selection of literature students (*monjōshō* 文章生) for the *kidendō* curriculum, thereby institutionalizing poetry within the array of literary skills that *kidendō* graduates were expected to master.⁸

The inclusion of poetry as a test subject in the *kidendō* curriculum took place at a moment of tremendous expansion in sovereign-sponsored poetic activity, especially during the reign of Emperor Saga 嵯峨 (786-842, r. 809-823). After the Winding Stream Banquet ceased to be held owing to its temporal proximity to the date on which Emperor Kanmu died in 806, poetic events shifted to other auspicious dates on the Confucian lunar calendar, such as the Double Seven (the *tanabata* 七夕 festival) and the aforementioned Double Nine, as well as to dates associated with the progress of the seasons, such as the Blossom-viewing Banquet at the end of the second month.⁹ Though only the Double Nine Banquet was later fully institutionalized as an annual state ceremony, all of these events were conducted as state rituals insofar as they were held in the

⁶ Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 54-144.

⁷ Due to temporal contiguity to the death of Emperor Kanmu, this banquet ceased to be held as a state ceremony soon after the latter's reign. On the Winding Stream Banquet as an institutionalized ritual at the early Heian court and its iterations in subsequent periods, see Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 269-304.

⁸ The exact date for the introduction of poetry as a test subject is not known, but the first indication of the *monjōshō* examination is found in the biography of the *kidendō* graduate Sugawara no Kiyotomo 菅原清公 (770-842), who seems to have passed the selection in 789 (Enryaku 延暦 8). The entry is in *Shoku nibon kōki* 続日本後紀 (Later Annals of Japan Continued, 869) on 842 (Jōwa 承和 9)/10/17. See Momo, *Jōdai gakusei*, 86-87. An overview of the institution of poetry composition in the Tang civil service examination is in Vedal, *Never Taking a Shortcut*.

⁹ Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 36-42.

Shinsen'en 神泉苑, an imperial park that functioned as a *de facto* extension of the official public spaces of the imperial court.¹⁰

As a type of court ritual, poetic banquets were an arena both for literary activity and for reaffirming symbolically the bureaucratic structure of the court assembled around its ruler. The spatial disposition of the participants and the sequences in which actions were performed thus served to reproduce and confirm social hierarchies.¹¹ In this context, the composition of poetry on a topic chosen by the sovereign enacted socio-political harmony among the participants and echoed the daily scribal and bureaucratic activities of court officials over which the sovereign ostensibly presided.¹² Participation in such forms of ritual was strictly conditional on court office, with the fifth rank normally serving as the threshold. In early iterations of poetic banquets, participants with recognized literary skills would be asked to present a poem. Significantly, during the early ninth century, in conjunction with the expansion of sovereign-sponsored poetic activity and the new position of poetry within the Bureau of Education, the summoning of *kidendō* graduates to participate began to be predicated on their assumed literary prowess and irrespective of their court rank. Historiographical works can offer a glimpse of this development, for example through a comparison of the following two passages from *Nihon kōki* 日本後紀 (Later Records of Japan, 840):

宴次侍從以上。命文人賦詩。賜物有差。

A banquet was offered for assistant chamberlains and those of higher rank. *Monnin* were commanded to compose poetry. Presents were bestowed on the attendants according to their rank.

(*Nihon kōki*, Enryaku 23 [804]/3/3)

幸神泉苑宴侍從已上。奏妓樂。命文人賦詩。五位已上及文人賜祿有差。

Royal excursion to the Shinsen'en park. A banquet was offered for chamberlains and above. Music and dance were provided, and *monnin* were commanded to compose poetry. Stipends were distributed to those above the fifth rank and the *monnin* according to rank.

(*Nihon kōki*, Kōnin 3 [812]/9/9)

¹⁰ The Shinsen'en park, which occupied a large space south-east of the Imperial Palace, was formally created by Emperor Kanmu at the time of the construction of the new capital city of Heian at the end of the eighth century. However, the park seems to have originated as gradual reorganization of a portion of the imperial palace where the quarters of the Crown Prince were located by the late Nara period, when this space was already used for banquets and public events. With the transfer of the capital city from Heijō to Nagaoka and then to Heian, this space was eventually detached from the palace and transformed into a park; see Yoshino, *Shinsen'en no tanjō*. The similarities in the architecture of the structures in Shinsen'en with those in the public spaces of the imperial court, such as the Buraku-in 豊楽院, a hall originally conceived to host entertainment, ceremonies, and banquets, further reinforce the connection between the park and the imperial palace; see Yamada, *Kyūseiiki no kodai ōken to kin'en*.

¹¹ For an analysis of early Heian poetic banquets as state rituals see Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 51-59.

¹² Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 55.

The first passage describes the Winding Stream Banquet held in 804 (Enryaku 23) and it is representative of the description of poetic banquets in the late Nara period and the first decade of the Heian period. It is the source of the detail just cited that the banquets were open to courtiers above the fifth rank.¹³ The *monnin* who provided poetry are represented as belonging to this body of officialdom. The second entry exemplifies the descriptions of banquets during the early Heian period beginning with the reign of Emperor Saga in 809. Now, the *monnin* appear instead to constitute a distinct social class that is not explicitly connected to court office and rank and that receives emoluments specifically for literary service. Kudō Shigenori sees here a shift in the nuance of the meaning of *monnin*. As has been seen, this term, literally meaning ‘men of letters,’ originally denoted individuals skilled in writing or, more broadly, Confucian scholars. With the rapid expansion of the culture of poetry banquets in the early ninth century and with the subsequent institutionalization of the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet, the meaning of *monnin* shifted to indicate the status—akin to court rank and office and therefore sufficient to guarantee a material stipend—that was assigned temporarily to those summoned for the specific service of providing poetry, as opposed to the attending officials who might have the option to offer a poem (and receive extra compensation) but whose access was based on status and bureaucratic office rather than credentials as a trained poet.¹⁴ In other words, the two entries above document a shift in the conception of the social group that provided poetry at early Heian banquets from court official defined by rank to literary professionals defined by expertise.

In historiographical works pertaining to the Nara and the beginning of the Heian period periods, entries about poetry banquets invariably imply that *monnin* were literate individuals chosen from the pool of attendants to the banquet, normally courtiers above the fifth rank. The oldest extant anthology of Sinitic poetry, *Kaifūsō* 懷風藻 (Poetic Gems Cherishing the Style of Old, 751), includes primarily members of the imperial family and officials of the fifth rank or above, thereby clearly demarcating the social space of poetic composition at the time. Of the sixty-four poets included, only seven possess a rank below the fifth. In *Kaifūsō*, thus, the social space of poetic activity is represented in compliance with the socio-political demarcations that excluded those below the fifth rank from proximity to the center of power. In the same way attendance to ceremonies and poetic banquets was permitted to those of fifth rank and above, the selection of authors in *Kaifūsō* focuses primarily on individuals from said social class.

¹³ Chamberlains (*jūju* 侍従) and assistant chamberlains (*jū-jūju* 次侍従) were ancillary officials assigned to individuals of the fifth rank or above. According to the Taihō code, the duties of chamberlains involved assisting the sovereigns in a number of matters by ‘compensating for deficiencies.’ See the entry in *Kanshoku yōkai*, 71-72.

¹⁴ Kudō, *Ritsuryō shakai*, 78-83.

Interestingly, among the seven poets who constitute an exception within the collection, three are recorded as having an office associated to Confucian literacy and education, while other two can be connected to the Bureau of High Education through indirect evidence. Furthermore, all except one are from clans that descended from families immigrated from the Korean peninsula. This evidence strongly suggests that these individuals possessed some degree of Sinitic literacy on account of their bureaucratic office or their family descentance.¹⁵ Table 1 offers an overview of poets below the fifth rank in *Kaifūsō*.

- Judge, Junior seventh rank lower, Ki no Ason Sueshige.
[Historical record has “Middle Judge, Senior sixth rank upper, Ki no Ason Sueshige” in the biography of his grandson Ki no Nagatamaro of Tenchō 2 (825) in *Ruijū kokushi* 類聚国史, which casts doubt on the rank that appears in *Kaifūsō*.]
- Senior sixth rank upper, Left clerk of the Controller Office, Keijojin.
[descendant of Korean immigrants. The clerks at the Controller Office were in charge of reading documents, which implies a certain degree of literacy.]
- Professor of the [Bureau of] High Education, Junior sixth rank upper, Tanabe no Fuhito Momoe.
[Descendant of Korean immigrants. The bureaucratic position naturally implies a high degree of literacy.]
- Instructor to the Crown Prince, Senior sixth rank upper, Tsuki no Imiki Komaro.
[Descendant of Korean immigrants. The bureaucratic position naturally implies a high degree of literacy.]
- Senior sixth rank upper, Second assistant to the governor of Iyo, Tori no Minori.

¹⁵ Immigrant scribes from the Korean peninsula and their descendants were paramount in establishing the degree of literacy necessary for the “writing-based” administration established from mid-seventh century in Japan. Lurie, *Realms of Literacy*, 126.

[Descendant of Korean immigrants. Two undated *taisaku* examination pieces by him are included in *Keikokushū*, suggesting that he had been granted *shūsai* status. This means he possessed a high degree of literacy and erudition.^{16]}

- Senior sixth rank upper, Governor of Tanba, Kudara no Kimi Yamatomaro.

[Descendant of Korean immigrants. Two *taisaku* examination pieces by him dated Keiun 慶雲 4 (707) are included in *Keikokushū*, suggesting that he had been granted *shūsai* status.

This means he possessed a high degree of literacy and erudition.]

- Recluse, Tami no Kurohito.

[Descendant of Korean immigrants.]

Table 1: Poets below the fifth rank in *Kaifūsō*.¹⁷

In *Kaifūsō*, the exception to the fifth-rank demarcating line is constituted by individuals who presumably possessed some degree of Sinitic literacy by virtue of their educational or family background. These few exceptions testify to the somewhat limited porosity of the above-fifth-rank status limitation in relation to literacy and literary expertise. As a matter of fact, the relationship and the tension between social status and literary expertise would become more and more acute as the latter gradually overshadowed the former in coordinating the participation of learned individuals to official poetry banquets from the beginning of the ninth century.

Status and Expertise in *Ryōunshū*

The uneasy relationship between status and expertise and the tension brought about by the changes in it during the early Heian period among the elite of *kidendō* graduates is clearly visible in the literary works of the time. The significance of poetic composition during Emperor Saga's reign manifested in the appearance of two poetry anthologies compiled at royal behest: *Ryōunshū*

¹⁶ The early academy was organized according to four examinations: *shūsai* 秀才 (“Flourishing Talent”), *myōgyō* 明經 (“Classics”), *shinshi* 進士 (“Advanced Scholar”), and *myōbō* 明法 (“Law”). The *shūsai* examination was apparently the most difficult, and the status granted by passing it the most prestigious. See Borgen, *Sugawara no Michizane*, 75-76.

¹⁷ Biographic information is gathered from Kojima, *Kaifūsō, Bunka shureishū, Honchō monzui*, 505-12.

凌雲集 (Collection Soaring Above the Clouds, 814), and *Bunka shūreishū* 文華秀麗集 (Collection of Masterpieces of Literary Talent, 818). A third anthology, *Keikokushū* 經国集 (Collection for Binding the Realm), was compiled in 827 (Tenchō 天長 4) during the reign of Saga's successor, Emperor Junna 淳和 (786-840, r. 823-833). Notably, the compilers of all three collections were *kidendō* graduates, and, apart from the poetry composed by members of the imperial household, nearly all of the poems included in the collections were also composed by *kidendō* graduates, symbolizing the unmistakable connection between *kidendō* poetic practice and the imperial household from the early Heian period.

The compilation of these literary anthologies has been interpreted as a symbolical means of naturalizing the socio-political order and affirming the sovereign's political and ritual authority through his oversight of literary activity.¹⁸ One aspect of the anthologies that has largely been overlooked, however, relates to the compilers' strategies for conceptualizing social differentiation within the community of *kidendō* graduates in the anthologies. *Ryōunshū*, for example, includes ninety-one poems by twenty-four authors ordered hierarchically by court rank with the works of the higher-ranking authors first. Poets of the fifth rank are the best represented in the collection, accounting for ten of the twenty-four, and their poems are positioned symbolically at the center between the seven poets above the fifth rank and seven poets below that rank. The fifth rank is further distinguished in that poems from sovereign-sponsored official banquets are only represented by poets of that rank and above. Poets below the fifth rank, by contrast, are only represented by compositions performed outside the official spaces of the court, specifically, poems written at the sovereign's request for unofficial gatherings, poems exchanged among *kidendō* graduates, poems composed on continental historical subjects, poems written for the envoys of the Korean kingdom of Balhae 渤海, and poems composed on personal matters. Table 2 offers a perspective on the relationship between status (equal or above the fifth rank) and participation to imperially sponsored official banquets.

In *Ryōunshū*, the differentiation between poets above and below the fifth rank mirrors the distribution of academic status among the members of the *kidendō* graduate community within the collection. As a matter of fact, those below the fifth rank are most closely associated with the Bureau of Education and bureaucratic posts traditionally requiring academic status and literary expertise, such as the Inner Scribe Office. Examples include the poets Ōtomo no Ujikami 大伴氏上 (dates unknown) and Shigeno no Sadanushi 滋野貞主 (785-852), who were respectively grand and junior inner scribe at the time *Ryōunshū* was compiled. Significantly, the last poet to

¹⁸ Webb, *In Good Order*, 159-231.

appear in *Ryōunshū*, as well as the lowest-ranked, Kose no Shikihito 巨勢識人 (dates unknown), is also one of the few identifiable as *shūsai* 秀才 (Flourishing Talent) in the collection.

- Royal compositions [Emperor Saga]

- (3) Blossom Banquet at Shinsen'en park. Composing a piece on falling flowers.
- (4) Double Nine Festival at Shinsen'en park. Offering a banquet to the assembled ministers.
- (5) Ninth month, ninth day. Offering a banquet to the assembled ministers at Shinsen'en. Each composing on an object: I draw "autumn chrysanthemums."
- (6) Double Nine Festival at Shinsen'en park. Composing along on the topic: "The three months of autumn offer a plentiful harvest."

- Compositions by the Crown Prince [Emperor Junna]

- (25) Ninth month, ninth day. Attending a banquet at Shinsen'en park. Each composing on an object: I draw "autumn dew." [A poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.
- (26) Autumn night, attending a banquet in the Inner Hall.

- Junior fourth rank lower acting as governor of Harima province Kaya no Ason Toyotoshi

- (36) Third month, third day. Attending a banquet. [One poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.
- (37) Third month, third day. Attending a banquet. Three poems: first poem.
- (38) Third month, third day. Attending a banquet. Three poems: second poem.
- (39) Third month, third day. Attending a banquet. Three poems: third poem.

- Captain of the Left Division of Palace Guards, Junior Fourth Rank Lower, acting as Governor of Tanba Province Yoshimine no Ason Yasuyo.

- (49) Ninth month, ninth day. Attending a banquet at Shinsen'en park. Each composing on an object: I draw "autumn lotus." [A poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.

- Director of the Bureau of Palace Storehouses, Junior Fifth Rank Upper, Captain of the Left Division of the Bureau of Horses, Governor of Mino Province Ono no Ason Minemori

(56)	Miscellaneous verses. Attending a banquet at Shinsen'en park. Composing a piece on falling flowers. [One poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.
(58)	Ninth month, ninth day. Attending a banquet at Shinsen'en park. Each composing on an object: I draw "autumn willow." [A poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Junior Fifth Rank Upper, acting as Junior Assistant of the Ministry of Ceremonial Affairs Sugawara no Ason Kiyotomo
(69)	Ninth month, ninth day. Attending a banquet at Shinsen'en park. Each composing on an object: I draw "autumn mountains." [A poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Outer Junior Fifth Rank Upper, acting as Assistant Manager of Yamashiro Province Takaoka no Sukune Otokoe
(79)	Third month, third day. Attending a banquet at Shinsen'en park. [One poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.
(80)	Miscellaneous verses. Attending a banquet at Shinsen'en park. Composing a piece on falling flowers. [One poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.

Table 2: Imperially sponsored poetry banquets and poets above fifth rank in *Ryōunshū*.

This designation means that he had passed the highest *kidendō* examination—known as *shūsai* or, later, as the Policy Test (*hōryakushi* 方略試)—and was therefore considered a Confucian scholar.¹⁹ Table 3 presents the list of *Ryōunshū* poets below the fifth rank and their association to bureaucratic posts connected to academic status and education.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Left clerk of the Controller Office, Senior sixth rank upper, and supernumerary senior second assistant to the governor of Ise Sakanoue no Imiki Imatsugu. <p>[Clerks (<i>shi</i> 史) at the Controller Office were in charge of reading documents, a position that presumably required a certain degree of literacy.²⁰ Scholarship students (<i>monjō tokugōshō</i>) of the <i>kidendō</i> curriculum were often granted the position of second assistant to</p>

¹⁹ I follow Steininger for the translation of *hōryakushi* as "Policy Test." Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 136.

²⁰ On the clerks of the Controller Office see Hérail, *La Cour et l'Administration du Japon*, 136-40.

a provincial governor (*jō* 掾) as a way to provide them with a salary.²¹ Accordingly, Imatsugu might have been a scholarship student at the time of *Ryōunshū*'s compilation.

- Junior sixth rank lower, Grand Inner Scribe Ōtomo no Sukune Ujikami.

[The first career step for Confucian scholars who had passed the *taisaku* examination was often to be selected as Grand Inner Scribes (*daimaiki* 大内記) at the Ministry of Central Affairs. Ōtomo's bureaucratic office can thus be a hint on his educational background as a Confucian scholar.]

- Junior seventh rank upper, acting as Junior Inner Scribe Shigeno no Sukune Sadanushi.

[The Inner Scribe office was by default associated with people trained in the *kidendō* curriculum at the Bureau of High Education. Literature Students could expect to be selected for the position of junior inner scribe, while Confucian scholars were usually nominated grand inner scribe. Shigeno no Sadanushi obtained the status of Literature Student (*monjōshō*) in Daidō 大同 2 (807).²²]

- Junior eighth rank upper, acting as supernumerary junior second assistant to the governor of Harima Tajihi no Mahito Kiyosada.

[In the same way as Sakanoue no Imatsugu, the assignment to the supernumerary assistantship to a provincial governor might hint to Kiyosada's status as Scholarship Student.]

- Junior third assistant to the governor of Michinoku, Junior eighth rank lower Kuwahara no Miyasaku.

[Too little information on the biography of Miyasaku is left to warrant any association with the Bureau of High Education.]

- Literature Student, supernumerary professor in the Sagami province, Great Initial rank lower Kuwahara no Haraka.

²¹ Momo, *Jōdai gakusei*, 285-86.

²² *Kugyō bunin*, 109.

[The status of Literary Student offers evidence of Haraka’s connection with the Bureau of High Education.]

- Shadow Grandchild, no rank, Kose no Ason Shikihito.

[Shikihito is referred to as *shūsai*, “Flourishing Talent,” in a poem by Emperor Saga (*Ryōunshū* 19), meaning that he had passed the *taisaku* examination and was therefore considered a Confucian scholar.]

Table 3: Poets below fifth rank in *Ryōunshū* with their connection to academic status.

All in all, *kidendō* academic status (with its associated literary expertise and authority) seems to have been inversely proportional to court rank in *Ryōunshū*. By mirroring the early socio-political significance of the fifth rank for the participation in sovereign-sponsored banquets, the compilers of *Ryōunshū*—all of at least the fifth rank by the time the collection was completed (ca 814)—apparently sought to demarcate the socio-political possibilities and limitations of *kidendō* graduates strategically at a time when court rank was being replaced by recognition of expertise and academic status in coordinating the social determinants of poetic activity. In privileging status over expertise, *Ryōunshū* appears to have been compiled in a somewhat conservative fashion. In *Ryōunshū*, thus, poetry in literary Sinitic is represented as an unbalanced and contested space within the realm of the officially recognized literary production of the early Heian *kidendō* graduates.

At the beginning of the ninth century, just when the custom of imperially sponsored poetry banquets was expanding into a true cultural force that would define the character of the following century, *kidendō* graduates were identified as the primary social pool from which poets were sought after. As the strategic organization of *Ryōunshū* suggests, however, poetry at institutionalized banquets was not immediately reconfigured as one major field of activity for *kidendō* graduates. This unbalanced position caused both tensions and possibilities: as poetry was conceived as a marginal activity by Confucian scholars, during the second half of the ninth century the Sugawara House sought to strategically lay claim over this field of cultural production.

2. Sinitic Poetry, *Kidendō* Literacy, and Confucian Literary Writing

Literary Talent and Confucian Erudition in mid- and late Heian Japan

From the beginning of the ninth century, Sinitic poetry begins to appear in systematic conjunction with individuals trained in the *kidendō* track at the Bureau of High Education. Sometime at the end of the eighth century, during the Enryaku 延暦 era (782-806), poetry becomes a test subject for the selection of Literature Students (*monjōshō* 文章生) in the *kidendō* track.²³ The rapid expansion of poetic culture in the first decades of the ninth century goes in tandem with the compilation of three anthologies of Sinitic poetry: *Ryōunshū* 凌雲集 (Collection Soaring Above the Clouds, 814), *Bunka shūreishū* 文華秀麗集 (Collection of Masterpieces of Literary Talent, 818), and *Keikokushū* 經國集 (Collection for Ordering the Realm, 827). These anthologies primarily collect poems from graduates of the *kidendō* curriculum and members of the imperial household, and their compilation is entrusted to individuals with educational background in the *kidendō*. The preface of *Ryōunshū*, for example, mentions that the collection was compiled by Ono no Minemori 小野岑守 (778-830), Sugawara no Kiyotomo 菅原清公 (770-842), and the Assistant Director of the Bureau of High Education Isayama no Fumitsugu 勇山文繼 (773-828) with the assistance of Kaya no Toyotoshi 賀陽豐年 (751-815). Minemori was a former Literature Student, while both Kiyotomo and Toyotoshi were Confucian scholars at the time of *Ryōunshū*'s compilation.²⁴

The connection between *shi* poetry and the graduates of the *kidendō* would only grow larger during the Heian period. By the late Heian period, poetry was considered one of the basic assets of Confucian scholars. Aristocratic diaries of the time often depict Confucian scholars by juxtaposing their ability in Confucian erudition (*saigaku*) and literary talent (*bunshō*). The scholar Satō Michio 佐藤道生 has analyzed the occurrences of these terms in the diaries by Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠 (1062-1141), *Chūyūki* 中右記 (Diary of the Nakamikado Minister of the Right), and by Fujiwara no Kanezane 藤原兼実 (1149-1207), *Gyokuyō* 玉葉 (Precious Leaves),

²³ The appearance of poetry as a test subject for the selection of Literature Students follows briefly the appearance of the status of "Literature Student" within the *kidendō* curriculum in early Heian sources; see Momo, *Jōdai gakusei*, 79-86. For an analysis of the first extant examples of examination poetry (*shijōshi* 試帖詩) from the beginning of the Heian period see Li, "Keikokushū' no shijōshi kō."

²⁴ See as a reference the biographies provided in Kojima Noriyuki, *Kokufū ankoku jidai no bungaku chū* (*chū*), 1840-1841, 1844-1845, 1849-1850.

showing that in most cases the term *bunshō* refers primarily to ability in poetic composition.²⁵ One anecdote included in the early Kamakura (1185-1333) *setsuma* 説話 collection *Kojidan* 古事談 (Talks about Ancient Matters) clearly shows the distribution of these two forms of learning within a community of *kidendō* scholars:²⁶

文時之弟子、分二座テ座列之時、文章座ニハ保胤為一座、才学座ニハ称文為一座。而只藤秀才最貞企参上致諍論云々。文時被問由緒、最貞云、切韻文字ノ本文、無不知之云々。文時ハ又史書全經專堪之者也。仍尚以称文為一座云々。

When [Sugawara no] Fumitoki's students were lined up into two companies, [Yoshishige no] Yasutane was at the head of the literature [*bunshō*] group and Shōmon was at the head of the scholarship [*saigaku*] group. However, Fujiwara no Motosada, a scholarship student, stepped forward to argue with this. When Fumitoki asked his reason, Motosada said, 'Among the usage quotations for characters in the *Qieyun*, there is not a single one I do not know.' Fumitoki, then, replied that he had chosen Shōmon to be at the head [of the *saigaku* group] on account of his extensive erudition on the historical works and all the classics."²⁷

In the anecdote, textual erudition and mnemonic ability with regard to the texts used in the *kidendō* curriculum (the Confucian classics and the three histories) is contrasted with literary ability in poetry composition. Moreover, text-based erudition on a rhyming dictionary such as the *Qieyun* 切韻 (Divided Rhymes, 601) is cast as exemplary of the *saigaku* group, showing that Confucian erudition extended onto texts plausibly used in literary composition and suggesting a certain degree of overlapping between the two forms of Confucian learning. Furthermore, this anecdote interestingly casts the opposition between *bunshō* and *saigaku* in the mid-tenth century at the time when the Confucian scholar Sugawara no Fumitoki 菅原文時 (899-981) was active, suggesting that by this time poetry was already developing as a self-sustaining form of Confucian learning and as one primary field of performance for *kidendō* graduates.

Another anecdote, from the late-Heian Confucian scholar Ōe no Masafusa's 大江匡房 (1041-1111) *Godanshō* 江談抄 (The Ōe Conversations), recasts this double configuration of “poetic talent” and “erudition” in the field of imperially sponsored banquet poetry composition of the

²⁵ Satō, “‘bunshō’ to ‘saigaku.’”

²⁶ Attributed to Minamoto no Akikane 源顕兼 (1160-1215), this collection includes 462 anecdotes distributed in six volumes.

²⁷ *Kojidan* 6.36. Translation by Brian Steininger with minor adjustments. See Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 107.

mid-tenth century, by comparing the talent of the scholars Ōe no Asatsuna 大江朝綱 (886-958) and Ōe no Koretoki 大江維時 (888-963):

誰知秋昔為情盛 Who could know how the autumn evening makes my thoughts overflow?
三五晴天徹夜遊 With a clear sky on the fifteenth, we will revel through the night.
(“The Moon’s Image Floats in an Autumn Pool,” Ōe no Asatsuna, Teiji-in Palace)

古人相伝、昔有凶人。告相公曰、江納言常曰、相公巧詩於才淺也。相公聞之、亭子院詩席、江納言必為講師。相公作此句、誤欲令誦、而如作者心構之。相公大感。昔猶夜、為猶教也。

The old man told me, “Long ago there was a wicked man who informed Asatsuna that Ōe no Koretoki often said that Asatsuna was a talented poet, but a weak scholar. Hearing this, and knowing that Koretoki would certainly be the reader at the Teiji-in poetry banquet, Asatsuna crafted this couplet, hoping he could get Koretoki to read it incorrectly. However, [Koretoki] recited it just as the lines were intended [to be read], and Asatsuna was greatly impressed. 昔 means ‘evening,’ and 為 means ‘to cause.’”²⁸

The core of the anecdote revolves around the unusual meanings of the characters 昔 and 為, which normally took the meaning of “once” and “for” respectively. Moreover, the above anecdote shows two different forms of talent, “poetic ability” (詩) and “erudition” (才), by two respective Confucian scholars, Asatsuna and Koretoki, being showcased on the occasion of a poetry banquet held at the Teiji-in imperial villa.²⁹ What is significant about this anecdote is that the two branches that formed the literacy of a Confucian scholar here are both operating in the context of poetic composition, thereby recasting “literary talent” and “erudition” not only as two—at times opposing—assets of Confucian scholarship, but as two complementary abilities that make up a respected *shi* poet.

The repeated discourse of differentiation and opposition between *bunshō* and *saigaku* suggests that by the late Heian period, poetry was therefore an established field of activity for *kidendō* graduates and Confucian scholars. Ōe no Masafusa’s anecdote, in particular, shows that poetry composition could be reconceptualized as a microcosmos where the same abilities

²⁸ *Godanshō* 4.68. The translation is by Brian Steininger; see Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 179-180.

²⁹ The Teiji-in 亭子院 was one of the residences of Retired Emperor Uda 宇多 (867-931, r. 887-897). It was located in the eastern part of the capital, along the seventh avenue. On the residences of Retired Emperor Uda see Mezaki, *Kizōku shakai to koten bunka*, 60-73.

functioned in complementarity, foregrounding the significance and the prestige of poetry within the array of activities of the graduates of the *kidendō*. The fact that both anecdotes present stories that are set in the early tenth century, implanting a late-Heian dichotomy between *bunshō* and *saigaku* onto an earlier period, could in fact suggest that by that time poetry was well acknowledged as one strand of Confucian erudition and performance. As will be seen in the remainder of this paper, however, it seems that during the early Heian period poetry enjoyed a less stable position, especially in relation to other forms of literary writing that Confucian scholars, in particular, were expected to produce for the court. On the one hand, poetry appears to have been tied to a limited form of bureaucratic service demanded of the graduates of the *kidendō* by the court; on the other hand, poetry as a form of literary activity for the court seems to have been considered by Confucian scholars as a less prestigious field of literary performance.

Poetry as a Distinct Niche in Early Heian Japan

The compilation of the *Kōnin shiki* (Procedures of the Kōnin era) in 820 (Kōnin 弘仁 11) strengthened the connections among institutionalized banquets, literary expertise, and *kidendō* graduates. According to these procedures, the Ministry of Ceremonial Affairs selected those who would serve as *monnin* and provide the poetry for the Double Nine Banquet or the extraordinary institutional events that were modeled on it by releasing, two days before the event, a list of individuals that might include “literature students (*monjōshō*) and regular students (*gakushō* 学生) as well as officials versed in poetic composition serving in various bureaucratic posts.”³⁰ In principle, then, any regular student at the Bureau of Education who was sufficiently advanced to sit for the *monjōshō* examination, or any *monjōshō* graduate, was eligible for selection as *monnin*.³¹ In practice, it seems that established Confucian scholars were often selected.³² Academic status within the *kidendō* curriculum meant that any student and *kidendō* graduate was expected to be able to provide poetry upon request.

However, later collections that include early Heian material tend to focus on a few *kidendō* graduates who are heavily anthologized while many others appear only in passing. A

³⁰ *Kōnin shiki*, 2.

³¹ In fact, it appears that selection to serve as *monnin* attracted the necessary attention to regular students who needed a recommendation from a Professor of Literature (*monjō bakase*) in order to take the *monjōshō* test, and, by the mid-Heian period, selection was apparently a necessary step in a student’s career. See Kudō, *Ritsuryō shakai*, 83-89.

³² Manuals such as *Gishiki* (Ritual Procedures, mid-9th century) prescribed that *monnin* above the fifth rank be summoned by default to provide topics for poetry composition (*Gishiki*, 231). Other manuals replace “*monnin* above the fifth rank” with “professors of literature,” the professorship having been a post at the Bureau of Education that was reserved for Confucian scholars of that rank; see Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 203.

representative example is the section of *Ruijū kudaishō* 類聚句題抄 (Collection of Classified Verse-topic Poems, 11th century) in which are found four fragmentary poems on the topic «Cold geese are recognized in the autumn sky» (寒雁識秋天) performed at the Double Nine Banquet held on 916 (Engi 延喜 16).³³ This section includes excerpts from the poems of the *kidendō* graduates Ōe no Asatsuna 大江朝綱 (886-958), Mononobe no Yasuoki 物部安興 (fl. 889-916), Ōe no Chifuru 大江千古 (?-924), and Mimune no Masahira 三統理平 (853-926). Asatsuna was a literature student (*monjōshō*) at the time of the banquet, and the other three were Confucian scholars, having passed the Policy Test (Masahira was likely a professor of literature at the Bureau of Education).³⁴ These four poets thus represent a selection of *monnin* for a Double Nine Banquet according to the procedures. There is, however, a fundamental difference among these poets. Ōe no Asatsuna's literary talent was widely recognized in his lifetime, and his work continued to be anthologized by later Confucian scholars who produced literary anthologies. As such, he is the second-best represented author in Fujiwara no Akihira's 藤原明衡 *Honchō monzui* 本朝文粹 (Literary Essence of Our Court, 11th century), which presents works showing the broad range of his literary activity.³⁵ By contrast, only a handful of excerpts remain for the other three. Thus, *Ruijū kudaishō* includes twelve fragments by Asatsuna, five by Masahira, and one each by Yasuoki and Chifuru.

In like manner, *Ruijū kudaishō* offers evidence that the same dynamics applied to the participation to the other early Heian institutionalized banquet, the Palace Banquet (*naien*). The *Seiryōki* 清涼記 (Record of [the Pavilion of] Purity and Coolness), compiled presumably by Emperor Murakami 村上天皇 (926-957, r. 946-967) in the mid-tenth century, dictates that *monnin* for the Palace Banquet be selected among “Confucian scholars (*jushi* 儒士) as well as one or two outstanding literary talents among Scholarship Students (*monjō tokugōshō*), Literature Students (*monjōshō*) in service at the Chamberlain's Office (*kurōdo-dokoro* 藏人所), and former

³³ *Ruijū kudaishō*, 23. It is not known who compiled *Ruijū kudaishō*, a collection of poetic excerpts (typically the central couplets from an eight-line regulated verse) arranged by topic.

³⁴ I take as reference the biographies provided by the scholar Honma Yōichi in his critical edition of *Ruijū kudaishō*. See *Ruijū kudaishō zenchūshaku* (in particular 918-19, 920-21, 972-73, 975). There is virtually no historical information on Mononobe no Yasuoki, but the fact that he provided the preface for the Double Nine Banquet in 889 (Kanpyō 寛平 1) suggests that he was already a Confucian scholar by that time. As a matter of fact, even a rapid skim of early Heian sources makes clear that the prefaces for institutionalized banquets were normally composed by either Confucian scholars or by candidates for the Policy Test; see further Steining, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 65.

³⁵ For an overview of Ōe no Asatsuna's bureaucratic career and literary activity, see Ono, *Tenryakuki no bundan*, 22-46.

Literature Students in bureaucratic offices.”³⁶ A series of fragmentary poems on the topic “*balting the cups to admire the willow’s colors*” (停盃看柳色) from the Palace Banquet of 929 (Enchō 延長 7) included in *Ruijū kudaishō* offers a concrete representation of the selection of *monnin* for the Palace Banquet according to the *Seiryōki*. This section includes excerpts from the poem of Emperor Daigo 醍醐天皇 (885-930, r. 897-930) as well as from the poems of the *kidendō* graduates Ōe no Koretoki 大江維時 (888-963), Ki no Arimasa 紀在昌 (fl. 920-960), Ōe no Asatsuna, Minamoto no Fusaakira 源英明 (?-939), Ki no Toshimitsu 紀淑光 (869-939), Fujiwara no Hirofumi 藤原博文 (?-929), and Miyoshi no Fumitada 三善文江 (fl. 902-931).³⁷ Koretoki, Arimasa, Asatsuna, Hirofumi, and Fumitada were all Confucian scholars.³⁸ In particular, Koretoki and Hirofumi were Professors of Letters, and were thus selected by default to provide the topics of composition for the banquet. Minamoto no Fusaakira, the son of Emperor Uda’s son Prince Tokiyo 齊世親王 (886-927) and a daughter of Sugawara no Michizane, was acting as the Head of the Chamberlain’s Office (*kurōdo no tō* 藏人頭) at the time the banquet was held. In addition to being an esteemed poet, his participation was therefore presumably prompted by his affiliation to the Chamberlain’s Office. Ki no Toshimitsu’s education is unknown apart from the fact that he was nominated Literature Student (*monjōshō*) in 898 (Shōtai 1), and his literary activity scant; however, he was granted access to the imperial residential quarters in Enchō 5 (927), which indicates the possibility that he was summoned as a former Literature Student on account of this personal proximity to the sovereign. Except Fusaakira and Toshimitsu, all the listed participants were Confucian scholars. However, with the exception of Ōe no Asatsuna, the other Confucian scholars are overall poorly represented in *Ruijū kudaishō*: Asatsuna, as has been mentioned, has twelve fragments in total; there are five fragments by Koretoki and Fusaakira, three by Arimasa, two by Hirofumi and Fumitada, and one by Yoshimitsu. Here, too, Ōe no Asatsuna stands out from a mass of Confucian scholars who appear only in passing within the collection. By way of comparison, Asatsuna has forty-five pieces included in Fujiwara no Akihira’s eleventh century *Honchō monzui* 本朝文粹, while four by Fusaakira, three by Arimasa, two by Koretoki, and one by

³⁶ Quoted from Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 17.

³⁷ *Ruijū kudaishō*, 19.

³⁸ Again, here I rely on the biographical entries provided in Honma Yōichi’s *Ruijū kudaishō zenchūshaku* (pp. 918-20; 925-26; 928-29; 959-60; 971-72; 974).

Hirofumi are included. Ki no Toshimitsu and Miyoshi no Fumitada are not represented in the collection.

The editorial standards of the anthologies aside, then, a broader trend is apparent in the Heian period: some *kidendō* graduates and Confucian scholars—such as Ōe no Asatsuna and Sugawara no Michizane—were widely referenced as experts of Sinitic poetry and prose, whereas other Confucian scholars of some distinction—such as Ōe no Koretoki and Tachibana no Naomoto 橘直幹 (fl. 935-967)—left a surprisingly small impression on the literary record.³⁹ The implication is that, at this time, the highest status within the field of *kidendō* education by no means rested on sustained literary performance. As has been seen in the previous section, by the late Heian period a persistent discourse differentiating literary talent (*bunshō*) from erudition (*saigaku* 才学) in *kidendō* graduates' expertise can be found in such textual sources as diaries and anecdotal literature. The strategies that went into the compilation of mid- and late-Heian literary anthologies such as *Ruijū kudaishō* and *Honchō monzui* thus mirror and reinforce this discourse of differentiation, representing poetry in literary Sinitic as a service that might be demanded of any *kidendō* graduates but, in practice, was regularly associated with specific individuals who were in particular recognized for their compositional abilities. At the same time as they celebrate the literary prowess of a selected number of individuals, collections such as *Ruijū kudaishō* and *Honchō monzui* are also evidence of the extremely specific and distinct, if not isolated and marginalized, position of poetry (as well as the complementary prose genre of banquet prefaces) in the late ninth and early tenth centuries. The marginalization of poetry within the activity of Confucian scholars in the early Heian period is particularly evident in the so-called *shijin muyō* 詩人無用 (“useless poets”) discourse, attested in a poem by the *kidendō* graduate Shimada no Tadaomi dated to the mid-ninth century. In the next section I will sketch the contours of the “useless poets” discourse and its implications for assessing the relative position of the performance of Sinitic poetry at the Heian court within the literary ecosystem of *kidendō* graduates and Confucian scholars.

The *shijin muyō* Discourse: The Instability of Poetry in Early Heian Japan

By the mid-Heian period (late tenth century), Sinitic poetry (*shi* 詩) was an established form of cultural capital for the graduates of the *kidendō* curriculum at the Bureau of High Education. As

³⁹ In *Honchō monzui*, for example, both Koretoki and Naomoto are included, with two pieces each; by way of comparison, forty-five pieces by Asatsuna are included and thirty-six by Michizane.

as been seen in the previous section, a persistent discourse differentiating—and at times opposing—talent in literary writing (*bunshō* 文章) on the one hand and erudition (*saigaku* 才学) on the other ensured that poetry fell comfortably within the range of activities of the so-called “Confucian scholars” (*jusha* 儒者). By contrast, it appears that in the early Heian period (ninth and early tenth century) the position of *shi* poetry within the broader scope of Confucian scholarship was less prominent and more unstable. During the mid-ninth century, being primarily active as a poet could even attract overt criticism. This was the case of the *kidendō* graduate and poet Shimada no Tadaomi, who in one of the poems collected in his personal collection *Denshi kashū* 田氏家集 (House Collection of the Shimada Clan) reported that Confucian scholars of the time considered poetry and poets “useless” (*shijin muyō* 詩人無用).

At face value, the *shijin muyō* discourse seems to point to Sinitic poetry’s supposed lack of practical value from the vantage point of Confucian scholars. However, specifically what kind of value poetry was found lacking is difficult to ascertain. From a commentary on the diminished socio-political value of poetry by mid-ninth century to a criticism possibly directed to Tadaomi’s master Sugawara no Koreyoshi’s 菅原是善 (812-880) belletristic attitude, the meaning of Tadaomi’s line has been interpreted in various ways by modern scholars, who have tried to position the *shijin muyō* discourse within the broader historical trends of the ninth century. Here I will revisit the meaning of Tadaomi’s poem to posit the *shijin muyō* utterance as a valuable source for assessing the position of expertise in Sinitic poetry within the realm of Confucian literacy, namely the contexts in which Confucian scholars were called upon to compose literary texts. As a matter of fact, Confucian scholars were normally in charge of the production of specific kinds of literary texts for the Heian court (such as edicts, memorials, and petitions) that in turn foregrounded their social status as *kidendō* graduates with the highest educational background. In other words, the specific texts produced by Confucian scholars were the product of their social and bureaucratic status, but at the same time they also constituted the cultural capital that repeatedly ensured the legitimation of such status.

Poetry, however, seems to have had an ambiguous position in this performative environment. In contrast to other forms of literary writings, poetry was never performed within a consistent bureaucratic capacity. Nevertheless, the expansion of imperially sponsored poetry banquets from the beginning of the ninth century and the institutionalization of two major events that were invariably held every year, the Palace Banquet (*naien* 内宴) and the Double Nine Banquet (*chōyō no*

en 重陽宴), guaranteed that poetry maintained a constant role within the literary genres performed at court.⁴⁰ As it was nested in a complex configuration of social status, educational background, expertise, and bureaucratic capacity, the production of literary texts by *kidendō* graduates and Confucian scholars in early Heian Japan was necessarily imbued with socio-political significance. By redirecting the attention on how ninth-century Confucian scholars were involved in a broad range of literary activities, I suggest that the *shijin muyō* discourse should be considered less a criticism to the inherent value of poetry than a commentary on the socio-political possibilities and limitations of those who like Tadaomi pursued poetry as a primary form of occupation in early Heian Japan.

One source that problematizes the position of poetry within early Heian Confucian scholarship is a poem by the *kidendō* graduate Shimada no Tadaomi, which is included in Tadaomi's three-volume personal collection *Denshi kashū* (House Collection of the Shimada Clan).⁴¹ The poem, a seven-character-line regulated verse (Jap. *risshi*; Ch. *lüshi* 律詩), reads as follows:

春日假景訪同門友人

On a spring day, during a moment of leisure, visiting a friend [studying] under the same master.

友道交情常欲深	The way of friendship is ever so deep through the exchange of feelings;
適將何事效知音	Yet at this time how can I show you that I know the sound? ⁴²
儒家問澹詩無用	When asked, Confucian scholars say that poetry is useless;
近來盛澹詩人無用	(Recently it is often said that poets are useless)
王法新行酒莫淫	An imperial decree was newly enacted that forbids indulging in liquor.
有令不放人之群飲也	(There is a law that does not allow people to gather and drink)
世上崎嶇多失腳	In this world the path is uncertain: many lose their footing;
花前暗淡不留心	Amidst the flowers my emotion is dark: I cannot bring myself to admire

⁴⁰ On the establishment of the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet see Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 165-171 and 211-224.

⁴¹ The version in three volumes of Tadaomi's personal collection that survives today could in fact be the result of a later recollection of the scattered corpus from an older collection that is no longer extant. As a matter of fact, a collection titled *Den Tatsunon shū* 田達音集 (Collection of Shimada no Tadaomi) in ten volumes is known to have existed; see Kawaguchi, *Heianchō Nihon kanbungakushi no kenkyū (jō)*, 183-189.

⁴² "To know the sound" means "to be a true friend." It derives from the anecdote regarding the friendship between the lute player Bo Ya 伯牙 and Zhong Ziqi 鍾子期: upon the latter's death, the former vowed to never play the lute again, on account of the fact that nobody could appreciate his sound like his old friend.

	them.
只今鄭重來相訪	As for this moment, I have warmly come to visit you;
為是同門契斷金	For the pledge between those under the same master cuts through metal. ⁴³

Thanks to the reference to the enactment of a decree that prevented unauthorized gathering in line four, the poem can be dated around Jōgan 貞觀 8 (866).⁴⁴ In the third month of the same year the court was struck by the so-called Incident of the Ōten gate (*Ōtenmon no hen* 応天門の變), when the Ōten gate in the imperial court was set to fire. The incident had significant political repercussions and brought the leader of the Fujiwara clan Fujiwara no Yoshifusa 藤原良房 (804-872) to a position of political prominence as he managed to be named regent (*sesshō* 摂政) to young Emperor Seiwa 清和 (850-880, r. 858-876).⁴⁵ An implicit reference to the political situation in the immediate aftermath of the incident could explain the sudden dark turn of the poem in the fifth and sixth lines, in which Tadaomi seems to manifest his worries for the socio-political stability of his host.

The central theme of the poem, however, is Tadaomi's inability to express his sentiment of friendship as is proclaimed in the third and fourth lines, each of which comes with a comment attached, signaling the centrality of Tadaomi's argument. If the exchange of wine is temporarily forbidden by decree, the composition of poetry is deemed inappropriate on account of Confucian scholars saying that poetry and poets are "useless" (*shijin muyō*). The irony, here, is that Tadaomi ultimately submits a poem to the host, so that it is not clear exactly what kind of poetry is considered useless by Confucian scholars. Ambiguous as the *shijin muyō* line may seem, I argue that it is instead a precious entry point to investigating the relationship between the performance of Sinitic poetry at the early Heian court and the broader realm of Confucian scholarship. In particular, I will argue that in contrast to later periods, when it would eventually develop into one of the main assets of Confucian literacy, poetry in the early Heian period enjoyed a considerably less stabilized position and was yet to become a prestigious genre for Confucian scholars.

⁴³ *Denshi kashū* 44. In Kojima, *Denshi kashū chū (jō)*, 183-187. My translation. "To cut through metal" refers to the strength of the friendship. The diction comes from a passage in the *Zhou Yi* 周易 (Changes of Zhou).

⁴⁴ The decree is found in the entry for the twenty-third day of the first month of Jōgan 8 (866) in *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* (Veritable Records of Three Reigns of Japan). See *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 866/1/23.

⁴⁵ The Ōten Gate Incident was possibly connected with lingering problems of imperial lineage, kingship, and succession; see Kamiya, "Jōwa no hen to Ōtenmon no hen."

In Tadaomi's poem, the comment about Confucian scholars saying that poetry is useless is primarily instrumental for the poet to lament that he lacks a suitable means to properly express friendship. Nevertheless, the amount of attention that Tadaomi's poem received from modern scholarship has transformed the *shijin muyō* line into a form of discourse (*ron* 論). Scholars have proposed various interpretations as to what value should be assigned to the proposition that early Heian Confucian scholars judged poetry to be “useless” and what this position can tell us about the literary and socio-political environment of the time. Fujiwara Katsumi 藤原克己 has interpreted the *shijin muyō* line as a symptom of the declining socio-political value of Sinitic poetry from the second half of the ninth century. Specifically, Fujiwara sees the Jōwa 承和 era as a turning point.⁴⁶ In contrast to the earlier period, during which the court was under the superintendence of Emperor Saga 嵯峨 (786-842, r. 809-823) both before and after his abdication, and when imperially sponsored performance of Sinitic poetry witnessed a tremendous expansion that culminated in the compilation of three literary anthologies in rapid succession, the period when Shimada no Tadaomi was active saw a reduction of sovereign-sponsored poetic activities and the gradual estrangement of poets from proximity to the sovereign. The appearance of personal collections such as Tadaomi's *Denshi kashū*, as opposed to the compilation of imperially sponsored anthologies, is seen by Fujiwara as a sign of the disengagement of poets from the political center of the early Heian court.⁴⁷ Accordingly, the *shijin muyō* line would underscore the position of Confucian scholars who no longer considered poetry as a viable tool for establishing a socio-political position at court.⁴⁸

The *shijin muyō* discourse can also be connected to an early differentiation and opposition between erudition and literary ability in the configuration of Confucian scholarship. Gotō Akio 後藤昭雄 has seen the *shijin muyō* line in connection with a juxtaposition that he posits to have existed within the community of the graduates of the *kidendō* between “erudite Confucian scholars” (*tsuju* 通儒) and “poets” (*shijin* 詩人).⁴⁹ A passage in the biography of the Confucian

⁴⁶ Fujiwara, *Sugawara no Michizane to Heianchō kanbungaku*, 91-190.

⁴⁷ *Idem*, 117-136.

⁴⁸ Takigawa Kōji has partially argued against Fujiwara's thesis by highlighting the continued ritual and political significance of two imperially sponsored poetry banquets, the Palace Banquet (*naien*) and Double Nine Banquet (*chōyō no en*). While imperially sponsored poetic activity retracted from the second half of the ninth century, the institutionalization of these two poetry banquets amplified the importance of poetry as a form of state ceremony. See Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 6-13.

⁴⁹ Gotō, *Heianchō kanbungaku ronkō*, 94-110.

scholar Sugawara no Koreyoshi is particularly telling in this regard: “Nobles, officials, Confucian scholars (儒士), and poets (詞人) all were disciples of his.”⁵⁰ This line seems to imply that Confucian scholars and poets could be considered as belonging to different categories, possibly by virtue of their most notable skills. The aforementioned term “erudite Confucian scholar” (*tsūjin*) appears in early Heian sources in passages that are meant to describe a broad range of erudition, often in connection with the practical application of such erudition to bureaucratic offices. Furthermore, this kind of erudition seems to be independent from literary expertise and performance.⁵¹ On the basis of such observations, Gotō has argued that the *shijin myō* utterance might in fact be a hint to the criticism leveled at literary inclined individuals by *kidendō* graduates and Confucian scholars who possessed practical skills to operate within the various offices of the Heian bureaucracy. If a differentiation between erudition and literary ability existed in embryonic form during the early Heian period, the *shijin myō* discourse seems to suggest that it was apparently at the advantage of the former over the latter. Unlike the mid- and late Heian period, these two forms of Confucian literary did not yet seem to enjoy a balanced coexistence.⁵²

One vantage point to further elaborate on the possible meaning of the *shijin myō* line is the very term that appears in the text: *shijin* 詩人. Curiously, the *shijin myō* line is the only place where the term appears in Tadaomi’s collection *Denshi kashū*. However, *shijin* does occur in other sources, exemplifying the range of meanings that it takes on within the socio-political topography

⁵⁰ 「上卿良吏。儒士詞人。多是門弟子也。」 *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 880/8/30. Koreyoshi’s biography is actually missing in the text and has been reintegrated from later sources such as *Nihon kiryaku* 日本紀略 (Abridged Annal of Japan, late 11th century) and *Fusō ryakki* 扶桑略記 (Abbreviated Record of Japan, late Heian period).

⁵¹ Gotō describes the case of Fujiwara no Fuyuo 藤原冬緒 (808-890), who is called “erudite scholar” (*tsūjin*) in a congratulatory poem by Shimada no Tadaomi. Fuyuo, however, has little literary activity recorded and is known more for his bureaucratic career. See Gotō, *Heianchō kanbungaku*, 99-103.

⁵² More recently, Takigawa Kōji has questioned the division between “poets” and “Confucian scholars” in early Heian Japan, on the ground that both notions appear at times in connection to the same person, such as Sugawara no Michizane. He instead argues that the supposed Confucian scholars’ criticism was possibly directed at one specific individual: Tadaomi’s master and leader of the Sugawara House Sugawara no Koreyoshi, who at the time was Professor of Literature (*monjō hakase* 文章博士) at the Bureau of High Education, and as such was at the peak of the *kidendō* community. See Takigawa, “Sugawara no Koreyoshi denkō (ge).” A passage of Koreyoshi’s biography reads as follows: “By nature little inclined to be involved in politics, it was as though he had forgotten of worldly affairs. He always appreciated the wind and the moon and took delight in reciting poetry.” [天性少事、世體如忘。常賞風月、樂吟詩。] The text is in Kuroita, *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, 480-481. Takigawa suggests that the performance of poetry as a form of leisure was possibly seen in contrast to the official duties of a scholar-bureaucrat and as such it was a practice that was criticized. On the opposition between Koreyoshi as a Confucian scholar more devoted to literary performance and Confucian scholarship conjugated into forms of bureaucratic practices see Gotō, *Heianchō kanbungaku*, 95-98.

of early Heian poetic activity. In the renowned early Heian scholar and poet Sugawara no Michizane's 菅原道真 (845-903) personal collection *Kanke bunsō* 菅家文章 (Literary Drafts of the Sugawara House), for example, the term *shijin* occurs a total of eleven times. The argument has been made that for Michizane a poet is someone who “sings of the joys and sorrows of human life through expressions of seasonal scenery.”⁵³ However, in the majority of cases in which *shijin* appears in Michizane's *Kanke bunsō*, it does so in texts that belong to a precise socio-political configuration of literary activity, namely the composition of poetry upon commission by a social superior. One relevant example is a passage from the poetic preface (*shijo* 詩序) composed by Michizane for a banquet held by Emperor Uda at the end of the intercalary ninth month of Kanpyō 寛平 2 (890):

于時蘭燈屢挑，桂醕頻酌。近習者侍臣五六，外來者詩人二三而已。請各即事著于形言云爾。

At this time, the orchid lanterns blaze incessantly while fine cassia wine is repeatedly poured. Only five or six attendants among the private courtiers together with two or three poets especially summoned from outside—each of them will compose extemporaneously, expressing the scenery before them into form and words.⁵⁴

Here, the meaning of *shijin* overlaps with that of *monnin* 文人 (“men of letters”), which was the status assigned to those, generally graduates of the *kidendō*, who were summoned to provide poetry upon imperial command at institutionalized poetry banquets. The status of *monnin* had bureaucratic undertones insofar as poets who were summoned as *monnin* received a stipend, usually in the form of silk, in exchange for the production of poetry at the banquet.⁵⁵ I would argue that the socio-political role of the *shijin* poet in the early Heian court, that is, a poet who composed poetry upon request from a social superior on specific circumstances, provides an alternative framework for unfolding the layered meanings of the *shijin muyō* discourse. To pay attention to the position of *shijin* as one framed within institutionalized as well as private forms of

⁵³ 「季節の風物に托して人生の悲喜を歌う詩人」. Fujiwara, *Sugawara no Michizane to Heianchō kanbungaku*, 236-238. For a counter argument to Fujiwara see Takigawa, “Shishin toshite no Sugawara no Michizane.”

⁵⁴ *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 336. Emphasis is mine.

⁵⁵ My translation. For a discussion of Heian-period *monnin* see Kudō, *Heianchō ritsuryō shakai*, 75-91. In Fujiwara no Akihira's 藤原明衡 (989-1066) *Honchō monzui* 本朝文粹 two items where the word *shijin* occurs (HM 227; 332) overlap with those found in *Kanke bunsō*; one item (HM 214) is, significantly, a banquet preface composed by the Confucian scholar Miyako no Yoshika 都良香 (834-879) for the Palace Banquet (*naien*) of Jōgan 貞觀 17 (875).

literary commission means to shift the focus on the way literary texts were produced by *kidendō* graduates and Confucian scholars for the court and for the Heian aristocracy. In this way, it becomes possible to appreciate Tadaomi's *shijin myō* line as a commentary on the socio-political position of poets within the broader field of the Confucian literary performance. As a matter of fact, Shimada no Tadaomi occupies a peculiar position in the field of Confucian activity as he was seemingly primarily active as a poet. In the next section I will focus on Tadaomi's career as a *kidendō* graduate and as a poet before moving on to discuss the relationship of poetry with other genres produced by Confucian scholars for the court. Shimada no Tadaomi is a peculiar figure within the community of the graduates of the *kidendō* curriculum in the early Heian period.⁵⁶ As a matter of fact, the most notable feature of Tadaomi's career as a scholar-bureaucrat seems to have been his poetic talent.

Tadaomi studied in the *kidendō* track at the Bureau of High Education and obtained the status of Literature Student (*monjōshō*) in Saikō 齊衡 1 (854). However, he did not advance to the status of Confucian scholar. After spending some time without affiliation to a specific office (*san'i* 散位), he became Junior Outer Scribe (*shōgeki* 少外記) for the Grand Council (*daijōkan* 太政官) in Jōgan 8 (866).⁵⁷ As suggested by the beginning of his career, Tadaomi's bureaucratic advancement was fairly slow and his official appointments were many years apart. By contrast, Tadaomi's poetic talent seems to have been valued by the court. In Jōgan 1 (859) the court granted him the office of Supernumerary Third Assistant to the Governor of Kaga 加賀 province (*gon no jō* 権掾) when he was sent to entertain the diplomats from the Korean kingdom of Balhae by means of poetic exchanges. In like manner, he was appointed Head of the Office for Monks and Foreigners Affairs (*genba no tō* 玄葉頭) on the same occasion in Gangyō 元慶 7 (883). These appointments, which were temporary assignments, show that the court especially

⁵⁶ Information on Shimada no Tadaomi's lineage, life, and career can be found in Kinpara, *Heianchō kanshibun no kenkyū*, 206-257; Kuranaka, "Shimada no Tadaomi nenpu oboegaki;" in English see Kristopher Reeves, *Of Poetry, Patronage, and Politics*, 495-513.

⁵⁷ Both Tadaomi's grandfather Kiyota 清田 (779-855) and brother Yoshiomi 良臣 (832-882) were *kidendō* graduates with the status of Literature Student and served as Outer Scribes for a long time, possibly suggesting a traditional connection between the Shimada clan and this office. A biography of Shimada no Yoshiomi is in Takigawa, "Shimada no Yoshiomi kō."

selected Tadaomi on account of his literary talent to serve on occasions where poetic ability was demanded.⁵⁸

All in all, it appears that Tadaomi was renowned for his talent as poet more than for his skills as a *keidendō*-trained bureaucratic official.⁵⁹ Furthermore, Tadaomi was regularly active as a *monnin*-poet for institutional banquets such as the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet.⁶⁰ In addition, he was regularly employed as a poet by the politically prominent Fujiwara no Mototsune 藤原基経 (836-891), whom Tadaomi served as a retainer for almost thirty years. In *Denshi kashū* there is a reference to a series of some five hundred poems composed for folding screens commissioned by Mototsune in Gangyō 5 (881).⁶¹ Combining institutionally sanctioned with privately commissioned poetic activity, Tadaomi was therefore primarily active as a producer of Sinitic poetry for the court and for the aristocracy, meaning that his main source of income was probably derived from poetic composition rather than from bureaucratic offices. Tadaomi's literary activity thus unfolded at the intersection of social status, personal talent, and socio-political affiliations. Now I shall turn to the position of poetry within the broader range of literary activity of Confucian scholars.

As has been seen, Shimada no Tadaomi was primarily active as a *shijin*, namely a poet who produced poetry upon request by a social superior. There is virtually no other writing in different genres by Tadaomi's hand that survives.⁶² Apparently, Tadaomi's specific expertise was limited to poetry alone. Accordingly, I suggest we look at the *shijin muyō* discourse as a criticism moved by Confucian scholars to the limitations inherent in the literary activity of someone like Tadaomi.

Shi poetry was an important part of the ritual activity of the Heian court. Graduates of the *keidendō*, in particular, were usually summoned as *monnin* to provide poetry at institutionalized banquets.⁶³ However, poetry constituted a minimal part of the literary work demanded of

⁵⁸ In the entry for the appointment of Jōgan 1 in *Sandai jitsuroku* there is a specific mention of Tadaomi's poetic talent as the reason for his selection: "The Vice Ambassador of the Kingdom of Balhae, Ju Wonbaek, is greatly skilled in writing. By decree, Supernumerary Third Assistant to the governor of Echizen, Junior Seventh rank lower, Shimada no Ason Tadaomi, is temporarily assigned to the position of Supernumerary Third Assistant to the governor of Kaga and sent there in order to exchange poetry with Wonbaek, on account of his literary skills." [渤海國副使周元伯、頗閑文章。詔越前權少掾從七位下嶋田朝臣忠臣、假為加賀權掾向彼、與元伯唱和。以忠臣能屬文也。] *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 859/3/13.

⁵⁹ Takigawa, "Shimada no Tadaomi no ichi."

⁶⁰ In a note to a poem composed for the Palace Banquet of Kanpyō 2 (890), Tadaomi states that he was regularly summoned to participate as a poet to this banquet from the Saikō era (854-857). *Denshi kashū* 145.

⁶¹ Kojima, *Denshi kashū chū (chū)*, 62-66.

⁶² With the exception of three poetic prefaces which are included in *Denshi kashū* and *Honchō monzui*.

⁶³ On the modalities of *monnin* selection at official banquets see Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 362-366.

Confucian scholars. Confucian scholars usually obtained the office of Inner Scribes (*naiki* 内記) for the Ministry of Internal Affairs (*nakatsukasa-shō* 中務省), an office that could be held for many years, and as such they would be demanded the composition of texts such as imperial edicts (*shō* 詔), decrees (*choku* 勅), and memorials (*hyō* 表) for the court. In this case, moreover, the composition of Sinitic texts was tied to a specific bureaucratic office, unlike poetry. The social status of Confucian scholars also ensured that they would be sought after for privately commissioned texts such as memorials to the throne, petitions (*jō* 状), and Buddhist prayers (*ganmon* 願文) on behalf of members of the aristocracy who delegated the composition of this kind of texts to those who had the status and the expertise to produce them.

Genres such as edicts, memorials, and prayers were generally not the domain of *kidendō* graduates who did not advance to the status of Confucian scholar.⁶⁴ While he might have had a personal preference for poetic composition, Tadaomi was also confined to poetry as a field of activity on account of his status as a *kidendō* graduate who was not a Confucian scholar. The eleventh-century anthology *Honchō monzui* makes a good case for the position of Tadaomi's activity as a *kidendō* graduate. *Honchō monzui* collects all the genres demanded of Confucian scholars, and the works it includes range from mid-ninth century to early eleventh century.⁶⁵ Significantly, it includes only one text by Shimada no Tadaomi, a short poetic preface written for an unofficial banquet held by Emperor Uda in the early Kanpyō era (889-898). In contrast to Tadaomi, then, a Confucian scholar would thus have access to a wider array of possibilities in terms of genre, context of production, and institutional as well as private sponsorship. *Kidendō* graduates such as Tadaomi were thus often limited to poetry composition, and since poetry was never connected to a stable bureaucratic office and stipend they mainly had to rely on private patronage, making their position somewhat unstable. I argue, then, that it is possible to reconceptualize the *shijin muyō* discourse as a commentary on the unstable and marginal position within Confucian literacy and performance as well as on the socio-political limitations of those such as Tadaomi who relied on poetry as the main source of livelihood.

⁶⁴ Brian Steininger discusses the socio-political limitations in the literary activity of the *kidendō* graduate Minamoto no Shitagō 源順 (911-983), who only rose to the status of Literature Student. Brian Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 75-76.

⁶⁵ *Honchō monzui*, however, curiously excludes poetry, perhaps on account of the fact that it was conceived as an expansion to the late tenth-century poetry anthology *Fusōshū* 扶桑集 (Collection from Japan). See Ōsone, *Ōchō kanbungaku ronkō*, 84-106.

Shimada no Tadaomi's case of relying on poetry as a means of livelihood seems to be exceptional. Most Literature Students entered bureaucracy directly and many could have impressive careers and rise in court rank to some degree. The *shijin muyō* discourse, then, can be seen as a criticism directed at Tadaomi, or those who like Tadaomi could only rely on poetry and had severe socio-political limitations, due to training and status, in the literary writings they could produce. During the early Heian period *shi* poetry was practiced institutionally at imperially sponsored annual banquets, not to mention the poetic activity that took place within the networks of private patronage. Poetry was, therefore, practically very central. I argue, however, that the *shijin muyō* line in Tadaomi's poem highlights the fact that in other ways poetry was ideologically marginal, as it had less prestige and less stability attached in terms of social status and socio-political possibilities in relation to other Sinitic genres. It is thus possible to posit that in contrast to later periods, poetry in early Heian Japan was not yet a distinctive genre for Confucian scholars, as opposed to the mid- and late-Heian period when it would grow into a self-sustaining form of cultural capital.

3. Sinitic Poetry and the Sugawara House

Sugawara no Michizane's personal collection *Kanke bunsō* 菅家文章 (Literary Drafts of the Sugawara House) is arguably a testament to Michizane's claim of authority and legitimacy on the field of institutionalized poetic activity of the early Heian court. Because the following chapter is entirely devoted to the analysis of *Kanke bunsō* and the ways in which institutional banquet culture informs the selection of its contents and its structure, in the remainder of the present chapter I will focus on a literary source that indirectly testifies to the poetic authority of the Sugawara House as well as the claims to that authority.

Ki no Haseo's *Engi igo shijo* (1): The Authority of the Sugawara House

Texts from late ninth and early tenth centuries provide evidence of banquet poetry as a terrain open for appropriation. Early Heian institutional banquets such as the Palace Banquet (*naien*) and the Double Nine Banquet (*chōyō no en*) represented a particularly prominent arena in which *kidendō* graduates who pursued poetry composition as a specific and self-sustaining form of cultural capital could achieve official recognition. In texts of the period associated with the Sugawara

House, the interconnection of these two aspects of poetry—as an independent domain of activity and as a performance in the context of institutionalized poetry banquets—grows more and more explicit.

One such text is the preface to a collection of poetry no longer extant by the *kidendō* graduate and friend of Sugawara no Michizane named Ki no Haseo 紀長谷雄 (845-912), *Engi igo shijo* 延喜以後詩序 (Preface to the Poems Composed in the Engi Era). The preface begins as follows:

予十有五始志学、十八頗知属文。時無援助、未遇提獎。先師都大夫、為當時秀才。予雖列門徒、未及知名。于時北堂諸生群飲、同賦幽人釣春水之詩。先師独擢予詩曰、綴韻之間、甚得風骨。依此一言、漸增声價。其後信譖、遂被疎遠。淪翳積年、研精永倦。貞觀之末、纔登進士之科。故嘗丞相在儒官之日、復党同門、未有相許。適見予大極殿始成宴集詩云、不意伊人詞藻至此。自後属意、数相寄和。及予出仕、丞相執政。每有文会、必先視草。予昔侍内宴、賦草木共逢春詩曰、庭增氣色晴沙綠、林變容輝宿雪紅。又九日賦菊散一叢金詩曰、廉士路中疑不拾、道家煙裏誤忘燒。丞相常吟賞、以為口實。乘醉執予手曰、元白再生、何以加焉。予雖知過實、猶感一顧。

At the age of fifteen I set my heart to learning, and by the age of eighteen I was well-versed in composing [poetry]. At the time, however, I lacked proper support and guidance. My late teacher, Miyako [no Yoshika], was the flourishing talent [*shūsai*] of the time. Though I took my place in line among his disciples, my name remained unknown. One day a banquet was held at the Northern Hall for all of the students, and everyone composed a poem on the topic “*The hermit fishes in the spring waters.*” My late teacher selected my poem and said, “With these rhymes, you have achieved an exceptional mastery of style.” Because of these words, my reputation gradually increased. After that, however, he believed slanders against me, and I was eventually estranged from him. I fell into obscurity for many years, but I continued to devote myself to learning so that, at the end of the Jōgan era [859-877], I finally rose to the status of advanced scholar [*shinshū*]. At the time when the former Minister Sugawara [no Michizane] held the office of professor of letters, I was affiliated with his school, but he did not yet acknowledge me. Once, he looked at my poem for the banquet held to inaugurate the Great Hall of State [Daigokuden] and said, “I did not expect this person to possess such literary talent!” From that moment he showed interest in me and we began to exchange a large number of poems. Eventually, I entered official service and the Minister [Sugawara] rose to a high governmental position. Every time a literary gathering was held, I always showed him my drafts. Once I attended the Palace Banquet and composed a poem on the topic “*Plants and trees together meet spring.*” Among the verses I recited were “The garden enhances its appearance as the bright sand shades green. The woods mold their radiance as the residual snow glows red.” Again, at the banquet on the ninth day, I composed a poem on the topic “*The chrysanthemums scatter one bush of gold*” in which were the lines “The honest man, in the middle of the road, suspiciously refuses to grab it. The man of the Way, amidst the smoke, would probably mistakenly burn it.” The Minister [Sugawara] frequently recited them in admiration, to the point that they became a common expression. Riding the intoxication, he once grabbed my hand and said: “Even if Yuan [Zhen] and Bai [Juyi] were to live again, how could they possibly surpass this?” Although I knew this was an exaggeration, still I was moved by such esteem.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ *Honchō monzui* 201. My translation. An analysis of Haseo’s preface is in Gotō, *Heianchō monnin shi*, 135-200.

Haseo's preface sheds light on the conceptualization of poetic skills as a legitimate and independent form of cultural capital for *kidendō* graduates. In the first place, he presents poetic composition as one category of 'learning' and, in the text, his educational trajectory involves primarily his poetic training. Second, he situates poetic training within the context of a process leading to participation in institutionalized banquets. Third, he emphasizes private routes of knowledge transmission, making Sugawara no Michizane and the Sugawara House as the primary locus of poetic legitimacy. By selecting moments from the institutional formation of *kidendō* graduates and their participation as *monnin* in the events and rituals of the court and framing them as consecutive steps in a teleological narrative, Haseo represents their poetic services as a self-sustaining and consistent career path over which he can claim legitimacy and authority. Thus, his choice to include the couplets from the Palace Banquet held in 898 and the Double Nine Banquet of 899 may itself be relevant.⁶⁷ As a matter of fact, Haseo served simultaneously as a professor of literature (*monjō bakase*) and Senior Assistant to the Minister of Ceremonial Affairs (*shikibu no taijū* 式部大輔) at that time.⁶⁸ On the one hand, the Ministry of Ceremonial Affairs was in charge of organizing the Double Nine Banquet and compiling the list of *monnin* who would perform.⁶⁹ On the other hand, professors of letters were usually expected to appear at institutionalized banquets since they provided the topics for composition and one of them normally composed the banquet prefatory piece (*jo* 序).⁷⁰ The two couplets quoted in the text may thus point to a historical moment when Haseo was preeminent among the *kidendō* graduates who performed at institutionalized banquets.

At the same time, Haseo's ad hoc poetic career as a poet and its legitimacy were predicated on his connections with personal tutors such as Miyako no Yoshika and Sugawara no Michizane. The training of court poets, therefore, occupied an ambiguous position within the Bureau of Education, while poetic knowledge circulated mainly outside institutional lines of transmission. Particularly instructive in this regard is the importance in Haseo's preface of the intimate connection with Michizane for his recognition as a poet at the Palace Banquet and at the Double Nine Banquet, with Michizane both supervising his poetic production and legitimizing it by singling out the couplets quoted in the text. The preface to his collection thus illustrates the two

⁶⁷ *Nihon kiryaku*, Kanpyō 10 [898]/1/20; Shōtai 昌泰 2 [899]/9/9.

⁶⁸ A chronology of Ki no Haseo's official posts is in Miki, *Ki no Haseo kanshibunshū*, 5-12.

⁶⁹ The Palace Banquet was instead administered by the sovereign's Chamberlain Office (*kurōdo-dokoro* 藏人所). See Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 171-74.

⁷⁰ In *Kyūreki* 九曆 (Calendrical Diary of the Ninth Avenue), the diary of courtier Fujiwara no Morosuke 藤原師輔 (908-960), there is a passage illustrating the norms pertaining to the selection of the banquet prefatory composer. For the Double Nine Banquet, it was normally the professor of letters who had first passed the Policy Test (*hōryakushi*). *Kyūreki*, Tenryaku 4 [950]/10/8. Quoted from Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 73.

major aspects of early Heian poetic activity that are the focus of the present study, the centrality of institutionalized poetry banquets and the role of the Sugawara House in training and legitimizing poets. The *Engi igo shijo* thus exemplifies one of the ways in which poetry in literary Sinitic could be configured as a field of action for *kidendō* graduates, namely as a practice that depended for its legitimacy on participation as one of the *monnin* at institutionalized banquets and on connections with the Sugawara House.

Ki no Haseo's *Engi igo shijo* (2): The Poetic Networks of Early Heian Japan

The following section of Ki no Haseo's preface shifts onto a discussion of Haseo's social connections that involved the composition of Sinitic poetry. Furthermore, Haseo goes on to present a critique of early Heian Confucian scholars. The preface ends in a resigned tone, as Haseo is left as the sole custodian of a specific modality of poetic activity, namely the poetic performance at institutionalized banquets. I interpret these passages as part and parcel of Ki no Haseo's claim of poetic authority and legitimacy vis-à-vis poetry's unbalanced status at the early Heian court. Thus, the preface continues:

故伊州別駕田大夫作當代之詩匠、昔為美州別駕、秩滿歸洛、見予舊草、即語人曰吾始不許紀秀才文、自我不見四五年來、體製非昔、可謂日新。寬平年中、田大夫臥病遂亡。故越州別駕高大夫、以文見知、與予相善、遂定交於筆硯之間、遇其無命、託以一子。至昌泰末、菅丞相得罪左遷。知文之士、當時無遺。適有內史野大夫、雖云託興不幽、然而早成稍過、予深嘉之。延喜二年、忽化異物。丞相在遷所、遙哭內史、兼歎文章已絕。其一句云紀相公獨煩劇務、自餘時輩盡鴻儒。後無幾何、丞相次薨。在朝儒者、寔繁有徒、咸列王何之輩、不習潘謝之流。取捨不同、是非各異。彼豈為愛憎而然乎、誠不知文體之趣也。司馬遷有言誰為為之、誰令聽之。予延喜以後、不好言詩、風月徒拋、煙華如棄。雖關公宴、不敢深思、只避格律之責而已。若夫觀物感生、隨時思動、任志所之、不勞摘藻、燭吟獨作、不肯視人、年往月來、徒成卷軸、題曰延喜以後詩卷。後之見者、莫不嘆不到佳境耳。

The former Assistant Governor of Iga, the noble [Shima]da [no Tadaomi], was the master of poetry of the time. In the past, when he had completed the period of assignment and returned to the capital from the post of Assistant Governor of Mino, he had a look at my old drafts and told everyone: "At the beginning I did not appreciate the poetry of the Flourishing Talent Ki [no Haseo]; in the last four or five years that I have not been seeing it, the form and the style came to differ from the past. In fact, one could say that they have grown better and better every day." In the Kanpyō era [889-898] the noble [Shima]da fell ill and eventually passed away. I knew the former Assistant Governor of Echi[?] province, the noble Taka[oka], through poetry. We were on friendly terms and eventually tightened our friendship within the space of brush and ink stone. When he died, he entrusted his one child under my care. At the end of the Shōtai era [898-901] the Minister Suga[wara] was punished with demotion. At that time nobody was left who knew poetry. The Inner Scribe, noble [O]no [no Yoshiki], although it was said that he did not possess a profound poetic inspiration, yet he showed a distinctly

precocious talent and I deeply appreciated him. He suddenly died in the second year of the Engi era [902]. The Minister [Sugawara] from his place of demotion afar cried the death of the Inner Scribe [Ono no Yoshiki] while also lamenting the abrupt decline of poetry. One couplet recited: “Councilor Ki is only occupied with his vexing duties, and by now everyone besides him is just an erudite scholar.” Not long time passed and the Minister [Sugawara] died soon after. The number of Confucian scholars now serving at court is remarkably high. However, all of them line up as fellows of Wang [Bi] and He [Yan], and do not pursue the way of Pan [Yue] and Xie [Lingyun]. What they select and discard is not the same, and likewise everything they praise and disapprove differs. In fact, it is not a matter of what they cherish and what they disparage, as indeed they truly ignore the essence of poetic style. Sima Qian once said: “For whom shall I do this? Who shall listen to me?” From the Engi era onwards, I disliked composing poetry. It was like abandoning the wind and the moon and discarding the misty flowers. Even though I participated to official banquets, I never indulged in deep thoughts but only paid attention to avoiding errors of form and rhyme. Whenever I saw something that aroused my emotions or every time my thoughts were stimulated by the seasons, I relied on the place where the mind goes without ever unfolding my poetic expression. I crafted and recited alone, and I never agreed to show my poems to anyone. As months and years passed, I decided to collect these poems in one scroll: I entitled it “Volume of the poetry composed from the Engi era onwards.” I only hope that those who will look at it will not laugh at its failure to reach the heights of refinement.⁷¹

This section of the preface can be divided in four parts: 1) Ki no Haseo’s poetic legitimation by the *kidendō* graduate Shimada no Tadaomi; 2) Ki no Haseo’s social network; 3) Ki no Haseo’s critique of early Heian Confucian scholars; 4) Ki no Haseo’s resignation to not share his poetic erudition. As has been seen in the previous section, Ki no Haseo’s legitimacy in the field of institutional poetic composition derives in the preface from the training and support received within the Sugawara House. The legitimation of Haseo’s poetic talent by Shimada no Tadaomi, in fact, represents the next ideal step along the ladder of recognized early Heian poetic talent. Tadaomi, as a matter of fact, was a poet whose skills were widely recognized by the Heian court, as the various recorded summons to compose poetry with the envoys from the kingdom of Balhae attest. Moreover, he was originally the poetic tutor of the young Michizane.⁷² By receiving Tadaomi’s esteem, Haseo has therefore earned the legitimation from two interrelated generations

⁷¹ *Honchō monzui* 201. The text follows the version proposed by Liao Rongfa in Liao, “Ki no Haseo shigenshi no sengen.” Liao suggests that the correct version of the text is from one manuscript that expunges a sentence in the final lines of the preface: “I relied on the place where the mind goes without ever venturing in profound thinking, and I harmonized with the resonance of things without building my thoughts in advance. Unfolding my poetic expressions [...]” (不勞敢沈吟, 應響而和、甚於宿構焉。摘藻). The sentence thus becomes “I relied on the place where the mind goes without ever unfolding my poetic expressions.” The underlined section would instead be originally a part of the next preface appearing in *Honchō monzui*, the “Preface to the collection of Lord Shamonkei” by Minamoto no Shitagō, a preface to the collected works of the *kidendō* scholar Tachibana no Aritsura 橘在列 (?-953) (*Honchō monzui* 202). The passage of the underlined part from Shitagō’s preface to Haseo’s is probably an error by a *Honchō monzui* copyist.

⁷² The very first poem appearing in Michizane’s collection *Kanke bunsō* presents a gloss stating that “the rigorous lord [Sugawara no Koreyoshi] commanded the advanced scholar [*shinshū*] Shimada to test me” (嚴君令田進士試之). *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 1.

of poets. In this way, Haseo becomes the recipient of a poetic erudition transmitted down the line from Tadaomi first, and Michizane then. What I suggest, therefore, is that Tadaomi's appearance in Haseo's preface is a strategic move by the latter to position himself in the nest of the Sugawara House poetic tutoring, transmission, and legitimacy.

Another strategy of legitimation is Haseo's presentation of his social network of fellow poets. The first to be mentioned has been identified with Takaoka no Kazutsune 高岳五常 (?-?), a late ninth-century Confucian scholar.⁷³ The second is the Confucian scholar Ono no Yoshiki 小野美材 (?-902).⁷⁴ I would suggest that the appearance of two Confucian scholars versed in poetry in Haseo's preface reinforces the claim that Sinitic poetry was a legitimate asset of Confucian scholarship. As has been seen in the previous sections, in mid-ninth century Heian Japan poetry was apparently not yet a distinctive field of activity for Confucian scholars, in contrast to the later period when it became an essential component of Confucian training and practice. In the previous sections, I have interpreted the *shijin muyō* 詩人無用 discourse found in Shimada no Tadaomi's poetry as a testament to the criticism directed by Confucian scholars to those *kidendō* graduates who could only rely on poetry as a form of primary occupation. By creating a network of Confucian scholars invested in poetic composition in his preface, Ki no Haseo might have sought to claim a higher position for poetry within the field of activities of Confucian scholars.

The language in Haseo's preface suggests that he sought to demarcate a distinctive space for his in-group of fellow poets. The distinction between the continental scholars Wang Bi 王弼 (226-249) and He Yan 何晏 (195-249), on the one hand, and Pan Yue 潘岳 (247-300) and Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433), on the other, is that the former were considered esteemed erudite

⁷³ Gotō, *Heianchō monnin shi*, 179-85. Kazutsune must have passed the *taisaku* examination before Gangyō 3 (879). A petition written by him on behalf of Ariwara no Yukihira 在原行平 (818-893), pleading for the establishment of the detached *daigakuryō* hall Shōgaku-in 奨学院 is included in *Honchō monzui* (*Honchō monzui* 143). Furthermore, some incomplete poems by Kazutsune survive in the eleventh century anonymous *Ruijū kundaishō*.

⁷⁴ Yoshiki became a literature student in Ninna 2 (886) and served as Inner Scribe (*naiki*) presumably after passing the *taisaku* examination. Some of his poetry is preserved in works such as *Zatsugon hōwa* 雜言奉和 (Harmonizing Poems in Miscellaneous Verses) and the mid-Kamakura *Wakan kensakushū* 和漢兼作集 (Collection of Compositions in Both Japanese and Chinese). One banquet preface, composed for Emperor Uda at the Double Seven (*tanabata* 七夕) banquet of Kanpyō 4 (892), survives in *Honchō monzui* (*Honchō monzui* 224).

scholars, while the latter were regarded as accomplished poets.⁷⁵ Haseo's distinction of the Confucian scholars serving at the early Heian court between erudite scholars and poets suggests that he envisioned court poetic activity as a domain open to appropriation. This is the reason why, I suggest, Haseo might have sought to articulate an exclusive socio-political space inhabited by a selected group of *kidendō* scholars, namely those active around the Sugawara House.

Ki no Haseo's social network, therefore, appears in the preface as a function of Haseo's claims to the legitimacy as a poetizing Confucian scholar. On the other hand, the disappearance of such network of poetically talented Confucian scholars (with the death of Kazutsune and Yoshiki and the demotion of Michizane) leaves Haseo as the sole custodian and practitioner of this shared poetic craft. The final lines in Haseo's preface, in which he laments that he no longer finds joy in composing poetry at institutionalized banquets and conversely enjoys solitary composition, have been interpreted as heralding a historical moment in which poetry shifted from an institutional performance to a form of private activity.⁷⁶ In contrast to this argument, I suggest that Haseo's lamenting rhetoric functions as a strategic move to manipulate the poetic erudition of institutionalized poetic banquets into something that can be reproduced and maintained by a single individual. As a matter of fact, the language employed by Haseo in the passage where he describes his solo poetic activity is strikingly similar to the rhetoric that appears in texts produced for institutional contexts of poetic production, such as banquet prefaces (*jo* 序). Consider the following passage of the preface more in detail:

若夫觀物感生、隨時思動、任志所之、不勞摘藻

Whenever I saw something that aroused my emotions or every time my thoughts were stimulated by the seasons, I relied on the place where the mind goes without ever unfolding my poetic expression.

(*Engi igo shijo*)

As demonstrated by the scholar Takigawa Kōji, the underlined parts resonate with a type of continental rhetoric primarily found in the Great Preface (*daxu* 大序) of the Classic of Poetry (*shijing* 詩經). This rhetoric, moreover, appears in early Heian texts that are composed in institutional contexts of literary production, such as institutionalized poetry banquets.⁷⁷ If, on the one hand, this rhetoric puts Haseo's preface in a vertical connection with a specific group of

⁷⁵ Gotō, *Heianchō kanbungaku ronkō*, 81-85. Wang Bi and He Yan produced commentaries on the Confucian and Daoist classics.

⁷⁶ Liao, "Ki no Haseo shigenshi no sengen."

⁷⁷ Takigawa, "Shishin toshite no Sugawara no Michizane."

continental texts, on the other hand the local use of this particular language puts Haseo's preface in horizontal proximity with early Heian institutional contexts of Sinitic poetry. By using the same rhetoric as that found in texts produced at institutionalized banquets, Haseo presents himself as the sole custodian of this specific modality of poetry composition. Ki no Haseo's preface depicts a historical moment when self-identified poets are rapidly disappearing. In the face of a fading social network of fellow poets, Ki no Haseo therefore seeks to secure an exclusive space of poetic performance that can separate and differentiate him from other competing groups of *kidendō* scholars. In this way, Haseo's lament is integral to the definition of the socio-political identity of the poets active around the Sugawara House in the late ninth century. At a moment when institutionalized banquet culture is at its highest point, Ki no Haseo's preface describes the attempt to claim and secure a position of prominence in this field of activity for his social group and for him as an individual. The collection of poetry composed after the Engi era, thus, becomes Ki no Haseo's textual legacy in the face of the disappearance of his poetic network.

Conclusions

As has been seen, Sinitic poetry had become a fundamental asset of Confucian scholarship by the late Heian period. As testified to by eleventh-century works such as *Honchō monzui* and *Ruijū kudaishō*, however, it appears that during the early Heian period poetry was a form of cultural capital associated to a small number of individuals. As it happens, most of these individuals were members of the Sugawara House or people gravitating around it. The prominent presence of the Sugawara House in matters related to poetry during the early Heian period suggests that the latter performed a particularly important role in supporting the development of *shi* as a self-sustaining form of cultural capital. Thus, a text such as Ki no Haseo's *Engi igosbi jo* 延喜以後詩序 (Preface to the Poetry Composed After the Engi Era) firmly establishes the role of the Sugawara House in supplying poetic training and legitimacy for the participation to imperially-sponsored institutionalized poetry banquets. The early ninth-century shift from social status to poetic expertise in the selection of poets at institutionalized banquets, at which *kidendō* graduates began to be systematically summoned, also determined a reconfiguration of the position of poetry within the realm of *kidendō* Confucian scholarship. I therefore argue that, starting from the mid-ninth century, the Sugawara House sought to occupy this domain of activity and transform it into a field-specific form of cultural capital. By consistently occupying this field of activity for *kidendō* graduates, not only did the Sugawara House contribute to elevate the position of poetry within

the sphere of Confucian scholars' activities; it also secured a stable connection with the Imperial Household, which was the primary sponsor of poetic activity during the early Heian period. The creation of a cultural ecosystem of literary production, whose stability was predicated on the mutual connection between the Sugawara House and the Imperial House, thus contributes to define the boundaries of the early Heian period. Historical and literary sources suggest that as long as the culture of imperially-sponsored institutionalized poetry banquets thrived (ca 800-950), the Sugawara House maintained a prominent position within the field. As texts such as *Ki no Haseo's* preface suggests, however, the position of those who claimed a hold of the early Heian field of poetic activity had to be constantly reclaimed and negotiated.

Chapter Two

THE LITERARY DRAFTS OF THE SUGAWARA HOUSE

Poetry and Power in Sugawara no Michizane's *Kanke bunsō*

Inasmuch as they inscribed poetic composition into a form of bureaucratic service for the Heian court, institutionalized banquets such as the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet in Sugawara no Michizane's time were not only a venue where *kidendō* graduates were requested poetic composition out of their formal training at the Bureau of High Education (*daigakuryō*); arguably they were the most prominent arena of official recognition for those who claimed poetry as a specific form of cultural capital. When Michizane presented his twelve-volume collection *Kanke bunsō* (Literary Drafts of the Sugawara House) to the throne in Shōtai 昌泰 3 (900), he included the collected works of his father Koreyoshi 是善 (812-880), *Kan shōkōshū* 菅相公集 (Collection of Councilor Sugawara, ten volumes) and grandfather Kiyotomo 清公 (770-842), *Kankeshū* 菅家集 (Collection of the Sugawara House, six volumes), unfortunately both now lost. This is usually understood as Michizane offering a grand testament to the literary prestige of the Sugawara House, but in turn it arguably provided official recognition to a longstanding association between Michizane's scholarly lineage, poetry, and the Imperial Household.

Institutionalized banquets provided one environment where poetry as a specific form of *kidendō* literacy was requested and rewarded. Michizane's continued participation to institutionalized banquets, testified by the numerous poems composed for the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet that are included in *Kanke bunsō*, can thus be seen not only as the fulfilment of a bureaucratic task but also as a strategic occupation of this environment. Within *Kanke bunsō*, I shall argue, Michizane occupies this environment *textually* by a careful and strategic organization of the poetic content, with particular reference to the cultural relevance of the institutionalized banquets. As a matter of fact, institutionalized banquets play a fundamental role in shaping the literary world of Michizane's collection. As I will argue, the architecture of the collection is profoundly informed by a strategic organization that gives particular relevance to the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet. Such an architecture, therefore, foregrounds Michizane's proximity and, more specifically, the claim of authority of the Sugawara House over this particular form of poetic activity.

This chapter examines three main aspects connected to the strategic organization of the poetic material in *Kanke bunsō*. First, I investigate a number of places in the collection in which the association with institutionalized banquets plays a fundamental role. In particular, the first volume opens with a sequence that highlights the close connection between the educational track of the *kidendō* curriculum at the Bureau of High Education and presents the Double Nine and the Palace banquets as the natural outlets of performance for *kidendō* graduates. Furthermore, the third and fourth volume—the “Sanuki volumes”—offer a representation of Michizane that is at the same time strongly connected with the institutionalized banquet culture of the early Heian court and temporarily removed from it. The overall architecture of the collection, moreover, seems to be informed by a thorough synchronization with the institutionalized banquet regime of the Palace Banquet, which was arguably the most prestigious venue of performance for poets.

Second, I examine the nature of Emperor Uda’s “household banquets,” a particular subset of non-institutionalized banquets that took place both before and after Uda’s abdication. In particular, I focus on the organization of the social space of these banquets in order to show their contiguity with their institutionalized counterpart. I also analyze one particular instance in which many elements of the so-called “banquet of the day after the Double Nine” were reconfigured to give a sense of “institutionalization” on account of the cancellation of the Double Nine banquet in the same year. Finally, I read the sixth volume of *Kanke bunsō* to unveil the socio-political possibilities of a strategic organization of the poems composed for the banquets of Retired Emperor Uda.

Third, I delve into Michizane’s self-representation as a poet active in the capacity of *monnin*, that is, those who were summoned to institutionalized banquets to compose and present poems to the sovereign. Much of Michizane’s strategy for self-representation is informed by an urgency of proximity to institutionalized poetry banquets, which allows him to situate his larger activity as a poet within the framework of institutional practice.

1. The architecture of Sugawara no Michizane’s *Kanke bunsō*

Kidendō education and institutionalized banquets in *Kanke bunsō*

In the first chapter I have shown how the system of imperially-sponsored poetry banquets and its growing association with the educational track of the *kidendō* curriculum at the Bureau of High

Education affects the strategic organization of early ninth-century collection such as *Ryōunshū*. As has been seen, *Ryōunshū* seeks to marginalize those *kidendō* graduates with higher educational background at a time when expertise is replacing social status in the poets' participation to imperial banquets. By the second half of the ninth century, however, banquet culture and the *kidendō* educational track grew more and more interconnected. Here I will argue that the first volume of Sugawara no Michizane's *Kanke bunsō* provides strategies to legitimize the position of a *kidendō* graduate vis-à-vis institutionalized banquet culture. By overlapping his personal career as a *kidendō* candidate with his participation to institutionalized banquets, Michizane formalizes the connection between the different statuses acquired through the *kidendō* educational system and the possible opportunities for literary activity available at each step of said system. Moreover, as will be seen, Michizane's narrative matches neatly the way literary activity of *kidendō* graduates is presented in the proceedings that regulated the participation of *monnin* to institutionalized banquets, creating a full circle that brings together *kidendō* education, banquet culture, and Michizane's representational strategies in his *Kanke bunsō*.

The first volume of *Kanke bunsō* opens with three poems composed by Michizane at the age of eleven, fourteen, and sixteen. These three poems, ostensibly included to show young Michizane's poetic prowess, are followed by a selection of four poems composed in the style of examination poetry in order to prepare to sit for the Advanced Scholar (*shinshi* 進士) test. Also called the "Ministry Test" (*shōshi* 省試), this examination was meant to test provisional literature students (*gimonjōshō* 擬文章生) by way of poetry composition. Successful candidates were appointed the status of Literature Students (*monjōshō* 文章生). Literature Students, also called Advanced Scholars, could be assigned to a bureaucratic office within a few years.¹ Examination poetry was meant to test the skills of the candidate in expatiating on the selected topic by way of extrapolating erudite allusions from continental texts. Often, topics were selected from pre-existing examination topics from the continental tradition.² In this way, examination poetry was more in line with the exegetical mode of reading continental texts taught at the Bureau of High Education than with the poetry *monnin* would compose on a banquet occasion. However, Michizane makes the latter connection evident by selecting a Double Nine poem to follow directly those composed in preparation of the Ministry Test. Moreover, he glosses the poem with

¹ Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 134.

² Li, *Keikokuushū no shijōshi kō*.

the annotation: “The following nineteen poems were composed when I held the position of Advanced Scholar.” The annotation signaling Michizane’s acquisition of the Literature Student status is therefore matched with a Double Nine Banquet poem. Michizane obtained the Literature Student status in the fifth month of Jōgan 4 (862).³ The Double Nine banquet poem in question (*Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 8) comes from the banquet held on the same year. In *Kanke bunsō*, then, the participation to an institutionalized banquet is recorded as the first poetic activity upon being appointed Literature Student.

Furthermore, Michizane’s narrative matches with the way *monnin* (i.e., specialized poets) participation is established by manuals and procedures for the Double Nine Banquet. The Double Nine Banquet was first regulated with the compilation of *Kōnin shiki* 弘仁式 (Procedures of the Kōnin era) in ca Kōnin 11 (820). The following passage from the section on the “Chrysanthemum Banquet” (*kikka no en* 菊花宴), another nomenclature for the Double Nine Banquet, describes the way poets are to be summoned to the event:

應召文人者、前一日省簡定文章生并學生、諸司官人堪屬文者、造簿。

As for the *monnin* to be summoned, one day prior to the event the Ministry selects Literature Students (*monjōshō*) as well as Regular Students (*gakushō*) or officials serving in various bureaucratic posts who are versed in poetic composition. A list is thus compiled.⁴

Kōnin shiki, as later *Engi shiki*, states that primarily Literature Students and Regular Students (students who are enrolled at the Bureau of High Education but who have not yet entered the *kidendō* track) are to be selected as *monnin* for the Double Nine Banquet. The procedures, thus, bring together the system of *kidendō* education and the organization of the social space of performance at institutionalized banquet. Michizane’s self-representation in *Kanke bunsō* is therefore in line with the prescribed regulations of *monnin* selection at the Double Nine Banquet.

The same strategy is operative in *Kanke bunsō* in the place where the following annotation is found: “The following poems were composed when I held the position of Flourishing Talent.” Flourishing Talent (*shūsai* 秀才) was another name for the so-called Scholarship Students (*monjō*

³ On the period when Michizane was a student at the Bureau of High Education see Borgen, *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court*, 88-112.

⁴ *Kōnin shiki*, 2. The same item, with only a minor difference (“two days prior to the event” instead of “one day prior to the event”) is found in *Engi shiki* 延喜式 (Procedures of the Engi era), whose compilation was inaugurated in Engi 5 (905) but was completed in Enchō 延長 5 (927). *Engi shiki*, 505.

tokugōshō 文章得業生) of the *kidendō* track at the Bureau of High Education. At any time two Literature Students were selected as Scholarship Students, and were eligible to sit for the Policy Test (*hōryakushi* 方略試), in which they had to draft a piece in parallel prose in response to two topics selected by an appointed examiner (in general, another Confucian Scholar who had previously passed the test).⁵ Those who passed the Policy Test were recognized as Confucian Scholars (*jusha* 儒者) and could obtain access to specific posts within the government and within the Bureau of High Education, such as “Inner Scribe”, scribes for the Ministry of Internal Affairs (*naiki* 内記) and Professor of Literature (*monjō bakase* 文章博士) in the *kidendō* curriculum.

Michizane was appointed Scholarship Student in Jōgan 9 (867). The annotation is attached to a Palace Banquet poem (*Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 27) that comes from a banquet held in Jōgan 10 (868). Michizane’s annotations thus associate his career within the *kidendō* track with the Double Nine and the Palace Banquet in terms of subsequent steps: first, Literature Student status is associated with the Double Nine Banquet; then Scholarship Student status is associated with the Palace Banquet. Again, the connection between Scholarship Students and the Palace Banquet is seen in procedures that regulate the participation of *monnin* to the Palace Banquet. In the same way procedures such as *Kōnin shiki* and *Engi shiki* regulated the participation of Literature Students to the Double Nine Banquet, manuals such as *Seiryōki* 清涼記 (Records of [the Hall of] Purity and Coolness) describe the selection of *monnin* to the Palace Banquet:⁶

前一日、藏人頭奉仰、令仰廻文人等、儒士並文章得業生、候藏人所文章生、在諸司旧文章生、才学傑出者一両。

One day prior to the banquet the Head of the Chamberlains Office (*kurōdo no tō*) circulates the list of summoned *monnin* (Confucian Scholars as well as one or two Scholarship Students or Literature Students serving at the Chamberlains Office or former Literature Students with exceptional erudition who are now serving in various bureaucratic posts).⁷

Together with Confucian Scholars, Scholarship Students were among the targeted professional pool for the selection of *monnin* at the Palace Banquet. In this case, too, Michizane’s

⁵ I follow Brian Steininger’s rendition of *hōryakushi* 方略試 as “Policy Test.” Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 136. On the system of education and the student career within the *kidendō* curriculum at the Bureau of High Education see Momo, *Jōdai gakusei*, 246-92.

⁶ Possibly authored by Emperor Murakami 村上天皇 (826-867, r. 846-867), *Seiryōki* only survives through quotations extant in other sources.

⁷ *Hokuzanshō*, 326.

representation reproduces the way procedures and manuals detail the participation of *monnin* to institutionalized banquets. Michizane rises in rank within the *kidendō* track and associates this ascent with new possibilities in the realm of institutional poetic activity. As noted, this rise is coincidental with the way procedures and manual describe the selection of *monnin*: to the extent that the Palace Banquet was the most prestigious poetic event (as it was held in the sovereign's private quarters and entailed the participation of the sovereign's personal entourage), the *monnin* were selected from those of higher status within the *kidendō* graduate community.⁸ In this way, the first poem recorded in correspondence of the status of Literature Student is a Double Nine Banquet Poem; in like manner, the first poem recorded in correspondence of the status of Scholarship Student is a Palace Banquet poem.

In *Kanke bunsō*, however, Michizane seems to build a stronger connection between the *kidendō* system of education and the world of institutional poetry banquets. The Palace Banquet poem included in correspondence of Michizane's Scholarship Student status, as a matter of fact, comes with a preface attached. Prefaces were texts in ornate parallel prose that were meant to describe the place, the time, the participants of a given poetic banquet and expatiate on the topic chosen for composition. As complex texts in literary Sinitic that made use of erudite allusions to continental material, the composition of prefaces was generally entrusted to *kidendō* scholars. In the case of institutionalized banquets such as the Double Nine and the Palace Banquet, however, the composition was demanded of Confucian Scholar or Scholarship Students (i.e., those who were candidate to become Confucian Scholars.) A rapid survey of the four volumes of prefaces in the Confucian Scholar Fujiwara no Akihira's 藤原明衡 (989?-1066) collection *Honchō monzui* 本朝文粹 (Literary Essence of This Court, ca 1060) reveals that this pattern is consistently followed, with only minor exceptions.⁹ As a matter of fact, the preface attached to the Palace Banquet poem that appears in correspondence of Michizane's status of Scholarship Student is the first preface included in *Kanke bunsō*. Together with the access to new venues of institutional poetic performance, *Kanke bunsō* also depicts Michizane's access to new possibilities of composition in terms of genre.

⁸ As a matter of fact, *Seiryōki* also prescribes the participation to the Palace Banquet of one or two imperial princes who are versed in poetic composition, making the intimate connection of the Palace Banquet with the imperial household even stronger.

⁹ The former Literature Student Ono no Takamura 小野篁 (802-852) composed the preface to the Palace Banquet of Jōwa 4 (837). *Honchō monzui* 341.

The first volume of *Kanke bunsō*, thus, begins with a sequence of poems that are governed by Michizane's career as a student in the *kidendō* track at the Bureau of High Education. Furthermore, Michizane's rise to the statuses of Literature Student and later of Scholarship Student is matched with Michizane's progressive appearance to the Double Nine Banquet and the to the Palace Banquet. In turn, this association is consistent with the selection of *monnin* at institutionalized poetry banquets in manuals and procedures. To the extent that Michizane's self-representation is consistent with these texts, *Kanke bunsō* foregrounds an inextricable relationship between the *kidendō* educational system, the world of institutional banquets, and Michizane's personal experience. Michizane's training within the *kidendō* is only functional in *Kanke bunsō* to his participation to institutional banquets. His progressive ascent in status grants Michizane access to new venues of performance and new genres of composition. The opening of the first volume of the collection is closely tied to the performance of poetry and prefaces at institutional banquets, and therefore constitutes one crucial part of Michizane's claim of authority over this field of literary production.

Ritualizing the periphery: institutionalized poetry banquets in the Sanuki volumes

The third and fourth volume of *Kanke bunsō*, which include the poems composed when Michizane was appointed governor of the Sanuki 讃岐 province during the four-year term from Ninna 仁和 2 (886) to Kanpyō 寛平 2 (890), are in many ways pivotal to the structure of the collection. A couple of passages in the memorial drafted in the occasion of the presentation of Michizane's collection to the throne in Shōtai 昌泰 3 (900) help us identify the relative position and function of these volumes within the collection:

右臣某伏惟陛下始御東宮、有令求臣讃州客中之詩。臣寫取兩軸，啟進既訖。登極之後、侍臣或人勸臣、令獻文章多少。臣蒙或人之勸、搜覓元慶以往藁草。

I, the subject recorded on the right, prostrate to the ground and recall that at the time when His Majesty first resided at the Eastern Palace, he requested that I deliver my poems written during the travel to Sanuki. Thus, I copied out [my poems] into two scrolls and duly presented them. After the royal ascension to the throne, one of the attendants suggested that I present a number of my literary drafts. Following that person's advice, I searched for the manuscripts of my writings from the Gangyō [877-885] era and before.

[...]

今之所集、多是仁和年中、讃州客意、寛平以降、應制雜詠而已。客意者以敘微臣之失道也。應制者以遇天子之好文也。觸物之感、不覺滋多。詩人之興、推而可量。

Therefore, this collection mainly includes the feelings of travel to Sanuki during the years of the Ninna era, and miscellaneous compositions written in response to royal command from the Kanpyō era onwards. The feelings of travel speak of my loss of the Way, while the compositions in response to a royal command match the Son of Heaven's fondness for poetry. The emotions generated by scenery and things were countless, the inspiration for a poet was known only by guessing.¹⁰

The first excerpt records that Emperor Uda's son Atsugimi 敦仁, the later Emperor Daigo 醍醐天皇 (885-930, r. 897-930), upon being appointed Crown Prince in Kanpyō 5 (893), requested Michizane to submit a collection of poetry composed during his period in Sanuki.¹¹ While it is only possible to speculate as to why this corpus of poetry elicited the interest of the Crown Prince, the request seems to foreground the role that Michizane would later take on as Prince Atsugimi's poetic tutor.¹² The two volumes of the Sanuki poems presented to Atsugimi were later systematized into volumes three and four of *Kanke bunsō*.¹³

The second excerpt creates a contraposition between the Sanuki poetry and the subsequent production on imperial request. Whereas the poetry composed in response to a command by the sovereign constitutes the ideal outlet for a poet (*shijin* 詩人), the poetry that belongs outside of this performative framework—such as that composed in Sanuki when Michizane was disconnected from the ritual life of the court in the capital—amounts instead to a “loss of the Way [of poetry].”¹⁴ In this way, the third and fourth volumes (the “Sanuki” volumes) come to constitute a negative counterpart to the poetry composed on imperial command, which is recorded in the fifth and sixth volumes of the collection. While the Sanuki province still contributed with plenty of occasions that elicited Michizane's poetic inspiration, the passage makes clear that the orthodox environment for a poet is when poetry is solicited by the

¹⁰ *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū*, 674. I am indebted to Niels van der Salm (Leiden University) for the English rendering of the last line of this passage.

¹¹ *Nihon kiryaku* 日本紀略 (Abridged records of Japan) records that Atsugimi was appointed Crown Prince on the 14th day of the fourth month of Kanpyō 5 (893) and entered the Eastern Palace (*tōgū* 東宮), the customary residence of the Crown Prince, on the 26th day. *Nihon kiryaku*, Kanpyō 5 (893)/4/2; Kanpyō 5 (893)/4/26.

¹² A number of texts in volume fifth of *Kanke bunsō* seem to point to Michizane's composition of pedagogical texts for Atsugimi in a variety of contexts. On Michizane's poetic production for the Crown Prince see Taniguchi, *Michizane no shi to gakumon*, 81-112.

¹³ On gradual augmentation of *Kanke bunsō* see Gotō, *Heianchō kanbungakushi*, 178-81.

¹⁴ “Way” (*michi* 道) had no stable connotation by the early Heian period, but instead appears to be a flexible term that could be used in a variety of contexts. In a poem in volume fifth of *Kanke bunsō*, for example, Michizane refers to the “Way of serving the lord” (事君之道). See *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū*, 353.

sovereign: the parallel format of the passage “the emotions generated by scenery and things were countless, the inspiration for a poet was known only by guessing” seems to imply that the former part is about the Sanuki poetry, while the latter part is about the poetry composed for the sovereign.

On the one hand, then, the poems written during the Sanuki governorship constituted the original bulk around which the collection gradually formed. On the other hand, the same group of poems came to represent a negative filter through which the poetry composed at court after the end of the provincial appointment could be appreciated. The third and fourth volume, therefore, are both central and peripheral within the collection. To the extent that they seem to be the original nexus around which the collection formed, they are placed symbolically at the center of it (volumes three and four within a total of six volumes); at the same time, Michizane’s memorial undermines their central position on account of their detachment from the ideal outlets of composition for a court poet.

The ambivalent position of the Sanuki volumes is also reflected in their inner architecture. In particular, the structure of the third and fourth volumes is informed by the systematic appearance of poems that retain a connection with court ceremonies, among which the two early Heian institutionalized poetry banquets—the Double Nine Banquet and the Palace Banquet—occupy a prominent role. These poems foreground Michizane’s connection to the ritual calendar of the early Heian court while at the same time emphasizing his temporary distance from it. Consider, for example, the following poem in the third volume:

重陽日府衙小飲

Double Nine day, small banquet at the provincial administrative office.

秋來客思幾紛紛	As autumn arrives the traveler’s thoughts become ever so confused;
況復重陽暮景曛	All the more so when the evening light of the Double Yang is setting.
菊遣窺園村老送	Chrysanthemums are sent by village elders upon having them inspect the gardens;
黃從任土藥丁分	[Zhu]yu sticks are distributed by those in charge of the medicinal herbs according to the wealth of the land.
停盃且論輸租法	I put down my wine cup as I discuss how to collect taxes;
走筆唯書弁訴文	I move the brush only to write my responses to complaints.
十八登科初侍宴	At the age of eighteen I passed the examination and for the first time attended a banquet;
今年獨對海邊雲	This year I am looking alone at the clouds upon the sea. ¹⁵

¹⁵ *Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū*, 197.

Appearing in the beginning section of the third volume, this poem was ostensibly composed in correspondence of the Double Nine festivity of Ninna 2 (886). At this time, Michizane was already serving in the province, while in the capital an institutionalized poetic banquet was customarily held in the imperial palace and *monnin* were summoned to compose poetry upon the sovereign's command.¹⁶ The poem is informed by a persistent oscillation between the center and the periphery, that is, between the ceremonial reality of the court banquet and the administrative work in the province, thereby providing an image of Michizane who is at the same time synchronized with the center yet displaced in the province.

The poem brings forward a number of elements that are connected with the lore of the Double Nine festivity and with the reality of the banquet ceremony. Chrysanthemums and *zbuyu* (*cornus officinalis*, i.e. Japanese cornel) feature abundantly as ornamental goods to be displayed on the Double Nine day in continental texts. Encyclopedic works such as *Yiven leiju* 藝文類聚 (Categorized Collection of Arts and Letters, early 7th century) and *Chuxueji* 初学記 (Notes to First Learning, 728), which were widely used by Heian Japan literate officials as a source of continental material on a wide array of topics, quote passages from earlier folkloristic chronicles such as *Fengtuji* 風土記 (Chronicles of Local Customs) or *Jing-Chu suisbi ji* 荆楚歲時記 (Chronicles of Seasonal Customs of the Regions of Jing and Chu, 6th century), together with a wide selection of other literary material in poetry and prose, that prominently explicate the prominence of these two kinds of plants in the occasion of the Double Nine festival.¹⁷ The poetry performed at the Double Nine Banquet in the early Heian court echoed this folklore as it often entailed the celebration of chrysanthemums and ornamental *zbuyu* wreaths as a topic of composition.¹⁸

In like manner, wine drinking and poetry composition were performed regularly at early Heian institutionalized banquets. At the Double Nine Banquet, the composition of poetry by the assembled nobles and *monnin* was followed by a ritual performance of wine pouring and drinking, whereby liquor was bestowed to the *monnin* who had been summoned to the banquet in order to

¹⁶ The *Sandai jitsuroku* (The veritable records of three reigns) records that the Double Nine Banquet was regularly held in Ninna 2 (886): “Ninth day, Yang Wood Monkey, Double Nine Festivity. The sovereign appeared in the Purple Imperial Hall [*shishinden*] and bestowed a banquet to the assembled ministers. Music was performed and poetry was composed on a given topic as customary. Silk floss was bestowed as emolument, each according to rank.” (九日甲申、重陽之節。天皇御紫宸殿、宴于群臣。奏樂賦詩如常。賜綿各有差。). *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ninna 2 (886)/9/9.

¹⁷ See for example *Yiven Leiju*, 81-84.

¹⁸ Consider, for example, the topic for the Double Nine Banquet of Kanpyō 5 (893): “Watching the assembled ministers wear *zbuyu* as adornment” (視群臣佩茱萸). *Nihon kiriyaku*, Kanpyō 5 (893)/9/9.

present poems.¹⁹ Poetry and wine were a cultural staple of institutionalized banquets as both ritualized performances occurred at both the Double Nine and the Palace Banquets—as, later, at the banquets that were institutionalized during the mid-tenth century such as the Lingering Chrysanthemum Banquet (*zangiku no en* 殘菊宴) and the Blossom-Viewing Banquet (*hana no en* 花宴).²⁰

In Michizane's poem, however, all the elements connected to the Double Nine folklore or to the ceremonial actions are mediated or obstructed by the administrative operations performed in the province. Chrysanthemums are sent by the village elders as a form of ritual gift, and *zhuuyū* is offered by the superintendent of the medicinal herb garden by way of tribute in the form of products of the provincial land.²¹ Furthermore, wine and poetry cannot be properly performed on account of urgent matters that need the governor's attention. In the final couplet, Michizane's consistent participation to the Double Nine banquet from the age of eighteen is contrasted with his conspicuous absence from this year's event. All in all, Michizane's poem highlights his connection to the Double Nine Banquet while at the same time emphasizing his temporary distance from it.

At the same time as it places Michizane in a connected-yet-distant position in relation to the Double Nine institutionalized banquet, the poem quoted above also creates a thorough synchronization of the provincial time in the periphery with that of the Heian imperial palace at the center. Synchronized calendrical time between the center and the periphery was paramount for the smooth functioning of the administrative bureaucracy of the broader Heian polity. More broadly, ordering time so that the rituals of the court were duly synchronized was meant to ensure that human cycles were harmonized with the rhythms of Heaven. The Calendar Professor

¹⁹ Manuals do not match exactly with regard to this particular ritual action. The passage on the performance of wine, while worded differently, is included in both *Seiryōki* (Records of the Pure and Fresh Hall, 10th century) and *Saigūki* (Records of the Western Palace, 10th century) but is absent in mid-ninth century *Gishiki* (Ritual procedures). See Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 207.

²⁰ As a matter of fact, poetry and wine differentiated institutionalized banquets of the Heian state from the private gatherings held at royal or aristocratic mansions, which tended to focus on musical performances. See Kudō, *ritsuryō shakai*, 195-96. The Lingering Chrysanthemum banquet and the Blossom-Viewing banquet were held as institutionalized events during the reign of Emperor Murakami 村上天皇 (926-967, r. 946-967). See Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 94-122.

²¹ The presentation of medicinal herbs (*mikusuri o gūzu* 供御薬) was a prominent rite performed on the first day of the year at the Hall of Purity and Coolness (*Seiryōden* 清涼殿) in the imperial palace, which took place from the reign of Emperor Saga. In this ceremony, medicinal herbs were presented to the sovereign by the Bureau of Medicine (*ten'yakuryō* 典薬寮). See Yamanaka, *Heianchō no nenjūgyōji*, 100-103.

(*Reki no bakase* 曆博士) at the *Onmyōryō* 陰陽寮 (Bureau of Yin and Yang) produced a first draft of the new annual calendar that was presented to the sovereign by the Ministry of Central Affairs on the first day of the eleventh month, in the *goryaku no sō* 御曆の奏 (Presentation of the Royal Calendar) ceremony. After the ceremony the calendar was then distributed to the governmental offices and to provinces to ensure that the rites that were held both in the imperial palace and outside of it would be performed simultaneously.²²

One such rite was the New Year's Day festival (*ganjitsu no sechie* 元日節会). A banquet was held in the Purple Imperial Hall (*shishinden* 紫宸殿), the hall for public rites within the imperial palace.²³ The banquet held for the New Year's Day was preceded by the Court Blessing (*chōga* 朝賀), in which court royals, nobles, and officials assembled in the Great Hall of State (*daigokuden* 大極殿) to greet the sovereign and bless his reign.²⁴ A similar sequence was likely held in the provincial capitals at the governmental headquarters. Turned to the main hall of the governmental compound, the provincial governor greeted the sovereign to then receive the new year's blessing by the assembled officials. A banquet was then bestowed by the governor to the officials.²⁵ Interestingly, the third and the fourth volume of Michizane's *Kanke bunsō* include one poem each that appears to be in connection to a banquet held at the governor's residential quarters on the occasion of the New Year's Day.²⁶ To the extent that these poems synchronize Michizane's banquets to those held in the imperial palace, *Kanke bunsō* then appears to put the Sanuki volumes at large in close connection to the ritual calendar of the Heian court. As a matter of fact, Michizane creates a framework that extends beyond the synchronization of the New Year's day, one at whose core lies the systematic reiteration of institutionalized poetry banquets.

²² Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 102. The procedure of the presentation of the calendar by the Bureau of Yin and Yang is described in the early tenth-century *Engishiki* (Procedures of the Engi era). *Engishiki*, 435-36.

²³ Until the reign of Emperor Saga the ceremony was held in the Buraku-in 豊楽院, the hall in imperial court where entertainment events were organized. From the reign of Emperor Junna the place shifted to the Shishinden in the imperial palace.

²⁴ This rite was abandoned during the Engi era (901-923) on account of the popularity of the newly established Lesser Court Blessing (*kochohai* 小朝拜). In contrast to the Court Blessing, which was held in the public space of the imperial court, the Lesser Court Blessing was held in the private residence of the sovereign in Seiryōden in the imperial palace, limiting the participation to those who had been granted access by the sovereign. See Yamanaka, *Heianchō no enjūgyōji*, 97-100.

²⁵ Archeological material has revealed that by the Nara period the blessing rite and the banquet were held in the main hall of the provincial headquarters, mimicking the Court Blessing in the capital which was held at the Daigokuden in the imperial court. It is believed that the banquet gradually shifted to the private residence of the governor, also in connection with the shift of many court public rituals to the imperial palace. See Satō, *Kokushi o meguru girei*.

²⁶ *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū*, 214 and 280.

The ritual synchronization of the province with the court calendar is achieved in the Sanuki volumes by the inclusion of poems that point at court ceremonies that were actually not performed in the provinces. The following sequence gives an idea of this strategy, hinting at the larger pattern governing the structure of the third and the fourth volume of *Kanke bunsō*:

- [*Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 3.183]
早春內宴，聽宮妓奏柳花怨曲，應製。自此以後，讚州刺史之作。向後五首，未出京城之作。
Early spring, Residential Palace Banquet, listening to the palace entertainers performing on the tune “The garden of willows and flowers.” [A poem composed] in response to a command by the sovereign.
- [KBKK 3.197]
重陽日府衙小飲。
Day of the Double Nine, small gathering at the provincial headquarters.
- [KBKK 3.214]
旅亭歲日，招客同飲。
First day of the year at the traveler’s pavilion, inviting guests and having a banquet together.
- [KBKK 3.216]
正月二十日有感。禁中內宴之日也。
Being moved on the twentieth day of the first month. (This is the day when the Palace Banquet is held in the Imperial Palace.)
- [KBKK 4.267]
九日偶吟。
Ninth day, impromptu composition.
- [KBKK 4.280]
元日戲諸小郎。
First day of the year, [reciting a poem] for leisure to all the young boys.
- [KBKK 4.284]
正月十六日，憶宮妓踏歌。
First month, sixteenth day, remembering the palace entertainers’ stamping songs [*tōka*].
- [KBKK 4.285]
聞群臣侍內宴賦花鳥共逢春，聊製一篇寄上前濃州田別駕。
Hearing that the assembled ministers attended the Palace Banquet and composed on the topic “Flowers and birds together meet spring,” so I composed one piece and sent it to the former assistant governor of Mino [Shima]da.

- [KBKK 4.293]
端午日賦艾人。
First day of the Horse, composing on the topic of the mugwort man.
- [KBKK 4.303]
同諸小郎，客中九日，對菊書懷。
Ninth day amidst travel, together with all the boys. Writing my thoughts in front of the chrysanthemums.

The most relevant aspect of the above sequence is that virtually all the poems were composed on a so-called *sechie* date 節会 (“festivals”).²⁷ In addition to the two poems composed on the occasion of the New Year’s day (*Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 214 and 280), this sequence features: a poem composed in remembrance of the Stamping Dance festival (*tōka* 踏歌) held on the sixteenth day of the first month, one of the days in the ritual calendar that was included as a *sechie*; a poem composed on the date of the fifth day of the fifth month (the “first day of the Horse”), another *sechie* day; lastly, poems that are connected to the dates of the Double Nine and Palace Banquet institutionalized poetry banquets. The Double Nine date, also known as “Chrysanthemum Festival,” was included among the *sechie* dates. The Palace Banquet, while not included among the *sechie* dates per se, was held as an institutionalized event as early as the third decade of the ninth century.²⁸ Moreover, similarly to the *sechie* festival ceremonies, stipends were bestowed to attending officials.

A sequence of poems reminiscent of *sechie* and *sechie*-like dates of the early Heian court thus runs through the Sanuki volumes and informs their structure. By implanting these poems in the larger flow of the third and fourth volumes Michizane inhabits the ritually unmarked time of the periphery with important dates of the annual ritual calendar of the center, thereby synchronizing Sanuki with the imperial palace. More importantly, to the extent that the poems

²⁷ *Sechie* were dates of official public festivity, when governmental offices were suspended, and public ceremonies were held in which stipends were bestowed by the court to the attending officials. By the early Heian period, *sechie* dates were as follows: the first day of the first month (the New Year’s Day); the seventh day of the first month (the “White Horse” festival, *aouma no sechie* 白馬節会); the sixteenth day of the first month (the “Stamping Song” festival); the third day of the third month (the “Winding Stream” festival); the fifth day of the fifth month; the seventh day of the seventh month (the “*tanabata*” 七夕 festival); the ninth day of the ninth month (the “Chrysanthemum” festival); the date of a new sovereign’s accession in the eleventh month. On the development of official public rituals from banquets to *sechie* festivals see Yamanaka, *Heianchō no nenjū gyōji*, 19-33.

²⁸ The Palace Banquet was administered by the *kurōdo-dokoro*, the personal secretariat of the sovereign, who superintended to all matters concerning the imperial household. The Palace Banquet was held in the personal residence of the sovereign and was open to royals, nobles and officials who formed his personal entourage. As such, the Palace Banquet, although being held as a state ceremony, always retained the character of a semi-private gathering. See Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 169-71.

connected to the dates of the Double Nine and the Palace Banquet form the bulk of the sequence, the Sanuki volumes are thus structured around the dates of the court calendar when Michizane would have normally participated to the banquets in the capacity of *monnin* and presented a poem upon the sovereign's request. The synchronization of provincial time with the ritual calendar of the imperial palace, therefore, overlaps neatly with the synchronization of the former with the latter's *poetic* calendar.

In *Kanke bunsō*, the time in the Sanuki province is ritualized by means of association with the poetic banquets of the court. This overarching architecture foregrounds the importance that institutionalized poetry banquets possess within Michizane's performative hierarchy, so much so that he literally places his poetic production in Sanuki within the framework created by the careful alternation between poems connected to the Palace Banquet and to the Double Nine Banquet. Nowhere in the collection more than in the Sanuki volumes, as a matter of fact, do we witness to a more precise alternation between the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet. These poems scan the rhythm of the third and fourth volumes and, in the absence of court-based poems, function as placeholders that can bridge the activity of Michizane-*monnin* (i.e., as presenter of poems upon the sovereign's request at institutionalized banquets) from the first part of the anthology (the first and second volumes) to the last (the fifth and sixth volumes), that is, where he is more consistently represented as an active poet at court.

As seen in the poem quoted above, however, these poems establish a connection with institutionalized poetic banquets while at the same time emphasizing Michizane's displacement from the core of poetic banquet culture. This double production of meaning, I argue, parallels the ambivalent nature of the Sanuki volumes within the structure of Michizane's *Kanke bunsō*. In the memorial submitted for the presentation of the collection to the throne, the Sanuki volumes are downplayed on account of their lack of imperially sponsored poetry while at the same time being introduced as pivotal to the formation of the collection. In like manner, within the actual Sanuki volumes, the poems connected to the institutionalized banquets represent Michizane as languishing in the periphery while at the same time being in firm contact with the center. This ambivalent position is primarily established by means of a consistent alternation between poems connected to the Double Nine Banquet and poems connected with the Palace Banquet, signaling the significance of early Heian institutionalized poetry banquets within the architecture of Michizane's *Kanke bunsō* and the connection that Michizane can claim between institutional poetic practice and the Sugawara House.

Synchronizing the Collection: The Palace Banquet in *Kanke bunsō*

So far, I have presented a number of loci within Michizane's *Kanke bunsō* where the structure of the collection is informed by the cultural relevance of early Heian institutionalized poetry banquets. At the beginning of the first volume and throughout the third and fourth volumes, these places constitute particularly strategized moments in *Kanke bunsō* by which Michizane can claim an intimate connection with the poetic practice of institutionalized banquets. As a matter of fact, similar strategic structural patterns extend beyond the specificity of such places in the collection to encompass the entire architecture of *Kanke bunsō*.

While the poetry in *Kanke bunsō* is organized in chronological order, its basic structure involves the distribution of the poetic material into six volumes. This segmentation ostensibly follows moments of Michizane's bureaucratic career. Michizane places descriptions of his career's shifts and advancement throughout the collection. Specifically, at the beginning of five of six volumes, he describes one of these moments. Schematically,

- Vol. 1) I was eleven at the time. The rigorous lord [i.e. Michizane's father Koreyoshi] ordered the advanced scholar Shimada to test me. This was the first poem I ever composed: this is why I put it at the beginning of my collection.
- Vol. 2) From here, the next 106 poems were written when I was holding the office of Assistant to the Ministry of Ceremonial Affairs.
- Vol. 3) From here on are poems written when I was governor of Sanuki Province. The next five poems were written before I left the capital.
- Vol. 4) While going back to Sanuki, I stopped at the Akashi post station in Harima. The next eighty poems were written after returning to the province.
- Vol. 5) [no annotation]
- Vol. 6) The next eleven poems were written when I was Middle Counselor (*chūnagon* 中納言).

Furthermore, another kind of synchronization seems to exist that runs parallel to the series of key moments and relates to the choice of poems with which each volume opens. Careful consideration of these poems, I argue, reveals the Palace Banquet as another of the collection's fundamental organizing principles. Specifically, the second, third, and sixth volumes begin with a poem composed for the Palace Banquets held in 877 (Jōgan 貞觀 19), 886 (Ninna 仁和 2) and 896 (Kanpyō 8), respectively, and the first and fourth volumes begin with poems that are strongly

suggestive of that event, as I demonstrate in the following analysis. The topics of the opening poems of the six volumes are as follows:

- Vol. 1 月夜見梅花
Moonlight night, looking at the plum flowers.
(Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū 1)
- Vol. 2 早春、侍宴仁壽殿、同賦認春、應製
Early spring, attending a banquet at Jijūden, composing along on the topic
“Recognizing spring” in response to a command by the sovereign.
(Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū 77)
- Vol. 3 早春內宴、聽宮妓奏柳花怨曲、應製
Early spring, Palace Banquet. Listening to the palace entertainers performing the
tune “The Garden of Willows and Flowers.” [A poem] composed in response to a
command by the sovereign.
(Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū 183)
- Vol. 4 題驛樓壁
[A poem] inscribed on the wall of the post station [in Harima].
(Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū 243)
- Vol. 5 閏九月盡、燈下即事、應製
End of the intercalary ninth month, impromptu composition under the lanterns,
[a poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.
(Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū 336)
- Vol. 6 早春內宴、侍清涼殿同賦春先梅柳知、應製
Early spring, Palace Banquet, attending at Seiryōden, composing along on the
topic “Plums and willows know spring first” in response to a command by the
sovereign.
(Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū 430)

The fifth volume is revealed as an exception to this organizing principle. As can be seen here, the poem that opens this volume differs from those that open the other volumes in that its context is a non-institutionalized banquet, specifically one put on by Emperor Uda late in the autumn of 890 (Kanpyō 2).²⁹ The remaining two poems, at first glance, seem disconnected from institutional poetic practice, but a closer look reveals connections with the Palace Banquet of a different sort.

²⁹ Emperor Uda established new poetic banquets that were held in addition to the institutionalized Palace Banquet and Double Nine Banquet. These new banquets, however, seem to have been more private in nature since the participants were members of Uda’s personal entourage together with recognized *kidendō* graduates in the capacity of poets; see Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 65-82. On Uda’s late-autumn banquets see Kitayama, *Kugatsujin no en*.

According to the annotation attached to it, the poem that opens the first volume was, appropriately, Michizane's first poetic utterance, written when he was eleven under the supervision of his poetic tutor, Shimada no Tadaomi 島田忠臣 (828-892):

月夜見梅花

Moonlight night, looking at the plum flowers.

月耀如晴雪

The moon shines like snow under a clear sky;

梅花似照星

Plum flowers resemble gleaming stars.

可憐金鏡轉

How splendid! As the golden mirror moves,

庭上玉房馨

Upon the garden, the jade clusters spread their fragrance.³⁰

As a quatrain of five-character verses, this poem is Heian Sinitic poetry at its most basic in terms of form. Despite its simplicity, however, it engages with the broader practice of poetry as performed at institutionalized banquets.

First, the topic of the poem, with the imagery of plum flowers, is similar to the topics that were regularly chosen for the Palace Banquet. The thematic development of the poem, for example, with the comparison of white plum blossoms in the moonlight to stars, prefigures the imagery of plums amidst the snow that was already a topic of composition for the Palace Banquet in mid-ninth century.³¹ Thematically and rhetorically, then, this poem shares much of the seasonal framework for Palace Banquet poems. Second, the poem opens a sequence of compositions written as practice for the *monjōshō* examination, passage of which qualified an individual to be selected as a literature student in the *keidendō* curriculum. The topics of the poems thus mirrored those for the actual test, such as «composing on blue-green» (詠青) (*Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 5), which usually entailed the exegetical practice of extrapolating from the continental classics a series of erudite allusions to the poetic subject in question.³² By contrast, the poem that opens the collection is on the sort of topic selected for the banquet poems. The annotation to the poem states that Michizane's father had instructed Michizane's tutor, the literature student Shimada no Tadaomi, to test him on such a topic. Thus, this poem is embedded in a social

³⁰ *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 1

³¹ Consider, for examples, the following topics for the Palace Banquet of Jōwa 6 (839): “Plums amidst the snow” (雪裏梅); Jōwa 16 (874): “Spring snow reflects the early plums” (春雪映早梅); Engi 3 (903): “Palace plums amidst lingering snow” (殘雪宮梅). *Shoku nibon kōki*, Jōwa 6 (839)/1/20; *Sandai jitsuroku*, Jōwa 16 (874)/1/21; *Nihon kiriyaku*, Engi 3 (903)/1/22.

³² On the examination poetry in early Heian Japan see Li, “Keikokushū no shijōshi kō” and Li, “Tōdai shōshishi no juyō.”

hierarchy in a manner reminiscent of the institutionalized banquets at which the sovereign commanded Confucian scholars to choose the topic on which the summoned *monnin* would present their compositions. In general, this poem seems to have been conceived as a way to test the young Michizane's ability in a specific aspect of poetic practice, namely banquet poetry. Accordingly, the poem connects directly with institutionalized banquet poetry—and with the Palace Banquet in particular—again evincing the tight connection between this domain of poetic activity and the Sugawara House.

The poem that opens the fourth volume was ostensibly composed by Michizane in 888 (Ninna 4) at a post station on his way back to Sanuki province from the capital midway through his four-year assignment as provincial governor:

題驛樓壁

[A poem] inscribed on the wall of a post station.

離家四日自傷春
梅柳何因觸處新
爲問去來行客報
讚州刺史本詩人

Four days since I left home, and I am naturally moved by spring;
As I gaze at them, plums and willows are, for some reason, new to me.
Therefore I ask to the passing travelers for a response:
“The Governor of Sanuki is, in fact, a poet.”³³

Much like the poem that opens the first volume, this poem is thematically related to the Palace Banquet through the imagery of plums and willows as emblems of spring. Owing to their association with the first lunar month and early spring, these trees featured prominently in the topics and poems for the Palace Banquet, individually and together. The topic of the poem opening the sixth volume, “Plums and willows know spring first,” is but one of many examples. Michizane's invocation of these natural objects that elicit his poetic inspiration can be seen as a means to demonstrate spontaneously the kind of response that might have been requested from a poet at the Palace Banquet. The underlying connection between a seemingly spontaneous poetic act and a poetic performance at institutionalized banquets is revealed in the last verse. Rather than contrasting an innate poetic attitude with a bureaucratic service, the structure of the verse suggests that provincial governorship and poetic composition are in fact two equal but mutually exclusive offices. It is therefore preferable to understand ‘poet’ (*shijin* 詩人) here more as a literary equivalent of *monnin* (the specific term used to describe the trained poets summoned to perform at institutional banquets) than as an expression of one's personal poetic disposition.³⁴ I

³³ *Kanke bunsō, Kanke koshū* 243

³⁴ The term *monnin* appears in manual and procedures but never in actual compositions, where it is usually substituted by such words as *shikyaku* 詩客 (‘poetic guests’), *bokkyaku* 墨客 (‘ink guests’) and *shijin* (‘poets’). On the use of the term ‘*shijin*’ to refer to ‘*monnin*’ in the context of early Heian Sinitic poetry see Takigawa, “Shishin toshite

suggest, accordingly, that Michizane's poem accentuates his physical and bureaucratic distance from the Palace Banquet while at the same time claiming an inherent proximity to it, as well as to the bureaucratic position of *monnin*. Temporally, this poem is situated between the tenth day of the first month—a date that appears in the title of the second-to-last poem of the third volume—and the spring months in which are set the poems that follow it at the beginning of the fourth volume. The implication in the poem is that Michizane was travelling back to the province just at the same time when the Palace Banquet (held between the twentieth and twenty-second days of the first month) was about to take place.

This poem is thus not only a lamentation for Michizane's inability to attend the Palace Banquet, for, within the economy of *Kanke bunsō*, it joins the poem at the beginning of the first volume in standing for Palace Banquet poems that can parallel those that open the second, third, and sixth volumes, thereby balancing the temporal and cosmological structure of entire collection. In this way, the overall structure of *Kanke bunsō*—and of Michizane's poetic activity as a whole—is governed by a complete synchronization with the state-sponsored annual poetic annual regimen of the Palace Banquet. This relationship serves as a kind of testimony to Michizane's broader claim in relation to the poetic activity generated by institutionalized banquets. Thus, the fact that both the poems composed for the Palace Banquet and the poems composed for other contexts are integrated together to build such structure reinforces, I suggest, the inherent continuity between institutional poetic activity and the claim to poetic authority of Michizane and the Sugawara House.

The Fifth Volume of *Kanke bunsō*: Emperor Uda's Household Banquets Institutionalized

The apparent disruption in the alignment of *Kanke bunsō* with the Palace Banquet and the institutional banquet regime of the Heian state that the late-autumn poem at the beginning of the fifth volume causes necessarily requires explanation. As a matter of fact, consideration of the position of this particular poem at the opening of the fifth volume can provide further insight into the literary activities sponsored by Emperor Uda and Michizane's role in them. As already discussed, Uda's household banquets constituted a regime separate from the institutionalized banquets in terms of both the place in which they were held and in terms of the social organization of the participants. In contrast with the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine

no Sugawara no Michizane.” By contrast, other scholars have interpreted the term *shijin* as indicating a personal poetic disposition towards the natural environment surrounding the poet and an innate inclination to express one's feelings; see for example Fujiwara, *Sugawara no Michizane to Heianchō kanbugaku*, 236-38.

Banquet, Uda's household banquets were held at his new private quarters in the Seiryōden 清涼殿 complex within the Imperial Palace.³⁵ Furthermore, members of Uda's personal entourage participated in his household banquets, thereby testifying to their non-institutional nature.³⁶ As will be discussed, the fifth volume of Michizane's *Kanke bunsō* represents Uda's household banquets as the natural extension of the institutionalized poetic regime of the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet, thereby testifying to the gravitational pull of the institutionalized banquet system during the early Heian period. The poem in question, which is accompanied by a preface (*jō*) describing the context of the banquet, reads as follows:

閏九月盡、燈下即事、應製。 並序。

End of the intercalary ninth month; a poem composed upon the scenery before us under the light of the lanterns, in response to a command by the Sovereign. With preface attached.

年有三秋、秋有九月。九月之有此閏、閏亦盡於今宵矣。夫得而易失者時也。感而難堪者情也。宜哉。瑞情、惜而又惜。于時蘭燈屢挑、桂醕頻酌。近習者侍臣五六、外來者詩人二三而已。請各即事著于形言云爾。謹序。

There are three autumn months in one year, among which is the ninth month. This year, an intercalary month was attached to the ninth month and this ends tonight. Now, time is something that is obtained and yet easily lost, and the heart feels emotions that it can hardly bear. Such is the way things are! The sovereign's splendid heart laments this time and again. At this time, the orchid lanterns blaze incessantly while fine cassia wine is repeatedly poured. Five or six attendants among the private courtiers together with two or three poets especially summoned from outside—each of them will compose extemporaneously, expressing the scenery before them into form and words. I humbly present this preface.

天惜凋年閏九月	Heaven laments this year's fading along with the intercalary ninth month;
今宵偏感急如流	This night one feels deeply that time is flowing as fast as a stream.
霜鞭近警衣寒冒	The whip of frost warns that it is drawing near, as the robes are threatened by the cold;
漏箭頻飛老暗投	The arrow of the water-clock flies fast announcing that old age inevitably comes.
菊為花芳衰又愛	Because of their fragrance, the chrysanthemums retain their beauty even while fading;
人因道貴去猶留	Thanks to his veneration of the Way, the man now attends although he was gone.
臣自外吏入侍重闈	From my position as provincial governor I was granted the permission to attend at the sovereign's quarters.

³⁵ Uda shifted the sovereign's residence from the traditional site of Jijūden 仁壽殿 to the Seiryōden in 891 (Kanpyō 3). Although the Palace Banquet was to be held at the sovereign's private quarters, Uda maintained Jijūden as the site for it, thereby keeping his household banquets and institutionalized banquets separate. See the entry in *Daigo tennō gyōki* 醍醐天皇御記 on Engi 2 (902)/1/20.

³⁶ Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 80-82.

明朝縱戴初冬日 Even if tomorrow I were to receive the first rays of winter's sun,
豈勝蕭蕭夢裡遊 It could hardly compare to such peaceful and quiet pleasures, as if
within a dream.³⁷

The fifth and sixth volumes collect the poems that Michizane composed after returning to the capital from Sanuki in the last decade of the ninth century. In particular, the first half of the fifth volume includes almost exclusively poems for Uda's household banquets, to which, as discussed, Michizane was regularly summoned.³⁸ Some poems for these banquets are already included at the end of the previous volume, reinforcing the impression that the choice of this particular poem to open the volume was not random. Regarding his motivation, on the one hand, Michizane may have chosen this poem for its closing couplet, which is clearly meant to celebrate his participation at Uda's poetic banquet rather than his return to his bureaucratic office.³⁹ On the other hand, Michizane may have selected this poem to celebrate the newly established affiliation, founded on poetic activity, between Uda's household and the Sugawara House. Michizane began holding a late-autumn household banquet at the end of the ninth month (the last of the autumn months on the lunar calendar) as soon as he assumed leadership of the Sugawara House following the death of his father Koreyoshi in 880 (Gangyō 4).⁴⁰ Significantly, this specific banquet was then incorporated into Uda's household banquet regime shortly after the sovereign's coronation in 887 (Ninna 3).⁴¹

Late autumn poetry banquets on the topic of lingering chrysanthemums would become a prominent event at Emperor Uda's court. *Kanke bunsō* even includes one poem, together with a preface, composed on the occasion of a banquet sponsored by Uda's crown prince Atsugimi (later Emperor Daigo) on the topic of late autumn chrysanthemums. The preface, in particular, seems to point to a pedagogic occasion in which Michizane instructed the crown prince on the poetic rhetoric and sources associated with this particular topic.⁴² Late autumn banquets on chrysanthemum flowers were thus an important means to ritualize a particular segment of the

³⁷ *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 336.

³⁸ On the literary and political partnership between Michizane and Uda during the last decade of the ninth century, see Borgen, *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court*, 197-216; Taniguchi, *Sugawara no Michizane no shi to gakumon*, 153-62.

³⁹ To "receive the rays of the winter's sun" meant being awarded an official bureaucratic appointment.

⁴⁰ Regrettably, there is only one example of a poem from such a banquet in *Kanke bunsō* (*Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 126)

⁴¹ The first of such banquets is recorded in *Nihon kiriyaku* in Kanpyō 1 (889)/9/25. The topic of composition was "Cherishing autumn, admiring the lingering chrysanthemums" (惜秋翫殘菊). On the transformation of Michizane's late-autumn household banquet into a court banquet, see Kitayama, *Kankeshi to nenjū gyōji*.

⁴² *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 381. On the function of this preface as a pedagogic tool see Taniguchi, *Michizane no shi to gakumon*, 86-90.

seasonal calendar and connect it to Uda's household. To the extent that the fifth volume of *Kanke bunsō* seems to be centered on Uda's household banquets, the shift away from the synchronization with the Palace Banquet that we see at the beginning of the fifth volume is instrumental in establishing late autumn as an important locus of ritual and cosmological authority for Uda's household. The entire fifth volume appears to be synchronized with a temporal cycle centered on late autumn: as the volume begins with a poem composed at the end of the intercalary ninth month (therefore at the end of autumn according to the lunar calendar), it closes with a poem from the Double Nine banquet followed by a poem from a banquet held on the tenth day of the ninth month (the "day after the Double Nine), therefore prefiguring the advent of another banquet on late autumn and the beginning of a new cycle.⁴³

Of particular interest is Michizane's description of the social space of Uda's banquet in the preface. By invoking a clear distinction between «five, six attendants among the retainers» and «two, three poets especially summoned» Michizane mimics the separation enforced at institutionalized banquets between *monnin*, as specialized poets normally selected from *kidendō* graduates, on the one hand, and, on the other, occasional poets who had the option of offering a poem but whose attendance at a banquet was not dependent on literary service. Michizane's way of defining Uda's poetic community therefore mirrors closely the social separation characteristic of the institutionalized banquets. Indeed, it might be said that Michizane produces *textually* a social separation that was likely not implemented in reality.⁴⁴ Thus, I argue, Michizane claims a kind of 'monnin-based' position, one modeled on the institutionalized banquets, within a poetic regime that did not specifically dictate such a position.

Michizane's casting of *kidendō* poets as *monnin* in the preface to Uda's late-autumn banquet at the beginning of the fifth volume of *Kanke bunsō* complements his depiction of Uda's household banquets as a natural extension of the institutionalized banquet system in the following sequence of poems. The first half of the fifth volume, then, can be considered as a condensed repository of poems from Uda's household banquets, in which every type of banquet established by Uda—the late-autumn banquet, the Double Third Banquet (on the third day of the third month), the cherry blossom banquet, the *tanabata* banquet (on the seventh day of the seventh month), and so on—appears only once. Together, these poems suggest consistent annual

⁴³ *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 428 and 429.

⁴⁴ A rigid spatial separation was maintained at institutionalized banquets between *monnin* and high-ranking courtiers on the one hand and officials, even those who composed poetry, on the other. Thus, normally, *monnin* would be summoned only for the part of the banquet during which poetry was to be composed; moreover, they would sit in the courtyard, relatively distant from the sovereign and other dignitaries. For this reason, modern scholarship sometimes refers to the former as *jige monnin* 地下文人 (lower-ground *monnin*) and to the courtiers who offered poems as *tenjō monnin* 殿上文人 (courtier *monnin*); see Kudō, *Ritsuryō shakai*. 81-83.

sequence representing the ideal banquet calendar for Uda's literary regime. Tellingly, this sequence is inconsistent with the historical record in that Uda's household banquets were not necessarily held regularly every year and were not institutionalized.⁴⁵ *Nihon kiryaku* 日本紀略 (Abridged Chronicle of Japan, late 11th century), for example, records no one year in which all of Uda's household banquets were held. Instead, Michizane's *Kanke bunsō* represents Uda's banquets as if they formed part of a *de facto* institutionalized regime. His structuring of the collection in this respect reveals the influence of the institutionalized banquet system in conceptualizing forms of literary activity, an influence that extended even to activity outside that system such as Uda's household banquets, depended as they were on the sovereign's patronage networks rather than institutionalized socio-political relationships. Michizane's strategies for legitimizing his position within such private networks of literary activity were predicated on associating Emperor Uda's private banquets with the system of institutionalized banquets, which remained the official venue for the recognition of *kidendō* graduates' poetic activity.

Thus, from the synchronization with the Palace Banquet to the organization of an ideal calendar of Emperor Uda's household banquets, Sugawara no Michizane seems to have organized his *Kanke bunsō* using the framework of institutionalized banquet practice. This structure, in turn, ensured that Michizane's literary activity was predicated within the same framework and on the same model. In this way, he testifies to the significance of such practices for the view of poetic composition and performance as a cultural asset for *kidendō* graduates in the early Heian period and, specifically, for the Sugawara House.

2. Topographies of Power: Imperial Household Banquets and Institutionalized Banquets.

The Social Organization of Emperor Uda's Household Banquets

Not long after coronation, Emperor Uda (867-931, r. 887-897) began to manifest an overt interest in the socio-political and cosmological possibilities of composition of poetry at a banquet setting, one that extended beyond the system of institutionalized poetry banquet such as the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet. As seen in the previous section, Uda began to

⁴⁵ Recovering the dates of the assembled banquets from *Nihon kiryaku* reveals that these were held between 890 (Kanpyō 2) and 892 (Kanpyō 4). Significantly, in *Kanke bunsō*, a poem from the Palace Banquet of 893 (Kanpyō 5) comes after the sequence that comprises the ideal assemblage of Uda's household banquets.

hold a significant number of poetry banquets on different dates of the Confucian lunar calendar, most notably the *sechie* dates of the Double Third (third day of the third month, the “winding stream” festival) and the Double Seven (the seventh day of the seventh month, the *tanabata* festival); at times, he held banquets that departed from the calendrical scan of time to follow instead the progression of natural phenomena such as the blooming of cherry blossom or the fading of chrysanthemum flowers. All in all, the annual calendar of imperial ceremonies was enriched by the appearance of more occasions for poetry composition.

However, the fact that Uda enlarged the poetic calendar of his reign is not equivalent to an enrichment of the annual calendar of official court ceremonies. As a matter of fact, it has been argued that the new poetry banquets promoted by Uda were not held in the form of state rituals in the same way as the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet. In contrast to the institutionalized banquets, which were held consistently every year regardless of the sovereign’s fondness for poetry, Uda’s new events appear to have been held precisely because of the sovereign’s personal interest in poetry and poetic performance. There are, in fact, a number of elements that differentiate Uda’s poetic banquets from the public court ceremonies of the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet. The scholar Takigawa Kōji has produced a thorough research of this issue, and has proposed the following elements to mark off Uda’s banquets as events held outside the institutional framework:⁴⁶

- 1) Formally, all institutionalized banquets during the early Heian period (ca 800-950) are signaled in the poem titles with the characters “attending to a banquet” (侍宴). Uda’s banquet normally do not use this wording. Compare, for example, the following two headlines:

重陽侍宴，同賦秋日懸清光，應製。

Double Nine, attending a banquet, composing along on the topic “The autumn sun radiates limpid light” in response to a command by the sovereign.

(*Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 428)

重陽後朝，同賦花有淺深，應製。

Day after the Double Nine, composing along on the topic “Flowers all have different shades” in response to a command by the sovereign.

(*Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 429)

⁴⁶ Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 65-82.

Both titles appear in Sugawara no Michizane's *Kanke bunsō*. The first poem was composed for the Double Nine Banquet of Kanpyō 7 (895); the second poem is from the so-called banquet of the “day after the Double Nine” held on the tenth day of the ninth month. The headlines follow exactly the same patterns except for the “attending a banquet” characters, which are missing in the second poem. As a matter of fact, all of Uda's banquets are recorded in this way.

- 2) While many of Uda's banquets are recorded as “official/public banquets” (*kōen* 公宴) in *Nihon kiriyaku*, this nomenclature is virtually *never* used for institutionalized banquets. Takigawa proposes that “public banquet” might have been one way to refer to an event presided by the sovereign, regardless of its institutionalized nature.
- 3) A number of poems surviving from Emperor Uda's newly established poetry banquets exhibit rhetorical expression of personal feelings and direct pleas to the sovereign. This is in contrast to poems composed for institutionalized banquets, in which this kind of rhetoric is usually an exception.⁴⁷
- 4) Members of the Chamberlains Office (*kurōdo-dokoro* 藏人所), the office that presided over matters concerning the imperial household, as well as people affiliated to Emperor Uda through kinship ties participated to the banquets. This is in contrast to the institutionalized Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet, the participation to which was rigidly regulated to represent and reaffirm the political structure of the court.

On account of the above, Takigawa thus suggests we refer to Emperor Uda's poetry banquets as “private banquets” (*mitsuen* 密宴), which should be differentiated from the institutionalized ones.

I instead propose the term “household banquets.” The last item of the list is particularly relevant in this regard. Uda's reign was a moment of paramount importance in relation to how positions and relationships at court started to be reparametrized over the course of the tenth century.

During Uda's reign, his residence at the Seiryōden compound in the Imperial Palace became the nexus for a new type of socio-political category defined by the so-called *tenjōbito* 殿上人

⁴⁷ On the gradual appearance and standardization of expressions related to personal feelings at official poetry banquets in the early and mid-Heian period see Ono, “Heianchō no kōenshi ni okeru jukkai ni tsuite.”

(“courtiers”), officials who had gained the right to access the sovereign’s residence and attend on him directly.⁴⁸ Courtiers were in general aristocrats above the fifth rank, or members of the Chamberlains Office as well as court officials who had kinship ties with the sovereign. The institutionalization of the courtier system during Uda’s reign thus brought about the formation of an extended household centered on the personal residence of the sovereign. In the same way institutionalized poetry banquets were a means to reaffirm the political unity and social organization of the larger Heian court, I suggest we look at Emperor Uda’s banquets as a sustained and consistent system through which Uda’s household was celebrated and affirmed as a self-sustaining socio-political body. In other words, I propose we consider Uda’s poetry banquets as a particular form of ritual connected to his household, rather than literary pastimes promoted by the sovereign’s own passion for poetry composition.

As a matter of fact, it is possible to identify one aspect by which Emperor Uda’s household banquets paralleled their institutional counterpart: the organization of the social space. The group of poems, now included in a collection of miscellaneous poems called *Zatsugon hōwa* 雜言奉和 (“Harmonizing Poems in Miscellaneous Verses”), that survives from the first banquet on the topic of lingering chrysanthemums (*zangiku* 殘菊) held by Emperor Uda at the end of the ninth month of Kanpyō 1 (889), constitutes a precious source that allows the appreciation of how these kinds of banquets were conceptualized.⁴⁹ Here I will present an analysis based on the participants to the banquet, in order to argue that the social organization of the banquet was closely resemblant of that of institutionalized banquets.⁵⁰

The participants, in order of appearance, are as follows:

- 民部大輔正五位下臣惟良宿禰高尚

⁴⁸ Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 91-92. The system, called *shōden* 昇殿 (“ascending into the hall”) was gradually established during the course of the ninth century but was fully institutionalized during Uda’s reign; see Furuse, *Kodai ōken to gishiki*, 317-364. The establishment of the *shōden* system and the institutionalization of courtier status had a profound impact on the socio-political organization of the Heian court and brought about new and complex ways by which positions at court were defined; see Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 19-27.

⁴⁹ The entry is in *Nihon kiriyaku*, Kanpyō 1 (889)/9/25. The preface to this banquet is also extant and preserved in *Honchō monzūi*. *Honchō monzūi* 331.

⁵⁰ The poems from this banquet, composed on the the topic “Cherishing autumn admiring the lingering chrysanthemums” (惜秋翫殘菊), are now included in the so-called *Zatsugon hōwa* collection, which is preserved in *Gunsho ruijū*, vol. 9, 258-65. However, it appears that the poems circulated as a separate volume for some time with the name *zangiku shikan* 殘菊詩卷 (Volume of Poetry on the Lingering Chrysanthemums). The attestation is in the late Edo period *Nihon shiki* 日本詩紀 (A Chronicle of Japanese Shi Poetry). *Nihon shiki*, 468.

Korenaga no Sukune Takanao, Senior Assistant of the Ministry of Popular Affairs, Senior Fifth Rank, lower grade.

- 前美濃介從五位下臣嶋田朝臣忠臣
Shimada no Ason Tadaomi, former Assistant Governor of Mino, Junior Fifth Rank, lower grade.
- 大外記外從五位下臣大藏朝臣善行
Ōkura no Ason Yoshiyuki, Major Outer Secretary, Outer Junior Fifth Rank, lower grade.
- 大藏少丞正七位下臣小野朝臣滋陰
Ono no Ason Shigekage, Junior Secretary of the Ministry of Treasury, Senior Seventh rank, lower grade.
- 文章生正七位上臣藤原朝臣菅根
Fujiwara no Ason Sugane, Student of Literature, Senior Seventh rank, upper grade.
- 阿波權守臣藤原朝臣直方
Fujiwara no Ason Naokata, Supernumerary Governor of Awa.
- 彈正大弼從四位下臣平朝臣惟範
Taira no Ason Korenori, Senior Assistant President of the Board of Censors, Junior Fourth rank, lower grade.
- 左近衛將監臣藤原滋實
Fujiwara no Shigezane, Captain of the Left Bodyguards.
- 左衛門少尉臣藤原定國
Fujiwara no Sadakuni, Lieutenant of the Palace Guards of the Left.
- 蔭子橘公緒
Tachibana no Kimio, Shadow Child.
- 蔭子藤原如道
Fujiwara no Yukimichi, Shadow Child.
- 右近衛少將正五位下臣源朝臣湛
Minamoto no Ason Tatau, Lesser General of the Right Bodyguards, Senior Fifth rank, lower grade.
- 藏人正六位上行兵部少丞臣藤原朝臣孝快
Fujiwara no Ason Takayasu, Chamberlain, Senior Sixth rank, upper grade acting Junior Secretary of the Ministry of Military Affairs.
- 蔭子藤原有賴
Fujiwara no Ariyori, Shadow Child.

- 宇多天皇
Emperor Uda.

Excluding the host, Emperor Uda, the Kanpyō 1 (889) lingering chrysanthemum banquet includes a total of fourteen poets. In addition, a preface by the Confucian Scholar Ki no Haseo 紀長谷雄 (845-912), presumably from this banquet, is recorded in *Honchō monzui* (Literary Essence of This Court). No poem by Ki no Haseo, however, is included in *Zatsugon hōwa*. The careful recording of the poems and the authors from the lingering chrysanthemum banquet allows us a view into a number of aspects of early Heian poetic practice. What is relevant in the present discussion is the social composition of the banquet. As will be seen, the organization of the social space of the Kanpyō 1 lingering chrysanthemums banquet was closely resemblant of the way poets (*monnin*) were distinguished at institutional banquets, suggesting the latter's cultural weight in influencing the way Uda's household banquets were coordinated.

Takigawa has categorized the participants to the Kanpyō 1 lingering chrysanthemum banquet on the base of their recorded literary activity, that is, depending on their attested poetic skills. In this way, he draws a line between those about whom some evidence of poetic activity can be attested, and those about whom no literary activity is known. Specifically, poets from Korenaga no Takanao to Taira no Korenori are identified as being active as poets, or as possessing literary skills on account of their training at the *kidendō* curriculum or their participation to literary projects.⁵¹ Poets from Fujiwara no Shigezane to Fujiwara no Ariyori show no attested poetic skill. They are, however, either members of the Chamberlains Office or affiliated to Uda by kinship ties.⁵² On the basis of this distinction, Takigawa argues that Uda's lingering chrysanthemum banquet included people with poetic talent, who would normally be selected as *monnin* at poetry banquets, as well as people with no particular literary skills, who participated to the banquet on account of their personal ties with the sovereign.

⁵¹ In particular, Korenaga no Takanao, Shimada no Tadaomi, Ōkura no Yoshiyuki, and Fujiwara no Sugane were all *kidendō* graduates, who thus necessarily possessed some degree of poetic training. Fujiwara no Naokata is depicted as possessing talent and erudition in the biography of his father, Fujiwara no Yoshimi 藤原良相. *Sandai jitsuroku*, Jōgan 9 (867)/10/10. Taira no Korenori has other poetic activity attested and is also known to have participated to the compilation of *Engi shiki* (Procedures of the Engi Era). Furthermore, Fujiwara no Naokata and Taira no Korenori are recorded in *Nihon kiriyaku* as selecting for Emperor Uda Confucian Scholars skilled in poetic composition from the Kōnin era onwards for having them painted on paper sliding doors (*shōji* 障子) at the imperial residence. They thus appear together in a source associated with poetry and poetic composition. *Nihon kiriyaku*, Ninna 4 (888)/9/15.

⁵² More specifically, Fujiwara no Sadakuni, Minamoto no Tatau, and Fujiwara no Takayasu were members of the Chamberlains Office; Sadakuni and Tachibana no Kimio were brothers of two of Uda's ladies-of-the-bedchamber (*kōi* 更衣).

I propose instead another kind of categorization, one that is not based on the supposed poetic skills of the recorded poets. Specifically, I suggest we divide the poets on the basis of rank as it is recorded in *Zatsugon hōwa*. The table below exemplifies the categorization I propose:

Lower-ground <i>monnin</i> <i>(jige monnin 地下文人)</i>	
Name	Title - rank
Korenaga no Sukune Takanao	Senior Assistant of the Ministry of Popular Affairs, Senior Fifth Rank, lower grade
Shimada no Ason Tadaomi	former Assistant Governor of Mino, Junior Fifth Rank, lower grade
Ōkura no Ason Yoshiyuki	Major Outer Secretary, Outer Junior Fifth Rank, lower grade
Ono no Ason Shigekage	Junior Secretary of the Ministry of Treasury, Senior Seventh [Sixth?] rank, lower grade ⁵³
Fujiwara no Ason Sugane	Student of Literature, Senior Seventh rank, upper grade
Courtier <i>monnin</i> (<i>tenjō monnin</i> 殿上文人)	
Name	Title - rank
Fujiwara no Ason Naokata	Supernumerary Governor of Awa [Junior Fourth rank, lower grade from Gangyō 3 (879). <i>Sandai jitsuroku</i> , Gangyō 3 (879)/1/7.]
Taira no Ason Korenori	Senior Assistant President of the Board of Censors, Junior Fourth rank, lower grade
Fujiwara no Shigezane	Captain of the Left Bodyguards
Fujiwara no Sadakuni	Lieutenant of the Palace Guards of the Left
Tachibana no Kimio	Shadow Child
Fujiwara no Yukimichi	Shadow Child
Minamoto no Ason Tatau	Lesser General of the Right Bodyguards, Senior Fifth rank, lower grade
Fujiwara no Ason Takayasu	Chamberlain, Senior Sixth rank, upper grade acting Junior Secretary of the Ministry of Military Affairs
Fujiwara no Ariyori	Shadow Child

Table 4. List of *monnin* at the Kanpyō 1 lingering chrysanthemum banquet categorized by rank.

As is clear from the table, if we follow the rank in the order of appearance of the poets, ranks descend from Korenaga no Takanao to Fujiwara no Sugane to then rise again with Fujiwara no

⁵³ Kuranaka Sumi suggests that “seventh rank” could be a mistake for “sixth rank.” Kuranaka, *Shimada no Tadaomi nenpyō* oboegaki, n. 32.

Naokata and Taira no Korenori. At this point, the two other recorded ranks in *Zatsugon hōwa* appear in descending order (Minamoto no Tatau and Fujiwara no Takayasu). It is thus possible to categorize the Kanpyō 1 lingering chrysanthemum banquet poets in two distinct groups on the basis of the dividing line between Fujiwara no Sugane and Fujiwara no Naokata. In both groups, poets appear in a descending order by rank. The advantage of this categorization is that it isolates the poets in the first group, who are most evidently associated with the *kidendō* curriculum, with those of the second group, who lack such association.⁵⁴ In this way, the categorization by rank foregrounds a neat social distinction based on professional status, between those who received training at the Bureau of Education and those who did not. I believe this is a more rigorous way of analyzing the social organization of Emperor Uda's banquet than to rely on the supposed literary skills of the recorded poets. Accordingly, it is possible to subdivide the poets in two groups: those who were summoned precisely because of their status of *kidendō* graduates and those who participated on account of their personal ties with the sovereign.

The above division paralleled the organization of the social space at institutionalized poetry banquets, where royals, aristocrats, and bureaucratic officials attended the banquet together with *monnin* selected primarily from *kidendō* graduates who were summoned exclusively to provide poetic composition. Attending royals and nobles could optionally offer a poem and receive extra-emoluments for this service. Modern scholarship often describes royal and aristocratic poets with the term *tenjō monnin* 殿上文人 (courtier *monnin*) to distinguish them from the regular *monnin* who were summoned precisely by virtue of their literary skills, and who are called *jige monnin* 地下文人 (lower-ground *monnin*) on account of their spatial distance from the sovereign at the banquet venue. When historical sources mention *monnin*, it is in fact usually implied “lower-ground *monnin*.”⁵⁵ In the instance of the Kanpyō 1 lingering chrysanthemum banquet, royals and nobles who attended institutionalized banquets are replaced by Emperor Uda's household attendants, such as members of the Chamberlain Office or people affiliated through kinship ties. The basic structure of the banquet, however, follows closely that of its institutional counterpart, in that a body of attending officials is complemented by *monnin* selected

⁵⁴ An overview of the bureaucratic careers of the Kanpyō 1 lingering chrysanthemums banquet is in Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 71-76. Doubts remain on the poet Ono no Shigekage, about whom close to no evidence remains, so that it is not possible to connect him directly to training at the Bureau of High Education. His name, however, appears in the *Kokin wakashū mokuroku* 古今和歌集目録 (Catalogue [of poets] in *Kokin wakashū*) which is said to include many poets who were skilled in *shi* poetry and who received training in the *kidendō* track. Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 72.

⁵⁵ Kudō, *Ritsuryō shakai*, 81-83.

from *kidendō* graduates.⁵⁶ Not only the *kidendō* graduate group in the Kanpyō 1 lingering chrysanthemum banquet can be thought of as equivalent to the body of *kidendō* graduates selected as *monnin* for institutionalized banquets; the former relative position in the geography of the banquet space is also represented in *Zatsugon hōwa*, insofar as the *kidendō* graduates are given primacy in the poetic composition by appearing first but at the same time are the furthest away from the sovereign in the text. The Kanpyō 1 lingering chrysanthemum banquet, then, reproduces *textually* the organization of the social space enforced at institutionalized banquets.

If the Kanpyō 1 lingering chrysanthemum banquet is of any indication, Emperor Uda's household banquets, thus, followed closely the social model provided by the institutionalized Palace Banquet and the Double Nine banquet. This, in turn, testifies to the cultural weight of the ways in which the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet coordinated the institutional performance of *shi* poetry. As has been seen, Sugawara no Michizane's collection *Kanke bunsō* represented Emperor Uda's household banquets as a sequence of ceremonies crystallized in a consistent annual calendar, despite there is no evidence that these banquets were held consistently every year. In doing so, Michizane presented Emperor Uda's household banquets as a fictional institutionalized system. As discussed presently, the influence of the institutionalized banquet system reached onto concrete aspects of the organization of Uda's banquet, such as the division between "lower-ground *monnin*" and "courtier *monnin*" which is, at the very least, reproduced in the version of the banquet that has been transmitted by *Zatsugon hōwa*. Institutionalized banquets, thus, constituted a continued cultural force whose gravitation pull exerted influence over literary activity taking place at its perimeter.

The Banquet of the "Day After the Double Nine"

There is evidence that, at any moment, a household banquet could undergo some degree of "institutionalization" that extended further than the aspects that have been analyzed so far and also impacted the way texts were crafted. Topics of composition and continental material to be quoted, among other things, could be strategically selected to enhance the proximity to institutionalized poetry banquets.

Among the poetic banquets that Uda held almost regularly after coronation, one in particular stands out for its ostensible connection to the Double Nine banquet: the banquet held

⁵⁶ The Double Nine Banquet required that *monnin* be selected from Literature Students of the *kidendō* curriculum; the Palace Banquet selected *monnin* from Confucian Scholars (those in the *kidendō* track who had passed the highest examination) and *kidendō* Scholarship Students. See Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 171-72.

on the “day after the Double Nine” (*chōyō kōchō* 重陽後朝), so denominated after the headline in the titles of the poems therein composed. According to the scholar Hatooka Akira 波戸岡旭, this denomination establishes a connection with the Double Nine that is in fact stronger than the mere temporal contiguity. He suggests that this banquet might have been conceived of as a small-scale follow-up to the Double Nine Banquet, and further argues that the very enactment of this banquet was possibly linked to whether the Double Nine Banquet was held or not. While Uda continued to hold this banquet after abdication, the last traceable date is 906 (Engi 延喜 6). While the lack of evidence after this date might depend on missing material from this period, Hatooka proposes that the disappearance of this banquet from historical and literary sources might be tied to the increasing cancellation of the Double Nine Banquet during the reign of Emperor Daigo 醍醐天皇 (885-930, r. 897-930).⁵⁷

Another way to assess the nature of this banquet, however, is to consider its position within the economy of Uda’s household poetic regime. Both before and after abdication Uda appropriated all the meaningful dates of the Confucian calendar that in the past had been associated with imperially sponsored poetic activity, namely the Double Third and the Double Seven. The “day after the Double Nine” thus might have functioned as a Double Nine surrogate for Uda’s household regime. I suggest that the headline claims in fact a connection with the date of the Double Nine, but not necessarily with the associated institutional banquet. Indeed, when we turn our attention to the topics of composition, we see little to no connection with the topics and themes of the poems composed at the Double Nine Banquet. Poems composed at Uda’s banquet on the “day after the Double Nine” are mostly devoted to late autumn seasonal scenery. Early examples from Uda’s reign are in Shimada no Tadaomi’s collection: “[Composing on the] character autumn” (秋字), and “Autumn grass” (秋叢).⁵⁸ The topic for the banquet in 895 (Kanpyō 7) was “*Flowers all have different shades*” (花有淺深), while in 896 (Kanpyō 8) it was “*Autumn grows deep*” (秋深).⁵⁹ Tellingly, this topical and possibly ritual disconnection has also been observed in the extant poems from Uda’s Double Third banquet. The Double Third was associated with a number of continental rites that had also taken roots in Heian customs, among which the purification rite (*misogi harae* 禊祓) was perhaps the most prominent.⁶⁰ Poems

⁵⁷ Hatooka, *Sugawara no Michizane*, 91-110.

⁵⁸ *Denshi kashū*, 9:179 and 9:183.

⁵⁹ *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 429 and 436.

⁶⁰ Yamanaka, *Heianchō no nenjū gyōji*, 173-90.

composed on this date in late Nara and early Heian, when the Double Third banquet was held institutionally, invariably show literary tropes associated with this ritual. By contrast, poems composed at Uda's banquet show no connection to it, so much so that Uda's Double Third has been described as markedly leisure-oriented.⁶¹ All in all, thus, Uda's household banquets show little textual connection to their institutional counterparts, past or present.

The new poetry banquets held by Emperor Uda, such as the Double Third banquet and the Double Seven banquet, mostly overlap with the *sechie* 節会 official public festivities of the early Heian court, conferring to Uda's new poetic regime ritual and cosmological authority. In this respect, the banquet of the "day after the Double Nine," appears to function as Uda's household counterpart to the institutional Double Nine banquet. The significance of Uda's banquet regimen is inseparable from the political position of Uda at the beginning of the Kanpyō era (889-898). Immediately after the death of the powerful chancellor (*daijō daijin* 太政大臣) Fujiwara no Mototsune in Kanpyō 3 (891), Emperor Uda moved from the residence of the Crown Prince at the Eastern Palace (*tōgū* 東宮), where he had remained even after accession to the throne, into the imperial palace, where he established his residence in the Seiryōden 清涼殿 (The Hall of Purity and Coolness) compound.⁶² Uda's reign is referred to by historians as Kanpyō no chi 寛平の治 ("The Kanpyō rule"), indicating the period when Uda enjoyed unprecedented political freedom as sovereign and promoted his residence at Seiryōden as a site of ritual and political power parallel to the institutional court.⁶³ A new set of ceremonies regulated Uda's household ritual regime, among which an impressive number of poetry banquets that, as has been seen, overlapped with *sechie* festival dates, or that were created anew, such as the "lingering chrysanthemum (*zangiku* 残菊) banquet at the end of the ninth month.⁶⁴ These new banquets, as a matter of fact, were unmistakably tied to Uda's household government system based at Seiryōden, and constituted a parallel regimen to the institutionalized Palace Banquet and Double

⁶¹ Kitayama, "sangatsu mikka no en."

⁶² *Nihon kiryaku*, Kanpyō 3 (891)/2/19. On the political and cosmological significance of the shift of the imperial residence from the customary Jijūden to Seiryōden see Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 90.

⁶³ Heldt, *ibid.*, 90-95.

⁶⁴ One important celebration that was established by Uda was the Lesser Court Blessing (*kochōbai* 小朝拜), which was a small-scale iteration of the large Court Blessing ceremony. In contrast to the latter, which was a public event held at the Great Hall of State (*daigokuden* 大極殿), the *kochōbai* was held at the Seiryōden, where only those who were granted access to the imperial residence were allowed to participate. See Yamanaka, *Heianchō no nenjū gyōji*, 98-100.

Nine Banquet. During Emperor Uda's reign, the Palace Banquet continued to be held at the Jijūden compound, signaling that the two banquet systems did not overlap.⁶⁵

While institutional banquets and Uda's household banquets were for the most part distinctly separate poetic regimes, it appears that a connection could be made and strategically exploited as a means to coordinate the position of Uda's household government vis-à-vis the institutional regimes of the court. At least one specific iteration of the "Banquet of the day after the Double Nine", in fact, suggests various levels of proximity to the Double Nine Banquet. The following are the preface (*jo* 序) and the poem that Michizane composed for this banquet in 891 (Kanpyō 3), included in volume five of Michizane's *Kanke bunsō*:

重陽後朝、同賦秋雁櫓聲來、應製。並序

Day after the Double Nine. [A poem] composed along on the topic "Autumn geese come with the sound of oars" in response to command by the sovereign. With preface attached.

After the Double Nine, on the night of the following day, the autumn geese arrive like guests as in the Proceedings for the Months, while the sound of the oars is heard through the window carried by the wind. Touched by the scene, we wonder if we have not come to the waves of the Mirror Lake. Stretching the mind, we imagine that we simply must be admiring the banks of the Silver River. At this time a cool wind blows incessantly as the water clock keeps moving. Two, three poetizing ministers; seven, eight attendants: everyone shall compose a poem and fully speak their mind. I humbly present this preface.

重陽之後、翌日之夕、秋雁者月令之賓也、櫓聲者風窓之聽也。觸物而感、非來鏡湖之波。馳心而思、只望銀漢之岸。于時涼氣屢動、夜漏頻移。詩臣兩三人、近習七八輩、請各成篇、以備言志云尔。謹序。

碧紗窓下櫓聲幽	From behind the jade-green silk curtains of the window comes faintly a sound of oars;
聞說蕭蕭旅雁秋	From what I have heard, this is the lonely sound of geese travelling in autumn.
高計雲晴寒叫陣	A column [of geese] crying in the cold, aiming high where the clouds have cleared;
乍逢潮急曉行舟	A boat proceeding at dawn, having suddenly met a rapid tide.
沙庭感誤松江宿	Touched by the sandy courtyard, we mistakenly feel as we are resting at the Pine River.
月砌驚疑鏡水遊	Startled by the moonlit pavement, we wonder we might be idling at the Mirror Waters.
追惜重陽閑說處	When they hear the idle voices fondly recollecting the Double

⁶⁵ The Palace Banquet was regularly held at the sovereign's personal residence. During the ninth century, the Jijūden had been the standard place of residence for sovereigns, and the Palace Banquet was customarily held there. As Uda shifted the residence from Jijūden to Seiryōden, the Palace Banquet should have therefore been held in the latter compound. On the Palace Banquet and the place of performance see Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 171-74.

Nine,
宮人怪問是漁謳 The palace ladies will wonder if they are listening to the
fishermen's songs.⁶⁶

Michizane makes the connection with the Double Nine explicit right at the beginning of his preface. The first lines of the text can be seen as a commentary on the title and the topic. It is the topic, in particular, that deserves our attention. “*Autumn geese come with the sound of oars*” is a line extracted from a poem titled “*Clear view at the river pavilion. Ninth month, eighth day.*” (河亭晴望、九月八日) by the mid-Tang poet Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846). This poem is included in the fifty-fourth volume of Bai’s personal collection *Baishi wenji* (J. *Hakushi bunshū*) 白氏文集.⁶⁷ Although highly popular among *kidendō* scholars during Michizane’s time, Bai Juyi’s collected works were still largely peripheral to the literary orthodoxy of institutional education at the Bureau of Education.⁶⁸ In late ninth- and early tenth-century Japan style and diction borrowed directly from Bai’s poetry in poems composed at public venues were still very limited, as opposed to informal compositions where they were rapidly becoming ubiquitous.⁶⁹ Lines from Bai’s poetry, however, increasingly made their way as topics for composition at poetic banquets during Michizane’s time. In particular, topic chosen from Bai Juyi’s lines are prominently seen in the case of institutionalized banquets during the ninth and early tenth centuries.⁷⁰ While the reason for this association can only be speculated on, there seems to exist an exclusive association between topics selected from Bai Juyi’s verses and institutionalized banquets, signaling that Uda’s banquet on the “day after the Double Nine” also was imbued with a sense of institutionalization.

In this instance, both Bai’s topic line and source poem were hardly chosen randomly for this occasion and were likely intended to support Uda’s banquet association with the Double Nine Banquet. The title makes the proximity with the date of the Double Nine explicit through the gloss “ninth month, eighth day.” The final lines reveal that the poem was composed as a lamentation for the poet’s inability to join the chrysanthemum banquet at court the next day. Bai’s poem thus might have been chosen strategically in consideration that it was ostensibly

⁶⁶ *Kanke bunsō, kanke kōshū* 349.

⁶⁷ *Baishi wenji* 301.

⁶⁸ Momo, *Jōdai gakusei*, 385-92.

⁶⁹ Ono, *Heianchō Tenryakuki no bundan*, 190-93.

⁷⁰ The known topics that come from a poem by Bai Juyi in ninth century are as follows: “Chrysanthemums are warm but the flowers have not yet opened” (菊暖花未開) in Jōgan 3 (861); “Spring dancers lack vital energy” (春娃無氣力) in Gangyō 9 (885). *Sandai jitsuroku*, Jōgan 3/9/9 and Gangyō 9/1/21.

composed one day before the Double Nine, therefore entertaining with the latter the same relative connection as Uda's banquet, whose poems would be composed one day after.

One notable feature of Bai's topic line is that it also conveys a certain degree of ambivalence through the juxtaposition of the two images that are featured in it. In fact, it is an ambivalence that is capitalized upon to represent Uda's banquet as oscillating between proximity to and separation from its institutional counterpart. Autumn geese, on the one hand, are associated to the ninth month in *Yue ling*.⁷¹ As such, they featured prominently in the topics assigned for poetic composition at the Double Nine banquet in Michizane's time. Two examples can be found in Michizane's *Kanke bunsō*: "Wild geese come as guests" (鴻雁來賓) and "With cleansed sky the visiting geese are seen" (天淨識賓鴻).⁷² While the "sound of oars" is a concept linked to Daoist lore, its association with the cry of the geese is entirely Bai's innovation.⁷³ This ambivalence is also exploited in Michizane's poem: Michizane begins by expanding on both the elements in the topic line to then celebrate Uda's venue as an unworldly land of Daoist immortals. The imagery evoked to depict the venue as "Pine River" and "Mirror Waters" in the poem works in tandem with "Silver River" (one of the varied nomenclatures for the milky way) and "Mirror Lake" in the preface. To the extent of my knowledge, all these toponyms occur frequently in association with Daoist lore in continental (mostly mid-Tang) poetry. However, the final couplet inscribes Uda's banquet within an inherent ambivalence: while the cry of the geese is typically associated with the Double Nine banquet, the sound of the oars further reinforces the imagination of Uda's banquet as a Daoist retreat. The choice of this particular poem from Bai's corpus, thus, results in Uda's banquet being at the same time textually separated and contiguous to the institutional Double Nine.

As we have seen, Bai's topic line stands in clear contrast to the usual topics for this banquet, which normally tended to focus on late autumn scenery. What might explain, then, this peculiar choice? The ambiguous textual position of Uda's banquet and its strategic potential become more discernible when we reinstate it in its broader historical context. The Double Nine banquet, while being held uninterrupted during Uda's reign, was only held in the form of an

⁷¹ "Wild geese arrive like guests" (鴻雁來賓). *Liji*, Book 6, 27:256.

⁷² *Kanke bunsō*, *kanke kōshū* 8 and 379.

⁷³ Kojima, *Kokinshū izen*, 196-97. The fisherman's boat comes from the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, an ancient collection of anecdotes and stories that illustrate the ideal Daoist sage.

abbreviated and less formal ceremony (*hiraḡa* 平座) in 891.⁷⁴ This meant that the attending courtiers were entertained at the designated venue, where they would be served liquor without the sovereign participating in person. On this occasion poetry composition usually did not take place.⁷⁵ Here, thus, we can appreciate Uda's banquet as a reenactment of the Double Nine Banquet, specifically with respect to the poetic part of the ceremony that had not taken place the day before. To be sure, this was hardly just a leisurely activity: in fact, the choice of Bai's topic line as well as Michizane's preface can be seen as one way to appropriate elements associated to institutional poetic activity and with the Double Nine banquet in particular to accumulate and reproduce these forms of symbolic capital. In this way, the topic line and its exposition in Michizane's preface become a powerful textual means that legitimizes and enables Uda's household "Banquet of the day after Double Nine" to claim proximity to its institutional counterpart. By staging the banquet in this fashion, the separation between the poetic regimes of Uda's household and the institutional court is confounded insofar as the former overlaps the latter. This occurred at an important political moment for Uda, as he had only just moved into the imperial palace in Seiryōden after Mototsune's death and was in the early stage of organizing his new residence into a defined socio-political entity. The strategic and creative appropriation of the symbolical capital associated to the Double Nine therefore gave Uda the opportunity to claim the potential for his household to support and complement the ritual regime of the institutional court.

Retired Emperor Uda and the Institutionalized Banquet System

On the seventeenth day of the second month of Shōtai 1 (898) Retired Emperor Uda moved into the imperial residence of Suzaku-in 朱雀院 (Vermilion Bird Pavilion). The Suzaku-in, located south of the Imperial Palace along central Suzaku Avenue between the Third and the Fourth Avenues, was originally established by Emperor Saga 嵯峨天皇 (786-842, r. 809-823). The first textual evidence relating to Suzaku-in dates from 836 (Jōwa 承和 3). Emperor Uda restored the mansion and resided there for some time after abdication and later intermittently.⁷⁶ After Uda's abdication, Suzaku-in became the first site of Uda's new position of political and cultural power.

⁷⁴ *Nihon kiryaku*, Kanpyō 3.9.10.

⁷⁵ On *hiraḡa* see Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 217.

⁷⁶ During the tenth century, Suzaku-in became the customary residence for retired sovereigns and their consorts; see Ōta, "Suzaku-in kō."

One preface drafted by Sugawara no Michizane for a poetic banquet held by Retired Emperor Uda at Suzaku-in before even moving into the residence in the autumn of Kanpyō 9 (897), included in the sixth volume of *Kanke bunsō*, manifestly expresses the shift of power from the Imperial Palace to Suzaku-in. The incipit of the preface is as follows:

閑居屬於誰人、紫宸殿之本主也。秋水見於何處、朱雀院之新家也。

To whom does this tranquil dwelling belong to? To the former Lord of the Purple Imperial Hall. In what place can the autumn waters be seen? In his new residence, the Vermilion Bird Pavilion.⁷⁷

The preface was composed on the topic “Tranquil dwelling, enjoying the autumn waters” (閑居樂秋水). This topic resonated with a Daoist-like attitude of detachment, which is also coupled with the state of imperial retirement throughout the text. Right at the beginning, however, Michizane expands the topic onto the new political geography of the court, by presenting the Suzaku mansion as a natural extension of the Shishinden (Purple Imperial Hall) in the Imperial Palace. Furthermore, the preface was composed for one of Retired Emperor Uda’s iterations of the banquet of the “day after the Double Nine.” Not only does the appearance in the preface of the two seats of imperial power, the Shishinden and the Suzaku-in, hint at Retired Emperor Uda’s shift of power from one to the other, but also produces a synchronic juxtaposition of the two: just as the Double Nine Banquet was performed by the reigning sovereign in the Shishinden hall, the banquet of the “day after the Double Nine” was performed by the retired sovereign at the Suzaku mansion. Michizane’s preface thus foregrounds the political and ritual significance of the latter in complementing the former. As a matter of fact, Retired Emperor Uda continued to hold his household banquets consistently upon moving to Suzaku-in, which emphasized the connection between his old imperial residence at Seiryōden and the new residence at Suzaku-in. In this way, Uda’s banquets imbued Uda’s household political reality with ritual and cosmological significance both before and after abdication.

Moreover, it appears that Retired Emperor Uda aimed at reconfiguring Suzaku-in as a parallel site of imperial authority. Michizane’s *Kanke bunsō* included one poem written in early spring that seems to mimic those produced at the Palace Banquet. This is evident from the headline of the poem. Consider the following juxtaposition of Retired Emperor Uda’s spring banquet and the Palace Banquet of the same year, Shōtai 2 (899):

⁷⁷ *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 443.

早春内宴、侍清涼殿同賦鶯出谷、應製。

Early spring, Palace Banquet, attending at Seiryōden. [A poem] composed along on the topic “The warblers come out of the valley” in response to a command by the sovereign.

(*Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 453)

早春、侍朱雀院同賦春雨洗花、應太皇製。

Early spring, attending at Suzaku-in. [A poem] composed along on the topic “Spring rain washes the flowers” in response to a command by the retired sovereign.

(*Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 454)

The titles of the poems, both included in Sugawara no Michizane’s *Kanke bunsō*, are identical in their format. In particular, “early spring” appears only in titles of poems for the Palace Banquet, suggesting that the title of the poem composed for Retired Emperor Uda’s banquet strategically implied a connection between the two. This evidence suggests that Retired Emperor Uda equipped his new residence at Suzaku-in with banquets that paralleled the institutionalized Palace Banquet and Double Nine Banquet, enabling Retired Emperor Uda to configure Suzaku-in as a locus of political and cultural authority complementary to the imperial palace.

Furthermore, evidence suggests that Retired Emperor Uda’s household banquets were held in the same way of institutionalized banquet in terms of socio-political organization. One entry in *Nihon kiryaku* for Engi 13 (913) regarding a banquet held by Uda at his residence in Teiji-in 亭子院 is particularly significant in this regard, suggesting that royals, nobles, and *monnin* constituted the social space of Retired Emperor Uda exactly in the same way of institutionalized banquets. Moreover, the entry includes a reference to music and dance performance in the same way of historical entries for institutionalized banquets.⁷⁸

In the same way as Michizane’s preface connected Retired Emperor Uda’s banquet of the “day after the Double Nine” to the Double Nine Banquet held in the Imperial Palace, the sixth volume of *Kanke bunsō* emphasizes the overall connection between Retired Emperor Uda’s banquet regime and the institutionalized poetry banquet system throughout its length. The connection between Retired Emperor Uda’s banquets and the institutionalized poetry banquets held at the imperial palace is reinforced in Sugawara no Michizane’s collection by systematically juxtaposing the two systems. Below is a chart evidencing these juxtapositions in the sixth volume of *Kanke bunsō*.

⁷⁸ “The Retired Sovereign of the Dharma summoned royals, nobles, and *monnin* to the Teiji-in and commanded that poetry be composed on the topic ‘Water is fragrant at the chrysanthemum pond.’ Court musicians performed.” (太上法皇於亭子院, 召王卿、文士等、令賦菊潭水自香詩。伶人奏樂。)

- a) 九日侍宴、觀群臣插茱萸、應製。

Ninth day, attending a banquet, watching the assembled ministers put on *zūnyū* sticks, [a poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.

(*Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū* 442)

九日後朝、侍朱雀院、同賦閑居樂秋水、應太上天皇製。并序。

Day after the ninth day, attending at Suzaku-in. [A poem] composed along on the topic “*Tranquil dwelling, enjoying the autumn waters*” in response to a command by the retired sovereign.

(*Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū* 443)

- b) 重陽侍宴、同賦菊有五美、各分一字、應製。

Double Nine, attending a banquet. [A poem] composed along on the topic “*Chrysanthemums possess five virtues*”, one character each, in response to a command by the sovereign.

(*Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū* 448)

九日後朝、侍宴朱雀院、同賦秋思入寒松、應太上皇製。

Day after the ninth day, attending a banquet at Suzaku-in. [A poem] composed along on the topic “*Autumn thoughts enter the cold pine*” in response to a command by the retired sovereign.

(*Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū* 449)

- c) 早春內宴、侍清涼殿同賦鶯出谷、應製。

Early spring, Palace Banquet, attending at Seiryōden. [A poem] composed along on the topic “*The warbler comes out of the valley*” in response to a command by the sovereign.

(*Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū* 453)

早春、侍朱雀院同賦春雨洗花、應太皇製。

Early spring, attending at Suzaku-in. [A poem] composed along on the topic “*Spring rain washes the flowers*” in response to a command by the retired sovereign.

(*Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū* 454)

- d) 春夕移坐遊花下、應製。

[Spring night, moving the seats to idle under the flowers, [a poem] composed in response to a command by the Sovereign.]

(*Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū* 455)

(456) 三月三日、侍朱雀院柏梁殿、惜殘春、各分一字、應太上皇製。

[Third month, third day, attending at the Cypress Bridge Hall [hakuryōden] in Suzaku-in, cherishing lingering spring, one character each, [a poem] composed in response to a command by the retired sovereign.

(*Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū* 456)

- e) 九日侍宴、同賦菊散一叢金、應製。

Ninth day, attending a banquet, [a poem] composed along on the topic “*The chrysanthemums scatter one bush of gold*” in response to a command by the sovereign.

(*Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū* 460)

九月盡日、題殘菊、應太上皇製。

Last day of the ninth month, [a poem] composed on the topic of lingering chrysanthemums in response to a command by the retired sovereign.

(*Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 461)

As is evident, from Kanpyō 9 (897) to Shōtai 2 (899), to every institutionalized banquet Michizane juxtaposes a banquet held by Retired Emperor Uda in their proximity.⁷⁹ By doing so, Michizane not only creates a double vision of court power, shared between the sovereign and the retired sovereign, but also emphasizes his role in supplementing poems as *monnin* to both cultural poles.

The case of item (f) is particularly interesting. In this case, it appears as though Michizane was in need of pairing the Double Third banquet held by Retired Emperor Uda with a poetry banquet held at the imperial palace. However, no institutionalized banquet usually took place in the proximity of the Double Third date. I would argue that in this case Michizane juxtaposed Retired Emperor Uda's banquet with a non-institutionalized impromptu banquet held by the sovereign at the imperial palace sometime in the late spring of the same year. In this way, Michizane could avoid disrupting the consistent pairing of every banquet by Retired Emperor Uda with a banquet held by the sovereign. The parallel juxtaposing of these two banquet systems can explain, for example, while *Kanke bunsō* does not include any poem composed for Retired Emperor Uda's Double Seven (*tanabata*) banquet, despite it is known thanks to other sources that at least in Shōtai 2 (899) this banquet took place at Suzaku-in.⁸⁰ One simple explanation could of course be that Michizane did not participate to such banquet. Another intriguing possibility, however, is that Michizane did not include the poem composed for this banquet on account of the fact that he did not have any poem composed at the imperial palace to match with the former. To avoid disrupting the parallel sequencing of juxtaposed banquets at Suzaku-in and at the imperial palace, Michizane might have chosen not to include the poem composed for Retired Emperor Uda's Double Seven banquet.

In sum, the sixth volume of Sugawara no Michizane's *Kanke bunsō* provides a strategic vision of court ritual, political, and cultural power. By carefully pairing poems composed for Retired Emperor Uda's household banquets and poems composed for institutionalized banquets (or, at least, composed at the imperial palace upon the sovereign's command), Michizane establishes Retired Emperor Uda's banquet system as a consistent locus of cultural authority that

⁷⁹ The only exception is the Palace Banquet of Shōtai 1 (898) (*Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 446), which does not have a counterpart from Retired Emperor Uda's banquets.

⁸⁰ *Nihon kiryaku*, Shōtai 2 (899)/7/7. Poems were composed on the topic "Floating clouds move the parting robes" (浮雲動別衣).

could match and parallel that of the imperial court. At the same time, this strategic organization of the material also emphasizes Michizane's role in participating to both cultural systems as a specialized poet.

3. The *monnin* Paradigm: Sugawara no Michizane and Institutionalized Banquets

Poetizing Minister: Sugawara no Michizane's claim to *monnin* status.

On the third day of the third month of 890 (Kanpyō 2) Emperor Uda held a reenactment of the “Winding Stream banquet” (*gokusui no en* 曲水宴) at Ga-in 雅院, a venue within the Crown Prince residence where he continued to live after coronation prior to moving into the Imperial Palace in 891. The Winding Stream banquet was held institutionally during Emperor Kanmu's reign (781-806), only to be cancelled after the latter's death. Uda's reenactment, however, was decidedly non-institutional inasmuch as it was held in a place detached from institutional spaces and it assembled members of Uda's personal entourage.⁸¹ Michizane participated and contributed a poem:

擲度風光臥海濱	I have been neglecting the beauty of nature in my time at the seashore;
可憐今日遇佳辰	How deep my emotion today as I come across this auspicious occasion.
近臨桂殿迴流水	Close I gaze at the <i>Katsura</i> Palace, surrounded by streaming waters;
遙想蘭亭晚景春	Afar I imagine the Orchid Pavilion, in springtime's evening scape.
仙盞追來花錦亂	The cups of the immortals approach in the brocade of a myriad flowers;
御簾卷却月鉤新	The bamboo blinds roll up hanging from the hook of the new moon.
四時不廢歌王澤	All the four seasons I shall never stop singing for the royal stream,
長斷詩臣作外臣	If the poetizing minister will no longer be made an outer minister. ⁸²

⁸¹ As already mentioned, Takigawa sees Uda's household banquets as “private” banquets (*shien* 私宴), that is, mainly leisurely poetic activities with no connection to state-level institutional banquets. Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 80-82.

⁸² *Kanke bunsō*, *kanke kōshū* 324.

女妓粧成舞步虛 The dancing girls, their makeup set, perform the “Buxu.”⁸⁴
(*Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū* 27)

c) 王公依次，行酒詩臣。
Royals and nobles took turns at pouring liquor to the poetizing ministers.
(*Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū*, 184)

d) 四時不廢歌王澤 All the four seasons I shall never stop singing for the royal stream,
長斷詩臣作外臣 If the poetizing minister will no longer be made an outer
Minister.
(*Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū*, 324)

e) 詩臣兩三人、近習七八輩、請各成篇、以備言志云尔。
Two, three poetizing ministers (*shishin*); seven, eight retainers (*kinjū*): everyone shall compose a poem
and fully speak their mind.
(*Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū* 349)

f) 今夕詔詩臣曰。
Tonight, he summoned the poetizing ministers and said: [...].
(*Honchō monzui* 224)

g) 大上法皇有勅喚詩臣四五人。
The Retired Sovereign of the Dharma summoned four, five poetizing ministers by decree.
(*Honchō monzui* 293)

h) 喚詩臣賦即事。
He summoned the poetizing ministers and had them craft an impromptu composition.
(*Nihon kiriyaku*, Engi 5 [905]/1/[date unknown])

Significantly, the earliest occurrence is found in Michizane’s preface for the Palace Banquet of 868 (Jōgan 10). “Poetizing minister” can thus be enumerated among the various terms —such as *bunshi* 文士 (“letters scholars”), or *bokkyaku* 墨客 (“ink guest”)— that appear in poetry and prefaces to refer to those who present poems at a banquet, and therefore can be considered literary variants for *monnin*, the latter being basically a bureaucratic terminology that appears consistently in procedures and histories but never in actual compositions.⁸⁵ However, because the term *shishin* is not found in continental sources and the first occurrences are all in Michizane’s texts, Takigawa further argues for a literal interpretation, that is, an imperial subject who uses poetry as a tool for statecraft.

However, reading the above poem as Michizane’s pledge to serve the sovereign through his poetry might blind us to an important aspect, namely the bureaucratic equivalence that

⁸⁴ The translation is by Brian Steininger with minor adjustments. See Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 51.

⁸⁵ Takigawa, “Shishin toshite no Sugawara no Michizane,” 6-8.

Michizane draws between a “poetizing minister” and a provincial governor. The parallel construction as different declinations of “minister” (*shin* 臣) suggests that the two are presented as equal yet mutually exclusive forms of bureaucratic service, in a way that is even more pronounced than Michizane’s poem at the Akashi post discussed above. In other words, composing poetry for Uda, even in the context of a non-institutional poetic banquet, only comes for Michizane with a socially recognized position. It would be thus more productive to read this verse less as a political pledge to Uda and more as a strategic claim by Michizane to a position within the latter’s community that is modeled on the institutionalized one of *monnin* implemented at state-level banquets.

Other texts produced by Michizane for Uda show clearly that for Michizane “poetizing minister” and other terms equated *monnin* not only in that they designated those who presented poems, but also marked off a specific social distinction among poets. Consider the following excerpts:

- (a) The imperial diary of the Kanpyō era has that in the third day of the third month of the second year [890] all offices were suspended for the lantern ceremony. The Chancellor [Fujiwara no Mototsune] paid a visit and a banquet event was held all day long. At the hour of the Rat poetic inspiration arose. The topic was “*Third day of the third month, the Winding Stream Banquet is bestowed upon the attendants at Ga-in.*” *Monnin* were summoned. Among them the former Governor of Sanuki Lord Sugawara <Kitano> Michizane, the Head of the Medical Bureau Shimada no Tadaomi, and others. Those among the courtiers and the members of the Chamberlain’s Office who were versed in poetry also joined in.

寛平御記云、二年三月三日、依御燈事、諸司廢務。太政大人參入、終日宴飲事。子時有詩興、其題三月三日於雅院賜侍臣曲水飲。被召文人、前讚岐守菅原朝臣<北野>道真、典藥頭島田忠臣等、殿上藏人堪文之者、相交其中。

(*Nenjū gyōjishō*)

- (b) Five, six attendants among the retainers (*kinjū*) and in addition two, three poets (*shijin*) especially summoned: each shall compose extemporaneously expressing the scenery before them into form and words.

近習者侍臣五六、外來者詩人兩三而已。請各即事、著于形言。

(*Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū* 336)

- (c) Two, three poetizing ministers (*shishin*); seven, eight retainers (*kinjū*): everyone shall compose a poem and fully speak their mind.

詩臣兩三人、近習七八輩、請各成篇、以備言志云尔。

(*Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 349)

The first text is one of the extant fragments of Uda's diary (*Kanpyō gyōki* 寛平御記).⁸⁶ It is an entry for the Winding Stream banquet where Michizane presented the poem quoted above. It testifies to the fact that *monnin*, that is, human capital summoned exclusively to compose poetry, were summoned at Uda's household banquets. Furthermore, the quotation also points to skilled courtiers participating to the poetic act. However, it is clear from the text that these courtiers' participation to Uda's banquet was not contingent on their poetic skill. The fact that these courtiers, whose participation to Uda's banquet was determined by their socio-political affiliation to the host, composed poetry along with *monnin* resembles the social dimension of institutional banquets, where nobles and high officials could offer a poem and receive extra emolument on top on the stipend already determined by their rank. However, one element of difference might have existed in the spatial organization of social status. A rigid spatial separation was maintained at institutional banquets between especially summoned *monnin* and high-ranking courtiers and officials, even those who composed poetry: by default, *monnin* would be summoned only for the part of the banquet when poetry was to be composed. Moreover, they would sit in the courtyard, relatively far from the sovereign and the high-ranking courtiers and officials who would sit closer to the sovereign.⁸⁷ By contrast, this spatial separation is hardly discernible in the entry from Uda's diary. In fact, this seems to imply the opposite. Now let's look at excerpts (b) and (c): they are both from prefaces that Michizane composed for Uda's household banquets: the first was held at the end of the intercalary ninth month in 890; the second is the Banquet of the Day After the Double Nine held in 891 discussed in chapter two. Tellingly, in these prefaces Michizane openly invokes a clear differentiation between *monnin*, i.e. specialized poets whose social status was contingent upon their poetic skills, and occasional poets, i.e. members of Uda's entourage. As already argued, Michizane's way of defining Uda's poetizing community appears to mirror closely the social separation at play in institutional banquets.

Michizane's claims to *monnin*-based social distinction within a poetizing group are indeed unique when compared to accounts by other *kidendō* scholars, as this kind of differentiation is nowhere to be found in texts not only from Michizane's time but also from later periods. Admittedly, these claims appear predominantly in the context of Uda's household banquets held

⁸⁶ Text is in Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 80-81.

⁸⁷ Kudō, *Heianchō ritsuryō shakai*, 81-83.

at the beginning of his reign. As already suggested, it is possible that Michizane saw Uda's household banquets as a natural extension of the institutional ones. In this way, Michizane's description suits a representation of the former as mirrors of the latter by virtue of sharing the same organization of social space. Furthermore, Uda's household banquets are also the only non-institutional banquets held with a high degree of regularity that appear in contemporary sources. Michizane might have sought to articulate a distinct position of power within this newly established field of poetic production, especially in the face of a lack of a solid position both institutionally and within Uda's household immediately after his return from Sanuki.⁸⁸ However, at least the preface from the banquet of "the day after the Double Nine" of Kanpyō 3 (891), when Michizane was already Head of the Chamberlain's Office, suggests that he prioritized *monnin*-like status over political affiliation.

I argue that Michizane's claim to *monnin* status in Uda's early household banquets can be seen as one ramification of what I would call the "*monnin* paradigm," namely the specific position of power within the field of early Heian literary production that was generated and legitimized by the formalization of poetic activity at institutional banquets and that could be appropriated and reproduced by *kidendō* graduates who claimed authority over it.

The "Plum Sequence:" Sugawara no Michizane's Proximity to Institutionalized Poetry Banquets

One way by which Michizane could claim authority over institutional poetic practice in the capacity of *monnin* was to appropriate and reproduce its symbolic capital in order to position himself in temporal, cosmological, and textual proximity to it. One indicative example is the poem that in the first volume of the collection immediately follows those written for the Palace Banquet of Jōgan 貞觀 16 (874) and for the pseudo-Palace Banquet by the Minister of the Right Fujiwara no Mototsune 藤原基経 that was held purportedly one day after the former. In both banquets Michizane performed as *monnin* and presented a poem to the banquet hosts. The sequence, which I tentatively call "the Plum Sequence," plays as follows:

早春侍宴仁壽殿、同賦春雪映早梅、應製

⁸⁸ Michizane returned from Sanuki in the spring of 890 but received his first official appointments only one year later, when he was appointed Junior Assistant to the Ministry of Ceremonial (*Shikibu no shō* 式部少輔) and Head of the Chamberlain's Office (*Kurōdo no tō* 藏人頭).

Early spring, attending a banquet at Jijūden, composing along on the topic “*Spring snow reflects the early plum*” in response to a command by the sovereign.

雪片花顏時一般	Snowflakes and flower petals: at times they are the same.
上番梅援待追歡	First-to-bloom plum branches await their pursuit of pleasure.
冰紈寸截輕粧混	Icy silk is cut in inches, lightly blending with their make-up;
玉屑添來軟色寬	Powdered jade settles on, gently softening their color.
鷄舌纔因風力散	The “cockerel-tongue” scent faintly scatters along the wind gusts;
鶴毛獨向夕陽寒	The crane feathers shine cold as they lonely face the evening sun.
明王若可分真偽	If the wise ruler wants to distinguish between true and false,
願使宮人子細看	I would suggest he send the palace ladies to look more closely. ⁸⁹

早春、陪右丞相東齋、同賦東風粧梅。各分一字 探得迎字

Early spring, attending the Minister of the Right at the Eastern Library, composing along on the topic “*The wind from the East adorns the plum*”. Selecting one character each; I draw “welcoming.”

春風便逐問頭生	Spring wind comes at last, visiting the first born.
爲翫梅粧繞樹迎	Hence we admire the plum’s adornment, enfolding the tree as it welcomes [the spring wind].
偷得誰家香劑麝	This lotion-like musky perfume: from which house was it stolen?
送將何處粉樓瓊	These powdered-tower gems: from what place were they brought?
先吹煖火頻溫熨	First it blows like a warm flame as if to iron them repeatedly;
更作霜刀且剪成	Then it makes frosty blades and eventually cuts them into shape.
裂素誰容勞少女	Hardly anyone could have a young maiden cut such white silk;
占巢莫怪妬初鶯	No surprise that the early warbler is envied for making it its nest.
繁華太早千般色	As soon as a multitude of flowers blooms in a myriad of colors,
号令猶閑五日程	The wind shall become still for a span of five days.
好是銀鹽多結藥	Well then, countless blossoms have opened like silvery grains of salt:
應緣丞相欲和羹	This surely depends on our Minister balancing the flavor of the soup. ⁹⁰

書齋雨日、獨對梅花

In my study on a rainy day, facing the plum flowers in solitude.

點檢窓頭數箇梅	I inspect a cluster of plum blossoms that is reaching out to the window;
花時不記幾年開	It is blooming time, yet I cannot recall how many years it is since it began.
宮門雪映春遊後	Now it is after the spring entertainment, reflected on snow inside the Palace gates;
相府風粧夜飲來	It follows the night banquet, adorned by the wind at the Minister’s Mansion.

今年內宴有勅。賦春雪映早梅。內宴後朝、右丞相招詩客五六人、賦東

⁸⁹ *Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū* 66.

⁹⁰ *Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū* 67.

風粧梅。余雖不才、侍此兩宴。故云。

This year at the Palace Banquet there was a command to compose on the topic: “*Spring snow reflects the early plums.*” The day after the Palace Banquet, the Minister of the Right summoned five, six poetizing guests and had them compose on the topic: “*The wind from the East adorns the plum.*” Although I lack talent, I attended both events. This is why I say this.

紙障猶卑依樹立	When I lower the paper screen, there stands the leaning tree.
蘆簾暫撥引香迴	The moment I raise the reed blinds, the scent spreads around.
書齋對雨閑無事	In my study, facing the rain, doing nothing in idleness:
兵部侍郎興猶催	Poetic inspiration arises for the Assistant to the Minister of War. ⁹¹

The Palace Banquet poem was performed on the twenty-first day of the first month of Jōgan 16 (874).⁹² Poems composed for the Palace Banquet normally celebrated the beginning of the new year and the arrival of spring by comparing the germinating beauty of the natural scenery to the sovereign’s virtuous supervision of the well-being of his realm. The image of plums amidst the snow, in particular, hints at the potential of the coming of spring. In this poem, Michizane begins by confusing snowflakes with white blossoms and, in the final couplet, suggests that the emperor’s female attendants be sent to resolve this confusion. The progression of the thought carries bureaucratic undertones, inasmuch as it suggests playfully that the sovereign controls the natural order of the realm by dispatching emissaries to ascertain its true nature.

The poem written for Mototsune carries similar nuances. The political relevance of this banquet is immediately clear from the selected topic, which seems to imply an ideal seasonal progression from the topic of the Palace Banquet.⁹³ Indeed, Mototsune may have held this banquet as a way to claim a position of political and cultural power close to that of the sovereign, at a time when the Mototsune’s House, the Northern Branch of the Sugawara Clan, was establishing itself as a prominent source of political power through the association of its members to child sovereigns by means of strategically marrying their daughters and sisters into the Imperial Household. It is likely that Mototsune’s banquet was conceived as a way to reassert his authority over Emperor Seiwa 清和天皇 (850-880, r. 858-876).⁹⁴ The last couplet of

⁹¹ *Kanke bunsō, kanke kōshū* 68.

⁹² *Sandai jitsuroku*, Jōgan 16 (874)/1/21.

⁹³ As a matter of fact, Mototsune’s topic is imbued with a sense of cosmological authority: the cold-dissolving breeze of the “East Wind” that allows the plum to bloom to its full potential is associated with the first lunar month of the Confucian calendar and with the beginning of spring in the *Yue Ling* 月令 section (Proceedings of the Months) of the Book of Rites (*Liji* 禮記): “The wind from the east dissolves the cold” (東風解凍). *Liji*, Book 6, 27: 227.

⁹⁴ Historical sources from the time Mototsune held this banquet testify to Seiwa’s continued reappearance in public spaces in contrast to his previous seclusion into a network of Fujiwara mansions. The political authority of the Fujiwara clan in supplementing the imperial governmental role was therefore called into question by an adult sovereign who was now willing to participate in courtly duties. See Mezaki, *Kizoku shakai*, 29-32.

Michizane's poem depicts a splendid spring scenery that is entirely dependent on Mototsune's service to the sovereign in the same way as he supplements political authority to the throne.

In contrast to the poems written for the Palace Banquet and for Mototsune's banquet, the third poem is undoubtedly a private poem, written by a solitary Michizane on the plum in the courtyard of his residence. Recently, this poem has been described as belonging to a sub-genre of "otiose" poetry, whose main features would be the setting, i.e. Michizane's study, a meditative attitude, and an inherent tension between the public and the private spheres of Michizane's life. Here, this tension would be expressed by the reference to Michizane's participation to the two banquets, as well as the reference to Michizane's office; at the same time, the Daoist undertone in the last couplet would represent Michizane as a "poet-ascetic" recluse in his study in contemplation of the plum.⁹⁵

I argue that an equally important aspect, however, is that while being distinctly a private composition, this poem also maintains a solid connection with the preceding two, one that is temporal, textual, and even cosmological. The blooming cycle of Michizane's plum comes out of its indeterminateness only when synchronized with those of the Imperial Palace and Mototsune's mansion. This connection is made explicit in the poem by the self-commentary note, and at a larger level by creating a self-contained sequence. Moreover, the comment brings to our attention the fundamentally bureaucratic nature of Michizane's poetic acts for the Palace Banquet and for Mototsune's banquet. Specifically, "poetizing guest" (*shikyaku* 詩客) is not simply an elegant way to define poets. In fact, this term shows a univocal early association with the Palace Banquet in historical sources, where it appears as an equivalent for *monnin*.⁹⁶ By choosing this terminology, Michizane highlights the equal nature of both banquets as well as that of his position in them. By contrast, the explicit mention of Michizane's office here can be seen as a way to expose the mismatch between his poetic inspiration and the institutional position that frames it. Inasmuch as Michizane performed as *monnin* at the Palace Banquet and at Mototsune's mansion, his poetic performance and his institutional position were coincidental, whereas here the two could hardly be farther apart.

I argue that this poem can be seen as one means for Michizane to appropriate and reproduce specific forms of symbolic capital produced at the Palace Banquet and its analogue at

⁹⁵ Reeves, *Of Poetry, Patronage, and Politics*, 671-76.

⁹⁶ Kudō, *Heianchō ritsuryō shakai*, 79.

Mototsune's mansion by configuring his solitary poem as an extension of both. In turn, it is exactly this accumulation of capital that substantiates Michizane's claim of power over these banquets. I would argue that once equipped with unmistakable temporal, cosmological, and topical associations, this mismatch between poetic inspiration and Michizane's current office becomes less a testimony to the poem's detachment from institutional banquets than a claim to its ideal contiguity.

Conclusions

The strategies of assemblage in the volumes of poetry of Sugawara no Michizane's personal collection *Kanke bunsō* functioned as a powerful means to coordinate Michizane's position of power in the field of early Heian Sinitic poetry composition. In the context of the field of literary production in the early Heian court, therefore, by "power" I mean the position, or the claim to that position, held by an individual or by a socio-political body in relation to other competing agents within the field. The proximity to the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet claimed by Michizane throughout his collection by means of the strategic organization of its structure served to put him in a position of authority over a specific modality of literary production, namely the field of institutionalized, sovereign-sponsored poetry banquets. The fifth and the sixth volumes of *Kanke bunsō*, which include in large number the poems composed for Emperor Uda's household banquets, are particularly dense in this regard. Here, not only does *Kanke bunsō* articulate Michizane's position of power in the field of *shi* poetry composition; at the same time as they provide a picture of Michizane as firmly tied to the modality of institutional poetic composition, the multifarious connections to the system of institutionalized banquets offer a narrative of power (cultural, ritual, and cosmological) for Emperor Uda's household both before and after the latter's abdication. To the extent that it places individuals (Michizane and Emperor Uda) and socio-political formations (the Sugawara House and the Imperial Household) in relationship with broader court structures (in this case, the institutionalized regime of poetry banquets), *Kanke bunsō* becomes thus an extraordinary tool to articulate positions of power at the early Heian court.

Chapter Three

THE IMPERIAL NETWORKS OF SINITIC POETRY Poetry, Education, and the Imperial Household

The end of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth were particularly transformative for Japan. Historically, this period coincided with the transfer of the imperial court to the new capital of Heian 平安 in Enryaku 延暦 13 (794) and the subsequent stabilization of this new political asset under the reigns of Emperor Kanmu 桓武 (737-806, r. 781-806) and his sons Heizei 平城 (774-824, r. 806-809), Saga 嵯峨 (786-842, r. 809-823), and Junna 淳和 (786-840, r. 823-833). Culturally, too, the imperial court witnessed profound change. In particular, its ceremonies were codified, as reflected in the appearance of manuals for ritual procedures, including *Dairishiki* 内裏式 (Ritual Procedures of the Imperial Court) and *Kōninsiki* 弘仁式 (Procedures of the Kōnin era).¹ In this scenario, Sinitic poetry (*shi* 詩) gradually grew into an important cultural asset of the imperial court. In particular, the poetry banquets that the sovereign sponsored directly (*kōen* 公宴), at which Sinitic poetry played a key role, were expanded and institutionalized. The relationship between the Imperial Household and the composition of Sinitic poetry also crystallized in the compilation of poetic anthologies—three, in fact, that appeared in rapid succession—under the ostensible superintendence of the sovereign. The result of this developments was a mutually reinforcing relationship among the *kidendō* elite, the production of Sinitic poetry, and the imperial clan. The three collections—*Ryōunshū* 凌雲集 (Collection Soaring Above the Clouds, 814), *Bunka shūreishū* 文華秀麗集 (Collection of Masterpieces of Literary Talent, 818), and *Keikokushū* 經国集 (Collection for Binding the Realm, 827)—were primarily compiled by graduates of the *kidendō* and include (to varying degrees) poems by such graduates and members of the imperial clan. While no other anthologies were compiled after the reigns of Saga and Junna, the institutionalization of poetic practice that took form during the first three

¹ For an overview of this process see Yamanaka, *Heianchō no nenjū gyōji*, 38-57.

decades of the ninth century ensured that poetry maintained a stable place at court in the form of a state ritual during the early Heian period.

On the one hand, the development of poetic activity at the Heian court was part of a process of cultural renovation that looked at contemporary Tang China as a reference model. Banquet culture and poetic versification played a major role in the cultural life of the court of Emperor Dezong 德宗 (742-805, r. 779-805), in particular during the Zhengyuan 貞元 era (785-804).² It is possible that the sixteenth Japanese embassy, which returned in Enryaku 延暦 23 (804), reported news of the cultural developments of Dezong's court and prompted the adoption of similar practices in the court of Emperor Saga.³ On the other hand, the display of cultural power was a paramount means to reaffirm political authority and legitimacy in the face of political conflict. As Jack W. Chen puts it, “[s]overeignty was never solely the province of the political sphere, but rather was comprised of a complex interweaving of political authority, military power, and cultural competence.”⁴ The reign of Emperor Saga began in fact with a political and military conflict with his brother Heizei who, after abdication, unsuccessfully sought to take back the throne and move the capital back to Nara. It is possible that the first anthology *Ryōunshū* was conceived at least in part as a means to smooth over this political transition by transcending political struggle into the realm of literary practice.⁵

In this chapter I look at Sinitic poetry and its contexts of composition as a vital means to secure cultural and political legitimacy for the Imperial Household during the early Heian period. The chapter comprises two parts. In the first part I will investigate the role of poetry as a form of cultural capital associated to the legitimacy of the Imperial Household. In the second part I will analyze a particular context of poetic production associated with the Imperial Household from late ninth- to mid-tenth century, namely the imperial progress to the Suzaku-in 朱雀院 mansion, a ceremony that was eventually recorded in the mid-tenth century ritual manual *Shingishiki* 新儀式 (New Ritual Procedures). Both parts put emphasis on the relationship between the Imperial Household and the *keidendō* graduate elite, a mutual form of interaction whereby the cultural capital of Sinitic poetry was produced and exchanged to secure legitimacy and power on both sides.

² Ōtsuka, “Monjō keikoku no hikaku bungakuteki ichikōsatsu.”

³ McMullen, *The Worship of Confucius in Japan*, 93.

⁴ Chen, *The Poetics of Sovereignty*, 266.

⁵ *Ryōunshū* places two poems by Retired Emperor Heizei at the beginning of the collection, immediately followed by the poems by Emperor Saga and by Saga's Crown Prince Ōtomo (Junna).

1. The Cultural Capital of the Imperial Household

In Tenchō 天長 10 (833), Prince Tsunesada 恒貞親王 (825-884), Emperor Junna's 淳和 (786-840, r. 823-833) eldest son, was made Crown Prince (*kōtaishi* 皇太子, or *tōgū* 東宮) upon the ascension of Junna's successor Emperor Ninmyō 仁明 (810-850, r. 833-850). Upon Tsunesada's selection as Crown Prince, two *kidendō* graduates, Ono no Takamura 小野篁 (802-853) and Haruzumi no Yoshitada 春澄善繩 (797-870) were selected as his tutors (*tōgū gakushi* 東宮学士).⁶ A decade later, in Jōwa 承和 9 (842), Tsunesada would be removed from the position of Crown Prince in the so-called Jōwa Incident (*Jōwa no hen* 承和の変). Taking advantage of the deaths of both retired sovereigns Junna and Saga, respectively in 840 and 842, the leader of the Northern branch of the Fujiwara clan, Fujiwara no Yoshifusa 藤原良房 (804-872), managed to have his own nephew, Prince Michiyasu 道康親王 (827-858), installed as Crown Prince.⁷ The Jōwa Incident had important effects on the subsequent political developments of the Heian court: first, it paved the way to the rising political power of the Fujiwara clan, which secured its position at court by means of familial kinship with young sovereigns. Second, it established the father-son line of imperial succession by having Emperor Ninmyō's direct son, Prince Michiyasu, inherit the throne instead of Junna's son, Prince Tsunesada. The direct line of succession thus replaced the interchange between the familial lines of Emperor Kanmu's sons Saga and Junna.⁸

In the midst of the disrupted political order after the Jōwa Incident, interestingly, at least one thing stands out for representing continuity over change. While Haruzumi no Yoshitada was removed from his offices as a result of being a close attendant of Prince Tsunesada, Ono no

⁶ *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Tenchō 10 (833)/3/13. Ono no Takamura, the son of Emperor Saga's tutor and close attendant Minemori 岑守 (778-830), was trained in the *kidendō* curriculum and obtained the position of literature student (*monjōshō*) in Kōnin 13 (822). See also Webb, "In Good Order," 232-85 for an analysis of a Takamura's life and literary activity. Haruzumi no Yoshitada passed the *taisaku* examination in Tenchō 7 (830), being thus recognized as a Confucian scholar. For a biography of Yoshitada see Abe, *Heian zenki seijishi*, 93-104.

⁷ Prince Michiyasu, later Emperor Montoku 文徳 (r. 850-858), was the son of Emperor Ninmyō and Yoshifusa's sister Junshi 順子 (809-871).

⁸ Kamiya, "Jōwa no hen to Ōtenmon no hen."

Takamura was re-appointed tutor to the new Crown Prince Michiyasu.⁹ Takamura's appointment as tutor to Crown Prince Tsunesada first, and Michiyasu then, might reflect the continued support that he enjoyed from both Emperor Saga and the latter's son Ninmyō.¹⁰ One more intriguing hypothesis, I would like to suggest, lies in Takamura being selected one more time in order to guarantee continuity by means of education in the political shift from Prince Tsunesada to Prince Michiyasu. In this light, that the same tutor, Takamura, was appointed for two successive Crown Princes is indicative of the power of imperial education in supporting cultural and political legitimation vis-à-vis political change. In other words, the tutor Ono no Takamura would thus embody a sort of cultural justification for Crown Prince Michiyasu, who could therefore rise as a legitimate substitute to Prince Tsunesada by virtue of their shared educational background.

The education of the Crown Prince as a paramount feature of the latter's cultural and political legitimation stands both in continuity and contrast with the larger system of early Heian imperial education. On the one hand, the institution of the Crown Prince Household (*tōgū* 東宮) as a contiguous yet separate cultural and political entity from the Imperial Palace implies that the education of the Crown Prince followed different rules compared to the institutional education of the sovereign. As a matter of fact, Sinitic poetry seems to have had a prominent role in the education of the Crown Prince during the early Heian period. On the other hand, the role of education as a legitimizing tool for a future sovereign mirrors the way imperial lectures were held for the sovereign and for imperial princes as a means of an exclusive and continued cultural transmission and reproduction for the benefit of the Imperial Household. As a matter of fact, early Heian imperially-sponsored poetry banquets can also be thought of as a practice contiguous to imperial lectures, thus taking position within a range of educational activities organized by and for the Imperial Household.

In this section I will first outline the role of poetic literacy in the education and legitimization of the Crown Prince. Then I will show how imperially-sponsored banquets can be put in connection with the academic lectures for the sovereign, thus envisioning poetic banquets as occupying one end of a range of activities whose underlying purpose was the education of the sovereign as well as the perpetuation of his cultural legitimation. Finally, I will analyze what I call the early Heian "imperial mode" of reading and composing poetry. By comparing poetry composed in the *kidendō* educational curriculum and poetry composed by the sovereign, I theorize a modality of reading sources and composing poetry that was specifically associated to

⁹ *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Jōwa 9 (842)/8/4.

¹⁰ Nitō, "Futari no tōgū."

the Imperial Household and would define the composition of imperially-sponsored banquet poetry in literary Sinitic during the early Heian period. This “imperial mode” of Sinitic poetry was never independent from the cultural legitimation generated by the participation of *kidendō* literati who would compose poems at banquets on the same topic, therefore hinting at the tight relationship between the Imperial Household and the *kidendō* graduate elite during the early Heian period.

Poetic Literacy, Cultural Legitimation, and the Crown Prince

As has been seen in the previous chapters, early Heian poetry collection constituted a powerful means to articulate and define the social positioning of those *kidendō* graduates who claimed poetry as a form of cultural capital. However, such poetry collections were as much connected to the socio-political claims of the poets who compiled them as to the cultural legitimation of the Imperial Household. As a matter of fact, all of the anthologies compiled during the early Heian period seek an explicit connection with the Imperial Household. Specifically, in the three *shi* anthologies of the early ninth century such connections are first and foremost established in the prefaces:¹¹

(a) Preface to *Ryōunshū*

至若御製令製，名高象外，韻絕環中。豈臣等能所議乎。而殊被詔旨，敢以採擇。

As for the poems of Your Majesty and the Crown Prince, they are so elevated in repute as to be beyond the visible world of images, and their tones transcend the earthly realm. How are the likes of us to debate their merit? Nonetheless, we have received a special royal command to do so, and have thus ventured to make selections among them.

(b) Preface to *Bunka shūreishū*

鳳掖宸章，龍闈令製，別降綸旨，俯同縹帙。而天尊地卑，君唱臣和。

A separate command was issued regarding Your Majesty's works and those of the Crown Prince. Though they appear in the same collection with the others, Heaven is exalted and Earth is lowly, the lord intones and the ministers harmonize with him.

(c) Preface to *Keikokushū*

既而太上聖皇，推玉璽而蹤寂。皇帝叡主，受昭華而德隆。

The former sovereign Saga has already passed on his imperial seal to our wise sovereign Junna, who accepts its bright glory, exalting his virtue. [...]

¹¹ All translations are from Gustav Heldt. In Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 301-307.

雅操飛文，似兩龍之分燭。與寄擒藻，疑雙曦之齊暉。

The elegant writings and soaring compositions rise high like twin beams of light from two dragons; the inspiration that lodges in your works and control of style is like the paired illumination from two suns.

On the one hand, both *Ryōunshū* and *Bunkei shūreishū* exalt the poetry of the current sovereign (Emperor Saga) and the current Crown Prince (later Emperor Junna); on the other hand, the third anthology *Keikokushū* pairs up the compositional virtue of retired Emperor Saga and current Emperor Junna. It is thus clear that the three collections were meant, in a way, as cultural products whose meaning lay in smoothing over the transition from the reign of Saga to that of his appointed Crown Prince Ōtomo 大伴 (Emperor Junna).¹² The fact that issues regarding lineage and succession within the Imperial Household informed the compilation of early ninth-century anthologies is exemplified by the beginning sequence in the first collection *Ryōunshū*. The sequence goes as follows:¹³

- 1) 詠桃花。
Composing on the peach blossom.
- 2) 賦櫻花。
Composing on the topic of cherry blossoms.
- 3) 神泉苑花宴賦落花篇
Blossom-Viewing Banquet at the Shinsen'en park, composing on the topic "Piece on falling flowers."

The first two poems are compositions by the by the time retired sovereign Heizei 平城 (774-824, r. 806-809). Both the poems in all likelihood date to the time Heizei was Crown Prince.¹⁴

Significantly, none of them is a banquet poem. Instead, they both look like poems composed for literary training. The fact that *Keikokushū* includes poems by *kidendō* graduates who also acted as

¹² Junna was a brother of Saga from a different mother. The three collections exalt the relationship between the two as a way to expel any narrative of political strife, possibly in order to chase away the lingering tension of the passage of the throne from Heizei to Saga (also brothers, from the same mother). In the so-called *Kusuko no hen* (薬子の変), Heizei attempted to take back the throne and move the capital back to Nara. The coup, however, was unsuccessful. It appears that in the background of the Kusuko incident were issues of lineage and succession within the Imperial Household. For a detailed discussion of this incident, see further Nishimoto, "Kusuko no hen to sono haikai."

¹³ Numbers follow the critical edition by Kojima Noriyuki. See Kojima, *Kokufū ankoku jidai no bungaku*, 1347.

¹⁴ *Keikokushū* also includes poems by *kidendō* graduates on the same subjects, and at least one manuscript contains the caption "Composed when Emperor Heizei sat on the throne. Others say when he was Crown Prince" (平成天皇在祚。一説在東宮。). *Keikokushū*, 518.

tutors to Heizei when he was Crown Prince makes it likely that the two poems were part of a form of ritualized education.¹⁵ By contrast, the first poem by Emperor Saga is a banquet poem, held officially at the institutional premise of the Shinsen'en park.¹⁶ The poetic transition from Heizei to Saga thus follows two different paths: the first is seasonal, from peach and cherry blossoms at the beginning of spring to falling flowers at the end of the season. The other is political, from the poetic training of a sovereign still-crown-prince to a full-blown banquet poem by the current sovereign. Insofar as early Heian poetry banquets were a powerful means to affirm sovereignty and were part of the official rituals of the state, *Ryōunshū* makes clear that cultural legitimacy lies with Emperor Saga more than with the previous sovereign Heizei. At the same time, however, the collection also foregrounds the importance of poetic training for a Crown Prince, which in the sequence becomes the basis for Saga's imperial legitimacy.

As a matter of fact, a connection with the Crown Prince is evident in most of the collections from the early Heian period. Sugawara no Michizane's twelve-volume *Kanke bunsō* 菅家文章 (Literary Drafts of the Sugawara House) was compiled as an expansion to a two-volume poetry collection that was originally prompted by a request of the Crown Prince Atsugimi 敦仁 (later Emperor Daigo).¹⁷ The no-longer-extant early tenth-century anthology *Nikkanshū* 日観集 (Collection of Sunviews) was compiled by the *kidendō* scholar Ōe no Koretoki 大江維時 (888-963) for Crown Prince Nariakira 成明 (later Emperor Murakami), when the former was acting as the latter's tutor (*tōgū gakushi*).¹⁸ In the remainder of this section I will analyze the connection between Sinitic poetry and the Crown Prince in the early Heian period, in order to show that by the Heian period *shi* was established as a cultural product associated with the Imperial Household, that is, a cultural foundation necessary to lay claim to the position of sovereign within the imperial lineage.

¹⁵ The poems in *Keikokushū* are by the *kidendō* graduates Kaya no Toyotoshi (751-815) and Hayashi no Saba (?-?). Toyotoshi became tutor to the Crown Prince (*tōgū gakushi* 東宮学士) in Enryaku 延暦 16 (797). Saba became tutor to Prince Kamino (later Emperor Saga) in Daidō 1 大同 (806).

¹⁶ The poem dates from Kōnin 3 (812), when the first iteration of the Blossom-Viewing Banquet took place, to Kōnin 5 (814), the date of compilation of *Ryōunshū*.

¹⁷ *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 674.

¹⁸ *Chōya gūnsai*, 7. *Nikkanshū* was therefore likely compiled in the second half of the 940s. The collection included poems by ten *kidendō* scholars from the mid-ninth to early-tenth centuries. Significantly, the preface to *Nikkanshū* explicitly quotes the early ninth-century anthologies *Ryōunshū* and *Bunka shūreishū* and places the collection as their ideal sequel. For an analysis of the extant preface of *Nikkanshū* see Kitayama, "Ōe no Koretoki 'Nikkanshū jo' chūshaku."

The biography of Prince Tsunesada 恒貞 (825-884) includes the following passage at the beginning of the extant section of the text:

昔者天平末。大臣吉備真吉備。勸高野天皇。幸大學行此禮。其後八十餘年。廢而不行。今太子心存興復。亦甚為佳。即勅皇太子。率百官修奠禮。博士講經既畢。遍命群僚賦詩。皇太子製詩一篇。當時詩伯菅原清公。滋野貞主等。甚佳賞焉。各獻長句以勸勵之。

In the past, at the end of the Tenpyō era, the Minister Kibi no Makibi exhorted the Takano Empress to progress to the Bureau of High Education to perform this rite. It has been eighty years since the rite was abandoned and not performed anymore. The current Crown Prince's mind was keen on revival and was exceptionally gracious, so the sovereign commanded the Crown Prince to lead the hundred officials the perform the *sekiten* rite. As the professors finished lecturing on the classics, all the assembled officials were commanded to compose poetry. The Crown Prince composed one poem. The poetry masters of the time such as Sugawara no Kiyotomo and Shigeno no Sadanushi exceedingly appreciated the poem, and each of them offered one long verse to exhort the Crown Prince [to continue composing poetry].¹⁹

The above passage narrates the revival of the *sekiten* 釋奠 rite, the ceremony in honor of Confucius held at the Bureau of High Education (*daigakuryō*), together with the renewed imperial participation in it. Crown Prince Tsunesada's participation is significant insofar as he is exalted as the leading composer of Sinitic poetry. The surrounding Confucian scholars also participate in Tsunesada's poetic activity by offering poems to the imperial prince, mirroring a practice of harmonization between the members of the Imperial Household and courtiers (most notably *keidendō* scholars) that is frequently recorded in early ninth-century literary anthologies. The passage makes clear that Tsunesada's poetic prowess is inseparable from official contexts of composition such as the *sekiten* rite. Moreover, the very mention of Tsunesada's poetic talent and its leading role in the reenactment of a long-abandoned ritual in his biography is meant as a form of cultural legitimation of the sitting Crown Prince. In what follows, I seek to elucidate the role of poetry banquets in both coordinating the poetic education of the Crown Prince and providing him with the necessary cultural capital to claim legitimacy to the throne.

One significant example of the relevance of poetry in the cultural legitimation of a Crown Prince is the series of poetic activities associated with Emperor Uda's son Prince Atsugimi, later

¹⁹ *Zoku gunsbo ruijū* 8 (jō), 47. The author of the preface is unknown, but it is usually identified with the Confucian scholars Ki no Haseo 紀長谷雄 (845-912) or Miyoshi no Kiyoyuki 三善清行 (847-918). For an analysis of the biography of Prince Tsunesada see further Kōno, "Tsunesada shinnō den kō."

Emperor Daigo (885-930, r. 897-930), who was selected as Crown Prince in Kanpyō 5 (893).²⁰ Such activity is primarily recorded in Sugawara no Michizane's collection *Kanke bunsō*, testifying to the significance of the relationship between Atsugimi and Michizane in terms of an imperial disciple and a *kidendō* graduate tutor.²¹ The most renowned examples of Michizane's poetic tutoring to Prince Atsugimi are two series of ten and twenty poems respectively composed by Michizane upon Atsugimi's request in Kanpyō 7 (895).²² By virtue of the fact that they were composed by a *kidendō* graduate upon the request of a member of the Imperial Household, these poems symbolize and affirm the socio-political and cosmological power of the Crown Prince, who can summon human capital to produce poems that respond to his commanded topics. Conversely, these poems also represent a specific form of cultural capital supplied by Michizane for the Crown Prince's perusal, pointing to an underlying form of pedagogical activity. Here, however, I will move away from these two sets of poems to instead shift the perspective to the imperially-sponsored poetry banquet activity that entailed the participation of the Crown Prince Atsugimi. Attention to this material, I argue, will show how political legitimacy within the imperial lineage was also built on continuity in the poetic ritual activity of the sovereign and the Crown Prince. In this scenario, the role of poetry and of the *kidendō* graduates who supplied it was to ensure and sustain a smooth cultural transition from the former to the latter. Consider, for example, the following preface composed by Sugawara no Michizane for a cherry-blossom-viewing banquet held by Emperor Uda in Kanpyō 7 (895):

承和之代、清涼殿東二三步、有一櫻樹。樹老代亦變、代變樹遂枯。先皇馭曆之初、事皆法則承和。特詔知種樹者、移山木備庭實。移得之後、十有餘年。枝葉惟新、根荖如舊。我君每遇春日、每及花時、惜紅艷以敘歡情、翫薰香以迴恩盼。此花之遇此時也、紅艷與薰香而已。夫勁節可愛，貞心可憐。花北有五粒松，雖小不失勁節。花南有數竿竹，雖細能守貞心。人皆見花，不見松竹。臣願我君兼惜松竹云爾。僅序。

During the Jōwa era [834-848] a cherry tree stood two or three feet east of the Hall of Clear Coolness [Seiryōden]. The tree grew old as the eras succeeded one another and eventually withered. At the beginning of his reign, the previous sovereign [Kōkō] commanded that all matters be modeled after the precedents of the Jōwa era. He especially summoned people who possessed the skills of planting trees and ordered that one tree be moved from the mountains and installed [in the palace courtyard] as offering. Now more than ten years have passed since the tree was moved [into the palace]. Its branches and leaves grow anew, yet its

²⁰ *Nihon kiryaku*, Kanpyō 5 (893)/4/2.

²¹ Michizane was appointed Assistant to the Crown Prince Household (*tōgū no suke* 東宮亮) right upon Atsugimi's selection as Crown Prince.

²² *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 391-400 and 401-417. For a detailed discussion of these two sets of poems see Taniguchi, *Sugawara no Michizane no shi to gakumon*, 91-101.

roots are as strong as they were old. Every time our Lord encounters the spring day when the time of blossoms arrives, he expresses his profound feelings as he cherishes their crimson blush, and he bestows his benevolent gaze as he enjoys their sweet fragrance. When these blossoms meet their time, they only bloom in crimson blush and sweet fragrance. Now, a firm integrity is to be cherished and a virtuous heart is to be admired. North of the blossoms stands a five-grain pine: though small, it never loses its firm integrity. South of the blossoms grow a number of bamboo poles: though thin, they always maintain their virtuous heart. Everyone watches the blossoms and ignores the pine and the bamboo, thus I beseech that our Lord cherish the pine and the bamboo too. I humbly present this preface.²³

Drafted in response to a royal command (*応製*) on the topic “Spring, cherishing the cherry blossoms” (*春惜櫻花*), Michizane’s preface describes the cherry tree as a symbol of Emperor Uda’s lineage.²⁴ The ascension to the throne of Uda’s father, Emperor Kōkō 光孝 (830-887, r. 884-887), broke the Fujiwara maternal lineage of sovereigns that had begun to be installed after Emperor Ninmyō 仁明 (810-850, r. 833-850).²⁵ Prince Tokiyasu 時康 (Emperor Kōkō), though of old age, was presumably selected because after the dismissal of Emperor Yōzei on account of mental illness, there were no appropriate candidates who were directly related to the Fujiwara House and therefore suitable to maintain the political power of the clan.²⁶ However, by the time of Kōkō’s death, still no appropriate candidates existed, so Kōkō’s eldest son Sadami 定省 (later Emperor Uda) was brought back into the imperial family and selected as Crown Prince in Ninna 3 (887).²⁷ As Kōkō was a son of Emperor Ninmyō, it is arguable that the Ninmyō-Kōkō-Uda lineage represented a parallel path to the Fujiwara dominated Ninmyō-Montoku-Seiwa-Yōzei lineage. As a symbol of the connection of Uda’s Household to Ninmyō’s reign, the cherry trees thus represent the continuity of this new imperial lineage.²⁸

²³ *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 384.

²⁴ For a detailed discussion of this preface and the politics of Uda’s lineage see Sasagawa, “Sugawara no Michizane no tōkaei.”

²⁵ Three sovereigns, namely Emperor Montoku 文徳 (827-858, r. 850-858), Seiwa 清和 (850-881, r. 858-876), and Yōzei 陽成 (869-949, r. 876-884), were installed who were directly related to the Northern branch of the Fujiwara clan, thereby securing the political position of the male representatives of this clan from the second half of the ninth century.

²⁶ On the dismissal of Emperor Yōzei and the power conflict between Yōzei’s mother Fujiwara no Takaiko 高子 (842-910) and her brother Mototsune 基経 (836-891) that possibly informed it see Tsunoda, “Yōzei tennō no tai’i ni tsuite.”

²⁷ *Nihon kiryaku*, Ninna 3 (887)/8/26.

²⁸ The claim to the authority of Uda’s new lineage through the symbol of the cherry tree is even stronger when we think of the way the Fujiwara clan appropriated the same symbol to prompt a cosmological relation with the imperial palace from the mid-ninth century. See Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 64-74.

This preface, however, presents some peculiarities. First, the Kanpyō 7 (895) poetry banquet at which it was composed was not the first iteration of the cherry-blossom banquet at Uda's court. As a matter of fact, at least one banquet poem on the topic of cherry blossoms, presumably composed between Kanpyō 3 (891) and Kanpyō 4 (892), is included in Michizane's *Kanke bunsō*.²⁹ Why did such crucial narrative about the legitimacy and stability of Uda's lineage appear so late in his reign? Second, Michizane's preface changes considerably in the second half of the text. It moves away from the topic of cherry blossom to instead argue the virtues of the neighboring pine and bamboo. As a matter of fact, the structure of Michizane's preface is very peculiar, as it does not match the formal standards of early Heian banquet prefaces, which were fairly systematized in terms of structure and content.³⁰ Taniguchi Kōsuke has argued that Michizane's prefaces can be thought of as historical accounts of the various and often peculiar events sponsored by Emperor Uda, thus deviating substantially from the orthodox structure of standard Heian prefaces.³¹ However, even accepting Taniguchi's remark, the drastic tension between the first and the second half of the text needs to be accounted for.³² Recently, Shinma Kazuyoshi has suggested we look at the contrastive relationship between cherry blossoms and the pine and bamboo as a means to build *textually* a cosmological space inhabited by complementary forces of eternity (the evergreen pine and bamboo) and seasonal change (the cherry blossom).³³ As a matter of fact, the Shishinden 紫宸殿 official hall of the imperial palace was defined by such complementary relationship as a *tachibana* evergreen tree and a cherry tree were planted in its garden.³⁴ In the same way, then, Uda's residence at the Seiryōden 清涼殿 compound could have been defined by the same cosmological apparatus, whereby the institutional regime (symbolized by an evergreen plant) was complemented by a succeeding imperial lineage (symbolized by the seasonal tree).

I suggest that the peculiarity of Michizane's preface for the Kanpyō 7 cherry-blossom poetry banquet can be better explained if we bring into the picture the participation of Uda's Crown Prince Atsugimi, and the possibility that the preface was (also) a tool for the Crown Prince's education as he was gradually included in the ceremonies that governed the ritual structure of Uda's reign, among which poetry banquets, as has been seen in the previous chapter, played a

²⁹ *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 344.

³⁰ Kido, "Heian shijo no keishiki."

³¹ Taniguchi, *Sugawara no Michizane no shi to gakumon*, 11-26.

³² The second half of the preface is usually considered a Confucian admonishment by Michizane towards the excessive pleasure-driven events sponsored by Uda. See Hatooka, *Sugawara no Michizane*, 245-46.

³³ Shinma, *Genji monogatari no kōsō to kanshibun*, 217-41.

³⁴ The cherry tree supplanted a previous plum tree during Emperor Ninmyō's reign. *Kojidan* 389.

fundamental role. As a matter of fact, Prince Atsugimi appears to have independently sponsored banquets on cherry blossoms after this event. At least one is recorded in Sugawara no Michizane's collection.³⁵ The fact that Atsugimi held the same banquets as his father Uda thus meant that a cultural continuity existed between the two, one that would extend to the legitimacy of Atsugimi's future claim of the throne. Significantly, the contrast between seasonal flowers and evergreen pine and bamboo would reappear in Michizane's poetry composed at imperial command, presumably at the Seiryōden imperial residence. Consider the following final couplet of the Palace Banquet (*naien*) poem "Early spring, attending a banquet, composing together on the topic *Plum blossoms in front of the hall* in response to a command by the sovereign" (早春侍宴、同賦殿前梅花、應製):

請莫多憐梅一樹	Please do not cherish this one plum tree too much:
色青松竹立花傍	as green-colored pine and bamboo stand beside the flowers. ³⁶

Michizane's couplet makes evident that the same cosmological framework travelled from a household banquet meant to claim the legitimacy of the new imperial lineage, like the Kanpyō 5 cherry-blossom banquet discussed above, to institutionalized banquets such as the Palace Banquet (*naien*). The common factor behind these events was not only that the same *kidendo* graduate, Michizane, was repeatedly summoned to supply poetry, but also the constant sponsorship of poetic activities by the Imperial Household, which used Sinitic poetry and its wide range of contexts of production (from tutoring to institutionalized banquets) as a productive tool of cultural and political legitimation.

The legitimation of the Crown Prince to sit in line for the imperial throne was therefore also claimed by means of poetic tutoring and poetic practice. In the case of Crown Prince Atsugimi/Emperor Daigo, poetry banquets functioned as a medium that enabled the participation to, and the reenactment of poetic events sponsored by the current sovereign. In fact, a particular attention to maintaining a socio-political category of members of the larger Imperial Household, such as imperial princes (*shinnō* 親王), educated and trained in poetic composition is a constant feature of the early Heian period. The scholar Gotō Akio has produced

³⁵ "Moonlight night, admiring the cherry blossoms. One rhyme character each. One poem in response to a command by the Crown Prince" (月夜翫桜花、各分一字、応令一首). *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 385.

³⁶ *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 440.

a detailed list of imperial princes who were proficient in Sinitic poetry from the early to the mid-Heian period, suggesting that literate princes of the imperial family were a common aspect of this period.³⁷ Textual evidence suggests that imperial princes at times organized poetry banquets to which *kidendō* graduates such as Shimada no Tadaomi and Sugawara no Michizane participated. Some of the poems composed in these occasions are included in both poets' personal collections *Denshi kashū* (House Collection of the Shimada Clan) and *Kanke bunsō* (Literary Drafts of the Sugawara House).

The interest of the Imperial Household in Sinitic education and Sinitic poetry, in fact, seems to have begun as early as from the reign of Emperor Saga (786-842, r. 809-823). In Kōnin 弘仁 11 (820) the Great Council (*dajōkan* 太政官) issued a document establishing a new path of education for the *kidendō* curriculum. Through internal nomination (*ryōshi* 寮試) within the Bureau of High Education, certain sons of aristocratic families (良家) would be selected as literature students (*monjōshō* 文章生) and, after their training, sit for a Ministry Test (*shōshi* 省試) that would grant them the status of *shunshi* 俊士 (Distinguished Scholar). A further selection round would then identify the limited number of *shunshi* eligible to sit for the *shūsai* 秀才 test, which would grant them the status of Confucian scholars (*jūsha* 儒者). While this structure was abandoned in Tenchō 4 (827), this reorganization suggests, first and foremost, that the early ninth-century *kidendō* education served the interests of the imperial family and the aristocracy in terms of maintaining a specific professional path for the scions of their clans, insofar as the *shunshi* status identified a parallel track in the *kidendō* for them. Kotō Shinpei has showed that Emperor Saga had in fact an active interest that those among his sons who had taken the Minamoto 源 surname and had therefore quit the imperial family be taught within the *kidendō* curriculum.³⁸ Kotō's assumption is that Saga intended to foster the creation of a learned class of members of the Minamoto clan that could support the imperial family.³⁹

³⁷ Gotō, *Heianchō kanbungaku ronkō*, 372-90.

³⁸ The biographies of Saga's sons Minamoto no Akira 源明 (814-853) and Minamoto no Hiroshi 源寛 (813-876) report respectively that Saga had expectations for the former to pass the *shūsai* test and that the latter had obtained the status of literature student (*monjōshō*). The biographies are respectively in *Montoku jitsuroku*, Jijū 2 (853)/12/20 and *Sandai jitsuroku*, Jōgan 18 (876)/5/27.

³⁹ Kotō, "Sagachō jidai no monjōshō shusshin kanjin."

On the other hand, the document issued by the Great Council explicitly prescribed that the internal selection round be based on the composition of *shi* 詩 (poetry) and *fu* 賦 (rhapsodies).⁴⁰ While there is evidence that the *monjōshō* selection was operated by means of a test in poetry composition (as examples of examination poetry from the late eighth and early ninth century survive in the collection *Keikokushū*), this is in fact the first explicit mention of poetry being used as a test subject within the *kidendō* curriculum. That the education of the Minamoto sons of Emperor Saga also entailed the composition of poetry is evident in *Keikokushū*, which includes a set of three poems in which the thirteen-year-old Minamoto no Akira 源明 (814-853) and the *kidendō* graduate Shigeno no Yoshinaga 滋野善永 (?-?) responded to a composition by Retired Emperor Saga:

雑言九日翫菊花篇一首 太上天皇

Miscellaneous verse: Ninth day, one poem on admiring the chrysanthemum flowers. (Retired sovereign)

雑言九日翫菊花篇應製一首 源明 時年十三

Miscellaneous verse. Ninth day, one poem composed in response to a command by the sovereign on admiring the chrysanthemum flowers. (Minamoto no Akira. Thirteen years old at the time)

同 滋善永

Same as above. (Shige[no] no Yoshinaga)

If Saga's son Akira was thirteen years old at the time this poetic set was composed, then it must have taken place in Tenchō 3 (826). "Ninth day" refers to the Chrysanthemums Festival, or Double Nine, on the ninth day of the ninth month. Normally this date was associated with an institutionalized poetry banquet. Because the poems do not show any reference to a banquet setting such as, for example, the label "attending a banquet" (侍宴), they must have been composed in a private setting.⁴¹ Nonetheless, the poems are clearly connected with the Double Nine lore, as chrysanthemums featured prominently as a topic of composition for the Double Nine Banquet (*chōyō no en*) throughout all the early Heian period, and even after the banquet was abandoned from the late tenth century they remained strongly associated with this date.⁴² I would

⁴⁰ Text is quoted in Kotō, *ibid.*

⁴¹ As Takigawa Kōji has shown, "attending a banquet" is typically found in the headlines of poems composed at early Heian institutionalized banquets. See Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 13-17.

⁴² For a history of the poetic rhetoric associated with the chrysanthemum lore in Heian Japan see Honma, *Ōchō kanbungaku hyōgen ronkō*, 31-56.

suggest then that this set configures as a micro-banquet that reproduces in miniature the compositional context of larger institutionalized banquets. In this three-poem set we still have the poem by the sovereign (Retired Emperor Saga), a responding poem by a *kidendō* graduate (Shigeno no Yoshinaga) and the poem by the former imperial prince Minamoto no Akira. Akira's poem is set apart from the other two as it is substantially shorter (only a few lines long), and therefore seems to suggest that this event was meant as a training ground for Akira.

If Saga indeed intended to create a class of Minamoto individuals trained in the *kidendō* to fuel the bureaucracy with former members of the imperial family, he also apparently aimed at creating a learned group of poets who could participate in imperially-sponsored banquets. The Saga-Akira-Yoshinaga set testifies to the significance of the banquet setting in providing formal poetic training to members of the imperial family. As with the case of Crown Prince Atsugimi, who could claim legitimacy within the imperial lineage by participating to and reenacting his father's household poetry banquet, conversely the Imperial Household sought to support and sustain its cultural legitimacy by supplying poetic education and practice to its members. The sovereign himself was not excluded from this double process of legitimation. In the next sections, I will investigate the pedagogical nature inherent in imperially-sponsored poetry banquets, and the compositional configurations that reoriented poetic practice not only as a means to affirm socio-political hierarchies and power but also as a continued tool for training and education.

Poetry and Education: An Epistemology of Early Heian Imperially-sponsored Poetry Banquets

In the late autumn of Kanpyō 寛平 1 (889), on the twenty-fifth day of the nine month, Emperor Uda 宇多 (867-931, r. 887-897) held a poetry banquet on the topic of lingering chrysanthemums (*zangiku* 残菊).⁴³ In addition to Uda, fifteen poets attended the banquet: six of them were individuals with *kidendō* educational background, while the remaining nine were people with familial or political connection with Uda.⁴⁴ Poems were composed on the topic “Cherishing autumn while admiring the lingering chrysanthemums” (惜秋翫殘菊). The banquet is labeled as

⁴³ The date is found in *Nihon kiryaku*. However, on the basis of a number of mismatches in the official appointments of some of the recorded participants to the banquet that are apparently not consistent with the Kanpyō 1 (889) date, Kuranaka Sumi has suggested this banquet was held in Ninna 4 (888) instead. See further Kuranaka, “Shimada no Tadaomi nenpyō oboegaki,” 321-23 (n32).

⁴⁴ See chapter two, pp. 71-79.

an “official banquet” (*kōen* 公宴) in the relative entry in *Nihon kiriyaku*. However, as Takigawa Kōji has aptly demonstrated, “official banquet” is best understood as a label for events at which the sovereign appeared in person. Therefore, the Kanpyō 1 lingering chrysanthemum banquet should not be placed in the same position of institutionalized banquets such as the Palace Banquet (*naien* 内宴) and Double Nine Banquet (*chōyō no en* 重陽宴).⁴⁵ As has been seen in chapter two, this lingering chrysanthemum banquet was a private banquet that mirrored institutionalized banquets by means of the strategic reproduction of same social configuration. Nonetheless, the lingering chrysanthemum banquet would become a cultural staple of Uda’s cultural activities both before and after abdication, making consistent appearance in the entries of *Nihon kiriyaku* during the reigns of Uda and Daigo. The peculiarity of the Kanpyō 1 lingering chrysanthemum banquet is that while there are scant literary traces of the following iterations, the former is entirely recorded and transmitted, making it a precious source to appreciate the overall structure of poetry banquet. The preface to the banquet, drafted by the Confucian scholar Ki no Haseo 紀長谷雄 (845-912), is included in Fujiwara no Akihira’s *Honchō monzui* 本朝文粹 (Literary Essence of Our Court, ca 1060); a total of fifteen poems on the same topic are recorded in the little anthology known as *Zatsugon hōwa* 雜言奉和 (Harmonizing Poems in Miscellaneous Verses). A further particularity of the Kanpyō 1 lingering chrysanthemum banquet is that the poem by Emperor Uda is extant, allowing us to put the sovereign’s poem in relation to those by the surrounding participants.

By way of introduction, I here present Uda’s poem to show the double nature of the sovereign’s poetry: both a testimony to the sovereign’s role as superintendent of natural and social order as well as a product of a learning individual whose authority and legitimization are dependent upon the participation of expert poets who compose on the same subject. Uda’s poem reads as follows:

金風吹起欲終處 As the golden wind has risen and is about to cease,⁴⁶
 殘菊前簷堪愛芳 Then it is worth cherishing the lingering chrysanthemums in the front veranda.
 何事殷勤今夜翫 Why are we to admire them so passionately tonight?
 明年此節示愚王 Next year, at this very moment, this foolish ruler shall be revealed.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 13-17 and 68-71.

⁴⁶ “Gold/metal” (金) is associated to the season of autumn. “Golden wind” thus signifies “autumn wind.”

⁴⁷ *Zatsugon hōwa*, 262.

The poem is followed by a humble remark stating that “as my talent is late to bloom, people shall see no fault [in my poem]” (朕以晩成、人可不見毀).⁴⁸ Uda’s quatrain (or “broken verse,” *zekku* 絶句) encapsulates the double nature of imperial poetry: one that foregrounds imperial authority in overseeing the correct transition of seasonal time and at the same time one that needs legitimization by means of association with poems by learned individuals summoned to compose poetry on the same topic. On the one hand, Uda’s poem elaborates on the topic stating that the end of autumn is the appropriate time to admire lingering chrysanthemums, thereby projecting imperial authority over this temporal juncture of the year by supervising the correct alignment of two events: the end of the season and the blooming of late chrysanthemums.⁴⁹ The final couplet foreshadows the proper passage of time by anticipating the same juncture taking place the following year: it is therefore meaningless to admire the lingering chrysanthemums on this particular night, since this is an event that happens consistently every year thanks to the imperial supervision of cosmological order. At the same time, the last couplet also discloses Uda’s uneasiness with poetic composition. This meaning is further reinforced by Uda’s final comment that his poetic talent has yet to bloom. In this sense, the significance of the poetry banquet on lingering chrysanthemum is hindered by the fact that Uda cannot compose an appropriate poetry for the event. By association, as the lingering chrysanthemums will invariably bloom the next year, Uda shall again compose an unpolished poem.

Although Uda’s rhetoric can be rubricated under the label of self-effacing expression concerning the value of one’s own poem, which would be consistent with its appearance in the final line of the poem, I suggest it also belies Uda’s double position as both superintendent of the poetic event and addressee of a specific poetic language that needs to be mastered through repeated practice. In other words, Uda’s poem places him in the status of both poetizing sovereign and poetry student at the same time. Uda’s poem for the Kanpyō 1 lingering chrysanthemum banquet asks us to revisit the role and significance of early Heian poetry banquets of projecting the poetic authority of the sovereign while at the same time proving him with poetic erudition.

⁴⁸ “Foolish ruler” in the last verse of the poem is a humble expression by Uda to refer to himself.

⁴⁹ On the sovereign’s poetic superintendence of time, see also Webb, “In Good Order,” 163. Here, Webb describes the tremendous expansion of banquet culture during the reign of Emperor Saga as a symbol of the sovereign’s authority in overseeing the passage of time.

One way to appreciate early Heian imperially-sponsored poetry banquets as rituals that were positioned at one end of the pedagogical spectrum is to consider the similarities with those ceremonies that were more closely connected to the educational practices of the Imperial Household. Lectures that specifically targeted the sovereign, delivered by learned Confucian scholars from the *kidendō* 紀伝道 (Way of Annals and Biographies) and *myōgyōdō* 明經道 (Way of Explicating the Classics) curriculums, were conducted in the imperial palace and were usually followed by a celebratory banquet during which poetry in literary Sinitic was composed.⁵⁰ Consider, for example, the following entry in *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代実録 (Veritable Record of Three Reigns of Japan) for the twenty-fifth day of the fourth month of Jōgan 貞観 17 (875), which records a lecture on *Qunshu Zhiyao* 群書治要 (Important Passages on Governing from Assembled Books, ca 631) for Emperor Seiwa 清和 (850-881, r. 858-876):⁵¹

先是,天皇讀群書治要。參議正四位下行勘解由長官兼式部大輔播磨權守菅原朝臣是善、奉授書中所抄納紀傳諸子之文。從五位上守刑部大輔菅野朝臣佐世、奉授五經之文。從五位下行山城權介善淵朝臣愛成、為都講。從四位上行右京大夫兼但馬守源朝臣覺豫、侍講席。至是、講竟。帝觴群臣於綾綺殿、蓋申竟宴也。大臣已下各賦詩。參議從三位行左衛門督近江權守大江朝臣音人、作都序。喚樂人一兩人、絲竹間奏。終日樂飲、達曉而罷。賜衣被綿絹各有差。

On this day, the sovereign read the *Qunshu Zhiyao* [Important Passages on Governing from Assembled Books]. Councilor, senior fourth rank lower acting as head of the Office of Investigators of the Records of Outgoing Officials (*kageyu*) cum senior assistant to the Ministry of Ceremonial and supernumerary governor of Harima Sugawara no Ason Koreyoshi reverently presented the passages annotated by the various Confucian scholars of the *kidendō* annotated in the text. Junior fifth rank upper, senior assistant to the Ministry of Justice Sugano no Ason Sukeyo reverently presented the passages on the five classics. Junior fifth rank lower acting as supernumerary junior assistant to the governor of Yamashiro Yoshibuchi no Ason Chikanari acted as secondary reciter (*tokō*). Junior fourth rank upper acting as Master of the right sector of the capital (*ukyō no daibu*) cum governor of Tanba Minamoto no Ason Satoru attended as lecturer. Upon finishing the lecture, the sovereign bestowed drinks to the assembled vassals at the Ryōkiden and held a banquet to celebrate the end of the lecture. From the ministers (*daijin*) down to low-ranking

⁵⁰ In like manner, lectures at the Monjō-in 文章院 hall at the Bureau of High Education (*daigakuryō*) and lectures for imperial princes were also followed by poetry banquets. The ninth volume of Fujiwara no Akihira's anthology *Honchō monzui* (Literary Essence of Our Court, ca 1060) includes several banquet prefaces (*jo* 序) composed in the occasion of banquets held to celebrate the end of both academic and imperial lectures.

⁵¹ *Qunshu Zhiyao* was compiled on imperial command by the Tang historian Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580-643) and submitted to Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626-649) in 631. The book includes quotations from the Confucian classics and from historiographical works. While this work had disappeared in China by the Song dynasty, it was preserved in Japan.

attendants, all composed poetry. Councilor, junior third rank acting as Captain of the Right Division of Outer Palace Guards (*saemon no kami*) and supernumerary governor of Ōmi Ōe no Ason Otondo composed the preface. One or two musicians were summoned to play string and wind instrument for the duration of the banquet. Music and drinks were enjoyed all day long and stopped at the break of dawn. Robes and silk floss were bestowed according to rank.⁵²

The Jōgan 17 lecture on *Qunshu Zhiyao* entailed the joint participation of scholars from the *kidendō* curriculum, such as Sugawara no Michizane's father Koreyoshi 菅原是善 (812-880), and from the *myōgyōdō* curriculum, such as Sugano no Sukeyo 菅野佐世 (802-880) and Yoshibuchi no Chikanari 善淵愛成 (?-?), probably because the *Qunshu Zhiyao* included quotation from both the Confucian classics and historiographical works, which were in the purview of the *myōgyōdō* and *kidendō* curriculums respectively.⁵³ More importantly, the banquet that celebrated the end of the lecture included the composition of Sinitic poetry (*shi* 詩), probably on a topic extrapolated from a passage in the lectured text.⁵⁴ Significantly, the entry records that poetry was composed “from ministers (*daijin*) below,” suggesting a configuration of the social space that likely mirrored the participation of the so-called *tenjō-monnin* 殿上文人 (“courtier *monnin*”) and *jūge-monnin* 地下文人 (“lower-ground *monnin*”) at institutionalized poetry banquets.⁵⁵ The composition of Sinitic poetry on a shared topic as a form of ritual enacted by the sovereign (including liquor, music, and the bestowal of stipends, all aspects shared with institutionalized poetry banquets) thus created a

⁵² *Sandai jitsuroku*, Jōgan 17 (875)/4/25.

⁵³ Koreyoshi was a Confucian scholar trained in the *kidendō*, who had maintained the position of professor of literature (*monjō hakase*) for more than twenty consecutive years (from 845 to 867). Both Sukeyo and Chikanari acted as professors of the Bureau of High Education (*daigaku no hakase* 大学博士), a title referring to the professors of the *myōgyōdō* curriculum, meaning that both had at some point passed the highest examination of the curriculum. As a matter of fact, Confucian scholars in early Heian Japan were considered those who had passed the highest examination of either the *kidendō* or the *myōgyōdō* curriculum. See for example the entry in *Nihon kiriyaku* for Tennyō 5 (942)/3/14.

⁵⁴ Poetry composed at lectures on historiographical works, such as the *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian), usually used historical figures appearing in the texts as topics. Poetry composed at lectures on Confucian classics normally used short passages from the texts as topics of composition. For an example of the former see the section on “composing on historical subjects” (詠史) in the early ninth-century poetry collection *Bunka shūeishū* 文華秀麗集 (Collection of Masterpieces of Literary Talent, 818), which includes four poems presumably composed at the celebratory banquet for the completion of the imperial lecture on *Shiji* in Kōnin 7 (816) (*Bunka shūeishū* 42-45).

⁵⁵ As has been discussed, *tenjō-monnin* were high ranking individuals (*keugyō* 公卿) or those who were allowed access to the personal residence of the sovereign (*tenjō*); *jūge-monnin* were lower-ranking individuals who were summoned to the banquet exclusively to provide poetry but were not allowed physical access to the sovereign.

connecting line between the educational environment of imperial lectures and that of imperially-sponsored poetry banquets.

The similarity in the ceremonial structure of the two is even more apparent when we bring the *sekiten* 釈奠 rite into the analysis. By default held twice a year in early Heian Japan, in the second month (mid-spring) and in the eighth month (mid-autumn), the *sekiten* was a ritual in honor of Confucius held at the Bureau of High Education, where recitation and discussion of passages from the Confucian classics were followed by a banquet in which poetry was composed on topics extrapolated from the lectured texts.⁵⁶ This ceremony thus brought together pedagogical activity and poetic composition in the form of a carefully structured ritual. Similarly to imperial lectures, the *sekiten* rite entailed, at least ideally, the participation of the sovereign, the Crown Prince, and high-ranking nobles (*keugyō* 公卿).⁵⁷ Unlike imperial lectures, however, the *sekiten* was held regularly every year, which brought it more in connection with institutionalized poetry banquets such as the Palace Banquet (*naien*) and the Double Nine Banquet (*chōyō no en*) which were also held annually. Consider, by way of example, the following entries in *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* on the *sekiten* rite performed during the Ninna era (885-888):

- a) 大學寮釋奠。公卿大夫畢至。明經博士論議、文章生等賦詩如常。

Sekiten rite at the Bureau of High Education. High-ranking nobles and those above the fifth rank all arrived. The professor of classics [*myōgyō bakasei*] debated, while the literature students [*monjōshō*] and others composed poetry as is customary.

(*Sandai jitsuroku*, Ninna 1 (885)/2/1)

- b) 釋奠。直講從七位下山邊公善直講古文尚書。文章生學生等賦詩。

Sekiten rite. Lecturer junior seventh rank lower Yamabe no Kimi Yoshinao lectured on the old-text Book of Documents [*gunen shangshu*]. Literature students [*monjōshō*], regular students [*gakushō*] and others composed poetry.

(*Sandai jitsuroku*, Ninna 1 (885)/8/5)

- c) 釋奠如常。從五位下行助教兼越前介淨野朝臣宮雄、發論語題、文章生學生等賦詩如常。

Sekiten rite as is customary. Junior fifth rank lower acting assistant professor cum assistant governor of Echizen Kiyono no Ason Miyao produced a topic on the Analects [*Lunyu*]; literature students [*monjōshō*], regular students [*gakushō*] and others composed poetry as is customary.

(*Sandai jitsuroku*, Ninna 2 (886)/2/7)

⁵⁶ For a comprehensive discussion on the ninth- and early tenth century *sekiten* rite see McMullen, *The Worship of Confucius*, 64-109.

⁵⁷ It appears that the sovereign did not in fact actively participated in the *sekiten* rite during the ninth century, and that the regulations found in the *Engishiki* reflect an idealized version of the ritual; see McMullen, *ibid.*, 106-108.

- d) 釋奠如常。祭祀禮畢、太政大臣入廟、拜文宣王影。公卿大夫畢會。令明經博士、講論周易。文章生等賦詩如常。

Sekiten rite as is customary. Upon the end of the rite, the Chancellor [*dajō daijin*] entered the hall and paid homage to the image of the King of Cultural Manifestation [Wenxuan Wang]. High-ranking nobles and those above the fifth rank joined together. The professor of classics [*myōgyō bakase*] was commanded to lecture and debate on the Book of Changes [*Zhouyi*]. Literature students [*monjōshō*] and others composed poetry as is customary.

(*Sandai jitsuroku*, Ninna 2 (886)/8/1)

- e) 釋奠。祭禮既畢、親王已下就都堂。從五位下行助教清野朝臣宮雄、發春秋題。文章生學生等賦詩如常。

Sekiten rite. At the end of the ritual, imperial princes [*shinnō*] and below attended the main hall [of the Monjō-in]. Junior fifth rank lower acting as assistant professor Kiyono no Ason Miyao produced a topic on the Spring and Autumn Annals [*Chunqiu*]. Literature students [*monjōshō*], regular students [*gakushō*] and others composed poetry as is customary.

(*Sandai jitsuroku*, Ninna 3 (887)/2/3)

Poetry composition features conspicuously in all the above instances. Literature students (*monjōshō*) and regular students (*gakushō*) were normally summoned to the *sekiten* rite as *monnin*, that is, to compose poetry on a given topic. The summons of these two categories of *kidendō* students is, in fact, resonant with the Double Nine Banquet (*chōyō no en*), for which the *Engi shiki* (Procedures of the Engi era, ca 927) prescribes explicitly that literature students and regular students be summoned to provide poetry.⁵⁸ Furthermore, item (e) is particularly telling, as it displays two more elements that put the *sekiten* rite in direct connection with the ritual structure of the early Heian institutionalized poetry banquets. First, imperial princes and below (presumably down to courtiers of above fifth rank) appear in attendance in the main hall of the Monjō-in compound at the Bureau of High Education (*daigakuryō*). The attendance of high-ranking courtiers in the main hall thus mirrors the participation of imperial princes, nobles, and courtiers in the proximity of the sovereign in the veranda of the Jijūden 仁寿殿 or the Shishinden 紫宸殿 halls, where the Palace Banquet (*naien*) and the Double Nine Banquet (*chōyō no en*) were held respectively. Second, a scholar of fifth rank is commanded to produce a topic of composition at the

⁵⁸ As a matter of fact, there existed an even stronger connection between the *sekiten* rite and the institutional banquets such as the Double Nine Banquet during the early Heian period. As Kudō has convincingly shown, participation to a poetic banquet in the capacity of *monnin* was often a necessary condition to receive the recommendation to sit for the *monjōshō* test (*shōshi* 省試) and become a literature student. Furthermore, the *sekiten* rite was apparently the *de facto* first opportunity that students had to participate to a banquet as *monnin*, suggesting a strong connection between the *sekiten* rite as a poetic banquet and the system of *kidendō* education. See further Kudō, *Heianchō itsuryō shakai*, 83-89.

sekiten rite, in the same way a Confucian scholar of fifth rank and above (or a literature professor, by default of fifth rank) is commanded to submit a topic for the sovereign's perusal at institutionalized poetry banquets. Note that the fifth rank was the entry level to participate to imperially-sponsored events and be allowed proximity to the sovereign. At both the *sekiten* rite and institutionalized poetry banquets an individual of at least fifth rank was therefore needed so he could be admitted to the sovereign's proximity and submit a topic, thereby maintaining the social distinction between *tenjō* 殿上 (hall-attendant) courtiers and low-ranking *monnin*. The ritual structure of the poetic composition of the *sekiten* rite thus mirrored that of institutionalized banquets. Conversely, the structure of both ceremonies, with regard to the portion of the rite in which poetry was composed, was similar in terms of social structure and ritual procedures.

The above discussion has highlighted the contiguity and continuity that existed between early Heian institutionalized poetry banquets and pedagogical activities connected with the Imperial Household such as the imperial lectures and the *sekiten* rite. Significantly, this similarity played out in the way poetry composition was organized at all these events. Such similarity, in my opinion, accounts for the transversal position of institutionalized poetry banquets in a range of ritualized pedagogical activities that were originally meant to educate the sovereign. I would therefore argue that the institutionalized banquets such as the Palace Banquet (*naien*) and the Double Nine Banquet (*chōyō no en*), together with non-institutionalized poetry banquets such as the Kanpyō 1 lingering chrysanthemum banquet discussed at the beginning of this section, all retained symbolically aspects of this pedagogical purpose.

There are in fact at least two sources that highlight such underlying pedagogical aspect. In *Nihon Montoku tennō jitsuroku* 日本文徳天皇実録 (Veritable Record of [the Reign] of Emperor Montoku of Japan, 879) we find the following entry for the twentieth day of the tenth month of Saikō 斉衡 1 (854):

辛未。召刑部大輔春澄朝臣春繩、文章博士菅原朝臣是善、民部少輔大枝朝臣音人等於藏人所、評重陽節文人所上之詩。

Yin Metal Goat. Senior assistant to the Ministry of Justice Haruzumi no Ason Yoshitada, literature professor Sugawara no Koreyoshi, and junior assistant to the Ministry of Popular Affairs Ōe no

Ason Otondo were summoned at the *kurōdo-dokoro* to evaluate the poems presented by the *monnin* at the Double Nine festival.⁵⁹

Haruzumi no Yoshitada 春澄春繩 (797-870), Sugawara no Koreyoshi 菅原是善 (812-880), and Ōe no Otondo 大江音人 (811-877) were all *kidendō*-trained Confucian scholars.⁶⁰ Moreover, both Yoshitada and Koreyoshi had acted as tutors (*tōgū gakushi* 東宮学士) to Emperor Montoku when he was Crown Prince as Prince Michiyasu 道康, and Otondo was the tutor to current Crown Prince Korehito 惟仁 (later Emperor Seiwa).

Established at the beginning of the ninth century, the *kurōdo-dokoro* 藏人所, or the Chamberlain's Office, administered all matters concerning the Imperial Household. As a matter of fact, it was also the site of a thriving literary activity. Especially from the late ninth century, members of the *kurōdo-dokoro* begin to feature conspicuously in imperially-sponsored poetry banquets, and academic lectures for the sovereign are recorded to have taken place in its premises.⁶¹ The above entry, in particular, suggests that poems presented by summoned *monnin* at an institutionalized poetry banquet such as the Double Nine Banquet (*chōyō no en*) could become an educational material for the sovereign.

Unfortunately, the lack of other similar entries makes it difficult to ascertain whether this particular one records the exceptionality of the event or, conversely, the fact that it was an established practice. Nonetheless, it records a moment in the early Heian court when poetry becomes a tool for educating the sovereign in poetic matters.

One more relevant source is a passage from the procedures concerning the imperial excursion to the Suzaku-in palace recorded in the ritual manual *Shingishiki* 新儀式 (New Ritual Procedures, mid-tenth century). The excursion included a poetic banquet to be held at the Suzaku-in mansion in which, as was customary, presented poems were recited in front of the sovereign. The *Shingishiki* holds that in a precedent iteration of this excursion in Engi 16 (916), only poems by imperial princes and high-ranking nobles (王卿) and the

⁵⁹ *Montoku jitsuroku*, Saikō 1 (854)/10/20.

⁶⁰ A biography of Yoshitada is in Abe, *Heian zenki seijishi*, 93-104. A biography of Koreyoshi is in Takigawa, *Sugawara no Michizane ron*, 589-692. A biography of Ōe no Otondo is in Gotō, *Heianchō kanbungaku ronkō*, 94-110.

⁶¹ Kudō, *Heianchō ritsuryō shakai*, 25-49.

provisional literature students (*gimonjōshō* 擬文章生) were recited, but not those by the summoned *monnin*.⁶² A passage towards the end of the text, however, reads as follows:

宸儀御内寝之後。召侍臣令読儒士文章生等詩。

After the sovereign has retired in his bedchamber, an attendant is summoned to recite the poems of Confucian scholars and literature students [*monjōshō*].

While in *Shingishiki* poems by summoned *monnin* are not recited during the banquet in accordance to the Engi 16 precedent, it is then revealed that they later function as material to entertain the sovereign in his residential quarter once the banquet has ended and the court has returned to the palace. The poems performed at the Suzaku-in banquet by the most learned body of attendants, that is, *kidendō*-trained Confucian scholars and literature students (*monjōshō*) is thus singled out to be recited to the sovereign alone at a later date, suggesting a strong connection between *kidendō* poetic expertise and the personal literary activity of the sovereign. Both the Saikō 1 entry in *Nihon Montoku jitsuroku* and the passage in *Shingishiki* refer to the poems presented by the *monnin* at institutionalized banquets as a specific object of imperial appreciation. I would suggest, then, that similarly to the evaluation of *monnin* poems at the *kurōdo-dokoro*, the act of reciting poems to the sovereign at his personal residence recorded in *Shingishiki* was not merely an entertainment activity but was possibly informed by an underlying pedagogical purpose.

In this section, I have attempted to put the poetic activity at imperially-sponsored banquets in a transversal connection with other activities such as imperial lectures, so as to suggest that imperially-sponsored banquets too retained a sense of imperial tutoring in poetic matters and could thus be put in continuity with more overtly pedagogical practices. In the following section I will analyze what I call the “imperial mode” of Sinitic poetry, to show that the various modalities in which the sovereign was involved in poetic production outside banquet practice also point to a quasi-educational activity that was meant to train as well as to sustain the cultural legitimation of the Imperial Household.

The “Imperial Mode” of Sinitic Poetry: Education, the Sovereign, and the *Kidendō* Elite

⁶² Provisional literature students (*gimonjōshō*) were a body of twenty regular students (*gakushō*) that was selected to sit for the examination to become literature student (*monjōshō*). The Suzaku-in excursion, together with the imperially-sponsored poetry banquet, also included an extraordinary examination for *gimonjōshō*, otherwise held twice a year at the Bureau of High Education.

In the previous section I have put imperially-sponsored banquets in connection with pedagogical and quasi-pedagogical events such as imperial lectures and the *sekiten* rite. One more way to appreciate the nature of imperially-sponsored banquets, I suggest here, is to assess their position within the spectrum of imperial poetic activities of the early Heian court. In particular, I will discuss the genre of the so-called “harmonizing poetry” (*hōwa* 奉和). Literally meaning “respectfully harmonizing,” *hōwa* indicates a particular modality of poetic composition, whereby a poem is produced in response to an original poem by the sovereign. *Hōwa* poetry was part of a larger web of poetic practices. As a matter of fact, poetry was performed in a variety of social contexts: poems as a means of individual expression, poems in response to other poems, or poems in response to a bestowed topic, were all part of a larger continuum in which poetry functioned as a vehicle of social interaction and exchange. In this respect, banquet poetry seems to have existed at the cusp of this range of poetic activities. As has been shown by Takigawa Kōji, the first imperially sponsored poetic anthology, *Ryōunshū*, is clearly organized around the concept of a *hierarchy* of contexts of poetic production. While poems are arranged by author, the poetry of every single author, including that of the sovereign, is arranged by context of composition, with institutionalized banquets appearing first, followed by produced at imperially-sponsored contexts, by poems harmonizing (和) to other poems, and by individual poetry. Thus, the structure of *Ryōunshū* highlights the socio-political weight of imperially-sponsored poetry banquets in early Heian Japan.⁶³ Harmonizing poems, however, still feature prominently in *Ryōunshū*, as well as in the other two early Heian *shi* anthologies, thus deserving attention in order to better appreciate the connection between poetry, poets, and the sovereign.

Including a wide range of poetic activity unfolding around the sovereign, the three early Heian anthologies of Sinitic poetry *Ryōunshū*, *Bunka shūreishū*, and *Keikokushū*, indeed offer a precious window into the relationship between poetry and the Imperial Household. By way of example, I will first present the poetry by Emperor Saga (786-842, r. 809-823) included in *Ryōunshū*—which offers a selection of twenty-two imperial poems—to show the coexistence of both a hierarchy and a continuum of poetic composition. The analysis will also show the preeminence of group composition, and of harmonizing poems in particular, within such a continuum. What follows is a list of the titles of the twenty-two poems by Emperor Saga in *Ryōunshū* (from no. 3 to no. 24), in which to each poem by Saga relevant poems by other poets

⁶³ Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 42-48.

composed in the same occasion (banquet poems, harmonizing poems, etc.) that are also included in the collection have been added:⁶⁴

- (3) Blossom-Viewing Banquet at the Shinsen'en park, composing on the topic "Piece on falling flowers"
 - (56) Miscellaneous verse. Attending a banquet at the Shinsen'en park, composing on the topic "Piece on falling flowers" in response to a command by the sovereign. [Ono no Ason Minemori]
 - (80) Miscellaneous verse. Attending a banquet at the Shinsen'en park, composing on the topic "Piece on falling flowers" in response to a command by the sovereign. [Takaoka no Sukune Otokoe]
- (4) Double Nine Festival at the Shinsen'en park, bestowing a banquet to the assembled vassals. Composing on the rhyme scheme "sky," "passing by," "wind," "alike."
- (5) Ninth month, ninth day, banquet for the assembled vassals at the Shinsen'en park, each composing on one object, obtaining "autumn chrysanthemums."
 - (25) Ninth month, ninth day, attending a banquet at the Shinsen'en park, each composing on one object, obtaining "autumn dew." [Crown Prince]
 - (49) Ninth month, ninth day, attending a banquet at the Shinsen'en park, each composing on one object, obtaining "autumn lotus." [Yoshimine no Ason Yasuyo]
- (57) Ninth month, ninth day, attending a banquet at the Shinsen'en park, each composing on one object, obtaining "autumn willow." [Ono no Ason Minemori]
 - (69) Ninth month, ninth day, attending a banquet at the Shinsen'en park, each composing on one object, obtaining "autumn mountains." [Sugawara no Ason Kiyotomo]
- (6) Double Nine Festival at the Shinsen'en park, composing along on the topic "Autumn yields a big annual harvest," taking the rhyme from the topic, composing the piece on the *you* rhyme.
- (7) Summer day at the Crown Prince's southern pond
 - (29) Imperial excursion to the southern pond, sending a letter to the Grand General on the following day. [Crown Prince]
- (8) Autumn day at the Crown Prince's pond pavilion, composing on the character "heaven."
- (9) Autumn day, entering the deep mountain.
- (10) Summer day at Grand General of the Left Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu's Kankyo-in.
 - (84) Summer day, attending an imperial excursion to the Grand General of the Left Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu's Kankyo-in, [a poem composed] in response to a command by the sovereign.
- (11) Passing at the Kayō lodge, resting and thinking about the capital.

⁶⁴ The numbers follow the critical edition of *Ryōunshū* by Kojima Noriyuki.

- (12) Pavilion on the river, poetic inspiration at dawn.
- (28) Respectfully harmonizing with the poem "Pavilion on the river, poetic inspiration at night (?)", submitting the poem to the General Fujiwara of the Guards of the Divine Strategy. [Crown Prince]
- (62) Respectfully harmonizing with the poem "Pavilion on the river, poetic inspiration at dawn," in response to a command by the sovereign. [Ono no Ason Minemori]
- (13) Enjoying a hunt on a spring day, resting in a pavilion by the riverbank at sunset.
- (27) Respectfully harmonizing with the poem "Enjoying a hunt on a spring day, resting in a pavilion by the riverbank at sunset," in response to a command by the sovereign. [Crown Prince]
- (63) Respectfully harmonizing with the poem "Spring day, resting in a pavilion by the riverbank at sunset," in response to a command by the sovereign. [Ono no Ason Minemori]
- (14) Harmonizing with the poem on the Kayō lodge by the Grand General of the Left Fujiwara no Fuyutsugu.
- (15) Harmonizing with the poem "Passing by the Kawano detached palace, thinking of the old days" by the Grand General of the Outer Palace Guards Fujiwara no Otsugu.
- (16) Harmonizing with the poem "Autumn night, night duty at the guard post, hearing the early geese" by the Head of the Left Palace Guards Asano no Ason Katori.
- (17) Harmonizing with the poem "Autumn night, hearing a sheng flute on the way home" by Sugawara no Kiyotomo.
- (70) Autumn night, hearing a sheng flute on the way home. [Sugawara no Kiyotomo]
- (18) Harmonizing with the poem composed on the topic "Early snow" by Sugawara no Kiyotomo.
- (19) Harmonizing with the poem "Early spring, passing by the house of the Master of Libations Sugawara, feeling sadness and turmoil, sending the poem to the three Flowering Talents Furu, Kose, and Fujiwara" by the Advanced Scholar Sadanushi. One broken verse.
- (91) Harmonizing with the poem "Early spring, passing by the old house of the Master of Libations Sugawara, feeling sadness and turmoil" by the Advanced Scholar Sadanushi. [Kose no Ason Shikihito]
- (20) Upon hearing a recitation of the Lotus Sutra, each compose on one chapter, obtaining the "Chapter of the Expedient Method."
- (21) Hearing that Senior Assistant to the Ministry of Ceremonial Ono no Minemori will be sent to the frontier fortress, I bestow him a hat and a leather robe.
- (22) Drinking banquet to see off Assistant General of the Palace Guards Asano no Katori who is sent to pacify the eastern provinces.
- (23) [A poem] sent to the venerable Buddhist monk Genbin
- (24) Sending silk floss to Master of the Law Kūkai, together with a poem.

There are a number of significant aspects that can be deduced from the above list. First, as is clear, the sequence begins with imperially-sponsored banquet poems (3-8) to then proceed to individual poems by Saga to which other poets harmonize (10-13), to harmonizing poems by Saga himself (14-19), closing with poems addressed to other people (21-24).⁶⁵ The Saga sequence in *Ryōunshū* therefore highlights the early Heian hierarchy of the contexts of poetic production. Not only, it also highlights the highly social nature of *shi* practice, virtually eschewing solitary poems that lack a social context of group composition. The only truly solitary poem that lacks any social dimension is poem no. 9.⁶⁶ Second, many of Emperor Saga's poems have one or more correspondent poems included in the collection. By including poems produced in the same occasions (such as poems composed at the same banquet, or poems composed in harmonization with other poems), the compilers of *Ryōunshū* thus create a web of textual interrelations that binds together the whole anthology and centers it on the sovereign. As a matter of fact, poems in *Ryōunshū* either exist in isolation (meaning that the collection does not include other poems composed in the same occasion) or resonate with poems by Emperor Saga, making the latter the center of the collection's textual structure. Third, the two poems no. 12 and 13 form a particularly significant set, inasmuch they are both matched in the collection by other two poems respectively, composed by the Crown Prince and Ono no Minemori.

The *kidendō* graduate Ono no Minemori occupied a preeminent position both before and after Emperor Saga's coronation, in that he was part of the entourage of the Crown Prince Household for both Emperors Saga and Junna.⁶⁷ Moreover, it is known that Minemori acted in

⁶⁵ As for banquet poems, poems no. 3 to 6 are from the Blossom-Viewing Banquet (*hana no en* 花宴) and the Double Nine Banquet (*chōyō no en* 重陽宴), which were held as institutionalized events until Kōnin 6 (815). Poem no. 3 has no precise dating (it can reasonably be placed between 812, the date of the first iteration of the Blossom-Viewing Banquet, and 814, the year of compilation of *Ryōunshū*), while poems no. 4 to 6 have been dated to Kōnin 3 (812), 4 (813), and 5 (814) respectively. See further Ijitsu, "'*Ryōunshū*' no chōyō shi ni tsuite." Poems no. 7 and 8 are from imperial excursions to the residence of the Crown Prince (later Emperor Junna 淳和). As a matter of fact, both summer and autumn excursions are recorded repeatedly in historiographical works. After ascending to the throne, Emperor Junna (786-840, r. 823-833) would continue visiting his old residence at the "southern pond" and hold poetry banquets there at least until Tenchō 8 (831).

⁶⁶ Poem no. 11 also seems to be lacking a social dimension. However, because it was composed at the Kayō lodge, a preferred spot in the proximity of the Heian capital where Saga travelled frequently and produced poems to which his attendants harmonized, it is likely that this poem too was originally followed by a set of harmonizing compositions. For a discussion of the "Kayō lodge poetry" during the reign of Emperor Saga, see further Ijitsu, "Kayō bungaku no shohatsu."

⁶⁷ During Emperor Heizei's reign (806-809) Minemori was Junior Assistant to the Head of the Crown Prince Household (*tōgū no shōshin* 東宮少進) for Prince Kamino 賀美能 (later Emperor Saga); After Saga's coronation (809), he became First Assistant (*tōgū no suke* 東宮亮) for the Household of Prince Ōtomo 大伴 (later Emperor

the capacity of tutor to Saga when he was Crown Prince, suggesting that he might have retained the same function for the new Crown Prince after Saga's coronation.⁶⁸ That two poems in the Saga sequence are both matched by harmonizing poems by the Crown Prince and an imperial tutor is suggestive of the pedagogic potential of the "harmonizing poetry" (*bōwa*) genre. As has been seen in the previous section, groups of poems on the same topic that include a poem by the sovereign, a poem by a *kidendō* graduate, and a poem by an imperial prince (or a former member of the Imperial Household) are particularly indicative of a poetic tutoring in the form of a poetry banquet. Being centered on the sovereign's poem yet including the participation of a *kidendō* graduate, these poem sets seem to reproduce grander events such as institutionalized imperially-sponsored poetry banquets, where a more conspicuous number of princes, nobles, and *kidendō* graduate *monnin* would compose poetry for the sovereign. The analogous two sets of poems in *Ryōunshū* suggest that harmonizing poetry could have similarly retained some kind of pedagogical function.

One more important aspect of the two Saga sequence sets of poems involving Emperor Saga, the Crown Prince, and Ono no Minemori, is the role played by those *kidendō* graduates whose poetry was meant to harmonize (*bōwa*) with that of the sovereign. Jason Webb has described the poetic harmonization between Saga and those who belonged to his poetic circle as a "new form of ritual interchange between sovereign and courtier" that came to complement the vertical relationship established with the poetry composed on topics bestowed by the sovereign typical of the banquet setting.⁶⁹ The fact that poems survive by which Saga harmonizes with a courtier's original poem further exemplifies this sort of horizontal relationships created with the imperial persona by means of harmonizing poetry. Gotō Akio has linked the form of harmonizing poetry, increasingly popular at Saga's court, with a gradual "personification" of the imperial figure, with poetic harmonization symbolizing and solidifying the new kind of socio-political interpersonal relations that courtiers could entertain with the sovereign.⁷⁰ As is suggested by the two Saga sequence sets of poems discussed above, there were contexts in which harmonizing poetry could

Junna). For a biography of Ono no Minemori see further Gotō, *Heianchō kanbungakushi*, 54-63 and Kinpara, *Heianchō kanshibun*, 74-96.

⁶⁸ The biography of one Minabuchi no Nagakawa 南淵永河 (777-857) records that "at the time when Emperor Saga was Crown Prince, he used to read texts to the sovereign with Asano no Katori, Ono no Minemori, and Sugawara no Kiyohito." (昔者嵯峨太上天皇在藩之時、與朝野鹿取、小野岑守、菅原清人等、共侍讀書). *Nibon Montoku tennō jitsuroku*, Ten'an 1 (857)/10/12.

⁶⁹ Webb, "In Good Order," 174.

⁷⁰ Gotō. *Heianchō kanbungakushi*, 21-23.

function as the symbol and the product of a sovereign-courtier relationship informed by a pedagogical purpose.

The collection compiled after *Ryōunshū*, *Bunka shūreishū*, includes a set of two poems in which Ono no Minemori harmonizes with a poem composed by Emperor Saga. The particularity of this exchange is that the topic of composition also appears in four poems composed for the *monjōshō* examination of the *kidendō* curriculum included in the third early Heian poetry anthology *Keikokushū*.⁷¹ Thus, the list of the poems is as follows:⁷²

(134) 賦得隴頭秋月明。 嗟峨天皇。

Composing on a topic, obtaining “The autumn moon shines bright above Mount Long.”

[Emperor Saga]

(135) 奉和隴頭秋月明。 小野岑守

Respectfully harmonizing with the poem [on the topic] “The autumn moon shines bright above Mount Long.”

[Ono no Minemori]

(*Bunka shūreishū*)

(160) 奉試、賦得隴頭秋月明。 豊前王。

Respectfully attending the examination, composing on a topic, obtaining “The autumn moon shines bright above Mount Long.”

[Toyosaki Ō]

(161) 奉試、賦得隴頭秋月明。 小野篁。

Respectfully attending the examination, composing on a topic, obtaining “The autumn moon shines bright above Mount Long.”

[Ono no Takamura]

(162) 奉試、賦得隴頭秋月明。 藤令緒。

Respectfully attending the examination, composing on a topic, obtaining “The autumn moon shines bright above Mount Long.”

[Fujiwara no Yoshio]

(163) 奉試、賦得隴頭秋月明。 治穎長。

Respectfully attending the examination, composing on a topic, obtaining “The autumn moon shines bright above Mount Long.”

[Tajiri no Enaga]

(*Keikokushū*)

⁷¹ The Ministry Test (*shōshi* 省試), administered by default twice a year, selected candidates for the position of literature students (*monjōshō* 文章生) in the *kidendō* curriculum by means of poetic composition on a given topic.

⁷² The numbers follow the critical editions of *Bunka shūreishū* and *Keikokushū* by Kojima Noriyuki.

The topic of these poems is in fact a line of a poem by the early Tang scholar Yang Shidao 楊師道 (?-647), composed on the *yuefu* 樂府 (“Poetry Bureau”) frontier poetry topic “The waters of Mount Long” (隴頭水).⁷³ While the harmonizing exchange between Saga and Minemori must have taken place before Kōnin 9 (818), the year of the compilation of *Bunka shūreishū*, the fact that Minemori’s son Ono no Takamura composed one of the examination poems included in *Keikokushū* dates these group of poems to Kōnin 13 (822).⁷⁴ The fact that a sovereign-courtier harmonizing exchange and a group of *keidendō* examination poems were composed on the same topic offers a precious opportunity to analyze the similarities and differences in the poetic literacy and performance of the sovereign, on the one hand, and of *keidendō*-trained poets, on the other. Indeed, that the topic was meant as a poetic training for Emperor Saga is suggested by the fact that the character 得 (obtaining) is employed in his poem and in the *Keikokushū* examination poems. As a matter of fact, it appears that this character was indeed a mark of examination poetry in early Heian Japan. All the titles of the poems composed by Sugawara no Michizane as part of his training for the *monjōshō* examination, for example, include this character, and so does the title of the successful examination poem by Michizane’s tutor Shimada no Tadaomi.⁷⁵ The examination poetry included in the surviving volumes of *Keikokushū* shows more variety, with titles that incorporate the character and titles that do not. The oscillation in *Keikokushū* suggests that the character 得 had not yet become standard in the titles of examination poetry in the early ninth century. However, I would argue that its inclusion signals the affinity of a poem to the genre of examination poetry. By virtue of sharing the same title format and the same topic with the four *Keikokushū* examination poems, Emperor Saga’s poem is thus placed in contiguity with the poetic educational practices of the *keidendō* institution. By paying close attention to these poems, I suggest we can look into the dynamics of what I would call the early Heian “imperial poetic literacy.”

First, I present Saga’s poem:

⁷³ Yang Shidao was a member of Emperor Taizong’s 太宗 (598-649, r. 626-649) poetic coterie. His poems appear, for example, in the remaining fascicle of *Hanlin xueshi ji* 翰林學士集 (Literary Collection of the Hanlin Academicians). See Chen, 237-66.

⁷⁴ The date of Takamura’s *monjōshō* examination is found in his biography, which is included in *Nihon Montoku tennō jitsuroku*, Jijū 仁壽 2 (852)/12/22.

⁷⁵ Michizane’s poems are found in the first volume of his collection *Kanke bunsō* (no. 4-7). Tadaomi’s poem is included in his three-volume collection *Denshi kashū* (House Collection of the Shimada Clan), no. 200.

關城秋夜淨 At the fortress by the pass the autumn night is clear;
孤月隴頭圓 The solitary moon over mount Long is round.
水咽人腸絕 The muffled sound of the water pierces my gut;
蓬飛沙塞寒 The mugwort flies over the cold frontier desert.
離筳驚山上 Flutes playing parting [melodies] surprise me up in the hill;
旅雁聽雲端 Traveling geese I hear away in the clouds.
征戎鄉思切 On frontier duty, thoughts of home are acute:
聞猿愁不寬 Hearing the cries of the apes, my sorrow never subsides.⁷⁶

(Transl. by Rabinovitch and Bradstock, with minor adjustments)⁷⁷

Saga's poem is noteworthy because it incorporates almost all the characters of the topic in the first couplet, anticipating what would be a staple feature of mid- and late Heian topic-line poetry (*kudaishi* 句題詩).⁷⁸ One significant aspect of Saga's poem is that it deviates from the main thematic object of the "autumn moon" to instead produce a depiction of the frontier that is mediated by borrowing vocabulary and imagery from Yang Shidao's source poem. The chart below shows the connections between the two poems:⁷⁹

關城秋夜淨	At the <u>fortress by the pass</u> the autumn night is clear. (Saga)
隴水帶關城	The Long river encloses <u>the fortress by the pass</u> . (Yang Shidao)
水咽人腸絕	The muffled sound of the water <u>pierces my gut</u> . (Saga)
風送斷腸聲	The wind brings a <u>gut-piercing</u> sound. (Yang Shidao)
蓬飛沙塞寒	The <u>mugwort</u> flies over the cold frontier <u>desert</u> . (Saga)
沙上轉蓬輕	Upon the <u>desert</u> , the <u>mugwort</u> leaves fall softly. (Yang shidao)
離筳驚山上	<u>Flutes playing parting [melodies]</u> surprise me up in the hill. (Saga)
筳添離別曲	The <u>flutes play a melody of parting</u> . (Yang Shidao)
旅雁聽雲端	Traveling <u>geese</u> I hear away in the clouds. (Saga)
霧中寒雁至	Amidst the fog, the cold cry of <u>geese</u> arrives. (Yang Shidao)

Table 5. Correspondences between the poems by Emperor Saga and Yang Shidao.

⁷⁶ *Bunka shūreishū* 134.

⁷⁷ The translation is in Rabinovitch and Bradstock, *No Moonlight in My Cup*, 179.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 180.

⁷⁹ Yang Shidao's poem "The waters of Mount Long" (隴頭水) is found in *Quan Tangshi*, 181.

With the exclusion of the final couplet, Saga's poem entertains a close connection to Yang Shidao's source poem. In this respect, Saga's poem stands in stark contrast to those produced by the *monjōshō* candidates for the Kōnin 13 (822) examination. The poem by Prince Toyosaki (Toyosaki Ō), for example, is entirely focused on exhausting vocabulary and imagery on the poetic object of the "autumn moon."⁸⁰ The isolation of a main theme and its poetic elaboration within the poem was in fact in continuity with the *kidendō* exegetical training on continental texts. Topics of examination poetry often consisted in poetic objects about which the candidates were asked to prove their erudition extrapolating related vocabulary and imagery from continental sources. Such way of composing poetry was meant to test erudition more than poetic creativity. As Brian Steininger puts it, in the *kidendo* "poetic composition was studied and practiced as one part of a field of scholarly activity defined through erudition and eloquence."⁸¹ Prince Toyosaki's poem reads as follows:

桂氣三秋晚	The scent of the cassia tree spreads in the autumn night;
萋陰一點輕	The shadow of the <i>ming</i> grass casts a light dot.
傍弓形始望	We begin to gaze at the shape resembling a bow;
圓鏡暈今傾	Now we lean towards the halo of the round mirror.
漏盡姮娥落	As the water clock ceases, the beautiful lady falls;
更深顧兔驚	As the night deepens, the rabbit is startled.
薄光波裏碎	Its pale light breaks into the waves;
寒色隴頭明	Its cold color shines on Mount Long.
皎潔低胡域	Hovering bright over the region of the Hu;
玲瓏照漢營	Shining beautifully on the camp of the Han.
誓將天子劍	By pledge holding the sword of the son of Heaven,
怒髮獨橫行	Let's fight with our hair straightened by the rage. ⁸²

With the exception of the final couplet, which brings back the poem into the dimension of the Tang frontier where the imperial army is facing northern barbarians, all verses are employed to indirectly describe the moon, either by means of descriptive imagery or by recourse to continental sources of erudition. The first couplet, for example, deploys the parallel between the cassia tree and the *ming* grass that appears, most notably, in the "Heaven" (天) section of *Chuxueji*

⁸⁰ The biography of Prince Toyosaki (805-865) is in *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, Jōgan 7 (865)/2/2.

⁸¹ Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 108.

⁸² *Keikokushū* 160.

初学記 (Notes to First Learning, ca 728): “looking at the *ming* grass, watching the cassia tree” (觀莫視桂). In *Chuxueji*, this parallel passage is followed by two anecdotes about the *ming* grass and the cassia tree respectively, which explain their relationship with the moon.⁸³ The parallel between the *ming* grass and the cassia tree is also featured in a couplet of the poem on the topic of “moon” (月) by the early Tang poet Li Jiao 李嶠 (?-?), part of a collection of one hundred and twenty poems “on things” (*yongwu* 詠物) that was transmitted in Japan at least from the early ninth century.⁸⁴ In the third couplet, on the other hand, the moon is referred to obliquely by a reference to two anecdotes related to it. The lady Heng’e 姮娥 appears in the *Huainanzǐ* 淮南子 (The Masters of Huainan), where she is described as stealing an immortality elixir and ascending to the palace in the moon.⁸⁵ The anecdote is quoted in the categorically arranged encyclopedia *Yiwen Leiju* 藝文類聚 (Categorized Collection of Arts and Letters, early 7th century), in the “Heaven” (天) section, under the category of “moon” (月).⁸⁶ The “looking rabbit” (顧兔), a rabbit that lives on the moon and looks down to the lower world (i.e. the earth), appears in *Chu Ci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu), in the “Heavenly Questions” (天問) category.⁸⁷ Both terms are used in Prince Toyosaki’s poem to indicate the moon. The poem by Emperor Saga and by Prince Toyosaki thus show two different substantiations of poetic literacy, the former more oriented towards literary creativity (with reference to the original source poem) and the latter firmly based on an exegetical description of the topic through excavation of continental sources, possibly hinting at the differences between the parameters of poetic education within the Imperial Household and in the *keidendō* curriculum at the Bureau of High Education.

More interesting still is the relationship that the examination poems such as Prince Toyosaki’s entertain with Ono no Minemori’s harmonizing poem. Minemori’s poem reads as follows:

反覆天驕性 As the nature of the haughty son of Heaven is unstable,
 元戎馭未安 Even controlling a grand army [the nomad people at the frontier] are not yet pacified.

⁸³ See Kojima, *Kokufū ankoku jidai no bungaku*, ge (II), 3559-60.

⁸⁴ On the role of Li Jiao’s collection in the literary landscape of Heian Japan see Steininger, “Li Jiao’s Songs.”

⁸⁵ *Huainanzǐ* is a collection of philosophical treatises compiled under the patronage of Liu An 劉安 (179-122), Prince of Huainan 淮南.

⁸⁶ *Yiwen Leiju*, 7.

⁸⁷ *Chu Ci*, vol. 3, p. 4.

我行都護道 I travel the road toward the protectorate;
 經陟隴頭難 Climbing the steep path of mount Long.
 水添鞞鼓咽 The muffled sound of water joins that of the horse drums;
 月濕鐵衣寒 The cold light of the moon soaks the suits of armor.
 獨提敕賜劍 I shall only wield the sword bestowed by the sovereign,
 怒髮屢衝冠 Again and again wearing the hair straightened by rage as crown.⁸⁸

This poem deviates substantially from Emperor Saga's poem, perhaps because it takes as reference the final section of Yang Shidao's poem, with which it shares some vocabulary: "Lines of soldiers open the road towards the protectorate; swords assemble in the camp that calms the waves" (陣開都護道、劍聚伏波營). Minemori's poem complements and integrates that by Emperor Saga by expanding on a different section of the original source poem by Yang Shidao, thereby focusing on the army that prepares to face the northern barbarians. Interestingly, the last couplet of Prince Toyosaki's poem echoes the last couplet of Minemori's poem:

誓將天子劍 By pledge holding the sword of the son of Heaven,
 怒髮獨橫行 Let's fight with our hair straightened by the rage. (Prince Toyosaki)

獨提敕賜劍 I shall only wield the sword bestowed by the sovereign,
 怒髮屢衝冠 Again and again wearing the hair straightened by rage as crown. (Ono no Minemori)⁸⁹

Significantly, the examination poem by Minemori's son Ono no Takamura 小野篁 (802-853) also echoes the vocabulary and imagery of his father's poem. Takamura's poem reads as follows:

反覆單于性 As the nature of the nomads' king [chan'yu] is unstable,
 邊城未解兵 In the fortress at the frontier the army is not yet dismantled.
 戍夫朝蓐食 In the morning the soldiers eat their meal on their mats;
 戎馬曉寒鳴 At dawn the war horses cry coldly.
 帶水城門冷 Enclosed by the water the fortress gates are chill;
 添風角韻清 Brought by the wind, the sound of the horn is clear.

⁸⁸ *Bunka shūreishū* 135.

⁸⁹ Minemori's *locus classicus* here is a passage in the exemplary biography (列伝) of Lin Xiangru 藺相如 (?-?) included in *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian). See Kojima, *Kokufū ankoku jidai*, 3563.

隴頭一孤月 On mount Long hangs the solitary moon;
 萬物影云生 It casts the shadows of ten thousand things.
 色滿都護道 Its color fills the road to the protectorate;
 光流依飛營 Its light shines upon the camp of the "apt and volant."
 邊機候侵寇 On the lookout to scout the frontier for signs of an enemy attack,
 應驚此夜明 The soldiers will be startled by the brightness of this night.⁹⁰

Insofar as it devotes only the second half of the poem to the topic of the “autumn moon,” Takamura’s poem significantly deviates from the other Kōnin 13 (822) examination poems on the same topic such as Prince Toyosaki’s. Not only does the first half of the poem describe the army at the frontier, therefore evoking the descriptions in Minemori’s poem; the opening couplet of Takamura’s poem is also resonant with that by Minemori, quoting almost *verbatim* some of Minemori’s vocabulary:

反覆單于性 As the nature of the nomads' king [chan'yu] is unstable,
 邊城未解兵 In the fortress at the frontier the army is not yet dismantled. (Ono no Takamura)

反覆天驕性 As the nature of the haughty son of Heaven is unstable,
 元戎馭未安 Even controlling a grand army [the nomad people at the frontier] are not yet pacified.
 (Ono no Minemori)

Inasmuch as two of the poems by the candidates for the Kōnin 13 (822) *monjōshō* examination borrow vocabulary and imagery from Ono no Minemori’s poem, it must be inferred that by virtue of sharing the same topic of composition Minemori’s poem must have had some degree of cultural authority, so that both Prince Toyosaki and Minemori’s son Takamura included some of his language in their own poems. The authority of Minemori’s poem, conversely, raises the question as to why it was not Emperor’s Saga’s poem the one that was sought after by the *monjōshō* examination candidates. Evidently, for both Prince Toyosaki and Ono no Takamura, the poem by a *kidendō* graduate was more authoritative than the one by the sovereign for some of its language to be incorporated in their examination poetry. The relationship between the poems by Prince Toyosaki and Ono no Takamura with the poem by Ono no Minemori, thus, brings our attention to the relationship between the latter and the poem composed by Emperor Saga. Why was Minemori’s poem more authoritative than Saga’s poem? More generally, therefore, I suggest

⁹⁰ *Keikokushū* 161.

that we should revisit the relationship between the poems produced by the sovereign and those by the *kidendō* graduates who harmonized with him.

One way to revisit the relationship between Emperor Saga's poems and those that harmonized with them is to scrutinize the groups of harmonizing poems that appear in the early ninth-century *shi* collections. The second anthology *Bunka shūreishū* is particularly productive in this respect, as it binds together clusters of poems composed in the same context and arranged by theme (in contrast, for example, with *Ryōunshū* which is organized by author). Consider, for example, the section "love" (*enjo* 艶情) in *Bunka shūreishū*'s second volume, which comprises eleven poems (*Bunka shūreishū* 51-61):

- (51) 奉和春閨怨。 菅原清公
Respectfully harmonizing with [the poem] "Lament of the spring bedchamber" [Sugawara no Kiyotomo]
- (52) 奉和春閨怨。 朝野鹿取
Respectfully harmonizing with [the poem] "Lament of the spring bedchamber" [Asano no Katori]
- (53) 奉和春閨怨。 巨勢識人
Respectfully harmonizing with [the poem] "Lament of the spring bedchamber" [Kose no Shikihito]
- (54) 奉和春情。 巨勢識人
Respectfully harmonizing with [the poem] "Spring feeling" [Kose no Shikihito]
- (55) 和伴姬秋夜閨情。 巨勢識人
Harmonizing with Lady [Ō]tomo's poem "Autumn night, bedchamber feeling" [Kose no Shikihito]
- (56) 長門怨。 御製
Lament at the Changmen Palace [Royal composition]
- (57) 奉和長門怨。 巨勢識人
Respectfully harmonizing with [the poem] "Lament at the Changmen Palace" [Kose no Shikihito]
- (58) 婕妤怨。 御製
Lament of the imperial concubine [Royal composition]
- (59) 奉和婕妤怨。 巨勢識人
Respectfully harmonizing with [the poem] "Lament of the imperial concubine" [Kose no Shikihito]

- (60) 奉和婕妤怨。 桑原腹赤
Respectfully harmonizing with [the poem] “Lament of the imperial concubine” [Kuwahara no Haraka]
- (61) 奉和聽擣衣。 桑原腹赤
Respectfully harmonizing with [the poem] “Hearing the sound of washing clothes” [Kuwahara no Haraka]

As is evident, the sequence is made exclusively by harmonizing poems. With the exclusion of poem no. 55, all poems are by Emperor Saga or by poets harmonizing with a poem by him. However, there is an important difference in the cluster within this sequence. Kose no Shikihito’s poem no. 57 harmonizes with Saga’s poem no. 56, and the poems by Kose no Shikihito and Kuwahara no Haraka (poems no. 59 and 60) harmonize with Saga’s poem no. 58. On the other hand, the remaining clusters (poems 51-53, poem 54, and poem 61) are made by poems that originally harmonized with poems by Saga. However, such poems by Saga are not included in the sequence, either because the compilers actively excluded them or because they did not have access to them. The fact that the original imperial poems with which other poems harmonize are not necessarily included suggests that the principle of inclusion for harmonizing poems in *Bunka shūreishū* did not lie with the centrality of the sovereign’s first poetic utterance. In fact, I would argue that the common denominator underlying the “love” sequence in *Bunka shūreishū* is represented by the harmonizing poems, not by the sovereign’s poems which, as has been seen, are not always included.⁹¹

The fact that the “love” sequence in *Bunka shūreishū* is organized around the harmonizing poems and not built on the sovereign’s original poems suggests that the centrality of the sovereign-courtier harmonizing exchanges might have lied more in the harmonizing poems rather than in the sovereign’s poetry. In other words, when *kidendō* graduates produced poems in harmonization with one by the sovereign, the former carried more cultural weight than the latter. The exclusion of Emperor Saga’s poem from some of the harmonizing exchanges is in contrast with Saga’s overall centrality within the anthology. As a matter of fact, Emperor Saga is the best represented poet in *Bunka shūreishū*, with thirty-four poems in total. However, it is clear that the centrality of the sovereign is counterbalanced in the anthology by giving primacy to the harmonizing poems by *kidendō* graduates in the included sovereign-courtier harmonizing exchanges. The absence of the sovereign’s original poem clearly was not a reason for excluding the harmonizing poems by the *kidendō* graduates participating in the exchange.

⁹¹ This is true for other places in the anthology. For example, *Bunka shūreishū*’s third volume includes a number of harmonizing poems without including Emperor Saga’s original poem.

I would argue, then, that the principle of inclusion in the harmonizing exchanges in *Bunka shūreishū*, which is centered on the harmonizing poems by *kidendō* graduates, testifies to their poetic authority in integrating and complementing the poetic composition by the sovereign. In fact, the harmonizing poems can clearly exist independently from the original poem by the sovereign.⁹² The contrary, however, is not necessarily true. In *Bunka shūreishū*, Emperor Saga's poems hardly exist in isolation. Instead, they are composed at banquet settings, in harmonizing contexts, or part of interpersonal poetic exchanges. Thus, the overall centrality of the *kidendō* graduates' poems goes hand-in-hand with the inability of the sovereign's poetry to stand independently from that of the *kidendō* graduates produced in its proximity. By emphasizing the poetic contribution of *kidendō* graduates in the environment of imperial poetry, the compilers of *Bunka shūreishū* clearly sought to claim the cultural authority of the former in legitimizing and sustaining the latter. In his analysis of a group of imperially-sponsored banquet poetry included in the rhapsody (*fu* 賦) volume of *Keikokushū*, Jason Webb describes what he labels as Emperor Saga's "orthodoxy of reception," whereby Saga selected and circulated in his poetry specific continental sources to read and quote, to which the summoned attendants responded by incorporating the same sources in their poems.⁹³ In this light, the sovereign becomes the center of a systematic mode of composing poetry that is duly followed by the participating poets. When we shift the weight towards the *kidendō* graduates surrounding the sovereign, as suggested by the harmonizing poetry sequences in *Bunka shūreishū*, however, the sovereign becomes the recipient of the cultural legitimation offered by expert poets that quote and recirculate his language, thereby sustaining and solidifying the poetic product of the sovereign. I call this the "imperial mode" of poetic production, in which poetry needs to be supported by the poetry of poetic experts such as *kidendō* graduates.

As exemplified by the harmonizing poetry clusters in *Bunka shūreishū*, the claimed authority of the *kidendō* graduates who participated in the imperial poetic activity becomes a productive framework to reimagine the role of poetic tutors to sovereign and crown princes such as Ono no Minemori and Sugawara no Michizane, as well as the role of *monnin* summoned at imperially-sponsored banquets to provide poetry for the sovereign. As poetry banquets are normally interpreted as court rituals centered on the reaffirmation of imperial power, the role of poets

⁹² Also in the small anthology *Zatsugon hōwa* 雑言奉和 (Harmonizing Poetry in Miscellaneous Verses), the first five poems harmonize with an original poem by Emperor Saga. The poem by Saga, however, is absent from the collection.

⁹³ Webb, "In Good Order," 216-29.

producing poetry on a topic bestowed by the sovereign is interpreted as symbolizing the bureaucratic activity of court officials ostensibly supervised by the sovereign and as an act that simultaneously reinforces the power-gap between the sovereign and his vassals.⁹⁴ As the discussion above suggests, however, the poetry produced by *kidendō* graduates should be seen as a necessary product aimed at sustaining and legitimizing the authority of the sovereign. Within the “imperial mode” of poetic production, the early Heian Imperial Household is at the same time the center of the imperially-sponsored cultural activity and the recipient of legitimization by attendant *kidendō* graduates. When we translate this cultural activity into a claim of political and ritual authority, then such authority becomes the product of a negotiation between the agency of the sovereign and the legitimizing role of the *kidendō* graduates involved in such cultural activities. By extension, imperial power at early Heian poetry banquets can only be reaffirmed with the participation of *monnin* who provide the necessary cultural capital that legitimizes and supports the sovereign and the Imperial Household.

Furthermore, the role of *kidendō* graduates and *monnin* surrounding the sovereign and supplying cultural capital in the form of Sinitic poetry is a useful framework to appreciate the activity of the members of the Sugawara House for the Imperial Household during the early Heian period. In the next section of this chapter, I will analyze the relationship between the Sugawara House and the Imperial Household in terms of poetic service of the former to the latter, as well as in terms of the cultural legitimacy derived by the latter from the former in the course of the late ninth and tenth century, as exemplified by the cultural phenomenon of the imperial excursions to the Suzaku-in mansion.

2. The Suzaku-in Cultural Sphere

On the third day of the first month of Shōtai 2 (899), Emperor Daigo 醍醐 (885-930, r. 897-930) “progressed to the Suzaku-in to pay filial respects to the retired sovereign and thereby enter the new year. Poetry was composed on the topic *plum blossoms in the garden*.”⁹⁵ Retired Emperor Uda 宇多 (867-931, r. 887-897) had officially moved to his new residence at Suzaku-in in the spring

⁹⁴ For an analysis of early Heian poetry banquets as rituals see Webb, “In Good Order,” 77-92; Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 51-59; For a discussion of the changes occurred from the mid-Heian period see Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 47-61.

⁹⁵ *Nihon kiryaku*, Shōtai 2 (899)/1/3.

of the year before.⁹⁶ The so-called “filial progress” (*chōkin no gyōkō* 朝覲行幸) was held as one of the ceremonies to celebrate the beginning of the new year. On this occasion, the current sovereign visited the residence of his father or his mother to pay homage.⁹⁷ By having the sovereign visiting his parents at their residences as one institutional ceremony connected to the auspicious beginning of the year, the *chōkin no gyōkō* identified the retired sovereign as the head of the imperial family and configured the latter as a household spread out across different sites of power.

One poem from Daigo’s visit in Shōtai 2 survives in Sugawara no Michizane’s *Kanke bunsō*:

笑松嘲竹獨寒身 Laughing at the pine and teasing the bamboo for still quivering in the cold:
 看是梅花絕不鄰 Look! The plum blossoms have never mingled.
 何事繁華今日陪 How marvelous that these luxuriant flowers attend today;
 一朝應過二天春 This one day they shall enjoy a double heavenly spring.⁹⁸

The Shōtai 2 imperial progress brings together three elements that would identify one specific cultural institution during the tenth century: first, a ceremony associated with the Imperial Household; second, an imperial progress to the Suzaku-in residence; third, the participation of a member of the Sugawara House in the capacity of poetry producer. The connection of these three elements constitutes what I call the “Suzaku-in cultural sphere.” This particular environment of cultural production flourished during the tenth century and was sustained by a consistent association between the Sugawara House and the Imperial Household in terms of the poetic service required by the latter from the former. The interconnection among the Sugawara House, the Imperial Household, and the composition of Sinitic poetry thus ties together two characteristics of the cultural environment of the early Heian period: poetry as a cultural practice associated with the Imperial Household and poetry as a cultural asset of the Sugawara House. Approaching the Suzaku-in cultural sphere as one institution around which these two aspects coalesced during the tenth century provides insight into the ways in which the Sugawara House claimed and maintained authority over the cultural field of imperially-sponsored Sinitic poetry.

The large number of poems from Uda’s household banquets anthologized in Michizane’s *Kanke bunsō* collection testifies to the latter’s continued connection with the Imperial Household

⁹⁶ *Nihon kiryaku*, Shōtai 1 (898)/2/17.

⁹⁷ The first iteration of the *chōkin no gyōkō* appears in *Ruiji kokushi* 類聚国史 (Categorized History of the Realm), the historiographical work compiled by the *kidendō* scholar Sugawara no Michizane, in Daidō 4 (809). Historical evidence suggests that the event was systematized and began to be held annually from the beginning of the Jōwa era (834-848). See further Sako, “Chōkin no gyōkō ni miru tennō to girei.”

⁹⁸ *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 452.

in terms of literary service. The original inclusion of the collected works of his father and grandfather in the collection presented by Michizane to the throne can be seen as one means to reinforce this connection for both Michizane as an individual and for the Sugawara House as a lineage. This connection would remain solid in the generations after Michizane. As a matter of fact, sources are sufficient to make clear the connection between the Sugawara House and the Imperial Household in the generations after Michizane. Integrally transmitted work by his descendants, such as his son Sugawara no Atsushige 菅原淳茂 (?-926) and grandsons Sugawara no Fumitoki 菅原文時 (899-981), and Sugawara no Masanori 菅原雅規 (?-979), are sparsely represented in the mid-Heian literary anthologies that include early Heian material, such as *Honchō monzui* 本朝文粹 («Literary Essence of This Court», ca 1060). However, quite a few excerpts of their poems are found in categorically arranged couplet collections such as Fujiwara no Kintō's 藤原公任 *Wakan rōeishū* 和漢朗詠集 («Collection of Japanese and Chinese Verses for Chanting», early 11th century) and the anonymous *Ruijū kudaisbō* 類聚句題抄 («Excerpts of Classified Topic-Line Poetry», 11th century). While the strategies of selection and arrangement often make it difficult or impossible to discern the historical context of the literary material included therein, these works nonetheless attest to continued official poetic activity by members of the Sugawara House through the mid-tenth century.⁹⁹

In particular, one little-known anthology provisionally titled *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui* 平安朝佚名詩序集拔萃 (Refined Excerpts from an Anonymous Preface Collection of the Heian Court, ca early 13th century) offers precious material that allows to put in a tight connection the literary service provided by the members of the Sugawara House with the imperial progresses held in the course of the tenth century. In the next sections, I will discuss the evolution of imperial progresses and the shift from the Shinsen'en park to the Suzaku-in villa, to then present and analyze the official procedure of the imperial progress to Suzaku-in as codified in the ritual manual *Shingishiki* 新儀式 (New Ritual Procedures). Lastly, I will illustrate the connection between the Sugawara House and the Imperial Household by reading the texts included in *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui*, and finally move to discuss the evolution of the Suzaku-in cultural sphere in the late tenth century, when a new socio-political order centered on the Northern branch of the Fujiwara clan and its residences was being systematized.

The Early Heian Imperial Progress: From Shinsen'en to Suzaku-in

⁹⁹ The anthology *Ruijū kudaisbō*, for example, appears to draw primarily from poems composed at imperially-sponsored banquets of the early Heian period (ninth and tenth centuries).

Excursions beyond the imperial palace were a powerful means to affirm power. Progresses to nearby provinces, to shrines and detached palaces, as well as hunting excursions, were not only an occasion for “the display of the sovereign and his or her entourage but also for the presentation of the ruler’s grace.”¹⁰⁰ At times, the composition of Sinitic poetry accompanied these events. The oldest extant poetry anthology *Kaifūsō* 懷風藻 (Poetic Gems Cherishing the Styles of Old, 751), for example, includes a number of poems composed in the occasion of royal excursions to the Yoshino 吉野 detached palace.¹⁰¹

From the beginning of the Heian period, excursions outside the imperial palace included progresses to the newly built Shinsen’en 神泉苑 park (Park of the Divine Spring) south of the imperial court. The Shinsen’en park seems to have originated as a sort of detached official venue for imperial institutional activity, functioning as a *de facto* extension of the imperial palace.¹⁰² During the reign of Emperor Saga 嵯峨 (786-842, r. 809-823), poetic banquets were by default held at the Shinsen’en park. The rhetoric of some surviving poems from those banquets imply that the park functioned as an enclosure of the realm outside the capital region, insofar as the park was described as resembling the Jiangnan 江南 south of the Tang capital.¹⁰³ By visiting the park, the sovereign would therefore symbolically travel across his realm and consume the wealth of the land.¹⁰⁴ The Shinsen’en park thus became the privileged site for imperially sponsored poetic activity during the early ninth century. After Saga’s abdication, the venue of imperial banquets gradually shifted towards the imperial palace. The Double Nine banquet of Tenchō 8

¹⁰⁰ Ruppert, “Royal Progresses to Shrines.”

¹⁰¹ The imperial visits to Yoshino were a cultural staple of Empress Jitō’s 持統 (645-703, r. 690-697) reign. See Duthie, “Yoshino and the Politics of Cultural Topography” for a thorough analysis of the texts, including the Sinitic poetry of *Kaifūsō*, associated with Yoshino in early Japan.

¹⁰² The Shinsen’en park, which occupied a large space south-east of the Imperial Palace, was formally created by Emperor Kanmu at the time of the construction of the new capital city of Heian at the end of the eighth century. However, the park seems to have originated as gradual reorganization of a portion of the imperial palace where the quarters of the Crown Prince were located by the late Nara period, when this space was already used for banquets and public events. With the transfer of the capital city from Heijō to Nagaoka and then to Heian, this space was eventually detached from the palace and transformed into a park; see Yoshino, “Shinsen’en no tanjō.” The similarities in the architecture of the structures in Shinsen’en with those in the public spaces of the imperial court, such as the Buraku-in 豊楽院, a hall originally conceived to host entertainment, ceremonies, and banquets, further reinforce the connection between the park and the imperial palace; see Yamada, “Kyūseiki no kodai ōken to kin’en.”

¹⁰³ Ijitsu, “Shoki Heiankyō no bungaku kūkan.”

¹⁰⁴ From the reign of Emperor Saga, new means of symbolically consuming the realm were implemented such as the representations of landscape in screen paintings; see Heldt, *The Pursuit of Harmony*, 248-253.

(831), for example, was for the first time performed in the Shishinden 紫宸殿 (Purple Imperial Hall) hall of the imperial palace, and was subsequently held there during the early Heian period until it was cancelled in Enchō 8 (930) due to proximity to Emperor Daigo's death. During Emperor Montoku's reign, imperial activity further retracted inside the residential palace.¹⁰⁵

Imperial visits to the Shinsen'en park were re-enacted from the reign of Emperor Kōkō 光孝 (830-887, r. 884-887) and became more frequent during the reign of his son Uda 宇多 (867-931, r. 887-897).¹⁰⁶ In the first reiteration of the Shinsen'en imperial progress by Emperor Kōkō, the composition of Sinitic poetry featured prominently as a banquet was held at which forty *monnin* were summoned to provide poems.¹⁰⁷ The personal collection of the *kidendō* scholar Sugawara no Michizane *Kanke bunsō* (The Literary Drafts of the Sugawara House, 900) includes a number of poems presented on the occasion of Uda's visits to Shinsen'en.¹⁰⁸ During the reign of Emperor Daigo 醍醐 (885-930, r. 897-930), however, a shift occurred as the preferred site for imperial progresses gradually moved to the Suzaku-in 朱雀院 palace. The Suzaku-in palace was originally built by Emperor Saga.¹⁰⁹ In the late ninth century, however, Uda renovated the premises and established his residence there after his abdication. Afterwards, the Suzaku-in became the privileged residence for retired sovereigns.

Perhaps due to its status as a palace connected with the Imperial Household, the Suzaku-in gradually substituted the Shinsen'en as the preferred locus of imperial excursions during the Engi era (901-923). Not only poetic banquets, but also other ceremonies were gradually moved to the Suzaku-in, testifying to the gradual shift from the Shinsen'en park to the Suzaku-in palace. One significant instance is the ceremony of the horse parade (競馬). While during the Kanpyō 寛平 (889-898) and early Engi era this event continued to be held at the Shinsen'en, the *Nihon kiryaku* 日本紀略 (Abridged Annals of Japan) records at least three instances when the event was held at the Suzaku-in in Engi 16 (916), Enchō 2 (924), and Enchō 6 (928) respectively. During the reign

¹⁰⁵ Gotō, *Heianchō kanbungakushi ronkō*, 74-100.

¹⁰⁶ The Shinsen'en visits were a powerful means to affirm imperial prerogatives of ritual action and mobility after the death of Chancellor (*dajō daijin* 太政大臣) Fujiwara no Mototsune 藤原基経 (836-891) and the end of the "early Fujiwara regency." On Emperor Uda's increasing mobility during the Kanpyō era, see Sasayama, "Seijishijō no Uda tennō."

¹⁰⁷ *Nihon kiryaku*, Ninna 1 (885)/8/15.

¹⁰⁸ *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 383 and 434.

¹⁰⁹ The first textual evidence related to the Suzaku-in palace dates from Jōwa 承和 3 (836). See Ōta, "Suzaku-in kō."

of Emperor Murakami 村上 (926-967, r. 946-967), the Suzaku-in had definitely taken the place of the Shinsen'en as the place where the horse parade for the sovereign was held.¹¹⁰ The mid-tenth century ritual manual *Shingishiki* 新儀式 (New Ritual Procedures) records the ceremony of the horse parade to be held at Shinsen'en, thereby showing a degree of conservativeness.¹¹¹ However, the text itself points to the sovereign's entrance in the park from the Einei-bō 永寧坊 ward, casting doubts if the actual place was the Shinsen'en or the Suzaku-in. The Einei-bō ward, as a matter of fact, extended on the west side of the capital from the third to the fourth avenue, matching precisely with the position of the Suzaku-in.¹¹²

Royal excursions during which Sinitic poetry was composed remained a cultural phenomenon throughout the early Heian period. From the early tenth century, the Suzaku-in became the preferred site for this kind of activity. In the autumn of Engi 16 (916), Emperor Daigo progressed to the Suzaku-in where he held a poetry banquet together with an extraordinary selection of literature students (*monjōshō* 文章生) by means of poetic composition. This particular event would lay the foundations for what I call "the Suzaku-in cultural sphere," a cultural institution that brought together poetic activity sponsored by the Imperial Household and the literary service provided by members of the Sugawara House.

The Suzaku-in Imperial Progress

Imperial progresses and the poetic activity that took place on those occasions loomed large in Heian imagination. The two mid-Heian long narrative works *Utsubo monogatari* (Tale of a Tree Hollow, late 10th century) and *Genji monogatari* (The Tale of Genji, early 11th century) both offer depictions of these ceremonies. In *Utsubo monogatari* the character Fujiwara no Sufusa 藤原季英 is at the center of such representation. Probably representing the frustrations and the aspirations of a particular class of *daigakuryō* students, as an impoverished student languishing at the Fujiwara-administered annex school Kangaku-in 勸学院, Sufusa gravitates around the Bureau of High Education without ever succeeding to enter the *kidendō* curriculum.¹¹³ By the end of the

¹¹⁰ There are four references to the horse parade held at Suzaku-in in *Nihon kiryaku* for the dates of Tenryaku 1 (947), Tenryaku 3 (949), Ōwa 3 (963), and Kōhō 2 (965).

¹¹¹ *Shingishiki*, 233-35.

¹¹² The Shinsen'en park was situated on the eastern side, in the Kyōgyō-bō 教業坊 ward.

¹¹³ On the historical Kangaku-in see Momo, *Jōdai gakusei*, 172-74.

tale, Suefusa has undergone a miraculous transformation: in addition to a leading status at the Bureau of High Education, he is also married to one of the daughters of the powerful Minamoto no Masayori 源正頼. One crucial moment for Suefusa's transformation is his recognition by Masayori as a talented poet and his eventual success at passing the *monjōshō* examination. Interestingly, Suefusa's examination takes place during an imperial excursion to the Shinsen'en park, to which both the ruling and the retired sovereigns participate, for the fictitious celebration of the "festival of the autumn leaves" (*momiji no ga* 紅葉賀):

At that point the event began. The *monnin* were bestowed the topic for composition. Nobles, courtiers (*tenjō-bito*), and *monnin* alike all presented their poems at the literary stand. Suefusa was bestowed an examination topic. He alone rode a boat adrift in the pond and crafted a beautiful poem. He thus received the title of Advanced Scholar (*shinshi*), and an imperial decree was emitted to allow him to sit for the Policy Test (*hōryaku*).¹¹⁴

The imperial excursion to Shinsen'en in *Utsubo monogatari* thus involves a sovereign-sponsored banquet as well as the poetry examination for the selection of literature students, which in the passage is administered to Suefusa alone.

Again, a similar event is portrayed in the *Tale of Genji*. Here, the sovereign makes a progress to the Suzaku-in, now the residence of the retired sovereign. Much like in the *Utsubo monogatari* celebration at Shinsen'en, an examination takes place for provisional literature students to be selected as literature students:

After the twentieth of the second month His Majesty made a progress to the Suzaku Palace. [...] No academicians were summoned today, just ten students known for their talent at Chinese poetry. The topic was announced as though for the Ceremonial Bureau examination. [...] The more faint-hearted of the students, numb and helpless, set themselves adrift in boats on the garden lake.¹¹⁵

Both episodes entertain the same features: an imperial progress, a banquet, and an examination for provisional literature students that takes place on boats set adrift in the garden pond. In both fictional narratives, official venues like the Shinsen'en park and detached residences such as the Suzaku-in become the site in which the relationship of the Imperial Household with Sinitic poetry and *kidendō* education is expressed and mediated. As has been seen in the previous section, the Suzaku-in gradually substituted the Shinsen'en park in hosting imperial progresses from the early tenth century. This shift is also represented in the change of setting from the Shinsen'en

¹¹⁴ *Utsubo monogatari*, "Fukiage, ge," 375. My Translation.

¹¹⁵ *Genji monogatari*, "otome," 399 (transl. by Royall Tyler).

park in *Utsubo monogatari* to the Suzaku-in in *Genji monogatari*. Both tales narrate fictional events that are nonetheless grounded in the historical reality of the early Heian court. By taking inspiration from events that used to take place some generations earlier, both the *Utsubo monogatari* and the *Genji monogatari* thus represent the firm relationship between Sinitic poetry, *kidendō* education, and the Imperial Household in early Heian Japan as a form of cultural memory from a recent past.

As a matter of fact, it appears that imperial progresses coupled with *kidendō* examinations were a cultural phenomenon that flourished in the course of the tenth century. The first iteration of this particular ceremony, namely an imperial progress combined with an extraordinary *monjōshō* examination, is recorded in *Nihon kiriyaku* on the date of the twenty-third day of the second month of Kanpyō 8 (896), on the occasion of a royal excursion to the Shinsen'en 神泉苑 park. The entry reads as follows:

廿三日甲戌。天皇幸神泉苑。召文人賦詩。其題花間理管絃。又召學生奉試。賦同題。及第者三人也。

Twenty-third day (Yang Wood Dog): the sovereign progressed to the Shinsen'en park. *Monnin* were summoned to compose on the topic "Tuning the instruments amidst the flowers." Regular students [*gakusshō*] were also summoned, and the examination was administered with a composition on the same topic. Three candidates successfully passed the examination.¹¹⁶

Here, a spring excursion to the Shinsen'en park, with the customary sovereign-sponsored poetry banquet, also becomes an occasion to make the Ministry Test (*shōshi* 省試), that is, the selection of literature students for the *kidendō* curriculum which was by default administered twice per year by the Ministry of Ceremonial Affairs (*shikibu-shō* 式部省), a spectacle for the sovereign and his assembled court.¹¹⁷

The association of a royal excursion with a *monjōshō* examination had no historical precedent and appears to have been an innovation by Emperor Uda, signaling perhaps the interest of the

¹¹⁶ *Nihon kiriyaku*, Kanpyō 8 (896)/2/23. A poem by Sugawara no Michizane composed for this banquet is included in his personal collection *Kanke bunsō*. In *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 434. An excerpt of the preface, drafted by Michizane's son Takami 高視 (876-913) is extant in *Heianchō itsumei shijōshū bassui* 平安朝佚名詩序集拔萃 (Refined Excerpts from an Anonymous Collection of Prefaces of the Heian Court, early 13th century). In *Itsumei shijōshū bassui* 36.

¹¹⁷ At any given time, regular students (*gakusshō*), students officially enrolled at the Bureau of High Education but who had not yet entered the *kidendō* curriculum, were selected with an internal test (*ryōshi* 寮試) as provisional literature students (*gimonjōshō*) to sit for the Ministry Test and become a literature student (*monjōshō*). See Steinger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 134; Momo, *Jōdai gakusei*, 256-60.

sovereign in superintending the specific educational step in the *kidendō* graduates' career that involved poetic composition, thereby strengthening the relationship between Sinitic poetry, *kidendō* education, and the Imperial Household. One interesting outcome of the association between the imperial progress and the *monjōshō* examination is that the examinees were required to compose on the same topic as the *monnin* summoned for the sovereign-sponsored banquet. By superimposing the role of banquet poets to that of examinees, the ceremony effectively created an equivalence between the *kidendō* examination and the performance of the *monnin*. Poetic topics for the *monjōshō* examination were usually extrapolated from the continental classics taught at the Bureau of High Education (*daigakuryō*). Differently from examination topics, which were meant to test the ability of the candidates in expatiating on the topic making competent use of the original source, topics for sovereign-sponsored poetry banquets were normally inspired by seasonal and natural elements and relied on the personal creativity of the poets.¹¹⁸ In the occasion of the excursion to the Shinsen'en park in 896, then, the summoned candidates were tested on an actual banquet topic rather than on a scholastic one that was meant to test their academic knowledge.¹¹⁹ Having candidates compose poems on a topic bestowed for a sovereign-sponsored banquet meant that the latter was their ideal outlet of performance. The test thus administered created a direct bridge connecting the poetic activity sponsored by the Imperial Household and the *kidendō* education. During the early Heian period, therefore, we witness the appearance of a repeated discourse that seeks to bring together the poetic activity taking place around the sovereign and the educational process of *kidendō* graduates.¹²⁰ An event such as the Shinsen'en excursion in 896, in which the *monjōshō* examination is performed in the occasion of an imperial progress, takes the former under the purview of the latter, bringing *kidendō* education in direct connection with the times and places of imperial activity.

In line with the discussion in the previous section, the Suzaku-in villa took the place of the Shinsen'en park in the following recorded iteration of this event. This time, on the twenty-eight

¹¹⁸ In *Sakumon daitai* 作文大体 (Essentials of Composition), topics selected from passages of continental classics were called "substantial topics" (*jitsudai* 実題), while topics about natural scenery were called "empty topics" (*kyōdai* 虚題). See Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 233. The rise of the *kudaishi* (topic-line poetry) genre during the tenth century, which strictly regulated the way the topic had to be dissected and restated in the various lines of the poem, seems to push banquet topics, and the poets' inventiveness, back into a form of regulation and normativity. On the *kudaishi* regulations see Satō, *Kudaishi ronkō*, 1-49.

¹¹⁹ On examination poetry as a genre, see Vedal, "Never Taking a Shortcut."

¹²⁰ A similar discourse is evident in the opening poem sequence in Sugawara no Michizane's *Kanke bunsō*. See chapter two, 49-54.

day of the ninth month of Engi 16 (916), Emperor Daigo 醍醐 (885-930, r. 897-930) progressed to Suzaku-in where he held a poetic banquet together with a *monjōshō* examination. The related entries in *Nihon kiryaku* read as follows:

廿八日庚辰。天皇幸朱雀院。有競馬事。召諸儒文章生。命宴席。題云木落洞庭波。有擬文章生試。題云高風送秋。

Twenty-eighth day (Yang Metal Dragon): the sovereign progressed to Suzaku-in, where a horse race was held. Then all the Confucian scholars and the literature students (*monjōshō*) were summoned and commanded to compose on the topic “Trees drop their leaves on the waves of lake Dongting.” An examination of provisional literature students (*gimonjōshō*) was held on the topic “The high wind sees autumn off.”¹²¹

十月。二日甲申。召諸儒於藏人所。令定申擬文章生試詩等。及第者五人。

Tenth month, second day (Yang Wood Monkey): all the Confucian scholars were summoned at the *kurōdo-dokoro* office to judge the poems presented by the provisional literature students. Five candidates successfully passed the examination.¹²²

In terms of the *monjōshō* examination, the Engi 16 excursion seems to have been more conservative than its first iteration at Shinsen'en. The examination topic, as a matter of fact, is not the same as that bestowed to the *monnin* at the sovereign-sponsored banquet, but is extrapolated from a text included in the anthology *Wen Xuan* 文選 (Selections of wen), a work widely read within the *kidendō* curriculum.¹²³ While the examination topic for the Kanpyō 8 excursion to the Shinsen'en park merged the candidates with the banquet *monnin*, the examination topic for the Engi 16 royal progress thus tied the testing of the candidates back to its default scholarly environment.

Moreover, here the second entry provides another important detail, namely that the poems presented by the provisional literature students were judged by Confucian scholars at the Chamberlain's Office (*kurōdo-dokoro* 藏人所). As the personal secretariat office for the Imperial Household, the Chamberlain's Office administered all matters concerning the sovereign and, during the ninth century, it had come to acquire a growing political importance. Particularly during the reign of Emperor Uda in the late ninth-century, Chamberlains obtained political relevance as the system of *shōden* 昇殿 (“hall attendance”), that is, admittance to the private

¹²¹ *Nihon kiryaku*, Engi 16 (916)/9/28.

¹²² *Nihon kiryaku*, Engi 16 (916)/10/2.

¹²³ Specifically, the topic comes from Zhang Xie's 張協 (?-307?) “Seven Commands” (七命).

residential quarters of the sovereign, became a significant means to acquire and differentiate status at court.¹²⁴ As has been seen, the Chamberlain's Office also had a significant role as a site of literary activity and learning.¹²⁵ The judgement of examination poems by Confucian scholars was by default carried out at the Ministry of Ceremonial, where the examination took place twice a year.¹²⁶ That the judgement part was held at the Chamberlain's Office suggests that, in like manner to the examination which took place in the occasion of an imperial progress, the educational activity of Confucian scholars at the Bureau of High Education too could become the object of imperial scrutiny. Thus, in the case of extraordinary *monjōshō* examinations during royal excursions, a connecting line was created between the Imperial Household and the institutions of the *kidendō*.

While no literary representation of the Engi 16 (916) excursion is extant, it is precisely this event that became the basis upon which the imperial progress to Suzaku-in was systematized in the ceremonial manual *Shingishiki* (New Ritual Procedures).¹²⁷ In the next section, I provide a translation and a brief analysis of the *Shingishiki* entry pertaining to the imperial progress to the Suzaku-in *cum* provisional literature student examination.

The *Shingishiki* Ritual Procedures

One way to get a deeper understanding of the Suzaku-in imperial progress is to look at contemporary official ritual procedures. The *Shingishiki* (New Ritual Procedures), an official ritual manual which was presumably compiled during the Kōhō 康保 era (964-968), records a series of ceremonies that had been gradually *de facto* institutionalized during the first half of the tenth century.¹²⁸ One such ceremony is, in fact, the imperial progress to Suzaku-in combined with the

¹²⁴ On the gradual systematization of the *shōden* system and the attendance to the sovereign's private quarters (*tenjō* 殿上) during the reign of Emperor Uda, see Furuse, *Nibon kodai ōken to gishiki*, 342-52.

¹²⁵ Kudō, *Heianchō ritsuryō shakai*, 25-49.

¹²⁶ *Engishiki*, 487.

¹²⁷ In addition to the *Nibon kiriyaku* entries, couplets from examination poems by three successful candidates survive in the late 13th century *Genji monogatari* commentary *Shimeishō* 紫明抄 (“Notes on Explicating Murasaki”). The verses have been collected by Gotō Akio in his supplement to the late Edo period *Nibon shiki* 日本詩紀 (Chronicles of Japanese Sinitic Poetry). The three known successful candidates were the renowned scholar Ōe no Koretoki 大江維時 (888-963) and the otherwise unknown Harubuchi no Yoshinori 春淵良規 (?-?) and Fujiwara no Harufusa 藤原春房 (?-?). See Gotō, *Nibon shiki shūi*, 12, 115, and 151.

¹²⁸ The *Shingishiki* was probably compiled under the command of Emperor Murakami (926-967, r. 946-967). On the basis of similarities between the manual *Seiryōki* 清涼記 (Records of [the Hall of] Purity and Coolness), which survives only in fragments, it has also been supposed that the authorship might be by Emperor Murakami himself. See further Shimizu, “Seiryōki to Shingishiki.”

extraordinary summons of provisional literature students (*gimonjōshō* 擬文章生) and the administration of the *monjōshō* examination to select literature students for the *kidendō* curriculum.

The entry for the Suzaku-in imperial progress in *Shingishiki* can roughly be divided in nine parts:

- 1) The preparation of the premises at Suzaku-in.
- 2) The arrival of the sovereign and the horse parade.
- 3) The entrance and disposition of the participants.
- 4) The organization of poetic composition.
- 5) The preparation and offering of meals.
- 6) The recitation of presented poems.
- 7) The bestowal of stipends.
- 8) The sovereign's return to the residential palace.
- 9) The judgement of the examination poems.

The Suzaku-in imperial progress in *Shingishiki* thus unfolds as follows:¹²⁹

行幸朱雀院召文人并試擬文章生事

Imperial progress to Suzaku-in with summons of the *monnin*, together with the provisional literature student examination.

1) Preparation of the premises:

- a) 前一日。上卿奉仰。召仰可有行幸之事。并召仰明日可参文人并擬文章生之事。
One day before [the event], the appointed Master of Ceremony proclaims that the imperial progress is to be held, and summons the *monnin* who have been selected to participate to the event together with the provisional literature students.
- b) 所司装束馬場殿并栢殿。
The officials prepare in advance the Umabadono and the Kaedono [Hyakuryōden 栢梁殿].
- c) 馬場殿儀同上。
The preparation of the Umabadono is conducted as above [the imperial progress to Shinsen'en to watch the horse races].
- d) 又栢殿母屋北辺立度御屏風。
As for the Kaedono, royal folding screens are installed in the northern section of the main building.
- e) 中央間立大床子御座。
In the central space a big low bench is placed for the imperial seat.

¹²⁹ The original text is in *Shingishiki*, 235-36.

- f) 南廂從東第三柱下北折。至第四柱下敷置。為親王公卿座。〈親王大臣西上北面。納言宰相南上北面。〉

In the southern corridor, from below the third pillar bending north to the fourth pillar, mats are laid down. These are the seats for princes and nobles. (princes and ministers sit in the west side facing north; controllers and councilors sit in the south side facing north.)

- g) 南廂西戶外為采女候所。

Outside the western gate in the southern corridor is the attending place for the maidens-in-waiting.

- h) 東池上橋以東敷置為文人座。〈南上西面。〉

Above the eastern pond and east of the *tachibana* tree mats are laid down as seats for the *monnin*. (They sit in the south side facing west.)

- i) 南池中堤上鋪置為擬文章生座。〈北面西上。〉

On the bank in the middle of the southern pond mats are laid down as seats for the provisional literature students. (They sit in the west side facing north.)

2) Arrival of the sovereign and horse parade:

- a) 当日行幸之儀。皆同上条。

On the appointed day, the rite of the imperial progress [to Suzaku-in] unfolds as the above entry [imperial progress to Shinsen'en to watch the horse races]

- b) 先御馬場殿。

First, the sovereign arrives at the Umabadono [the pavilion in the middle of the racing grounds]

- c) 近衛次將執御劍璽。置御座邊。鈴等候北廂。

The Lieutenant General of the Imperial Guards holds the sacred sword and jewels and places them near the imperial seat. Bells are equipped in the northern corridor.

- d) 時刻上卿依召參上。

At the established time, the Master of Ceremony is summoned to appear [near the sovereign].

- e) 左右近衛官人舍人等騎十列并今年各六疋北上。〈右近衛官人舍人趨度馳道、如四月駒牽日儀、又先左十列、次右駒、先是皆候御厩。〉

Imperial Guards of the Left and Right, officials, and valets ride aligned in ten columns, six horses each, and proceed north. (Imperial Guards of the Right, officials, and valets gallop along the racing grounds in the same way as the rite of the horse-presenting day in the fourth month (*komabiki*). First the ten columns of the lefts, then the horses of the right. Before this, they all attend to the royal stables.)

3) Entrance and disposition of participants:

- a) 一々馳畢。召腰輿御栢殿。

As soon as the race is over, the imperial carriage is summoned and arrives at the Kaedono [Hyakuryōden].

- b) 宸儀御座定後。左近衛陣殿良方。右近衛陣坤方。
After the imperial seat has been determined, the Imperial Guards of the Left are positioned to the North-East, while the Imperial Guards of the Right to the South-West.
 - c) 大臣依召參上。自東階侍座。
The Grand Minister is summoned to appear. He climbs the eastern stairs and attends to his seat.
 - d) 次親王以下參議以上參上。
Next, those from imperial princes to councilors appear.
 - e) 召文人。文人擬文章生等着座。
Monnin are summoned. *Monnin* and provisional literature students take their seats.
- 4) Organization of poetic composition:
- a) 圖書寮供御硯。近衛次將二人舁之立御座西邊。
The Bureau of Books and Drawings [Zushoryō] provides the royal inkstone and stationery. Two Lieutenants of the Imperial Guard carry them and position them west of the imperial seat.
 - b) 內藏寮王卿以下給紙筆。〈殿上寮官次將相副給之。地下寮六位官人給之。〉
The Palace Storehouse Bureau provides paper and brushes for princes and nobles and below. (For courtiers sitting in the hall [*tenjō*], officials serving in the Bureau assist the Lieutenants and provide them; for those sitting in the lower grounds [*jūge*], officials of the Bureau of sixth rank provide them.)
 - c) 次上卿奉仰召第一儒士。應召參上。
Next, the Master of Ceremony requests that the senior Confucian scholar be summoned, and he is summoned to appear.
 - d) 自東階候大臣後。大臣仰。可獻題。
After he has climbed the eastern stairs and attended to the Grand Minister, the Grand Minister commands him to present a topic [for poetry composition].
 - e) 給前筆硯令書之。
He is bestowed brush and inkstone to write it down.
 - f) 書訖。上卿執而進獻之。
After the topic has been written down, the convenor takes it and presents it [to the sovereign].
 - g) 御覽訖返給。為文人以上題。
As the sovereign checks it and returns it, this becomes the topic for *monnin* and above.
 - h) 次御書勅題給上卿。
Next, the sovereign produces a topic and bestows it to the convenor.

- i) 上卿給而喚召殿上侍臣五位二人。〈延喜十六年。左衛門權佐伊望。左兵衛權佐希也。〉
The Master of Ceremony calls upon two fifth-rank attending courtiers [*tenjō jishin*] and bestows the topic. (In the sixteenth year of the Engi era, the courtiers were Supernumerary Assistant to the Left Gate Guards [Taira no] Koremochi and Supernumerary Assistant to the Left Military Guards [Minamoto no] Nozomu.)
- 1) 為勅使令賜擬文章生。
The two act as imperial messengers to bestow [the topic] to the provisional literature students.
- m) 勅使下題之後。陪學生座以東。差退西面而侍。禁衛出入。
After the messengers have delivered the topic, they attend on the east of the students' [*gakushō*] seats, then retreat to the west and attend there, monitoring access through the imperial gates.
- n) 此間內藏寮五位官昇自東階。
In the meantime, fifth-rank officials of the Palace Storehouse Bureau climb from the eastern stairs.
- o) 持豹皮敷南廂御座間。
They bring a leopard skin and lay it down in the southern corridor amidst the imperial sitting space.
- p) 近衛次將二人昇文台立其上。
Two Lieutenants of the Imperial Guard carry the [writing] desk and place it on the skin.
- q) 六位官人出自殿東。敷虎皮於中庭。
Officials of sixth rank leave the pavilion from the east and lay down a tiger skin at the center of the garden.
- r) 掃部寮立文台。
The Bureau of Housekeeping [*Kamonryō*] places a [writing] desk on it.
- 5) Preparation and offering of the meals:
- a) 又進物所供御膳。
Then the royal meal is prepared and offered.
- b) 侍從厨家給王卿饌。〈侍從參上益送。〉
The chamberlains' kitchen offers meals to princes and nobles. (Chamberlains appear to serve the meals.)
- c) 內藏寮賜文人饗後設南方饗。
After the Palace Storehouse Bureau has bestowed drinks to the *monnin*, a banquet is set on the southern grounds.
- d) 穀倉院設女官饌。
The Imperial Granary [*Kokusōin*] prepares the meals for the female officials.
- 6) Recitation of presented poems:

- a) 晚景。文人等進以獻詩。〈延喜十六年、此間伶人乘船奏管絃。〉
When night descends, the *monnin* present their poems. (On the sixteenth year of the Engi era, in the meantime the music players were riding on boats playing instruments.)
- b) 擬文章生獻詩。
The provisional literature students present their poems.
- c) 訖書司供御琴二張。
At the end, scribes from the rear court present two royal *koto*.
- d) 式部輔執庭中文台筥。進於階下如常。
The Assistant to the Minister of Ceremonial brings the box of the [writing] desk from the center of the garden to under the stairs as is customary.
- e) 次次將執殿上文台筥。
Next, the Lieutenant [of the Imperial Guard] brings the box of the courtier [writing] desk.
- f) 令儒士堪其事者。於御前令講之。〈延喜十六年。只講序并王卿及擬文章生詩。不讀文人等詩。〉
A Confucian scholar proficient in this matter is commanded to read aloud the poems before the sovereign. (In the sixteenth year of the Engi era, only the preface, the poems of princes and nobles, and those of the provisional literature students were recited. Poems by the *monnin* were not read.)

7) Bestowal of stipends:

- a) 誦詩之間。近衛次將立殿前唱屬從王卿次侍從及外衛佐以下并擬文章生以上名。給祿有差。〈延喜十六年。王卿唐綾一疋。自余一同給疋絹。侍醫興宗。造酒正高仁等。同闕此恩。件祿盛中取立東庭。〉
While poems are being recited, the Lieutenant of the Imperial Guards stands in front of the pavilion and intones the names of those who accompanied the imperial progress from princes and nobles, assistant chamberlains as well as assistants to the Outer Palace Guards and below to provisional literature students and above. Stipends are bestowed according to rank. (On the sixteenth year of the Engi era, princes and nobles received one scroll of Tang patterned cloth, all the other received equally scrolls of silk. Imperial doctor [Tokihara no] Okimune and Head of the Distillery Office [Fujiwara (?) no] Takayoshi also shared in the imperial benevolence. Said stipends were taken from the central pile and placed in the eastern garden.)

8) Sovereign's return to the residential palace:

- a) 入夜還宮。其儀如例。
When night comes, the procession returns to the palace. This ceremony is held as precedent dictates.
- b) 宸儀御內寢之後。召侍臣令誦儒士文章生等詩。
After the sovereign has retired in his bedchamber, an attendant is summoned to recite the poems of Confucian scholars and literature students [*monjōshō*].

9) Judgement of examination poems:

a) 後日。召諸儒於左仗。令評定擬文章生所獻詩等。

The following day, all Confucian scholars are summoned at the Left Stand of the Imperial Guards to judge the poems presented by the provisional literature students.

The above is a full translation of the ceremonial procedures for the Suzaku-in imperial progress included in *Shingishiki*. As can be seen, the part of the ceremony pertaining to poetic composition is arguably the largest and occupies the central stage, suggesting that the entire event was organized around it. Overall, the *Shingishiki* procedures seem to point to a simplified version of the early Heian institutionalized banquets, the Palace Banquet (*naien*) and the Double Nine Banquet (*chōyō no en*), with a number of actions, such as the pouring of liquor and the dancing entertainment, conspicuously absent.

Two elements, in particular, need to be addressed here: first, the shift from “literature professor” (*monjō bakase* 文章博士) to “senior Confucian scholar” (*daiichi jushi* 第一儒士) in submitting the topic of composition to the sovereign.¹³⁰ As has been seen, the explicit appearance of “literature professors” in mid-tenth century private manuals such as *Seiryōki* 清涼記 (Record of [the Hall of] Purity and Coolness), *Saigyōki* 西宮記 (Record of the Western Palace), and *Hokuzanshō* 北山抄 (Notes of the Northern Mountain) stand in contrast with earlier ninth-century official procedures such as *Gishiki* 儀式 (Ritual Procedures), in which “*monnin* of above fifth rank” and “distinguished scholars” appear in the same function of submitting the topic. I have argued that the shift to “literature professors” in private manuals acknowledged what was already implicit, that is, that the *monjō bakase* were the ideal candidates for distinguished *monnin* of above fifth rank and were therefore *de facto* summoned by default at sovereign-sponsored banquets.¹³¹ The shift to “senior Confucian scholar,” as it appears in *Shingishiki*, seems to abandon the readily identifiable position of current professors of literature to instead add another layer of complexity. In early Heian institutionalized banquets, such as the Palace Banquet (*naien*) and the Double Nine Banquet (*chōyō no en*), both currently employed professors of literature were summoned to provide one topic each.¹³² During the tenth century, and before the *Shingishiki* was

¹³⁰ There is a parallel in *Shingishiki* where “senior *monnin*” is used in the context of the Blossom-Viewing Banquet (*hana no en*), a banquet that was institutionalized during the latter half of Emperor Murakami’s reign. *Shingishiki*, 236.

¹³¹ Note that *monjō bakase* status was raised to Junior fifth rank lower during the reign of Emperor Saga.

¹³² The two topics were then presented to the sovereign, who would choose one and return the other.

compiled, the concept of seniority seems to have gradually influenced the selection of Confucian scholars for certain roles at imperially-sponsored banquets. In the diary of the courtier Fujiwara no Morosuke 藤原師輔 (908-960), *Kyūreki* 九曆 (Calendrical Diary of the Ninth Avenue), a passage illustrates the norms for selecting the composer of the banquet preface for the Lingering Chrysanthemum Banquet (*zangiku no en* 殘菊宴) of Tenryaku 天曆 4 (950). In the passage, the Confucian scholar Mimune no Motonatsu 三統元夏 (fl. 937-957) is asked by Morosuke who should compose the preface, and Motonatsu replies that if one is to follow the seniority in occupying the post of professor of literature, then the scholar Tachibana no Naomoto 橘直幹 (fl. 937-959) should compose.¹³³ The notion of seniority for Confucian scholars at official banquets, by the mid-tenth century, seems to be associated with early occupation of the post of literature professor at the Bureau of High Education. However, different interpretations of past precedents had the potential to alter and disrupt shared common knowledge. In the same passage, Motonatsu also mentions that in the case of the Double Nine Banquet, held up to Enchō 8 (930) but by that time not observed anymore, seniority was assigned to the Confucian scholar who had first passed the *taisaku* civil service examination. Multiple ways to define seniority were therefore at play during the early Heian period.

As Mimune no Motonatsu's anecdote in *Kyūreki* exemplifies, the reliance on notions shared within the community such as that of Confucian scholars' seniority could thus be always confirmed or undermined by principles of precedent. The authority of precedent gradually grew stronger during the tenth century, exerting its influence on all matters of Heian cultural life.¹³⁴ The second element I wish to stress here is thus the repeated emphasis on the precedent of the Engi 16 (916) imperial progress to Suzaku-in in the *Shingishiki* procedures. As a matter of fact, the Engi 16 imperial progress appears as an authoritative example no less than four times in *Shingishiki*'s procedures for the Suzaku-in excursion. The following list catalogues the purpose of the Engi 16 progress entries:

- 1) To name the two historical characters who acted as go-between between the Master of Ceremony and the provisional literature students in order to communicate the topic of composition.
- 2) To specify that music was played during the recitation of the poems.

¹³³ Text is quoted in Steinger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 73.

¹³⁴ By "precedent" I mean here the authority of past events as well as of prior texts. For a discussion of precedent-based textual scholarship at the Heian Bureau of High Education, see Steinger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 157-161.

- 3) To recommend what poems were recited among the presented ones.
- 4) To illustrate the precise nature of the stipends bestowed to the participants.

Most of the entries are directly connected to the part of the banquet pertaining to poetry composition. Among the four entries, number (3) is particularly relevant to the *Shingishiki* procedure. On the one hand, the entry specifies that the poems by the *monnin* were not recited at the Engi 16 banquet; on the other hand, and in a specular manner, the *Shingishiki* procedure recommend that the *monnin* poems be recited at a later moment before the sovereign after the latter has retired to his residential palace. The seamless integration of this specific Engi 16 example points to the foundational nature of this precedent in the construction of the official procedure for the Suzaku-in imperial progress.

From the late ninth century, the weight of authoritative precedents gradually intensified.¹³⁵ Court rites and official matters concerning the daily actions of the sovereign and the nobles around him began to be recorded in diaries (*kei 記*). This practice spread from the Imperial Household to aristocratic clans as a means to record and transmit essential knowledge about proper court conduct.¹³⁶ Tenth-century manuals and procedures about early Heian institutionalized poetry banquets were also affected by the emphasis on authoritative precedent. The manuals *Seiryōki*, *Saigūki*, and *Hokusanshō*, for example, all report the precedent of Tenchō 天長 8 (831) for the selection of the rhyme character by the sovereign at the Double Nine banquet. While the manuals recommend that the sovereign pick the rhyme character by himself, auxiliary notes report differently that in Tenchō 8 the Grand Counselor (*dainagon* 大納言) picked the rhyme character and presented it to the sovereign, a procedure that was also followed in Engi 21 (921).¹³⁷ These manuals, in effect, present valuable information from the time when the Double Nine Banquet was undergoing a certain degree of systematization.¹³⁸ In like manner, the *Shingishiki* procedure looks back at the presumable first historical occurrence of the event in Engi 16 that combined a royal excursion to Suzaku-in with a poetry banquet including an extraordinary *monjōshō* examination.

¹³⁵ See for example Gotō, *Heianchō kanbungakushi*, 57-73, for an overview of the relevance of the Jōwa era (834-848) precedents in articulating Heian cultural life from the late ninth century.

¹³⁶ See further Heldt, “Writing like a man,” for a discussion on the strategic appropriation by the Fujiwara clan of the practice of diary keeping in continuity with the Imperial Household.

¹³⁷ Texts are quoted in Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 213.

¹³⁸ Significantly, Tenchō 8 (831) is also the time when the Double Nine Banquet was transferred from the Shinsen'en park to the Shishinden hall of the imperial palace.

The reference to the Engi 16 excursion to Suzaku-in in the *Shingishiki* procedure, which reports the names of the historical figures who attended the banquet in the capacity of go-betweens to transmit the topic of composition to the provisional literature students, elucidates that authoritative precedent was connected to actions as well as to people and clans. The tenth-century emphasis on the authority of precedent, more specifically, could explain why members of the Sugawara House were repeatedly summoned in the capacity of composers of the banquet prose prefaces at the Suzaku-in imperial progresses. In the next section, I analyze what I call the “Suzaku-in cultural sphere,” that is, a cultural environment centered around imperial progresses that involved a tight interconnection between the Sugawara House, the Imperial Household, and poetry composition.

The Suzaku-in Cultural Sphere: The Sugawara House and the Imperial Household

The Shinsen'en park and later the Suzaku-in imperial progresses were a site where a connection between the Sugawara House and the Imperial Household was established in terms of poetic service of the former to the latter. What I call the “Suzaku-in cultural sphere,” thus, refers as much to a sustained form of cultural activity centered on the sovereign that flourished during the tenth century as to a particular modality of literary activity, one in which members of a specific clan were consistently selected to produce texts for the sovereign. As the *Shingishiki* procedure illustrates, this literary activity took place in a cultural environment that was eventually institutionalized, so that the Suzaku-in imperial progress—and the literary activity of the Sugawara House in it—can be placed in continuity with early Heian institutionalized banquets such as the Palace Banquet (*naien*) and the Double Nine Banquet (*chōyō no en*). As has been seen, a claim of authority over the poetic activity at institutional sites such as early Heian sovereign-sponsored banquets was prominent in texts associated with the Sugawara House. The univocal association between the Sugawara House and the Imperial Household in the occasion of institutionalized activities such as the imperial progresses to Suzaku-in constitutes, in all effects, the ultimate historical actualization of such claims.

A little-known anthology from the late 12th or possibly the early 13th century, known today as *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui* 平安朝佚名詩序集拔萃 (Refined Excerpts from an Anonymous Preface Collection of the Heian Court), offers a glimpse of the stable connection that persisted between the Sugawara House and the Imperial Household and further indicates that such connection was substantiated in the Suzaku-in cultural sphere. This collection does not survive intact, and the transmitted version is probably a reduction of another, possibly earlier

anthology.¹³⁹ Of the two surviving manuscripts, one appears to be a direct descendant of the other.¹⁴⁰ The older manuscript contains some forty excerpts from banquet prefaces (*shijo* 詩序) from the early to the mid-Heian period. Overall, the Sugawara House bulks large in *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui*. In particular, the section of the anthology titled “celebrated [places]” (所譽) includes a sequence of passages from imperial progresses (*gyōkō* 行幸) to parks and villas beyond the imperial palace, among which the Shinsen’en and the Suzaku-in stand out conspicuously. Moreover, nearly all of these excerpts were drafted by members of the Sugawara House. The pieces are all datable thanks to cross-reference with historical works such as *Nihon kiriyaku* 日本紀略 (Abridges Annals of Japan, late 11th century). Three of them, in particular, form a consistent group in two respects. First, they were composed in the occasion of royal excursions to Shinsen’en and Suzaku-in. In two of those occasions, moreover, extraordinary examinations for the selection of literature students (*monjōshō* 文章生) for the *kidendō* curriculum were also held in the presence of the sovereign. Second, the prefaces share rhetorical and grammatical patterns that make these texts a coherent group on a formal and aesthetic level. Interestingly, the prefaces included in *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui* match the historical record by representing all but one of the events recorded in *Nihon kiriyaku* (table 6).

Royal excursions recorded in <i>Nihon kiriyaku</i>	Prefaces included in <i>Itsumei shijoshū bassui</i>
<p>Kanpyō 寛平 8 (896)/2/23¹⁴¹ Emperor Uda’s excursion to Shinsen’en 神泉苑 park. Poetry banquet on the topic: «Tuning the instruments amidst the flowers» (花間理管弦). <i>Monjōshō</i> examination.</p>	<p>Sugawara no Takami 菅原高視 (876-913) Royal progression to Shinsen’en park. [Composing on the topic:] «Tuning the instruments amidst the flowers» (花間理管弦). <i>(Itsumei shijoshū 36)</i>¹⁴²</p>
<p>Engi 延喜 16 (916)/9/28 Emperor Daigo’s excursion to Suzaku-in 朱雀院 villa. Poetry banquet on the topic: «Trees drop their leaves on the waves of Lake Dongting» (木落洞庭波). <i>Monjōshō</i> examination.</p>	<p>(No preface included.)</p>

¹³⁹ Yamazaki, *Chūsei gakumonshi*, 815.

¹⁴⁰ Makino, “Honchō bunshū hensan shiryō.”

¹⁴¹ Following academic convention, dates are expressed in a hybrid system with years given according to their equivalent in the Western calendar and months and days given according to the pre-modern lunar calendar.

¹⁴² The numeration follows the edition in Yamazaki, *Chūsei gakumonshi*, 813-848.

<p>Engi 17 (917)/9/? Emperor Daigo's 醍醐天皇 excursion to Suzaku-in villa. Topic: «Autumn scenery at the forest pond» (林池秋景)</p> <p>Kōhō 康保 2 (965)/10/23 Emperor Murakami's 村上天皇 excursion to Suzaku-in villa. Topic: «Frosted leaves fill the woods with crimson» 霜葉滿林紅). <i>Monjōshō</i> examination.</p>	<p>Sugawara no Atsushige 菅原淳茂 (?-926) Suzaku-in. [Composing on the topic:] «Autumn scenery at the forest pond» (林池秋景). (<i>Itsumei shijoshū</i> 37)</p> <p>Sugawara no Sukemasa 菅原輔正 (925-1009) [Composing on the topic:] «Frosted leaves fill the woods with crimson» (霜葉滿林紅) (<i>Itsumei shijoshū</i> 38)</p>
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Table 6: Cross-reference of recorded royal excursions and *Itsumei shijoshū bassui* prefaces.

In order to highlight the rhetorical and grammatical continuity of these texts, here I present a translation of the relevant passages from the three excerpts:

- a) 天縱清流、縮鏡湖之而設砌。地繞勝趣、移金谷以排扉。

Heaven stands over a limpid stream; it narrows the Mirror Lake within the paved banks. Earth surrounds a superb landscape: it moves the Golden Valley behind the gates.

神泉行幸花間理管弦、菅高視

Imperial progress to Shinsen'en park, "Tuning the instruments amidst the flowers," Suga[wara] no Takami
(*Itsumei shijoshū bassui* 36)

- b) 煙華數尋、縮嵩華於垣牆之裏。沙堤半頃、釣江湖於簾幕之前。

Light spreads amidst the air vapors across several *jin*. It seems like mounts Song and Hua have narrowed within the walls. The gravel bank extends for half a *qing*. It looks like rivers and lakes have stretched before the curtains.

朱雀院林池秋景、淳茂

Suzaku-in, "Autumn scenery at the forest pond," [Sugawara no] Atsushige
(*Itsumei shijoshū bassui* 37)

- c) 風流卜旧、水石煙幽。写白蘋州於河堤之間。縮青草湖於月池之裏。

The air and the streams preserve the appearance of the past; Soft fumes rise from the wet rocks. It seems as though the White Duckweed shores were painted on the riverbank. It looks as though the Greengrass Lake was narrowed in the moonlit pond.

霜葉滿林紅、輔正
“Frosted leaves fill the woods with crimson,” [Sugawara no] Sukemasa
(*Itsumei shijoshū bassui* 38)

As is clear from the correspondences in table 6, the first passage comes from a preface that was composed at Emperor Uda’s imperial progress to Shinsen’en in the spring of Kanpyō 8 (896). The preface was drafted by Sugawara no Michizane’s son Takami 高視 (876-913), by then a scholarship student (*monjō tokugōshō*) in the *kidendō* curriculum. As has been seen in the previous section, an extraordinary *monjōshō* examination was held on this occasion. The second passage is from a preface composed for Emperor Daigo’s imperial progress to Suzaku-in in the ninth month of Engi 17 (917). The preface was composed by another son of Michizane, Atsushige 淳茂 (?-926). No examination was apparently held on this occasion. The third passage comes from a preface written by Atsushige’s grandson Sugawara no Sukemasa 菅原輔正 (925-1009) for Emperor Murakami’s progress to Suzaku-in in the autumn of Kōhō 2 (965). Again, a *monjōshō* examination was held on this occasion.¹⁴³

All three passages show profound similarities in the vocabulary employed as well in their grammatical and syntactical structure. The closest continental pattern to the rhetorical structure such as “it narrows [...] within [...]” as in item (a) by Sugawara no Takami can be found in Sima Xiangru’s 司馬相如 (179-117 BCE) *Zi Xu Fu* 子虛賦 (Sir Vacuous Rhapsody): “[Qi] could swallow eight or nine [parks] like Yunmeng, and they would not even be a splinter or straw in its breast” (吞若雲夢者八九於其胸中曾不帶芥).¹⁴⁴ More interesting than the vertical connection to continental sources, however, is the horizontal relationship with the rhetoric used in other early Heian texts. In particular, the imagery and the grammatical structure employed in the above three excerpts find a significant precedent in two pieces drafted by Sugawara no Michizane, which are included in his personal collection *Kanke bunsō*:

¹⁴³ The topic of composition for the *monjōshō* examination was “Flying leaves float softly with the boats” (飛葉共舟輕). *Nihon kiriyaku*, Kōhō 2 (965)/10/23. The closing couplet from the poem by the successful *monjōshō* candidate Tachibana no Yorihiro 橘倚平 (?-?) survives in *Gōdanshō* (The Ōe Conversations). *Gōdanshō* 4.96.

¹⁴⁴ Knechtges, *Wen Xuan or Selections of Refined Literature*, vol. 2, 69-71. The Yunmeng park was an imperial reserve in a marshy region at the confluence of the Han and Yangzi rivers. See Barbieri-Low and Yates, “Statutes on Salary,” 1061. This continental imagery is explicitly quoted in a preface by the *kidendō* graduate Minamoto no Shitagō 源順 (911-983) for a private excursion to Shinsen’en: “The ground of the red forest stretches far; it swallows the [Yun]meng marsh of Chu in its breast. The water of the green pond is profound; it narrows the Wu river within our eyes” (紅林地広。吞楚夢於胸中。緑池水高。縮吳江於眼下。). *Honchō monzui* 314.

- a) 地縮松江秋水滿 The ground narrows the Pine River, filling the autumn waters;
 人招柳市古風存 People are summoned from the Willow Town, preserving the old customs.
 (Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū 152)
- b) 月浦蕭蕭、分鏡水而繞籬下、砂岸爛爛、縮松江而導階前。
 The moon shines quietly upon the shore; it divides the Mirror Waters winding around the fence. The sand
 glimmers brightly on the bank; it narrows the Pine River leading to the front steps.
 (Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū 443)

Item (a) is the second couplet from the poem presented by Michizane for Emperor Kōkō's 光孝 (830-887, r. 884-887) excursion to the Shinsen'en park in the eighth month of Ninna 1 (885). The excursion was probably held to celebrate the recent completion of the works to renovate the main buildings of the park.¹⁴⁵ Excursions to the Shinsen'en were a staple of Heian ceremonies during the reign of Emperor Saga 嵯峨 (786-842, r. 809-823) but ceased to be held after his abdication. Historiographical records show that these excursions began to be held again with Emperor Kōkō, although renovation of the park seems to have started at least from the reign of Emperor Seiwa 清和 (850-881, r. 858-876).¹⁴⁶ Item (b) comes from a preface presented by Michizane for Retired Emperor Uda's excursion to the nearly renovated Suzaku-in on the tenth day of the ninth month of Kanpyō 9 (897).¹⁴⁷ Both pieces thus collocate the imagery and the grammatical patterns of the *Heianchō itsumei shijōshū bassui* excerpts at the beginning of an efflorescence of excursions to both Shinsen'en and Suzaku-in from late ninth century. Furthermore, this connection is reinforced by the fact that all pieces were composed by members of the Sugawara House, suggesting that a particular context-specific textual erudition might have been transmitted within the Sugawara House down the generations. The rhetoric of these texts is hardly found outside of this corpus, making this form of literary erudition univocally tied to the Sugawara House and to the contexts of imperial excursions.

A second significant aspect that stands out in relation to the *Heianchō itsumei shijōshū* excerpts is the nature of the selection of members of the Sugawara House to compose prefaces for the banquets held in the occasion of an imperial progress. As has been mentioned, prefaces at official banquets were normally composed by Confucian scholars and, in some cases, by scholarship students (*monjō tokugōshō*). As the entry in Fujiwara no Morosuke's diary *Kyūreki* discussed earlier elucidates, prefaces at institutionalized banquets in tenth-century Heian Japan were usually

¹⁴⁵ *Sandai jitsuroku*, Ninna 1 (885)/8/15. The title of Michizane's poem is "First year of Ninna, eighth month, fifteenth day. Imperial progress to the Shinsen'en park. Attendants are summoned and commanded to present one composition each" (仁和元年八月十五日、行幸神泉苑。有詔侍臣。命獻一篇。)

¹⁴⁶ Yamada, "Kyūseiki no kodai ōken to kin'en."

¹⁴⁷ *Nihon kiriyaku*, Kanpyō 9 (897)/9/10. Retired Emperor Uda would then move permanently to Suzaku-in, which thus became his first residence after abdication.

composed by a “senior scholar,” that is, the Confucian scholars who had obtained the position of professor of literature (*monjō bakase*) earlier than the others. At least in the case of the Kōhō 2 (965) imperial progress to Suzaku-in, however, the preface was composed by Sugawara no Sukemasa, Atsushige’s grandson. Sukemasa would only become professor of literature five years later in Tenroku 天禄 1 (970), meaning that he could not possibly be yet considered a “senior scholar.” It is possible therefore that Sukemasa was selected in accordance to precedent: as the grandson of Sugawara no Atsushige, who composed the preface to the Engi 17 excursion to Suzaku-in and likely the one for the Engi 16 excursion (which, as discussed, set the foundation for the *Shingishiki* procedure), Sukemasa was possibly selected on account of his being a descendant of Atsushige and the current holder of the transmission line of this Sugawara House’s context-specific literary erudition. In other words, Sukemasa’s selection as the preface composer was presumably in accordance with the Sugawara House’s historical connection with similar events sponsored by the Imperial Household rather than with the official position he held at the time.

One more hint that the Sugawara House members enjoyed a privileged position at imperially-sponsored banquets can be glimpsed in the closing lines of a preface written by Sugawara no Michizane’s grandson Fumitoki 文時 (899-981) for a banquet held by Emperor Murakami at the temporary imperial residence at Reizei-in 冷泉院 in the spring of Ōwa 1 (961).¹⁴⁸ On this occasion, while the event was not an imperial progress, an extraordinary *monjōshō* examination was held in the premises together with the imperially-sponsored banquet. Significantly, the entry in *Nihon kiryaku* explicitly mentions that the event was held in accordance with the Engi 16 imperial progress to Suzaku-in.¹⁴⁹ The final lines of Fumitoki’s preface read thus as follows:

臣文時籍非煙客、名謝風人。謬以詩家之末塵、叨霑樂池之餘澤。記言者昔勤也、敘事者新貴也。

This servant Fumitoki does not belong to the misty guests, nor his name appears together with the windy people. Being at the dusty margins of the house of poetry, I mistakenly received the exceeding moisture of the graceful pond. Recording the [royal] words was my old job; recounting the events is my new task.

(*Honchō monzui* 300)

¹⁴⁸ Emperor Murakami moved to Reizei-in after a fire damaged the residential palace in Tentoku 天德 4 (960). *Nihon kiryaku*, Tentoku 4 (960)/9/23.

¹⁴⁹ *Nihon kiryaku*, Ōwa 1 (961)/3/5. It appears that this banquet was a “hybrid” event as the entry in *Nihon kiryaku* designates it as “Blossom-Viewing Banquet” (*bana no en* 花宴). The Blossom-Viewing Banquet was institutionalized during the latter half of Emperor Murakami’s reign, and as such it appears in the *Shingishiki* procedures. See Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 254-261.

In these closing lines, Fumitoki asserts that he does not line up with courtier attendants or with the summoned *monnin*.¹⁵⁰ While it is customary for banquet prefaces to close with self-effacing expressions, this passage still constitutes a precious source to appreciate Fumitoki's peculiar position at the Reizei-in banquet.¹⁵¹ By asserting that he has received the benevolence of the sovereign (i.e. he is summoned to the banquet) by virtue of his belonging to a clan mostly associated with poetry production (the "house of poetry"), Fumitoki is claiming a family tradition, namely poetic composition, as the source of a unique relationship with the Imperial Household, one that sets him apart from the other assembled *monnin*. Fumitoki credits his participation to the banquet not to his individual merit but to the reputation of his clan. In Fumitoki's preface, thus, poetry becomes an asset that is specifically associated with the Sugawara House. The text thus creates a solid connection between the Sugawara House, the Imperial Household, and poetic activity. The exceptionality of Fumitoki's position at the banquet is then recalibrated by creating a parallel between the institutional work of an Inner Scribe (*naiiki*) and the task of drafting a banquet preface. By virtue of this connection, writing prefaces at official banquets becomes in Fumitoki's preface an institutional activity in the same way as drafting official documents in the capacity of scribe.

The formal and aesthetic patterns that are shared by the prefaces presented at the imperial progresses and the consistent appearance of members of the Sugawara House as their composers define what I call the "Suzaku-in cultural sphere." This area of cultural activity was therefore primarily defined by three parameters: first, the ceremonial activity sponsored by the Imperial Household; second, the involvement of the Sugawara House; lastly, the composition of Sinitic poetry (and prefaces). Insofar as the same rhetorical patterns and the same human capital appears in association with specific imperially sponsored events, a consistent historical connection is undeniable between these three parameters. The fact that the imperial progress to Suzaku-in came to feature in the mid-tenth century ritual manual *Shingishiki* suggests that it was already held as a de facto institutionalized ceremony during the early tenth century. The performative configuration of the poetic banquets held on the occasion of these excursions can thus be placed in continuity with established institutionalized banquet of the early Heian period, such as the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet. The literary activity of the Sugawara House during the tenth century, therefore, is as much tied to a univocal association with the Imperial

¹⁵⁰ "Misty guests" is one way to refer to the Daoist immortals, yet another way to refer to those admitted to the sovereign's hall. "Windy people" is a fanciful way to indicate poets.

¹⁵¹ See further Kido, "Heian shijo no keishiki," for a discussion on the rise and development of the self-effacing closing segment of Heian banquet prefaces.

Household as it is predicated on the existence of this institutionalized modality of literary production.

The Evolution of the Suzaku-in Cultural Sphere: The Residence on the Eastern Third Avenue

The *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui* anthology includes yet another excerpt from a preface composed by a member of the Sugawara House on the occasion of a tenth-century imperial progress. This time, on the twenty-seventh day of the fourth month of Shōryaku 正曆 3 (992), Emperor Ichijō 一条 (980-1011, r. 986-1011) visited the former residence of his maternal grandfather Fujiwara no Kaneie 藤原兼家 (929-990) at the Eastern Third Avenue (*higashi sanjō tei* 東三条第). As maternal grandfather, Kaneie had acted as regent (*sesshō* 摂政) for young Emperor Ichijō. By the time of Ichijō's visit in 992, however, the *higashi sanjō* residence was now part of a network of mansions owned by Kaneie's son Michinaga 道長 (966-1028). Most importantly, however, the *higashi sanjō* residence was Ichijō's place of birth, and his mother, Kaneie's daughter and imperial consort to Emperor Kazan 花山 (968-1008, r. 984-986) Senshi 詮子 (962-1002), had continued to live there intermittently.¹⁵²

The preface for Ichijō's Shōryaku 3 imperial progress banquet was composed by Sugawara no Sukemasa. The *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui* excerpt reads as follows:

帝里東有甲第。台閣壯麗、林泉幽奇。本是左僕射、翫春花樂秋水之地。今則藤原相、為新山開舊池之場也。

East of the imperial residence there is a superb mansion. The palace stands with magnificent splendor; the spring in the woods cast a tranquil aura. This was originally the place where the Minister of the Left gazed at the spring flowers and enjoyed the autumn waters. Now it is the place where Counselor Fujiwara has raised a new hill and has opened the old pond.

行幸東三条管弦波上曲、輔正

Imperial progress to the residence at the Eastern Third Avenue, "The instruments play a melody above the waves," [Sugawara no] Sukemasa.

(*Isumei shijoshū bassui* 39)

¹⁵² Senshi's presence at the *higashi sanjō* residence must have played an important role for Ichijō's repeated visits to his birthplace. *Nihon kiryaku* dutifully records that by the time of Ichijō's visit in 992, Senshi had moved to the primary residence of Fujiwara no Michinaga, the Residence of the Upper Eastern Gate (*jōtōmon tei* 上東門第). *Nihon kiryaku*, Shōryaku 3 (992)/4/27.

As evident from the excerpt, the preface begins by celebrating Fujiwara no Michinaga's new ownership of the *bigashi sanjō* mansion, and the renovation of the residence's garden could have been the primary reason behind Ichijō's visit at this time. The preface highlights the fact that members of the Sugawara clan were still sought after for their literary service in the occasion of an imperial progress, suggesting a continuity with earlier excursions to the Suzaku-in. Most notably, another, earlier visit by Emperor Ichijō shows a high degree of continuity between the Suzaku-in cultural sphere and the new network of Fujiwara residences that developed from the late tenth century. On the date of the fourteenth day of the tenth month of Eien 永延 1 (987), the *Nihon kiriyaku* records the following entry:

十四日癸卯。天皇行幸攝政兼家東三條第。命行詩宴。題云葉飛水面紅。又召擬文章生。奉試賦詩。題云池岸菊猶鮮。

Fourteenth day (Yin Water Rabbit): the sovereign made a progress to the Eastern Third Avenue residence of the regent Kaneie. He commanded a poetry banquet to be held, with the topic "leaves fly making the water surface crimson." Thus, provisional literature students (*gimonjōshō*) were summoned and subjected to a test by means of poetry composition on the topic "the chrysanthemums shine on the pond's shore."

This imperial progress thus also included an extraordinary *monjōshō* examination, putting Ichijō's visit to Kaneie's *bigashi sanjō* residence in connection with earlier excursions to the Suzaku-in. As the network of residences of Fujiwara regents (*sesshō*) and advisors (*kanpaku* 関白) began to rise as a prominent political site for imperial activity and as the Imperial Household transformed into a Fujiwara-Imperial Household binary familial and political system, the ceremonies that used to be held at imperial detached palaces and residences of retired sovereigns such as the Suzaku-in shifted to these new loci of cultural and political power.¹⁵³ The *bigashi sanjō* residence, in particular, maintained an important position as a site where Emperor Ichijō would make progresses and poetic banquets were held.¹⁵⁴

Unfortunately, it is not known who drafted the preface for the Eien 1 imperial progress *cum monjōshō* examination. As Sugawara no Sukemasa was by that time an affirmed Confucian scholar,

¹⁵³ By the mid-Heian period, for example, aristocratic mansions began to be equipped with racing grounds and pavilions for horse races and parades. Excursions to Shinsen'en park first and to the Suzaku-in later to watch horse parades was a staple of imperial cultural activity during the tenth century. See further Mizoguchi, "Heiankyū - kōin to sekkanke jūtaku no umabadono."

¹⁵⁴ At least one more progress is recorded in *Nihon kiriyaku* on the date of the fourth day of the third month of Kankō 寛弘 3 (1006). *Nihon kiriyaku*, Kankō 3 (1006)/3/4. From the mid-Heian period, the *bigashi sanjō* residence would thus develop into the primary locus of grand-scale ceremonies connected the Fujiwara clan. See further Kawamoto, "Higashi sanjōden to gishiki."

it is possible that he composed the preface.¹⁵⁵ If this is the case, the preface might have shown the same rhetorical devices that are shared by the other excerpts included in *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui*. The personal collection of the Confucian scholar Ōe no Masahira 大江匡衡 (952-1012), *Gō ribōshū* 江吏部集 (Collection of [Assistant to the] Ministry of Ceremonial Ōe) includes several poems composed at events that took place under the sponsorship of Emperor Ichijō and Fujiwara no Michinaga, suggesting that Masahira was a prominent member of the Fujiwara-Imperial Household cultural circle.¹⁵⁶ However, the fact that at least one preface for an imperial progress by Ichijō to the *higashi sanjō* mansion in 992 was written by Sugawara no Sukemasa, with the possibility that Sukemasa also composed the preface for the imperial progress *cum monjōshō* examination at *higashi sanjō* in 987, suggests that by the time the shift was occurring between the Suzaku-in and the Fujiwara residences, the literary service offered by the Sugawara House was still associated with these particular contexts of composition. In other words, the presence of the Sugawara House in those events that testify to the gradual evolution of the late tenth-century imperial progresses (from the Suzaku-in to the *higashi sanjō* mansion) suggests a degree of continuity with earlier practices that connected the Sugawara House with the Imperial Household.

If we think of the early Heian Sugawara House-Imperial Household network as a kind of ecosystem, whereby a cultural environment such as the Suzaku-in cultural sphere is substantiated and sustained by the balanced symbiosis between the two agents, then the banquets that took place on the occasion of Emperor Ichijō's progresses to the Fujiwara *higashi sanjō* residence, with the participation of members of the Sugawara House, point to the resilience of this ecosystem of cultural production, specifically at a time when the political order was beginning to gravitate away from the Imperial Household and towards the new power centers associated with the Northern branch of the Fujiwara House.

Conclusions

¹⁵⁵ A poem from this event is included in the Confucian scholar Ōe no Masahira's 大江匡衡 (952-1012) personal poetry collection *Gō ribōshū* 江吏部集 (Collection of [Assistant to the] Ministry of Ceremonial Ōe). No preface is attached to the poem, suggesting that the preface was composed by someone other than Masahira.

¹⁵⁶ In a headline of a poem, Masahira refers to himself as a retainer of Fujiwara no Michinaga and also points to his grandfather Koretoki 維時 (888-963) being a retainer of Fujiwara no Tadahira 藤原忠平 (880-949) and his ancestor Otondo 音人 (811-877) being a retainer of Fujiwara no Yoshifusa 藤原良房 (804-872), thereby implying that serving the Northern branch of the Fujiwara House was a Ōe family tradition. *Gō ribōshū*, 222.

From the early ninth century, poetic culture at the early Heian court developed in such a way that it became a paramount tool for claiming cultural and political legitimacy. As has been seen, the production of Sinitic poetry in the early Heian period was predicated on the relationship of two primary agents: The Imperial Household and the *kidendō* elite. The latter supplied poetic erudition and training so that the former could oversee the continuous reproduction and circulation of this specific form of cultural capital. In this chapter, I have looked at the various ways in which imperially-sponsored poetic composition, in its configurations of poetry banquets, harmonizing poems, or even imperial progresses, maintained a connection with forms of tutoring and education. If harmonizing poems can be thought of as an indirect form of tutoring by which the sovereign obtained legitimation by means of the harmonization of *kidendō* attendants to his own poem, poetry banquets can also be placed at the very end of a range of pedagogical activities in which the sovereign was exposed to the composition of Sinitic poetry by expert poets. Furthermore, the imperial progress to the Suzaku mansion refashioned together imperially-sponsored poetic banquets and the poetic training of the *kidendō* curriculum, thus coming full circle in the way the *kidendō* elite and the Imperial household became tightly intertwined during the early Heian period.

The tight interconnection between the *kidendō* elite and the Imperial Household suggests that Sinitic poetry in early Heian Japan was a literary domain of a specific socio-political body. Discussing the relationship between the stylistic registers of the vernacular songs in *Man'yōshū* 萬葉集 (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves) and the Sinitic poetry in *Kaifūsō* 懷風藻 (Poetic Gems Cherishing the Style of Old, 751), William Matsuda has proposed that the orthographic styles of the two collections “actually represent different orthographic registers that can be linked to specific lineages or production contexts.”¹⁵⁷ I therefore propose we look at Sinitic poetry in the early Heian period as a particular literary register associated with the Imperial Household, produced and circulated through the continued support of the *kidendō* elite. The interdependence between the Imperial Household and the *kidendō* elite generated cultural and socio-political legitimacy for both parties. On the one hand, the Imperial Household employed poetry as a form of specific cultural capital that ensured the cultural authority of its members. In this way, for example, the literary proficiency of the Crown Prince was a necessary factor to guarantee the latter’s place within the imperial lineage. On the other hand, the continued literary service of the *kidendō* elite to the Imperial Household in a wide range of compositional context ensured the place of learned poets within the early Heian polity. The ability to compose poetry was

¹⁵⁷ Matsuda, “Beyond Religious: Kūkai the Literary Sage.”

fundamental for *kidendō* graduates to establish a solid and productive relationship with the Imperial Household. By mid-tenth century, the major career prospects for *kidendō* graduates were guaranteed by an appointment in the Imperial Household Chamberlain Office (*kurōdo-dokoro*).¹⁵⁸ Significantly, the Chamberlain Office often selected *kidendō* graduates by means of a poetry test.¹⁵⁹

The connection between the Imperial Household and expert poets from the *kidendō* elite is exemplified by the continued summons of members of the Sugawara House to provide poetry at imperial progresses from late ninth century. As members of a clan that claimed poetry as a domain of activity for Confucian scholars, Sugawara no Michizane and his descendants gained cultural and socio-political authority by consistently participating in imperially-sponsored activity. Conversely, the Imperial Household gained cultural and political legitimacy by summoning the same human capital to supply a consistent form of poetic erudition. As will be seen in the next chapter, the interdependence of the Imperial Household and the Sugawara House from late ninth to early tenth century generated a stable ecosystem of literary production in which texts were produced along identifiable formal and social vectors.

¹⁵⁸ Kishino, “Monjōka shusshinsha no ninkan to shōshin.”

¹⁵⁹ An early example is the test administered to the *kidendō* graduates Fujiwara no Hirofumi 藤原博文 (?-929) and Fujiwara no Morokage 藤原諸蔭 (?-?) at the Yubadono 弓場殿 in Engi 2 (902). By passing the test, both Hirofumi and Morokage were admitted in the *kurōdo* office. *Nihon kiryaku*, Engi 2 (902)/10/6; *Gōdanshō* 4.21.

Chapter Four

THE SUGAWARA CENTURY

The Rise and Fall of the Sugawara House

By the mid- and late Heian period, the Sugawara House could boast a solid reputation in terms of its poetic literacy. However, the members of the Sugawara House that were selected and praised in later anthologies were those active in the early Heian period, such as Michizane 道真 (845-903), his son Atsushige 淳茂 (878-926), and his grandson Fumitoki 文時 (899-981). For example, Ōe no Masafusa's 大江匡房 (1041-1111) *Gōdanshō* collects and discusses a substantial number of poetic couplets from these three poets, and the collection goes as far as to say that when it comes to the poetry of the Heian court, the style of Fumitoki is the one that should be mastered.¹ Mid-Heian collections such as Fujiwara no Akihira's 藤原明衡 (?-1066) *Honchō monzui* 本朝文粹 (Literary Essence of Our Court) include a large quantity of early Heian material, most likely as a means to capitalize on the cultural capital of earlier generations of scholarly houses.² As a matter of fact, the Sugawara House is generally well represented in these collections. Specifically, Sugawara no Michizane and his grandson Fumitoki are, respectively, the fourth and third-best represented authors in Akihira's collection. In like manner, Fujiwara no Kintō's 藤原公任 (966-1041) early eleventh century anthology *Wakan rōeishū* 和漢朗詠集 (Collection of Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing) contains a great deal of material from poets belonging to or gravitating around the Sugawara House. All in all, the Sugawara House of the early Heian period loomed large in the memory of mid- and late Heian literary culture.

It appears that already in the early Heian period, starting from Sugawara no Michizane, the Sugawara House was seeking to build a poetic tradition that was supported through a continued reference to the poetic literacy of earlier generations of Sugawara poets. On a general level, the presentation to the throne of Michizane's collection *Kanke bunsō*, together with the collections of his father Koreyoshi 是善 (812-880), *Kan shōkōshū* 菅相公集 (Collection of Councilor Sugawara),

¹ *Gōdanshō* 5.49.

² Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 74-75.

and grandfather Kiyotomo 清公 (770-842), *Kankeshū* 菅家集 (Collection of the Sugawara House), suggests that the poetic literacy represented in Michizane's work was inseparable from that of the larger Sugawara House tradition. More specifically, Michizane would also mention earlier poetry by his father as a precedent upon which to model his own poetry. On the occasion of the celebratory banquet for the conclusion of the lectures on the literary anthology *Wen Xuan* (Selections of *Wen*) in Kanpyō 8 (896), Michizane presented a poem in which he expressed personal feelings, quoting the precedent of his father Koreyoshi doing the same at a *Wen Xuan* lecture banquet held in the Jijū 仁寿 era (851-854).³ Thus, it appears that a self-claimed, field-specific poetic tradition was developing within the Sugawara House starting from the second half of the ninth century.

As has been seen, the late ninth century was characterized by the various claims by members associated with the Sugawara House (Sugawara no Michizane himself, as well as his disciple and friend Ki no Haseo) to a position of authority within the field of activity provided by institutionalized poetry banquets, such as the Palace Banquet (*naien* 内宴) and the Double Nine Banquet (*chōyō no en* 重陽宴), as well as by imperially-sponsored banquets in general, such as the household poetry banquets consistently held by Emperor Uda both before and after abdication. During the tenth century, the relationship between the Sugawara House and the Imperial Household in terms of the poetic service guaranteed by the former to the latter continued in institutionalized venues such as the imperial excursions to the Suzaku-in mansion, a form of ritual that was eventually codified in the tenth-century manual *Shingishiki*. Thus, a stable connection between the Sugawara House and the Imperial Household governed the dynamics of the institutional literary field of poetic activity from the late ninth century to the mid-tenth century. This connection was recognized and valued by later *kidendō* scholars, who sought to represent it in various fashions in their anthologies.

In this chapter, the literary authority of the Sugawara House will be examined in three stages. First, I will discuss the position of the Sugawara House and its relationship with the Imperial Household and institutionalized poetry banquets as a form of cultural ecosystem. In this section,

³ *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 437. A gloss to the title of the poem recites “In the Jijū era, at a celebratory banquet for the conclusion of the *Wen Xuan* lectures, the former lord [Koreyoshi] recited a poem obtaining the topic “the wood-cutter hermits all dwell in the mountain.” In an old-style verse he expressed many personal thoughts. Now I rely on the style of the former lord, speaking my mind and trusting my thought in this poem. Those who will come shall discuss this.” (仁壽年中、文選竟宴、先君詠句、得樵隱俱在山。古調、多敘所懷。予今習先君體、寄詩言志、來者語之。)

I analyze the corpus of the Confucian scholar Ōe no Asatsuna to discuss the ways in which the literary activity of an early Heian *kidendō* graduate who pursued poetry as his main cultural asset was directly and indirectly informed by the context-specific poetic literacy of the Sugawara House. Then I will move on to discuss two mid- and late Heian literary anthologies, *Honchō monzui* and the little known *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui* 平安朝佚名詩序集拔萃 (Refined Excerpts from an Anonymous Preface Collection of the Heian Court), in order to analyze how the Sugawara House is represented therein. Finally, I present a discussion on the early eleventh century poetry anthology *Honchō reiso* 本朝麗藻 (Poetic Masterpieces of Our Court), as a way to discuss the political and cultural transformations that occurred in the late tenth century mid-Heian shift and the relative changes that affected the position of the Sugawara House within the field of poetic production.

1. The Early Heian Ecosystem of Sinitic Poetry

During the early Heian period, and in particular from the late ninth to early tenth century, members of the Sugawara clan consistently appeared in connection to the composition of poetry in literary Sinitic for events sponsored by the Imperial Household. I propose we look at this intimate connection as a phenomenon integral to the distinct early Heian socio-political and cultural ecosystem. Specifically, I posit that this ecosystem was dependent on a particular modality of literary production, namely institutionalized official poetry banquets that were placed on the annual calendar of the early Heian court's ceremonies. The interconnections among the Sugawara House, the Imperial Household, and the composition of Sinitic poetry therefore tie together two characteristics of the cultural environment of the early Heian period: poetry as a cultural practice associated with the Imperial Household and poetry as a cultural asset of the Sugawara House. Approaching the banquets as the institution around which these two aspects coalesced provides insight into the ways in which the Sugawara House claimed and maintained authority over this field of cultural production. Sugawara no Michizane, in particular, can be credited with fashioning the identity of the Sugawara House as the site of a specific mode of Sinitic literacy and performance whose activity was predicated on the model of poetic production integrated into official institutionalized banquets.

As has been seen, the cultural legitimacy of early Heian institutionalized banquets could be projected onto imperially-sponsored poetic activity at large. Michizane, for example, is best known for his participation in the poetry banquets sponsored by Emperor Uda 宇多 (867-931, r.

887-897) both before and after the latter's abdication. Numerous poems composed during Uda's banquets are included in volumes five and six of Michizane's twelve-volume collection *Kanke bunsō*. Moreover, other literary anthologies do point to the participation of several members of the Sugawara House to imperially sponsored poetic banquets during the early tenth century, making the connection between the Imperial Household and the Sugawara House a notable feature of the early Heian period.⁴ The framework of institutionalized banquet culture is therefore particularly useful as a heuristic for analyzing the dynamics of the interactions between the Sugawara House and the Imperial Household. I thus define the early Heian literary ecosystem of Sinitic poetry as an environment of cultural production that pivots on the system of institutionalized poetry banquets. The primary characteristic of this ecosystem, furthermore, is the tight and balanced connection between the Sugawara clan and the Imperial Household. The proposed ecosystem did not necessarily extend onto a mutually legitimizing political relationship, but was mainly anchored in the system of literary production of the time, in which *kidendō* graduates performed as *monnin* (i.e. poetry providers) for the Imperial Household.⁵

While this ecosystem is clearly discernible in the content and structure of Sugawara no Michizane's personal collection *Kanke bunsō*, it in fact extended beyond Michizane well into the tenth century. As a matter of fact, the Sugawara House thrived during the tenth century as a household connected to *kidendō* scholarship, scholarly status, and poetic activity. Starting from Michizane's son Atsushige 淳茂 (878-926) and Michizane's grandsons Arimi 在躬 (?-?), Fumitoki 文時 (899-981) and Masanori 雅規 (?-979), to Michizane's great-grandsons Sukemasa 輔正 (925-1010) and Sukeakira 輔昭 (?-?), numerous members of the Sugawara House maintained the status of Confucian scholars and repeatedly participated to imperially-sponsored poetry banquets.⁶ In this section, however, I will not deal with the poetry produced by the members of the Sugawara House. Instead, I shall focus on one particular Confucian scholar, Ōe no Asatsuna

⁴ The anonymous eleventh century anthology *Ruijū kundaishō* 類聚句題抄 (Collection of Classified Verse-topic Poems), for example, collects in thematic sections a great deal of poetic material composed by members of the Sugawara House. Significantly, *Ruijū kundaishō* collects mainly poetry composed at imperially-sponsored banquets from the early to the mid-Heian period.

⁵ The steady political rise of Sugawara no Michizane, which is in part connected to the literary sponsorship granted by Emperor Uda, seems to be an exceptional historical case. For a discussion of Michizane's political career during the reign of Emperors Uda and Daigo see Borgen, *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court*, 197-226.

⁶ Some research has been conducted on the biography of these Sugawara individuals. See for example Makabe, "Kankeden henja kō" on Michizane's grandson Sugawara no Arimi; Makabe, "Sugawara no Fumitoki den" on Michizane's grandson Sugawara no Fumitoki; Fukui, "Sugawara no Sukeakira kō" on Fumitoki's son Sugawara no Sukeakira.

大江朝綱 (886-957), whose activity as a *kidendō* graduate was predicated on his poetic talent.

Asatsuna's texts, as a matter of fact, show a great deal of continuity with the texts produced by the Sugawara House and its affiliates for imperially-sponsored poetic activity. This continuity, I argue, testifies indirectly to the literary authority of the Sugawara House and the productivity of the early Heian ecosystem of Sinitic poetry in informing the textual production of those *kidendō* graduates who pursued poetry as a primary form of activity.

Ōe no Asatsuna

Ōe no Asatsuna stands out as the most representative Confucian scholar (*jusha* 儒者) in the first half of the tenth century whose main activity can be identified in the composition of Sinitic poetry and other genres of prose literary texts. His literary prowess was recognized early on by the compiler of the literary anthology *Honchō monzui* Fujiwara no Akihira, who included forty-five pieces by Asatsuna, making him the second-best represented author after Ōe no Masahira 大江匡衡 (952-1012). The cultural importance of the Ōe House within the history of early Heian *kidendō* literacy is testified to by the fact that the Ōe clan was initially in charge of the east wing of the Monjō-in hall within the premises of the Bureau of High Education (*daigakuryō*).⁷ Together, the Sugawara and the Ōe clans would come to constitute the most relevant houses associated with *kidendō* learning from the early to the mid-Heian period.⁸ A grandchild of the ninth-century Confucian scholar Ōe no Otondo 大江音人 (811-877), Asatsuna was the son of Tamabuchi 玉淵 (?-?), who did not pursue a career in the *kidendō* track.⁹ In this respect, Asatsuna also stands in isolation as a member of the scholarly Ōe clan. As a matter of fact, another lineage within the clan shows more consistency in maintaining a hold of the *kidendō* scholarly tradition: Asatsuna's cousin Koretoki 維時 (888-963) was the son of another of Otondo's sons, Chifuru 千古 (866-

⁷ The west wing was managed by the Sugawara House. On the establishment of the Monjō-in see Momo, *Jōdai gakusei*, 153-70.

⁸ On the cultural relevance of the Sugawara and Ōe clans during the Heian period see Tokoro, "Heian jidai no Kanke to Gōke."

⁹ In fact, it appears that Tamabuchi's expertise might have lied in the composition of vernacular songs (*uta*). See further Ono, *Heianchō Tenryaku no bundan*, 22-26.

924), who was active as a Confucian scholar during the early tenth century.¹⁰ The Otondo-Chifuru-Koretoki line was therefore more consistent than Asatsuna's in maintaining the position of the clan within the *kidendō* tradition.¹¹ Furthermore, the death of Asatsuna's son and primary heir Sumiakira 澄明 (?-950) prevented Asatsuna's lineage to progress further. In contrast to the other *kidendō* graduates of the Ōe House, Asatsuna's expertise appears to have been poetic and literary composition. The anecdote in Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041-1111) *Gōdanshō* 江談抄 (The Ōe Conversations) about the cousins Asatsuna and Koretoki showcasing their respective scholarly abilities, analyzed in chapter one, manifests Asatsuna's primary ability in Sinitic poetry over Confucian erudition. Asatsuna's isolated position within the Ōe clan thus goes hand-in-hand with his poetic expertise, a quality that seems to lie outside the primary scholarship of the clan.¹²

Asatsuna became a literature student (*monjōshō*) of the *kidendō* curriculum in Engi 延喜 11 (911) at the age of twenty-six, and passed the *taisaku* 対策 examination to be recognized as a Confucian scholar in Engi 22 (922). After that, he served as Grand Inner Scribe (*dainaiiki* 大内記) from Enchō 延長 6 (928), and was later appointed professor of literature (*monjō bakase* 文章博士) in Jōhei 承平 4 (934).¹³ Asatsuna's compositional talent seems to have been recognized from an early stage, before he even entered the *kidendō* curriculum as a literature student. In Engi 8 (908) he was commissioned the composition of a preface (*jo* 序) for a poetry banquet held to honor the embassy from the kingdom of Balhae 渤海.¹⁴ As prefaces were normally composed by the senior Confucian scholars in attendance, the fact that in this occasion Asatsuna drafted the

¹⁰ Chifuru passed the *taisaku* examination in Engi 1 (901). He is also recorded as having served as a lecturer (*jitō* 侍讀) for Emperor Daigo. For a biography of Chifuru see further Inoue, *Heian jusba no ie*, 272-80; Kawaguchi, *Heianchō Nihon kanbungakushi*, 473-79.

¹¹ Koretoki's line would later produce the mid- and late Heian Confucian scholars Ōe no Masahira 大江匡衡 (952-1012) and Ōe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041-1111).

¹² See also Gotō Akio contrastive analysis of the careers and literary activities of mid-ninth century scholars Sugawara no Koreyoshi and Ōe no Otondo. Otondo appears to have prioritized Confucian erudition and bureaucratic career over literary expertise. Gotō, *Heianchō kanbungaku ronkō*, 94-110.

¹³ A detailed biography of Asatsuna is in Ono, *Heianchō Tenryaku no bundan*, 22-46; Inoue, *Heian jusba no ie*, 49-79.

¹⁴ *Honchō monzui* 253.

text points to his recognized literary talent.¹⁵ The late tenth-century poetry anthology *Fusōshū* 扶桑集 (Collection of Fusang), moreover, includes a number of Asatsuna's poem that were exchanged with the envoys from Balhae. The imperial court turned to Asatsuna for his poetic abilities on other several occasions, most notably for the composition of poems for folding screens (*byōbu* 屏風). In the twelfth month of Enchō 6 (928) a command was issued for Asatsuna to draft six poems, which would be later copied by the renowned calligrapher Ono no Michikaze 小野道風 (894-966).¹⁶ Again, in Tenryaku 天曆 3 (949) Asatsuna was asked to produce twenty poetic topics from the *Kunyuwanlu* 坤元錄 (Record of the Originary Earth) Tang geographical treatise.¹⁷ Then, the three Confucian scholars Ōe no Asatsuna, Tachibana no Naomoto, and Sugawara no Fumitoki were commanded to compose twenty poems each on such topics. The scholar Ōe no Koretoki was trusted with the further selection of twenty poems from this pool, and the calligrapher Ono no Michikaze copied them on eight folding screens.¹⁸ In addition, Asatsuna also compiled a rhyming dictionary, the *Wachū setsuin* 倭注切韻 (Cut-rhymes with Japanese Annotations). The work is no longer extant, but the preface survives as it was appended to the first section of the Heian poetic manual *Sakumon daitai* 作文大体 (Essentials of Composition).¹⁹ Appropriately for a rhyming dictionary conceived to help poetic composition,

¹⁵ Another possibility is that the preface was never publicly presented but was composed by Asatsuna as part of his literary training. To be sure, the participation of literary talented regular students (*gakushō* 学生) to the poetic exchange between Heian literati and Balhae envoys is hinted at in Sugawara no Michizane's biography *Kitano tenjin goden* 北野天神御伝 (Biography of the Kitano Deity), where it is told that ten of Michizane's students attended Michizane's poetic gathering with the Balhae envoys in Kanpyō 7 (895). The biography further tells that the students' participation in this instance would become a precedent for later iterations of the same ceremony. See Kawaguchi, *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū*, 74.

¹⁶ *Nihon kiryaku*, Enchō 6 (928)/12/*(unknown date).

¹⁷ Also known as *Kuodizhi* 括地志 (Gazetteer Extended to All Regions), the *Kunyuwanlu* is an imperial geographical treatise compiled by the Tang scholars Li Tai 李泰 (620-653) and Xiao Deyan 蕭德言 (557-654). The work only survives in fragments collected in later Tang and Song texts. It presumably reached Japan at an early stage. On the compilation of poetry on topics from the *Kunyuwanlu* see Gotō, *Heianchō kanbungakushi*, 293-312.

¹⁸ *Nihon kiryaku*, Tenryaku 3 (949)/12/*(unknown date). *Gōdanshō* reports that ten poems by Asatsuna were selected, two by Naomoto, and eight by Fumitoki, again testifying to Asatsuna's poetic talent over contemporary *kidendō* graduates. *Gōdanshō* 4.19.

¹⁹ The original core of *Sakumon daitai* probably dates to the tenth century and is attributed to the *kidendō* graduate Minamoto no Shitagō 源順 (911-983). The work was altered and augmented throughout the Heian period. See Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 231-33.

the preface begins: “The Way of scholarship begins with poetic composition” (夫学問之道、作文為先).

All in all, the above episodes confirm Asatsuna’s talent for poetry composition. In this section I argue that Asatsuna’s proclivity for *shi* poetry as the main asset of his Confucian literacy might in fact be connected to his association with the Sugawara House. In the remainder of this section, I will analyze the relationship between a number of poetic texts (namely *shi* poetry and *jo* prefaces) composed by Asatsuna and texts composed by members of the (extended) Sugawara House, such as Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845-903), his poetic mentor Shimada no Tadaomi 島田忠臣 (828-891), and his friend and pupil Ki no Haseo 紀長谷雄 (845-912). These textual connections, I argue, reveal in fact the direct and indirect paths of transmission of the poetic erudition of the Sugawara House to Asatsuna’s poetic literacy. Finally, I will sketch the historical connections of Asatsuna with the members of the Sugawara House. The textual and historical connections of Asatsuna in the first half of the tenth century, as will be seen, put him more in connection with the Sugawara House than with the *kidendō* tradition of the Ōe House, conversely becoming a testament to the cultural authority of the former.

An Ecology of Early Heian Texts

Ōe no Asatsuna’s texts survive in a number of sources which include the poetry collection *Fusōshū*, Fujiwara no Akihira’s *Honchō monzūi*, the anonymous *Ruijū kundaishō*, and Fujiwara no Kintō’s *Wakan roeishū* 和漢朗詠集. *Honchō monzūi*, in particular, includes a number of banquet prefaces by Asatsuna (eleven in total). A close look at these texts, as a matter of fact, reveals a web of intertextual relationships that correspond to historical socio-political networks. Heian texts, I posit, exist within a system of interconnected constellations that more or less overlap with the historical distribution of the social contexts in which the same texts were produced. By redirecting attention to these textual connections, I suggest, it is possible to observe along what vectors of transmission literary erudition circulated in the early Heian period. In what follows, I propose an analysis of the “ecology” of Ōe no Asatsuna’s texts, meaning that I will put Asatsuna’s texts in connection to their textual and socio-political environments in order to show the position of his poetic literacy within the ecosystem of early Heian poetic culture. In particular, I will look at three socio-political environments: 1) the rhetoric of early Heian institutionalized poetry banquets; 2) Household banquets by Emperor Uda (before and after abdication) from the

late ninth to the early tenth century; 3) The connections between Asatsuna and the *kidendō* graduate Ki no Haseo.

(1) The rhetoric of early Heian institutionalized poetry banquets.

One characteristic of the banquet prefaces composed for the institutionalized banquets of the early Heian period, that is, the Palace Banquet and the Double Nine Banquet, is the consistent appearance of a form of rhetoric mediated from continental sources such as the *Sbijing* 詩經 (Classic of Poetry) commentary *Maoshi zhengyi* 毛詩正義 (The Correct Meaning of the Mao Poetry), the *Liji* 禮記 (Classic of Rites), and the sixth century poetic treatise *Wenxin Diaolong* 文心雕龍 (The Mind of Literature and Carving Dragons). Asatsuna's texts are no exception.

Consider the following examples:

如彼水面漫浮，混迷魚鱗之錦，沙頭散亂，失卻鶴頂之丹，物色之動情，觸境而催感者也。When we look at [the falling leaves] floating on the water, we mistakenly think we are looking at the brocade of the fish scales. When we gaze at [the falling leaves] spreading on the gravel bank, we cannot discern if it is the cinnabar of the cranes' heads. This are the things that move our heart, urging our feelings upon touching the scene that surrounds us.²⁰

急響似機，暗破孀閨之睡。寒聲亂糟，忽伴漁舟之遊。彼微禽之輪誠，自觸物而催感者也。Their sudden cries sound like a loom, quietly breaking the sleep in the widow's chamber. Their cold voices are confounded with the sound of oars, suddenly accompanying the wandering of the fisherman's boat. Before the wholeheartedness carried by these birds, we are naturally touched by the things that surround us and urge our feelings.²¹

The first excerpt comes from a banquet held by Retired Emperor Uda sometime during the early tenth century.²² The second comes from the preface composed by Asatsuna for the Double Nine Banquet of Engi 16 (916), in which poetry was composed on the topic “Cold geese are recognized in the autumn sky” (寒雁識秋天).²³ The underlined parts show a degree of similarity with a form of rhetoric found in the above-mentioned continental texts. For example, the *Maoshi*

²⁰ *Honchō monzui* 310.

²¹ *Honchō monzui* 339.

²² As Uda is referred to in the preface as “retired sovereign of the Dharma” (大上法皇), the *terminus post quem* for the composition of this text is Shōtai 3 (900) when Uda took the tonsure.

²³ *Nihon kiryaku*, Engi 16 (916)/9/9.

zhengyi has “feeling emotions for the things that surround us and putting [the heart] in motion” (感物而動).²⁴ However, the language found in Asatsuna’s prefaces is more in connection with the declension of continental rhetoric that appears in early Heian texts. What follows is a list of other texts in *Honchō monzui* that include similar language:

- a. 感因事而發、興遇物而起。
The emotion rises because of [natural] phenomena; the inspiration grows by observing the things that surround us. (Sugawara no Michizane)
(*Honchō monzui* 5)
- b. 詩人感物而思。
Poets feel emotions for the things that surround them and put their mind in motion. (Miyako no Yoshika)
(*Honchō monzui* 214)
- c. 觀物流詠。触緒摛文。
Observing the things that surround us the chants flow; feeling the emotions we compose our drafts. (Ki no Haseo)
(*Honchō monzui* 287)
- d. 触物以感。
Observing the things that surround us we feel emotions. (Sugawara no Michizane)
(*Honchō monzui* 338)
- e. 隨時而興。
With the flowing of the seasons grows the inspiration. (Ono no Takamura)
(*Honchō monzui* 341)

The language of Asatsuna’s prefaces is arguably more in connection with that found in the other texts included in *Honchō monzui* than it is with the original continental sources. One important aspect of the above list is that virtually all excerpts are from texts that belong to a specific genre and a specific context of production: with the exception of item (a), which is found in a rhapsody (fu 賦) by Sugawara no Michizane, all the other examples come from banquet prefaces composed by *kidendō* graduates at imperially-sponsored events. More specifically, all excerpts from (b) to (e) come from banquet prefaces produced at institutionalized banquets.²⁵ This is relevant as it indicates that during the early Heian period a particular form of language had developed that was in connection to a specific context of literary production, namely imperially-sponsored

²⁴ *Maoshi zhengyi*, 38.

²⁵ I am indebted to the scholar Takigawa Kōji for this line of reasoning. Takigawa first showed the connection between the rhetoric of institutionalized banquets and continental sources such as the *Maoshi zhengyi*. See Takigawa, “Shishin toshite no Sugawara no Michizane.”

institutionalized poetry banquets. This rhetoric, therefore, strongly identified the texts as belonging to a specific socio-political environment. The texts composed by Ōe no Asatsuna for the Double Nine Banquet and for Retired Emperor Uda show continuity with this form of early Heian intertextuality.

(2) Household banquets held by Emperor Uda

Before and after abdication, Emperor Uda held a variety of poetic events. As has been seen in chapter two, these poetry banquets were held at his residential quarters and also functioned as a powerful means to ritualize Uda's household political regime. During his reign, Sugawara no Michizane was particularly favored both politically and in terms of the literary service asked of him. As a matter of fact, the fifth and sixth volume of Michizane's personal collection *Kanke bunsō* can be thought of as a poetic diary recording the poetry composed for Uda both before and after abdication.²⁶ During Uda's reign, the *keidendō* graduates Shimada no Tadaomi and Ki no Haseo, who were both individuals affiliated with the Sugawara House, were consistently summoned to provide poetry at Uda's sponsored banquets.²⁷ Ki no Haseo's literary service also extended after Uda's abdication, as is illustrated by the surviving portion of Haseo's personal collection *Kikeshū* 紀家集 (Ki House Collection), which include "records" (*kei* 記) composed for Uda's banquets and excursions outside the capital.²⁸ Michizane's sons also participated in the literary activity of Emperor Uda. In Kanpyō 8 (896), Michizane's eldest son Takami 高視 (876-913) composed the preface for a spring excursion to the Shinsen'en park.²⁹ At a banquet held by Retired Emperor Uda at the Kawara-in 河原院 mansion, Michizane's son Atsushige composed a poem on the topic "The shadow of the moon fills the autumn pond" (月影滿秋池). A couplet

²⁶ For an analysis of Michizane's political and cultural relationship with Emperor Uda see Fujiwara, *Sugawara no Michizane to Heianchō kanbungaku*, 215-23; Taniguchi, *Sugawara no Michizane no shi to gakumon*, 181-237.

²⁷ It is likely that one of Tadaomi's last and most prestigious appointments, Director of the Medicinal Bureau (*ten'yakuryō* 典藥寮) in Ninna 仁和 5 (889), was directly connected to Uda's literary sponsorship.

²⁸ Only a portion of the fourteenth volume of Ki no Haseo's collection is transmitted today. The collection is included in the *Toshoryō sōkan* (Collected volumes of the office of books) volume *Heian Kamakura mikan shishū*, 37-46.

²⁹ An excerpt of the preface is extant in *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui* (item 36). A poem composed in the same occasion by Sugawara no Michizane is in *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 434.

of this poem is recorded in Ōe no Masafusa's *Gōdanshō*, where a comment states that Uda reportedly expressed his grief that Michizane could not see Atsushige's beautiful poem.³⁰

There is room to speculate that Uda's poetry banquets constituted a locus of poetic erudition that was consistent with early Heian imperially-sponsored poetry supported by the members of the Sugawara House. In another banquet held at the Kawara-in mansion, Michizane's grandson, Minamoto no Fusaakira 源英明 (?-939), presented a poem of which one couplet is extant.³¹ A poem by the *kidendō* graduate Tachibana no Aritsura 橘在列 (?-953) presents the following interlinear comment to a verse exchanged with Fusaakira:³²

近曾將軍有河原院池亭之詩。詩中有青草湖因波写得、白蘋洲樣岸相伝。

Recently the General [Minamoto no Fusaakira] composed a poem at the pond pavilion at the Kawara-in. In the poem there was the following couplet: "Waves are painted after the model of the Green Grass Lake; The shore reproduces the appearance of the White Duckweed Islet."³³

The imagery in Fusaakira's couplet shows a strong connection to that found in the corpus of early Heian imperially-sponsored banquet prefaces composed by members of the Sugawara House, whose excerpts are found in the collection *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui*, which was analyzed in chapter three. Consider the following excerpts from Sugawara no Sukemasa's preface for an imperial excursion to Suzaku-in in Kōhō 康保 2 (965):

風流卜旧、水石煙幽。写白蘋州於河堤之間。縮青草湖於月池之裏。

The air and the streams preserve the appearance of the past; soft fumes rise from the wet rocks. It seems as though the White Duckweed Islet were painted on the riverbank. It looks as though the Green Grass Lake was narrowed in the moonlit pond.³⁴

³⁰ *Gōdanshō* 4.38. The Kawara-in, the estate of the former Minister of the Left Minamoto no Tōru 源融 (822-895) located along the sixth avenue, passed on to Retired Emperor Uda, who received a lease on the estate from Tōru's son Minamoto no Noboru 源昇 (848-918). After Uda's death the estate returned to the Minamoto clan. See further Kudō, *Heianchō ritsuryō shakai*, 197-212.

³¹ Minamoto no Fusaakira was the son of Prince Tokiyō 齊世 (886-927), a son of Emperor Uda, and a daughter of Sugawara no Michizane.

³² Aritsura's poem is part of a sequence of twenty-three poems exchanged between Aritsura and Fusaakira in the "rhyme-matching" (本韻) fashion. The sequence is included in the late tenth-century poetry anthology *Fusōshū*. *Fusōshū* 32-54.

³³ *Fusōshū* 33. The topic of the poem was "Night view at the forest pond" (林池晚望). Fusaakira's couplet is also included in *Shinsen rōeishū* 新撰朗詠集 (Newly Compiled Collection of Poems to Sing, early 12th century). *Shinsen rōeishū* 470.

³⁴ *Itsumei shijoshū bassui* 38.

This similarity suggests that Uda's sponsored poetry banquets were fueled by language and imagery provided by individuals that gravitated around the Sugawara House. These forms of poetic language contributed to make Uda's banquet a univocally determined locus of cultural activity, where poets from the same social milieu supplied poetry that showed similar patterns. Furthermore, Uda's household banquets, such as the one held at Kawara-in at which Minamoto no Fusaakira presented a poem, were one locus of imperially-sponsored literary activity where the Sugawara House supplied its literary erudition. As is clear from the above examples, the Imperial Household-Sugawara House network was consistent throughout all the early Heian period.

As a matter of fact, Asatsuna also participated in this web of intertextual allusions that connected transversally much of Uda's sponsored poetry and imperially-sponsored poetry in general. At least three strands of poetic language can be identified that connect the poetry composed by Asatsuna for Uda to the poetic erudition of the Sugawara House. Consider the following passage from a preface drafted by Asatsuna for a cherry-blossom banquet held by Retired Emperor Uda:

人情迎夜，頻傾鸚鵡之盃，鳥音調春，暗諧鳳凰之管。感之逼身，目不暫捨。嗟呼，難得易失者時也，難開易落者花也。

People's hearts welcome the night, repeatedly leaning towards the parrot cups. The sounds of birds are in tune with spring, quietly harmonizing with the phoenix pipes. Emotions are prompted in our bodies; our eyes cannot be taken away. Ah, time is difficultly obtained yet is easily lost. Flowers difficultly bloom yet easily fall.³⁵

The underlined part is particularly in connection with passages from the following prefaces:

a) 年有三秋，秋有九月。九月之有此閏，閏亦盡於今宵矣。夫得而易失者時也，感而難堪者情也。

The year has [three months of] autumn, autumn has the ninth month. The ninth month has an intercalary month, and it ends tonight. Time is obtained yet easily lost; emotions are felt yet difficult to bear. (Sugawara no Michizane)

(*Honchō monzui* 227)

b) 推步年華，嚴冬已晚，具瞻庭實，梅樹在前。嗟乎，時之難得，不可不惜。物之易衰，不可不愛。

³⁵ *Honchō monzui* 293. The topic of the banquet was "Composition under the red cherry blossoms, in response to a command by the retired sovereign of the Dharma" (紅桜花下作応太上法王).

If we calculate the time, the rigid winter ends here. If we look carefully at the products of the garden, a plum tree stands before us. Ah, one should cherish the fact that time is difficultly obtained and must admire the fact that things easily fade. (Sugawara no Michizane)

(*Honchō monzui* 288)

c) 夫難遇者聖主也，易失者花時也。姑射月明，粧樓香飛。

A wise ruler is difficult to meet; the time of the flowers is easily lost. The moon is bright above mount Gushe; perfumed scent flies from the powder tower. (Shimada no Tadaomi)

(*Honchō monzui* 294)

d) 黃華之過重陽，世俗謂之殘菊。今之可惜，非有意乎。夫難遇易失者時也，難榮易衰者物也。三秋已暮，一草獨芳。

The yellow flowers after they have passed the Double Nine: the world calls them lingering chrysanthemums. [...] Time is difficultly met yet easily lost. Things difficultly thrive yet easily fade. Autumn ends here, as one grass alone remains fragrant. (Sugawara no Michizane)

(*Honchō monzui* 329)

The particularity of this corpus is that, with the exception of item (b), all excerpts come from prefaces composed for Uda's household banquets. Item (a) is from a private banquet (*mitsuēn* 密宴) held by Uda on the last day of the intercalary ninth month of Kanpyō 2 (890). Item (b) comes from a banquet presumably sponsored by some Fun'ya no Nagara 文屋長者 (?-?). Item (c) comes from a small preface composed by Shimada no Tadaomi (incidentally, Tadaomi's only text included in *Honchō monzui*) for a banquet held by Uda in Kanpyō 3 (891) or 4 (892). Item (d) is from a lingering chrysanthemum banquet sponsored by Uda in Kanpyō 4 (892). All of the prefaces of this corpus are composed by representatives of the Sugawara House. Significantly, this particular language is not found outside of this corpus. Thus, this poetic language represents a form of erudition specific to the Sugawara House. Furthermore, most of the prefaces were composed for Emperor Uda, meaning that this specific form of Sugawara erudition was systematically applied to a specific socio-political context. Asatsuna, therefore, participates in Uda's household banquet by drawing on a form of rhetoric mostly associated to this specific literary environment.

Another example from the same preface by Asatsuna is as follows:

于時，林間日暮，叡賞影斜，把火而照樹枝，挑燈而催詩興。

At this time, the sun fades amidst the forest, the imperial gaze admires the declining scenery. Holding a light, we illuminate the tree branches; raising the lanterns, we urge our poetic inspiration.³⁶

³⁶ *Honchō monzui* 293.

Again, the only texts where this language is found are prefaces composed by Sugawara no Michizane and Ki no Haseo for Emperor Uda or for imperially-sponsored banquets:

- (a) 于時，蘭燈屢挑，桂餚頻酌。

At this time, the orchid lanterns are incessantly raised as the cassia wine is repeatedly poured.
(Sugawara no Michizane)

(*Honchō monzui* 227)

- (b) 故樹下移座，翫來忘疲。送日而看，秉燭迺賦。云爾。

Therefore, we move our seats under the tree to admire [the flowers] and forget our hardships. We see off the day and watch, we hold candles and then compose [poetry]. (Ki no Haseo)

(*Honchō monzui* 305)

- (c) 遂以近叢而翫之，挑燭以看之。分膏腴於醉鄉，割要害於樂地。

Thus, everybody moved towards the grass to admire it, holding a candle so to see it, while fertile soil was cast on the lands of inebriation and defenses were dismantled from the grounds of amusement.
(Ki no Haseo)

(*Honchō monzui* 331)

Item (a) is, again, a passage from the preface composed by Michizane for Uda's private banquet in the intercalary ninth month of Kanpyō 2 (890). Item (b) comes from a small preface composed by Ki no Haseo for Emperor Daigo (885-930, r. 897-930). Item (c) is extrapolated from the preface composed by Ki no Haseo for the first iteration of Uda's lingering chrysanthemum (*zangiku* 殘菊) banquet in Kanpyō 1 (889). Again, a form of poetic language connected to the Sugawara House and mostly to Emperor Uda's household banquets is used by Asatsuna in a preface composed for Retired Uda.

The last example, again from the same preface composed by Asatsuna for Uda's cherry-blossom banquet, is the use of the term "poetizing ministers" (*shishin* 詩臣):

太上法皇有敕，喚詩臣四五人，蓋愍鶯花之空過，課鳳藻而相惜焉。

The retired sovereign of the Dharma summoned four or five poetizing ministers so as to feel for the passing in vain of the orioles and the flowers, and to compose poetry as beautiful as a phoenix to cherish them together.³⁷

³⁷ *Honchō monzui* 293.

As shown by Takigawa Kōji, the term “poetizing ministers” is specific to Sugawara no Michizane.³⁸ With the exception of Asatsuna’s preface, it is in fact only found in texts produced by Michizane across all corpus of early Heian Sinitic poetry. Significantly, “poetizing ministers” is only found in connection with institutionalized banquets.³⁹ As a distinctive mark of Michizane’s language, the adoption of this term by Asatsuna might have signified that he aimed to position himself within the tradition of the Sugawara House. In sum, the language used by Asatsuna in his preface for the cherry-blossom banquet held by Retired Emperor Uda matches thoroughly the varied forms of language that bound the Sugawara House with imperially-sponsored banquets and, more specifically, with Uda’s household banquet. The continuity between Asatsuna’s poetic language and the erudition of the Sugawara House signals the strong connection between the two. On the one hand, Asatsuna contributes to the circulation of these forms of poetic language in the same socio-political environments of literary production. On the other hand, he positions himself in the path of transmission of the Sugawara House’s poetic tradition.

(3) Ōe no Asatsuna and Ki no Haseo.

While the historical relationship between Ōe no Asatsuna and Ki no Haseo can only be speculated on, it appears that Asatsuna was an avid reader of Haseo’s personal collection *Kikeshū*.⁴⁰ On the twenty-first day of the first month of Engi 19 (919), Asatsuna could not attend the Palace Banquet (*naien*) and provide a poem, but the same night he finished copying the fourteenth volume of *Kikeshū*, a fragmented portion of which still survives today by Asatsuna’s hand.⁴¹ Asatsuna’s admiration for Ki no Haseo’s collection can be observed in the way he incorporates the latter’s language and diction in his own texts. In most cases, it is striking how Ki no Haseo’s poetic language resurfaces in those texts by Asatsuna that were composed in similar settings. For example, at a banquet held by the “Grand Prince of Kōzuke province” (上州大王) Moriakira 盛明 (928-986), a son of Emperor Daigo, in which the Confucian scholars Sugawara no Arimi 菅原在躬 (?-?), Sugawara no Fumitoki 菅原文時 (899-981), both grandsons of

³⁸ Takigawa, “Shishin toshite no Sugawara no Michizane.”

³⁹ See *Kanke bunsō*, *Kanke kōshū* 27, 184, and 349. In addition, *Nihon kiriyaku* records the use of “poetizing ministers” in an entry for a poetry banquet held by Retired Emperor Uda at the Daikakuji 大覚寺 temple in Engi 5 (905). *Nihon kiriyaku*, Engi 5 (905)/1/29.

⁴⁰ The fact that Asatsuna had access to Ki no Haseo’s personal collection, however, suggests that the two might have entertained a direct personal relationship.

⁴¹ Ono, *Heianchō Tenryakuki no bundan*, 30.

Michizane, and Ōe no Asatsuna participated, Asatsuna composed the preface, incorporating conspicuously much of Haseo's rhetoric that appears in a preface composed by the latter for a banquet held by Prince Sadazane 貞真親王 (876-932), a son of Emperor Seiwa, presumably composed in Shōtai 昌泰 1 (898):

夫交者，無隔古今，不限老少。志合則千載旦暮於懷抱之間，道存則一言膠漆於筆硯之下。

The bond of friendship is not divided by past and present and is not limited by young or old age. When the intentions match, then a thousand years seem like morning and evening in one's heart. When the Way is maintained, then even just one word strengthens [the bond] like resin and lacquer under brush and inkstone.⁴² (Ōe no Asatsuna)

夫交無貴賤，無新舊。志得則膠漆生於一言，道合則風雲感於千里。

The bond of friendship is not defined by richness or poverty, nor by the new or the old. When the intentions align, then a bond like resin and lacquer is created even in just one word. When the Way matches, then a feeling vast like the wind and the clouds exists even a thousand *li* apart.⁴³ (Ki no Haseo)

Again, from the same prefaces:

春風鶯囀之朝，秋月蜚鳴之夕，不期而會。

In the mornings when the orioles twitter in the spring wind, or in the evenings when the crickets cry under the autumn moon, we shall meet without waiting [for a set date]. (Ōe no Asatsuna)

每至月之夕，雪之朝，雜花生樹，危葉辭枝，觸物催感，乘興思人之時，不期相尋，不契相會。

Every moon night, every snowy morning, when a myriad flowers bloom in the trees or when the withered leaves fall from their branches, when we urge feelings touched by the things that surround us, when we ride inspiration and think of someone, we shall visit each other without waiting [for a set date], we shall meet without making an arrangement first. (Ki no Haseo)

It is clear that the contexts of literary production were paramount in the transmission of poetic language. This means that literary erudition did not circulate freely, but instead travelled along clear and distinct socio-political paths. Consider the following two passages, respectively from a preface composed by Asatsuna for Retired Emperor Suzaku 朱雀 (923-952, r. 930-946) and by Haseo for Retired Emperor Uda:

⁴² *Honchō monzui* 297.

⁴³ *Honchō monzui* 330.

於是遠尋姑射之岫，誰傳鶯詞。亦問無何之鄉，不奏蟻舞。

From afar we visit the peak of the Gushe mountain: who will report of the orioles's songs? Again, we enter the country where nothing exists, without playing melodies on the butterflies' dance.⁴⁴

太上皇栖心象外，逃累塵中，偃泊於涼風之林，坐入於不群之境。酷嗜於秋池之浦，近到於無何之鄉。臣等屬黃花之後朝，侍玄覽之末列。薜蘿在眼，如登姑射之山。水石隨身，疑尋崆峒之頂。

The retired sovereign now has laid his mind outside of physical things and has escaped the hardships that exist within the dusty world. Resting in the forest blown by a cool wind, he sits in the supreme confines afar from the mundane. Cherishing the banks of the autumn pond, he arrives near the country where nothing exists. On the day after the festival of the yellow flowers, we attend in the last lines of the imperial gaze. Wild climbing plants in front of our eyes, it looks as though we have climbed on the Gushe mountain. Our bodies lie within water and rocks, we doubt we are visiting the Kongtong peak.⁴⁵

Both prefaces use imagery of places connected to the lore of Daoist immortals, which suits the context of a banquet held at the residence of a retired sovereign. This means that Asatsuna did not simply incorporate Haseo's language unconditionally but used it in texts that were composed in similar socio-political contexts.

One vector that guided the transmission of erudition from Ki no Haseo's texts to Ōe no Asatsuna's seems to have been early Heian institutionalized poetry banquets such as the Palace Banquet (*naien*) and the Double Nine Banquet (*chōyō no en*). Specifically, Asatsuna used Haseo's corpus as models of poetic language in texts that were composed on similar topics. In this way, Haseo's collection was used by Asatsuna as a sort of categorically arranged encyclopedia of poetic language. Consider the following couplets:

銀漢浪晴橋不斷 As the waves of the silver river clear, the bridge is not disrupted;
紫微雲破陣初橫 As the clouds around the purple star dissipate, the lines start to stretch out.⁴⁶
(Ki no Haseo)

高列紫微初結陣 They fly in high columns under the purple star, starting to form a line;

⁴⁴ *Honchō monzūi* 306. Asatsuna's preface was composed for a Blossom-Viewing Banquet (*hana no en* 花宴) held by Retired Emperor Suzaku at the Nijō 二条 detached residence. The date of the preface is Tenryaku 3 (949). *Nihon kiriyaku*, Tenryaku 3 (949)/3/11.

⁴⁵ *Honchō monzūi* 287. The banquet was held by Retired Emperor Uda at the Suzaku-in mansion on the tenth day of the ninth month of Shōtai 1 (898). *Nihon kiriyaku*, Shōtai 1 (898)/9/10.

⁴⁶ *Ruijū kudaishō* 333.

斜横銀漢忽成行 Stretching out diagonally in the silver river, suddenly entering in a row.⁴⁷

(Ōe no Asatsuna)

Haseo's couplet is extrapolated from a poem composed for the Double Nine Banquet of Kanpyō 6 (894), on the topic "With clear sky we recognize the visiting geese" (天淨識賓鴻).⁴⁸ Asatsuna's couplet was composed for the Double Nine Banquet of Engi 16 (916) on the topic "Cold geese are recognized in the autumn sky" (寒雁識秋天).⁴⁹ The topic are evidently similar, especially considering the pivotal character 識 ("recognizing"). In addition to the obvious borrowing of the imagery for the sky, "silver river" and "purple star," Asatsuna's poem recombines in the couplet many of the characters that appear in Haseo's lines. Again, the following are Haseo's and Asatsuna's couplets from the poems composed respectively for the Palace Banquet (*naien*) of Shōtai 1 (898) and Enchō 6 (928):

庭增氣色晴沙綠 The garden enhances its innate colors as the bright sand shades green;

林變容輝宿雪紅 The woods mold their radiance as the residual snow glows red.⁵⁰

先繞林園增氣色 First it entwines the forest garden, enhancing its innate colors;

更過藥圃飾群臣 Then it spreads through the fields of medicinal herbs, adorning the assembled ministers.⁵¹

Haseo's poem was composed on the topic "The grass and the trees quietly welcome spring" (草樹暗迎春) for the Palace Banquet of Shōtai 1 (898).⁵² Asatsuna's poem was composed on the topic "Clear sky enhances the brightness of grass and trees" (晴添草樹光) for the Palace Banquet of Enchō 6 (928).⁵³ Here, the pivotal theme is clearly "grass and trees" (草樹), which might have prompted Asatsuna to look for a precedent in Haseo's collection. Asatsuna's appropriating strategies are even more striking when we observe the prefaces composed by him and Haseo for the same banquets:

⁴⁷ *Rnijū kudasibo* 237.

⁴⁸ *Nihon kiryaku*, Kanpyō 6 (894)/9/9.

⁴⁹ *Nihon kiryaku*, Engi 16 (916)/9/9.

⁵⁰ *Sakumon daitai*, 356.

⁵¹ *Rnijū kudasibo* 16.

⁵² *Nihon kiryaku*, Shōtai 1 (898)/1/20.

⁵³ *Nihon kiryaku*, Enchō 6 (928)/1/21.

于時，寒暖換節，草樹迎春。蘭蕙抽心，隨解凍而改色；梅柳拆甲，待吹灰以變容。

At the time, the season is changing from cold to warm as the grass and the trees welcome spring. The orchids and the fragrant flowers begin to sprout: as the ice melts they renovate their colors. The plum and the willow open their stems: they wait for the dust to be blown away to change their appearance.⁵⁴
(Ki no Haseo)

觀夫春天初晴，曉日漸照，當林園之改色，翫草樹之添光。如彼柳眼梅心，映遲景而更耀。蘭牙蕙態，迎淑氣而忽耀。

As we watch, spring sky begins to clear, the sun of dawn gradually begins to shine. As the plants in the forest garden renovate their colors, we admire the grass and trees enhancing their light. The sprouts of the willow and the pistils of the plum reflect on the calm scenery as they shine even more. The shoots of the orchids and the demeanor of the fragrant flowers welcome the charming aura as they suddenly start to shine.⁵⁵

(Ōe no Asatsuna)

In addition to adopting the same imagery and language from Haseo's preface, Asatsuna also replicates Haseo's technique of incorporating almost all of the characters of the topic in the opening lines of the passage.⁵⁶ The incorporation of the topic characters in the first couplet of the poem as well as in the preface would become a staple of topic-line poetry (*kudaishi* 句題詩), which would develop in full beginning from the mid-tenth century.⁵⁷ A full-blown topic-line poem would be an eight-verse regulated poem (*rishshi* 律詩) structured according to each couplet. The first couplet, or *hokoku* 発句 ("opening verse"), must incorporate all the characters of the topic. The second couplet, *badai* 破題 ("dissection of the topic") must restate the topic using metaphors or similes. The third couplet, *bonmon* 本文 ("classical anecdote") must employ references to historical figures associated with the themes in the topic.⁵⁸ The last couplet, *jukkai* 述懷 ("expression of feelings") must present an expression of self-pity or gratitude towards the

⁵⁴ *Honchō monzui* 319.

⁵⁵ *Honchō monzui* 320.

⁵⁶ As a matter of fact, Haseo's first couplet quotes all the topic characters: "Spring gradually rises from the east leaving no trace [of winter]; the grass and the trees all welcome it as they grow quiet within" (春生無跡漸從東。草樹相迎暗至中。) *Sakumon daitai*, 356. Unfortunately, the first couplet of Asatsuna's poem has not been transmitted.

⁵⁷ For a detailed discussion on the rise of topic-line poetry in Heian Japan see Satō, *Kudaishi ronkō*, 72-99.

⁵⁸ In *Sakumon daitai*, the third couplet is referred to as *hiyu* 譬喻 ("metaphor"). It must restate the topic using metaphorical allusions. Incidentally, Ki no Haseo's quoted poem from the Shōtai 1 (898) Palace Banquet appears as a model in *Sakumon daitai*.

banquet host.⁵⁹ By the late Heian period, prefaces also had come to include a passage in which the same techniques were employed.⁶⁰

Interestingly, the two prefaces by Haseo and Asatsuna also adopt the technique of *badai* (“dissecting the topic”) typical of later *kudaishi* poetry.⁶¹ “Orchids and fragrant flowers” and “plum and willow” in Haseo’s preface both stand as substitutes for “grass and trees” (草樹) in the topic. “the ice melts” and “the dust is blown away” are reference to the arrival of spring (迎春).⁶² In like manner, in Asatsuna’s preface “plum” and “willow” as well as “orchids” and “fragrant flowers” stand for “grass and trees.” Furthermore, “calm scenery” (遲景) and “charming aura” (淑氣) stand for “clear sky” (晴), while “they shine even more” (更耀) and “they suddenly start to shine” (忽耀) are references to “brightness” (光). On the one hand, not only does Asatsuna adopt the language of Ki no Haseo’s preface composed on a similar subject; he also follows Haseo’s techniques of elaboration of the topic which prefigure the standard structure of later topic-line prefaces. What is particularly significant, moreover, is the fact that the socio-political arena for such dynamics of textual transmission from Ki no Haseo to Ōe no Asatsuna is constituted by the official framework of institutionalized imperially-sponsored banquets such as the Palace Banquet (*naien*).

⁵⁹ For a discussion of the structure of *kudaishi* in English see Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 91-92.

⁶⁰ See further Satō, *Kudaishi kenkyū*, 19-30. A clear example is Ōe no Masafusa’s preface composed on the topic “The pine tree overlooks the pond waters” (松樹臨池水) for an imperial excursion to the Toba-in 鳥羽院 compound south of the capital in Kanji 寛治 4 (1090): “As we watch, the pine tree becomes a hovering cover as the pond waters fill up the hollow place. The dense branches overlook the chilly waves. The thick leaves enfold the shore as dewdrops concentrate on the bridge of the stone pavilion. The loyal trunk leans on the stream as the vapors darken the path of the golden boat” (觀夫松樹成蓋。池水滿科。以彼森々之枝、臨此瑟瑟浪。蜜葉繞岸、石殿之橋露濃。貞幹枕流、金舟之路煙暗。). All the characters of the topic are quoted in the first lines. “thick leaves” and “loyal trunk” are substitutes for “pine.” “Enfold the shore” and “leans on the stream” stand for “overlooks the pond waters.” The preface is in *Honchō zoku monzui*, 145-46.

⁶¹ In *Sakumon daitai*, the *badai* technique is one among many by which a couplet can elaborate on the topic. The example of *badai* in the text is a couplet from Sugawara no Fumitoki on the topic “Palace warblers twitter in the dawn light” (宮鶯囀曉光): “Moonlight falls on the western tower, a song among the flowers; Lamplight fades in the central pavilion, a tune in the bamboo” (西樓月落花間曲。中殿燈殘竹裏音。)(trans. by Brian Steininger in Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 242). “A song among the flowers” and “a tune in the bamboo” stand for “palace warblers.” “Western tower” and “central pavilion” stand for “palace.” Finally, “Moonlight falls” and “lamplight fades” stand for “dawn light.” *Sakumon daitai*, 363.

⁶² The melting of the ice under the Eastern wind is famously represented in the *Yueling* 月令 section of *Liji* 禮記 (Classic of Rites): “The wind from the East dissolves the ice” (東風解凍). *Liji*, Book 6, 27:227.

As has been seen, three main paths of textual transmission can be detected in Ōe no Asatsuna's texts: 1) Asatsuna reproduces the standard rhetoric found in the prefaces composed for early Heian institutionalized banquets; 2) Asatsuna reproduces a kind of language associated to the Sugawara House and mainly implemented in Emperor Uda's household banquets; 3) Asatsuna reproduces directly the poetic language of Ki no Haseo. Two important aspects should be stressed here: on the one hand, Asatsuna's texts exist within a continuum with the texts produced by those individuals gravitating around the Sugawara House, showing the strong connection between the poetic tradition of the Sugawara House and Ōe no Asatsuna that informs the latter's literary production. In particular, the tight relationship between the texts produced by Asatsuna and Ki no Haseo suggests that the former positioned himself in a direct line of transmission within the enlarged Sugawara House. As has been seen in chapter one, in the preface for the collection of poetry composed after the Engi era (*Engi igoshi jo*), Ki no Haseo placed himself as the recipient of a poetic tradition that started with Shimada no Tadaomi and Sugawara no Michizane. In like manner, by reading Haseo's corpus and adopting his language, Asatsuna claimed for himself a position in this poetic lineage. On the other hand, the paths of transmission of textual rhetoric are governed by the specificity of writing contexts. Poetic knowledge is transmitted along socio-political vectors (such as early Heian institutionalized banquets or Uda's household banquets) that are independent from each other and guarantee the strategic (i.e. socio-politically meaningful) perpetuation of the same field-specific writing skills and erudition. In this way, not only does the textual corpus of Ōe no Asatsuna show the degree of the connection with the poetic erudition of the Sugawara House and Ki no Haseo, but also offers insights into how this erudition was conjugated within different contexts, that is, how early Heian textual erudition had precisely localized and discreet contexts of application.

Asatsuna and the Sugawara House

Ōe no Asatsuna's texts existed within an environment in which the textual and the socio-political dimensions were closely intertwined. His literary performances primarily took place in contexts, such as institutionalized poetry banquets, that guaranteed a direct transmission of the poetic literacy developed around the Sugawara House. In other words, Asatsuna's adoption of forms of language associated with the Sugawara House was inextricably connected to the fact that this language appeared in similar socio-political contexts. Similar socio-political contexts of literary production, thus, opened channels for the direct transmission of literary erudition. As has been

seen, Asatsuna's activity as a poet shows much continuity with the poetic activity of the Sugawara House in terms of the socio-political contexts in which both participated. Historically, too, Asatsuna shared his spaces with members of the Sugawara House. While in his years as a student at the Bureau of High Education (*daigakuryō*) Asatsuna might have been in direct contact with Ki no Haseo and Michizane's son Atsushige, the relationship with Michizane's descendants continued throughout Asatsuna's activity. Fujiwara no Akihira's *Honchō monzui* preserves a short letter (*shojō* 書狀) sent by Asatsuna to the Flourishing Talent (*shūsai* 秀才) Sugawara no Sukemasa, presumably sometime in the last years of Asatsuna's life.⁶³ In the letter, Asatsuna mentions that literary activity had long been a domain of the Sugawara House and exhorts Sukemasa to pass soon the *taisaku* examination and take his rightful place as a member of the sixth generation of his clan with the status of Confucian scholar.⁶⁴

The anonymous anthology *Ruijū kudaisbō* includes a sequence of poems composed on the topic "The flower brocade does not need a loom" (花錦不須機).⁶⁵ The four poems were composed by Prince Kaneakira 兼明 (914-987), Ōe no Asatsuna, Sugawara no Masanori 菅原雅規 (?-979), and Sugawara no Morochika 庶幾 (fl. 931-943). Kaneakira was a son of Emperor Daigo. Masanori and Morochika were both brothers of the better known Fumitoki 文時 (899-981). Fortunately, an excerpt from the preface composed at this banquet by Sugawara no Masanori survives which allows us to better situate this poetic event in the cultural landscape of the tenth century. The preface reads as follows:

百花亭者。昔為右丞相之蓮府。今即常州王之花亭也。水石不改。風煙猶幽。縮松江於砌前。摸柱水於牆門。是則洛陽中一仙洞也。

The one-hundred-flower pavilion was in the past the residence of the Minister of the Right. Today it is the flower pavilion of the Hitachi Prince. The rocks amidst the water have not changed; soft vapors still rise in

⁶³ In the letter, Asatsuna is signed as Councilor (*sangi* 參議). Asatsuna was appointed Councilor in Tenryaku 天曆 7 (953).

⁶⁴ The letter is in *Honchō monzui* 189. The six Sugawara generations are counted from Sugawara no Kiyotomo 菅原清公 (770-842). Sukemasa's lineage is then as follows: Sugawara no Koreyoshi 菅原是善 (812-880); Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845-903); Sugawara no Atsushige 菅原淳茂 (878-926); Sugawara no Arimi 菅原在躬 (fl. 932-948); Sugawara no Sukemasa. On the relationship between Asatsuna and Sukemasa, see further Kawamura, "Ōe no Asatsuna to 'Kan shūsai' to no kōryū."

⁶⁵ *Ruijū kudaisbō* 126-129.

the tranquil air. It looks as though the Pine River was narrowed in front of the paved stairs, and that the Cassia Waters were painted inside the walls. This is in fact an immortal grotto within Luoyang.⁶⁶

The Minister of the Right is most certainly Fujiwara no Yoshimi 藤原良相 (813-867), a brother to Emperor Seiwa's regent (*sesshō* 摂政) Fujiwara no Yoshifusa 藤原良房 (804-872) whose residence in the West third avenue (*nishi sanjō* 西三条) is associated with the "one-hundred-flower pavilion" (百花亭) in the entries of the historiographical work *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* 日本三代実録 (Veritable Chronicle of Three Reigns of Japan).⁶⁷ On the other hand, the Hitachi Prince has been identified in Prince Sadazane 貞真 (876-932), the ninth son of Emperor Seiwa 清和 (850-881, r. 858-876).⁶⁸ If we accept Sadazane as the Hitachi Prince, then the banquet must have taken place before Jōhei 2 (932). Sadazane was a renowned poet and had connections with the Sugawara House.⁶⁹ I would therefore suggest the possibility that the three *kidendō* graduates Asatsuna, Masanori and Morochika gathered at Sadazane's mansion to hold a session of poetic training for young Prince Kaneakira.

The preface drafted by Sugawara no Masanori is comfortably placed within the system of poetic erudition that the Sugawara House invoked for imperially-sponsored events, putting the poetic tutoring of an imperial prince in connection with grander events sponsored by the Imperial Household.⁷⁰ The fact that Asatsuna also participated in this banquet hints at Asatsuna's stature as a poet and at his connections with the members of the Sugawara House. That Asatsuna and two Sugawara brothers were involved in a poetic banquet held around an imperial prince testifies to their connection with the Imperial Household. If, on the one hand, Asatsuna's texts show continuity with earlier compositions of the Sugawara House, the letter for Sukemasa and the banquet for Prince Kaneakira, on the other hand, suggest that he continued to be involved in poetic activities and foster personal connections with contemporary Sugawara individuals. Thus,

⁶⁶ *Itsumei shijoshū bassui* 40.

⁶⁷ See for example the entry in *Sandai jitsuroku* for Jōgan 8 (866)/3/23: "The imperial carriage progressed to the residence of Fujiwara no Ason Yoshimi in the Western district of the capital to admire the cherry blossoms. *Monnin* were summoned and composed poems on the one-hundred-flower pavilion. Forty people attended" (鸞輿幸右大臣藤原朝臣良相西京第、觀櫻花。喚文人賦百花亭詩。預席者卅人。).

⁶⁸ Nishiyama, "Udaijin Fujiwara no Yoshimi to Heiankyō no hyakkatei," 218-20.

⁶⁹ A preface composed by Ki no Haseo for a poetic banquet sponsored by Prince Sadazane in Shōtai 1 (898) testifies to the connection between Sugawara no Michizane, his literary coterie, and Sadazane. *Honchō monzui* 330.

⁷⁰ Compare Masanori's text with those prefaces composed by other members of the Sugawara House for imperial excursions included in *Itsumei shijoshū bassui*, which are analyzed in chapter three, pp. 157-63.

I would argue that we should consider the *kidendō* scholar Ōe no Asatsuna as a direct product of the Sugawara House. As literary composition appears to have been Asatsuna's primary asset as a Confucian scholar, a connection with the Sugawara House provides a direct explanation for Asatsuna's main field of activity. In other words, Asatsuna's activity as a poet both derived and was legitimized by his association with the textual tradition of the Sugawara House and the socio-political contexts of literary production in which such tradition was operative. Asatsuna's literary activity, thus, testifies to the cultural power and authority of the Sugawara House in the first half of the tenth century. Providing useful models to adopt in order to participate in the early Heian ecosystem of literary composition, the texts produced by the Sugawara House shaped the language and the imagery of those *kidendō* graduates, such as Asatsuna, who pursued Sinitic poetry, and literary composition in general, as a primary form of professional activity.

2. Positioning the Sugawara House in the Early Heian Period

Members of the Sugawara clan and its affiliates, such as Ki no Haseo, are generally well represented in mid- and late Heian collection that anthologize material from the early Heian period. One such work is Fujiwara no Akihira's *Honchō monzui*. Representing the first systematic collection of Sinitic writings composed by members of the *kidendō* elite for the Heian court, *Honchō monzui* was compiled in fourteen volumes and focuses mainly on prose genres. It was probably created as a complement to the late tenth-century sixteen-volume poetry anthology *Fusōshū* 扶桑集, thereby together mirroring the structure of the thirty-volume continental collection of poetry and prose *Wen Xuan* 文選 (Selections of *wen*).⁷¹ It is likely that the collection was conceived as a reference manual to be transmitted within the newly established Fujiwara scholarly household.⁷² As such, it builds on the writing sample of scholars from earlier generations to claim authority and legitimacy.⁷³ In this way, *Honchō monzui* thus configures both as a precious collection of otherwise lost texts from early and mid-Heian Japan, and as a carefully structured representation of such material as envisioned by the eleventh century Confucian scholar Fujiwara no Akihira. The collection includes genres such as rhapsodies (*fu* 賦), edicts (*shō* 詔), memorials (*hyō* 表), petitions (*jō* 狀), banquets prefaces (*shijo* 詩序), and Buddhist prayers

⁷¹ See further Ōsone, *Ōchō kanbungaku ronkō*, 84-106.

⁷² On the establishment of the ceremonial branch (*shikike* 式家) of the Fujiwara clan as a scholarly household see Miho, "Fujiwara shikike jusha no kakuritsu."

⁷³ Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 62 and 74-75.

(*ganmon* 願文). Significantly, poetry banquet prefaces are the most represented genre in *Honchō monzui*, with some 139 pieces categorized by thematic sections in four volumes included in the collection. The prevalence of the prefaces in *Honchō monzui* testifies to the cultural and socio-political value of this genre by the time Akihira compiled his collection.⁷⁴

Another work that collects and rearranges textual material from the early Heian period is a little-known anthology today generally referred to as *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui*. Discovered in a private collection, this work seems to date to the early Kamakura 鎌倉 period (early 13th century). It does not survive intact, and the transmitted version is probably a reduction of another, possibly earlier anthology.⁷⁵ Of the two surviving manuscripts, one appears to be a descendant of the other.⁷⁶ Both manuscripts contain some forty excerpts from poetry banquet prefaces from the early to the mid-Heian period. The prefaces are categorized by topic. The topics in the surviving manuscripts are: “Buddhist gatherings” (法会); “Temples” (寺); “*Kōshin* night” (庚申); “Celebrated [places]” (所誉). In particular, the section “celebrated [places]” includes passages of prefaces composed at venues outside of the imperial palace roughly organized in chronological order, therefore presenting us with a strategic history of Heian banquet culture. It is possible that also *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui* took form within the mid- and late Heian scholarly Fujiwara House. The last two excerpts included in the collection are in fact by Fujiwara no Akihira, the latest author appearing in the collection, suggesting a teleological advancement from the *kidendō* scholars of the early Heian period to the newly established scholarly Fujiwara clan. In any case, the extant form of the collection, which includes passages from specific sections of the prefaces, seem to suggest that it was meant as a compositional manual that provided literary models to be used as reference when composing for specific contexts.

In this section I will provide an analysis of the organizational principles at work in *Honchō monzui* and in *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui*, in order to observe the position occupied by the Sugawara House in the literary landscape portrayed in both works. To be sure, the representations of the Sugawara House in these collections are necessarily a product of a strategic organization of the historical textual material that was selected for inclusion by the compilers. In this way, looking at how *Honchō monzui* and *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui* both provide a picture

⁷⁴ Satō, “Heianchō no shijo ni kan suru oboegaki.”

⁷⁵ Yamazaki, “Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui ni tsuite.”

⁷⁶ Makino, “Honchō bunshū hensan shiryō ni tsuite no ichikōsatsu.”

of the early Heian literary environment allows us to see the tensions between the historical reality of the Sugawara House and the strategic representations of such reality in those works that capitalized on it to claim authority and legitimacy.⁷⁷

The Sugawara House in *Honchō monzui*

Honchō monzui offers its readers a multilayered representation of the early and mid-Heian literary field. The Confucian scholars Ōe no Masahira and Ōe no Asatsuna are the best represented authors, with forty-seven and forty-five pieces respectively. They are followed by the mid-tenth century Confucian scholar Sugawara no Fumitoki, with thirty-eight pieces, Ki no Haseo, with thirty-seven pieces, and Sugawara no Michizane, with thirty-six pieces. The first five best represented authors seem thus to offer a narrative of the field of Sinitic composition from the perspective of the eleventh-century compiler Fujiwara no Akihira. As it happens, the best represented Sinitic writers are the members of the Ōe House. As a matter of fact, the late tenth-century scholar Ōe no Masahira is credited with cementing the position of his lineage within the *kidendō* tradition. On the one hand, he was invested in literary composition as one asset of his Confucian fields of activity.⁷⁸ On the other hand, he first established the foundations of his clan's library.⁷⁹ Together, Asatsuna and Masahira arguably represented the connection between the Ōe House and Sinitic literary composition throughout the tenth century. Then comes the Sugawara House and its affiliates, such as Ki no Haseo. The absolute number of texts included for the individual authors connected to the Sugawara House is thus slightly inferior to those collected for the members of the Ōe clan. This unequal relationship reflects perhaps the perceived literary and scholarly authority of the Ōe clan at the time *Honchō monzui* was compiled in mid-eleventh century.

⁷⁷ For the sake of convenience, I have excluded from my survey works such as Fujiwara no Kintō's 藤原公任 (966-1041) *Wakan rōeishū* 和漢朗詠集 (Collection of Japanese and Chinese Poems to Sing, early 11th century), as well as its successors such as Fujiwara no Mototoshi's 藤原基俊 (1060-1142) *Shinsen rōeishū* 新撰朗詠集 (Newly Compiled Collection to Sing), and the anonymous *Ruijū kudaisbō* 類聚句題抄 (Collection of Classified Verse-topic Poems, 11th century). While these works include a great deal of early Heian texts (primarily *shi* poetry), it is often impossible to determine the time and the social contexts of their composition, which makes a qualitative analysis unproductive.

⁷⁸ Masahira's poetry is collected in a three-fascicle collection title *Gō ribōshū* 江吏部集 (Collection of [Assistant to the] Ministry of Ceremonial Ōe). Masahira was particularly active as a poet, especially participating in the literary activities sponsored by Fujiwara no Michinaga. On Masahira's literary activity see further Lu, "Ōe no Masahira no monnin ishiki ni tsuite." For an analysis of the formal qualities of Masahira's poetry, see Gotō, *Heianchō kanbungaku ronkō*, 262-81.

⁷⁹ Kuboki, "Gōke bunko e no ikkaitei."

However, when we move our attention to the relative number of texts per different genres, we get a different picture. If we consider, for example, the number of poetic prefaces—a prose genre most closely associated with *shi* poetry—for any single author, Sugawara no Michizane becomes the best represented author with nineteen pieces. Michizane is followed by Minamoto no Shitagō 源順 (911-983) with seventeen pieces and by Ōe no Mochitoki 大江以言 (955-1010) with sixteen pieces. Thus, Michizane is the author represented with more banquet prefaces, signaling his perceived literary authority in the field of poetry banquets. As a matter of fact, by the time Akihira compiled *Honchō monzui* banquet prefaces had become the most valued genre to be mastered by *kidendō* graduates and Confucian scholars, suggesting both the socio-political relevance of poetry banquet culture in Heian Japan and the prominent status of those who were demanded the composition of such texts.⁸⁰ Michizane’s prominence in the preface volumes of *Honchō monzui* suggest that the cultural legacy of the Sugawara House literary tradition was still strong in connection to this one specific context of literary production.

Significantly, the three best represented authors of prefaces also represent three different temporal stages in the history of Heian Sinitic writing. Michizane was active in the second half of the ninth century, Shitagō in the mid-tenth century, and Mochitoki in the second half of the tenth century. By analyzing the contexts in which these authors’ texts were produced, I suggest, we can observe the evolution of the early Heian literary landscape through the lenses of Akihira’s selections. What follows is a catalogue of the prefaces included in *Honchō monzui* by Sugawara no Michizane, Minamoto no Shitagō, and Ōe no Mochitoki respectively:⁸¹

SUGAWARA NO MICHIZANE	MINAMOTO NO SHITAGŌ	ŌE NO MOCHITOKI
(213) 九日侍宴同賦喜晴應製。 Ninth day, attending a banquet, composing together on the topic “Rejoicing for clear weather” in response to a command by the sovereign.	(204) 七月三日陪第七親王讀書閣同賦弓勢月初三應教。 Seventh month, third day, attending the reading pavilion of the seventh prince [Tomohira], composing together on the topic “Shaped like a bow, the moon begins its third round” in response to an instruction.	(225) 七夕陪秘書閣同賦織女雲為衣應製。 <i>Tanabata</i> (Double Seven), attending at the imperial library, composing together on the topic “The weaving goddess wears a robe of clouds” in response to a command by the sovereign.
(215) 早春侍宴同賦春暖應製。 Early spring, attending a banquet, composing together on the topic “Spring is warm” in response to a command by the sovereign.		(233) 夏日陪員外端尹文亭同賦泉傳萬歲聲應教。

⁸⁰ Satō, “Heianchō no shijo ni kan suru oboegaki.”

⁸¹ The numbers refer to the 1992 *Honchō monzui* edition by Ōsone, Kinpara, and Gotō.

<p>(216) 早春侍宴同賦無物不逢春應製。 Early spring, attending a banquet, composing together on the topic “No thing does not encounter spring” in response to a command by the sovereign.</p> <p>(227) 閏九月盡燈下即事應製。 Intercalary ninth month, impromptu composition under the lanterns, [a poem composed] in response to a command by the sovereign.</p> <p>(230) 九日後朝侍朱雀院同賦閑居樂秋水應太上法皇製 Day after the ninth day, attending at the Suzaku-in, composing together on the topic “Tranquil dwelling, enjoying the autumn waters” in response to a command by the retired sovereign of the Dharma.</p> <p>(235) 扈從雲林院不勝感歎聊敘所觀。 Escorting the sovereign to Urin-in, I could not bear the feeling of awe, expressing what I witnessed.</p> <p>(236) 早春內宴侍仁壽殿同賦春娃無氣力應製。 Early spring, Palace Banquet, attending at Jijūden, composing together on the topic “Spring ladies lack vital strength.” [One poem composed] in response to a command by the sovereign.</p> <p>(241) 仲春釋奠聽講孝經，同賦資事父事君。 Mid-spring <i>sekiten</i> rite, hearing a lecture on the Classic of Filial Piety. Composing along on the</p>	<p>(218) 早春於獎學院同賦春生霽色中各分一字。 Early spring at Shōgaku-in, composing together on the topic “Spring rises among the bright colors.” Distributing one character each.</p> <p>(221) 後三月，陪都督大王華亭，同賦今年又有春，各分一字，應教。 Intercalary third month, attending the flower pavilion of the Grand Prince Commander-in-chief [?], composing together on the topic “This year has yet another spring,” distributing one character each, in response to an instruction.</p> <p>(226) 九月盡日於佛性院惜秋。 End of the ninth month at Busshō-in, cherishing autumn.</p> <p>(229) 晚秋遊淳和院同賦波動水中山。 Late autumn, wandering at Junna-in, composing together on the topic “The waves move the mountains in the water.”</p> <p>(231) 夏日與王才子過貞上人禪房翫庭前水石叙。 Summer day, together with the talented scholar Ō[?] I visit the meditation abode of the superior man Jō[?], admiring the rocks in the water in front of the garden.”</p> <p>(259) 夏日陪右親衛源將軍初讀論語各分一字。 Summer day, attending the first lecture on the Analects of General Minamoto [no Nobumitsu?] of the imperial</p>	<p>Summer day, attending at the literature pavilion of the supernumerary Master of the Crown Prince [Fujiwara no Yorimichi], composing together on the topic “The spring emanates the sound of one-thousand years” in response to an instruction.</p> <p>(238) 見遊女。 Watching the female entertainers.</p> <p>(240) 早夏陪宴同賦所貴是賢才各分一字應製。 Summer day, attending a banquet, composing together on the topic “What is honored is a talented person,” distributing one character each, in response to a command by the sovereign.</p> <p>(249) 暮春於文章院餞諸故人赴任同賦別路花飛白。 Late spring at Monjō-in, drinking to see off all our friends who will take duty in the provinces, composing together on the topic “On the parting road flowers fly white.”</p> <p>(251) 暮春陪員外藤納言書閣餞飛州刺史赴任應教。 Late spring, attending at the book pavilion of the supernumerary [Chū]nagon Fujiwara [no Korechika], drinking to see off the governor of Hida province who is leaving to take duty, [a poem composed] in response to an instruction.</p> <p>(257) 七言冬日於飛香舍</p>
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<p>topic “Serving one’s ruler as one serves his father.”</p> <p>(243) 九日侍宴同賦天錫難老應製。 Ninth day, attending a banquet, composing along on the topic “Heaven grants longevity” in response to a command by the sovereign.</p> <p>(244) 早春觀賜宴宮人同賦催粧應製。 Early spring, watching the banquet bestowed to the palace ladies, composing along on the topic “Urging the make-up” in response to a command by the sovereign.</p> <p>(263) 八月十五日嚴閣尚書授後漢書畢。各詠史得黃憲。 Eighth month, fifteenth night. At the end of the lecture on the History of the Later Han by the Master of Writing in the official government, each composed on a historical subject. I obtained Huang Xian.</p> <p>(272) 賦雨夜紗燈應製。 [A poem] composed on the topic “Silk lanterns in a rainy night” in response to a command by the sovereign.</p> <p>(288) 晚冬過文郎中翫庭前早梅。 Late winter, passing by the second assistant minister Fun[ya], [composing on the topic] “Admiring the early plums in the garden.”</p> <p>(292) 春惜櫻花應製。</p>	<p>guards, distributing one character each.</p> <p>(271) 賀祿綿。 Blessing the silk-floss emoluments.</p> <p>(296) 三月三日於西宮池亭，同賦花開已匝樹應教。 Double Third at the pond pavilion in the Western palace, composing together on the topic “Flowers bloom and enfold the trees” in response to an instruction.</p> <p>(301) 暮春於淨閣梨洞房，同賦花光水上浮。 Late spring at the cave abode of master Jō[zō], composing together on the topic “The light of the flowers floats on the water.”</p> <p>(302) 後二月遊白河院同賦花影泛春池應教。 Intercalary second month, wandering at Shirakawa-in, composing together on the topic “The shadows of the flowers float on the spring pond” in response to an instruction.</p> <p>(307) 暮春陪上州大王池亭同賦渡水落花來各分一字應教。 Late spring, attending at the pond pavilion of the Grand Prince of Kōzuke [Moriakira], composing together on the topic “Falling flowers come crossing the water,” distributing one character each, in response to an instruction.</p> <p>(311) 初冬於栖霞寺同賦霜葉滿林紅應李部大王教。</p>	<p>聽第一皇子初讀御注孝經應教。 Seven character [poem]. Winter day at Higyoōsha, hearing the first lecture for the First Prince [Atsuyasu] on the imperial annotations to the Classic of Filial Piety, [a poem composed] in response to an instruction.</p> <p>(265) 七言夏日於左監門宗次將文亭聽講令詩一首。 Seven character [poem]. Summer day at the literature pavilion of the Second General [Kore]mune [no Tadamasu] of the gate guards of the left, one poem on hearing the lecture.</p> <p>(270) 七言暮秋陪左相府宇治別業即事。 Seven character [poem]. Late autumn, attending at the Uji detached villa of the Minister of the Left [Fujiwara no Michinaga], impromptu composition.</p> <p>(273) 三月盡日陪吉祥院聖廟同賦古廟春方暮。 Last day of the third month, attending at the Kichijō-in sacred hall, composing together on the topic “In the old hall spring is going to end.”</p> <p>(280) 九月十五日於豫州楠木道場擬勸學會聽講法華經同賦壽命不可量。 Ninth month, fifteenth day, at the nan tree hall of the Way in Iyo province, pretending to hold a meeting to encourage learning [kangaku-e], hearing a lecture on the Lotus Sutra, composing together on the topic “Life-span cannot be measured.”</p>
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<p>Spring, cherishing the cherry blossoms, [a poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.</p> <p>(295) 三月三日同賦花時天似醉應製。</p> <p>Third month, third day (Double Third), composing along on the topic “When flowers bloom the sky looks inebriated” in response to a command by the sovereign.</p> <p>(329) 惜殘菊各分一字應製。</p> <p>Cherishing the lingering chrysanthemums, one character each, [a poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.</p> <p>(332) 秋盡日翫菊應令。</p> <p>Last day of autumn, admiring the chrysanthemums, [a poem composed] in response to a command by the Crown Prince.</p> <p>(333) 同諸才子九月卅日白菊叢邊命飲。</p> <p>Together with all the talented scholars, on the thirtieth day of the ninth month, having a banquet near the white chrysanthemum grass.</p> <p>(338) 重陽後朝同賦秋鴈櫓聲來應製。</p> <p>Day after the Double Nine, composing along on the topic “Autumn geese come with the sound of oars” in response to a command by the sovereign.</p>	<p>Early winter at Seikaji, composing together on the topic “Frosted leaves fill the woods with crimson” in response to an instruction by the Grand Prince assistant to the Ministry of Ceremonial [Shigeakira].</p> <p>(312) 初冬過源才子文亭同賦紅葉。</p> <p>Early winter, visiting the literature pavilion of the talented scholar Minamoto [?], composing together on the topic “crimson leaves.”</p> <p>(314) 冬日於神泉苑同賦葉下風枝疎。</p> <p>Winter day at the Shinsen'en park, composing together on the topic “Under the leaves, the windy branches are lax.”</p> <p>(322) 三月盡日遊五覺院同賦紫藤花落鳥關關。</p> <p>Last day of the third month, wandering at Gokakuji, composing together on the topic “The flowers of purple wisteria fall as the birds twitter.”</p> <p>(323) 秋日遊白河院同賦秋花逐露開。</p> <p>Autumn day, wandering at Shirakawa-in, composing together on the topic “Autumn flowers bloom after dew.”</p>	<p>(284) 七言暮春施無畏寺眺望。</p> <p>Seven character [poem]. Late spring, gazing at the landscape at Semui-ji temple.</p> <p>(285) 七言晚秋於天台山圓明房月前閑談。</p> <p>Seven character [poem]. Late autumn at the abode of true realization on Tendai mountain, tranquil discussion in front of the moon.</p> <p>(286) 夏日侍左相府池亭諸道講論後同賦松聲當夏寒應教。</p> <p>Summer day, attending the pond pavilion of the Minister of the Left [Fujiwara no Michinaga], after every Way debated, we composed together on the topic “The voice of the pine is cold in summer” in response to an instruction.</p> <p>(309) 暮春於尚書右中丞亭同賦閑庭花自落。</p> <p>Late spring, at the pavilion of the Master of Books and Middle Controller of the Right, composing together on the topic “In the tranquil garden the flowers naturally fall.”</p> <p>(313) 冬日遊雲林院西洞翫紅葉。</p> <p>Winter day, wandering at the Western cave of Urin-in, admiring the crimson leaves.</p>
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Table 7. Catalogue of the prefaces by Sugawara no Michizane, Minamoto no Shitagō, and Ōe no Mochitoki in *Honchō monzui*.

The *Honchō monzui* prefaces of these three *kidendō* scholars offer a window into the historical development of the composition of banquet poetry in the transition from the early to the mid-Heian period. Sugawara no Michizane's prefaces primarily include texts composed in the following contexts: 1) Sugawara household banquets; 2) Early Heian institutionalized banquets (such as the *sekiten* banquet, the Palace Banquet, and the Double Nine Banquet); 3) Banquets sponsored by Emperor Uda before and after abdication. Much of Michizane's textual representation therefore focuses on his participation to imperially-sponsored poetry banquets.⁸² The prefaces by Minamoto no Shitagō were mainly composed for imperial princes and members of the Minamoto clan. To be sure, the contexts in which Shitagō could produce Sinitic writings such as banquet prefaces were intimately connected to his status as a *kidendō* graduate: he did not belong to an established clan of Confucian scholars such as the Sugawara House, and his advancement in the *kidendō* track was arguably slow.⁸³ Moreover, he did not advance to the status of Confucian scholar. As Brian Steininger has shown, while his talent was acknowledged, Shitagō's literary production had severe socio-political limitations, and he had to rely on the private patronage offered by aristocratic households often languishing at the periphery of the imperial court.⁸⁴ Notwithstanding his lower status compared to the Confucian scholars Michizane and Mochitoki, Shitagō's texts portray a thriving literary activity taking place at the margins of the imperial court by members of the imperial family such as imperial princes or by members of politically prominent aristocratic households. As will be seen in the next section, the expansion of literary activity, and poetry banquets in particular, from the Imperial Household to aristocratic clans is a gradual tendency that is also hinted in works such as *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui*. Lastly, Mochitoki's selected prefaces are primarily from poetry banquets sponsored by the late tenth-century and early eleventh-century leader of the Fujiwara clan Michinaga 藤原道長 (966-1028), from banquets sponsored by aristocratic individuals, or from private gatherings. Mochitoki's texts thus offer a view onto the shift that gradually occurred in late tenth-century, when the political prominence of the Fujiwara clan also resulted in an increasing literary activity sponsored by its members. As a matter of fact, Mochitoki appears to have had strong ties to the

⁸² The prefaces by Michizane selected in *Honchō monzui* are all included in Michizane's personal collection *Kanke bunso* (Literary Drafts of the Sugawara House).

⁸³ Shitagō only became a literature student (*monjōshō*) in the *kidendō* curriculum in his forties.

⁸⁴ For a detailed discussion on the literary activity of Minamoto no Shitagō see Steininger, "Poetic Ministers," 181-216.

Fujiwara regent house in terms of literary patronage.⁸⁵ Insofar as the control of poetic production had a long association with the Imperial Household, this shift in political power also meant a shift in the socio-political configuration of the literary field.

In the *Honchō monzui* history of the development of Sinitic poetry from the late ninth to the tenth century, which expands from the core of the imperial court to the mansions of powerful aristocratic clans, Michizane occupies the first segment of the narrative. His selected texts show that his literary activity was predicated both on his official service as *monnin* at institutionalized banquets and on his close relationship with the Imperial Household, as suggested by the numerous prefaces composed for Emperor Uda's banquets. The texts selected for individuals associated with the Sugawara House such as Ki no Haseo and Ōe no Asatsuna only reinforce the perception of the tight connection of early Heian *kidendō* scholars with institutional poetic activity and with imperially-sponsored literary events in general.

One more relevant aspect of *Honchō monzui* banquet prefaces is the almost univocal connection represented between prefaces composed for institutionalized poetry banquets and the *kidendō* scholars associated with the Sugawara House. What follows is an annotated list of all the titles for institutionalized banquet prefaces collected in *Honchō monzui*:

(213) 九日侍宴同賦喜晴應製。

Ninth day, attending a banquet, composing together on the topic "Rejoicing for clear weather" in response to a command by the sovereign.

(Sugawara no Michizane) [Jōgan 10 (868). *Sandai jitsuroku*, Jōgan 10 (868)/9/9]

(214) 早春侍宴賦陽春詞應製。

Early spring, attending a banquet, composing on the topic "The lyric of spring" in response to a command by the sovereign.

(Miyako no Yoshika) [Jōgan 17 (875). *Sandai jitsuroku*, Jōgan 17 (875)/1/21]

(215) 早春侍宴同賦春暖應製。

Early spring, attending a banquet, composing together on the topic "Spring is warm" in response to a command by the sovereign.

(Sugawara no Michizane) [Gangyō 2 (878)?]

(216) 早春侍宴同賦無物不逢春應製。

Early spring, attending a banquet, composing together on the topic "No thing does not encounter spring" in response to a command by the sovereign.

(Sugawara no Michizane) [Jōgan 10 (868). *Sandai jitsuroku*, Jōgan 10 (868)/1/21]

⁸⁵ For a discussion on the biography and the literary activity of Ōe no Mochitoki see Gotō, *Heianchō kanbungaku ronkō*, 241-261.

(234) 早春侍内宴賦聖化萬年春應製。

Early spring, attending the Palace Banquet, composing on the topic "The [ruler's] wisdom and transformative power extend onto one-thousand years of spring" in response to a command by the sovereign.

(Ōe no Asatsuna) [Jōhei 2 (932). *Nihon kiryaku*, Jōhei 2 (932)/1/22]

(236) 早春内宴侍仁壽殿同賦春娃無氣力應製。

Early spring, Palace Banquet, attending at the Jijūden, composing together on the topic "Spring ladies lack vital strength" in response to a command by the sovereign.

(Sugawara no Michizane) [Gangyō 9 (885). *Sandai jitsuroku*, Gangyō 9 (885)/1/21]

(243) 九日侍宴同賦天錫難老應製。

Ninth day, attending a banquet, composing together on the topic "Heaven grants longevity" in response to a command by the sovereign.

(Sugawara no Michizane) [Jōgan 12 (870). *Sandai jitsuroku*, Jōgan 12 (870)/9/9]

(287) 九日後朝侍宴朱雀院同賦秋思入寒松應太上皇製。

Day after the ninth day, attending a banquet at the Suzaku-in, composing together on the topic "Autumn thoughts enter the cold pine" in response to a command by the retired sovereign.

(Ki no Haseo) [Shōtai 1 (898). *Nihon kiryaku*, Shōtai 1 (898)/9/10]

(300) 暮春侍宴冷泉院池亭同賦花光水上浮應製。

Late spring, attending a banquet at the pond pavilion in Reizei-in, composing together on the topic "The light of the flowers float on water" in response to a command by the sovereign.

(Sugawara no Fumitoki) [Ōwa 1 (961). *Nihon kiryaku*, Ōwa 1 (961)/3/5]

(308) 暮春侍宴左丞相東三條第同賦渡水落花舞應製。

Late spring, attending a banquet at the residence of the Minister of the Left in the Easter third avenue, composing together on the topic "Falling flowers dance crossing the water" in response to a command by the sovereign.

(Ōe no Masahira) [Kankō 3 (1006). *Nihon kiryaku*, Kankō 3 (1006)/3/4]

(319) 早春内宴侍清涼殿同賦草樹暗迎春應製。

Early spring, Palace Banquet, attending at Seiryōden, composing together on the topic "Grass and trees quietly welcome spring" in response to a command by the sovereign.

(Ki no Haseo) [Kanpyō 10 (898). *Nihon kiryaku*, Kanpyō 10 (898)/1/20]

(320) 早春侍内宴同賦晴添草樹光應製。

Early spring, attending the Palace Banquet, composing together on the topic "Clear sky enhances the brightness of grass and trees" in response to a command by the sovereign.

(Ōe no Asatsuna) [Enchō 6 (928). *Nihon kiryaku*, Enchō 6 (928)/1/21]

(326) 九日侍宴觀賜群臣菊花應製。

Ninth day, attending a banquet, watching the assembled ministers receiving chrysanthemum flowers, [a poem composed] in response to a command by the sovereign.

(Ki no Haseo) [Gangyō 7 (883)?]

(327) 九日侍宴同賦寒菊戴霜抽應製。

Ninth day, attending a banquet, composing together on the topic "Cold chrysanthemums stand up wearing frost" in response to a command by the sovereign.

(Ōe no Asatsuna) [Enchō 2 (924)?]

(328) 九日侍宴清涼殿同賦菊是花聖賢應製。

Ninth day, attending a banquet at Seiryōden, composing together on the topic "Chrysanthemum is the flower of the virtuous [ruler]" in response to a command by the sovereign.

(Ōe no Masahira) [?]

(339) 重陽日侍宴同賦寒鴈識秋天應製。

Double Nine day, attending a banquet, composing together on the topic "Cold geese are recognized in the autumn sky" in response to a command by the sovereign.

(Ōe no Asatsuna) [Engi 16 (916). *Nihon kiryaku*, Engi 16 (916)/9/9]

(340) 仲春內宴侍仁壽殿同賦鳥聲韻管絃應製。

Mid-spring, Palace Banquet, attending at Jijūden, composing together on the topic "The voice of the birds harmonizes with the instruments" in response to a command by the sovereign.

(Sugawara no Fumitoki) [Kōhō 3 (966). *Nihon kiryaku*, Kōhō 3 (966)/2/21]

(341) 早春侍宴清涼殿玩鶯花應製。

Early spring, attending a banquet at Seiryōden, "admiring the orioles and the flowers, [a poem composed] in response to a command by the sovereign.

(Ono no Takamura) [Jōwa 4 (837). *Shoku Nihon kōki*, Jōwa 4 (837)/1/20]

The above list thus includes prefaces composed for early Heian institutionalized banquets such as the Palace Banquet (*naien* 内宴), the Double Nine Banquet (*chōyō no en* 重陽宴), and the tenth century Blossom-Viewing Banquet (*hana no en* 花宴).⁸⁶ The first datable piece is by the *kidendō* graduate Ono no Takamura 小野篁 (802-853) for the Palace Banquet of Jōwa 承和 4 (837). The last one is a preface by the Confucian scholar Ōe no Masahira composed for the Blossom-Viewing Banquet held on the occasion of an imperial excursion to the residence of Fujiwara no Michinaga in Kankō 寛弘 3 (1006). As can be seen from the list, the authors of the institutionalized banquet prefaces are Sugawara no Michizane, Miyako no Yoshika 都良香 (834-

⁸⁶ The Blossom-Viewing Banquet begins to appear systematically from the Engi era, and is fully institutionalized in the mid-tenth century manual of ritual ceremonies *Shingishiki* 新儀式 (New Ritual Procedures). In fact, the entry for the Blossom-Viewing Banquet in *Shingishiki* includes many references to precedents from the Engi era. For a discussion on the origin and the development of the Blossom-Viewing Banquet see further Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 243-68.

879), Ōe no Asatsuna, Ki no Haseo, Sugawara no Fumitoki, and the above mentioned Ōe no Masahira and Ono no Takamura. As is clear, the majority of the authors are members of the Sugawara House, such as Michizane and his grandson Fumitoki, or affiliates of the Sugawara House, such as Ki no Haseo and Ōe no Asatsuna. In fact, fourteen out of a total of eighteen prefaces are composed by this social group. On the one hand, the early Heian institutionalized poetry banquets are primarily represented through the literary products of the Sugawara House and its affiliates in *Honchō monzui*. Thus, on the other hand, this association suggests that the compiler of *Honchō monzui* Fujiwara no Akihira sought to concentrate a specific form of cultural and socio-political capital (the participation to early Heian institutionalized poetry banquets and the literary production therein) within a specific group of *kidendō* scholars, namely the individuals affiliated with the Sugawara House. In the eleventh century, by the time *Honchō monzui* was compiled, the Sugawara House was still strongly associated with the literary performance requested at imperially-sponsored institutionalized poetry banquets of the early Heian period.

The Sugawara House in *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui*

None of the four thematic categories (“Buddhist gatherings,” “temples,” “*kōshin* night,” “celebrated [places]”) found in the surviving manuscripts of *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui* appears to include any excerpt of prefaces composed for events held in the imperial palace (such as, for example, early Heian institutionalized banquets). The “Buddhist gathering” section includes two excerpts from prefaces composed by the ninth-century *kidendō* graduate Ono no Takamura. The first was composed for the first gathering ever held at the Jion-in 滋恩院, the temple established in the residence of Councilor Shigeno no Sadanushi 滋野貞主 (785-852); the second for a lecture on the *Lotus Sutra* at Shigeno no Sadanushi’s residence. The section “temples” includes five excerpts from prefaces composed, in order, by Minamoto no Fusaakira 源英明 (?-939), Minamoto no Sukenori 源相規 (?-?), Ki no Tadana 紀齊名 (957-1000), and Ōe no Mochitoki. All prefaces were composed at temples within or outside the capital. The excerpts appear to be organized in a somewhat chronological order, based on the period of activity of each poet. The section “*kōshin* night” includes seventeen excerpts. All pieces seem to have been composed by late tenth-century authors such as Ōe no Mochitoki, Ki no Tadana, Yoshishige no Yasutane 慶滋保胤 (933-1002), and the Sugawara House representatives Nobuyoshi 宣義 (?-1017) and

Suketada 資忠 (936-989).⁸⁷ The *kōshin* night gatherings seem to have become popular within the Heian aristocracy precisely during this time.⁸⁸ The prefaces were probably composed at gatherings held in the mansions of aristocratic families, imperial princes and princesses.⁸⁹ Interestingly, the last two pieces included in this section are two excerpts from prefaces composed by Fujiwara no Akihira, the compiler of the anthology *Honchō monzui*, for *kōshin* night banquets held at the residence of supernumerary Grand Counselor (*gon no daigaon* 権大納言) Minamoto no Morofusa 源師房 (1008-1077), presumably during the mid-eleventh century.⁹⁰ Since the following section of “celebrated [places]” includes passages from the same two prefaces by Akihira at the end, a possible role of Akihira or a member of the scholarly Fujiwara House in drafting a first version of the *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui* collection could be inferred.

The most substantial section, “celebrated [places],” counts twenty-three excerpts. These excerpts come from prefaces composed at venues outside of the imperial palace, such as residences of retired sovereigns, places of excursions, and aristocratic mansions. The title of the section derives from the fact that the first lines of a banquet preface must normally describe the locale of the banquet with elegant and felicitous language. The “celebrated [places]” section therefore provides models for the rhetorical patterns to be used in prefaces in order to praise the venue of the banquet. Consider the first two excerpts:

皇城近東有一禪院故法眼和尚之花園也地富泉石天縱風流。

In the near East of the imperial city there is a pavilion for meditation. It is the flower garden of the late venerable monk of the Dharma Eye. The terrain is abundant in spring rocks; The sky stands above wind and streams.

紫宮之東橫街之北不經幾程有一仙居蓋上皇遁世之別館也天縱風流地得形勝屬千花之爭綻賜一日之佳遊。

East of the purple court, north of the horizontal avenue, there is one immortal dwelling not too far away. It is in fact the detached palace of the retired sovereign who renounced the world. The sky stands above wind and streams; the terrain exhibits a magnificent shape. At the time when a thousand flowers compete to bloom, a splendid entertainment is bestowed for one day.

⁸⁷ Nobuyoshi was the grandson of Sugawara no Fumitoki. Suketada was the son of Fumitoki’s brother Sugawara no Masanori.

⁸⁸ Yamamoto, “Saigū Kishi naishinnō Nonomiya kōshin no wakajo.”

⁸⁹ One of the datable texts is a passage from the preface composed by Sugawara no Suketada for a *kōshin* night banquet held by Princess Kishi 規子 (949-986) in the Jōgen 貞元 era (976-978).

⁹⁰ The two whole prefaces by Akihira survive in the late Heian collection of prefaces *Shijoshū* 詩序集 (Collection of Poetic Prefaces). *Shijoshū* 39 and 40. On *Shijoshū* see Satō, “Shijoshū seiritsu kō.”

The first passage comes from an otherwise unknown preface composed by Sugawara no Michizane's son Atsushige on the topic "Admiring the red plum flowers in front of the garden" (翫庭前紅梅).⁹¹ The second passage come from a preface composed by Ōe no Asatsuna on the topic "Falling flowers are confounded in the dancing robes" (落花乱舞衣) for a Blossom-Viewing Banquet (*bana no en* 花宴) held by Retired Emperor Suzaku in Tenryaku 天曆 3 (949).⁹² As is clear, both passages share the same structure and even the same language and expressions.

The "celebrated [places]" section seems to be organized in three sub-sections, roughly ordered chronologically. The first sub-section includes excerpts from prefaces composed at the residences of retired sovereigns, most notably Uda. The second sub-section collects excerpts from prefaces presented at imperial excursions to parks, such as the Shinsen'en 神泉苑 park, or mansions, such as the Suzaku-in 朱雀院. The third sub-section moves away from the Imperial Household and includes excerpts from preface composed at aristocratic mansions, such as the residence of the late tenth- and early eleventh-century statesman Fujiwara no Michinaga. As already discussed, the subsection ends with two excerpts from prefaces composed by Fujiwara no Akihira at the residence of Minamoto no Morofusa in mid-eleventh century. All in all, by recording examples of texts composed at events held outside the imperial palace, *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui* portrays the gradual expansion of poetic activity across the urban and suburban spaces of the capital during the tenth century, suggesting an alternative path for Sinitic poetry to that of official imperially-sponsored banquets which continued to remain firmly located in the premises of the imperial palace.

Significantly, the Sugawara House bulks large in the second sub-section. Because it includes texts produced for imperial outings to parks and villas within the capital, the fact that most of these texts are composed by members of the Sugawara House points to the strong connection maintained between the latter and the Imperial Household. Here I present the texts included in this sub-section:

若夫蓬山沼遯奏皇憶而不遑崑嶺嵯峨周王遊以忘倦言如成望朔京城之內拜勝地而作園魏闕之前道神泉以為流。神泉花宴。菅清公。

⁹¹ Two couplets on the same topic survive by Atsushige and Minamoto no Fusaakira. *Shinsen rōeishū* 90 and 91.

⁹² The entire preface is also included in *Honchō monzui*. *Honchō monzui* 306.

Dreaming from afar of Mount Peng, the Emperor of Qin incessantly pursued his quest; resting on the steep Kun Peak, the Duke of Zhou let go of his worries. Yet how could they match the wisdom of our sovereign? Within the borders of the capital, he finds a superb terrain and transforms it into a park; before the imperial gates, he traces the path of the sacred spring and generates a stream.

“Blossom-Viewing Banquet at the Shinsen Park.” Suga[wara] no Kiyotomo.

帝宮之南小一里得右丞相百花亭嚶鳴曉飛石泉暮咽髣髴於神仙之宅宛然於上界之居誠天縱煙霞地繞水樹是似棲息於其間者也。百花亭行幸。都良香。

South of the imperial court, less than a *li* away, there is the one-hundred-flower pavilion of the Minister of the Right. At dawn the voices of flying birds echo in the air; at sunset the gurgling of the spring water is heard among the rocks. This place looks like the residence of the immortals; it seems to be the dwelling of the upper world. The sky casts its light among the vapors in the air; the earth encloses streams and woods. It is really as though we have come to live in those confines.

“Royal progress to the one-hundred-flower pavilion.” Miyako no Yoshika.

神泉苑者・古之樂遊園也・天縱清流縮鏡湖之而設砌地繞勝趣移金谷以排扉宣門之外數百[步]常非望翠華哉。神泉行幸花間理管弦。菅高規。

The Shinsen'en park is the garden of pleasure and amusement of the times of old. The sky stands over a limpid stream; it narrows the Mirror Lake within the paved banks. The earth surrounds a superb landscape: it moves the Golden Valley behind the gates. It only happens rarely to be able to gaze at the feathered banners some hundred feet away from the gates of the imperial residence!

Imperial progress to Shinsen'en park, “Tuning the instruments amidst the flowers.” Suga[wara] no Takami.

夫朱雀院者洛下之別宮寰中之勝境煙華數尋縮嵩華於垣墻之裏沙堤半頃釣江湖於簾幕之前風流之妙天下無双者也。朱雀院－林池秋景。淳茂。

The Suzaku mansion is a detached court inside the capital, and a superb place within the confines of the entire realm. Light spreads amidst the air vapors across several *jin*. It seems like mounts Song and Hua have narrowed within the walls. The gravel bank extends for half a *qing*. It looks like rivers and lakes have stretched before the curtains. The charm that permeates the air and water of this place has no match under the Heaven.

Suzaku-in “Autumn scenery at the forest pond.” [Sugawara no] Atsushige.

夫朱雀院者・洛陽別宮也風流卜旧水石煙幽写白蘋州於河堤之間縮青草湖於月池之裏既勝境尽叶仙遊乎。霜葉滿林紅。輔正。

The Suzaku mansion is a detached court in Luoyang. The wind and the streams preserve the appearance of the past; soft fumes rise from the wet rocks. It seems as though the White Duckweed shores were painted on the riverbank. It looks as though the Greengrass Lake was narrowed in the moonlit pond. This is a superb place: how could it not match with the pleasures of the immortals? “Frosted leaves fill the woods with crimson.” [Sugawara no] Sukemasa.

帝里東有甲第台閣壯麗林泉幽奇本是左僕射翫春花樂秋水之地今則藤丞相為新山開旧池之場也。行幸東三条管弦時上曲。輔正。

East of the imperial residence there is a superb mansion. The palace stands with magnificent splendor; the spring in the woods cast a tranquil aura. This was originally the place where the Minister of the Left gazed at the spring flowers and enjoyed the autumn waters. Now it is the place where Counselor Fujiwara has raised a new hill and has opened the old pond.

Imperial progress to the residence at the Eastern Third Avenue, “The instruments play a melody above the waves.” [Sugawara no] Sukemasa.

With the exception of the second excerpts, composed by the Confucian scholar Miyako no Yoshika 都良香 (834-879), all prefaces were composed by members of the Sugawara House:

Michizane’s grandfather Kiyotomo 清公 (770-842), Michizane’s sons Takami and Atsushige, and Atsushige’s grandson Sukemasa. The prevalence of members of the Sugawara House in this section of the collection suggests the solid connection between the latter and the Imperial Household throughout all the tenth century. In fact, the collection significantly places a preface by the forefather of the scholarly Sugawara House, Sugawara no Kiyotomo, at the beginning of this sub-section of imperial outings, suggesting that the association between the Sugawara House and the literary service offered in these specific contexts for the Imperial Household was as early as the beginning of the Sugawara House’s scholarly tradition.

The prominence of the Sugawara House in the second sub-section of *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui* stands in sharp contrast with its gradual disappearance as the third section progresses towards the end. In order of appearance, the third sub-section includes:

- (1) A preface by Sugawara no Masanori 菅原雅規 (?-979) composed for a banquet held at Prince Sadazane’s 貞真 (876-932) mansion.
- (2) A preface written by Minamoto no Shitagō for a Double Third banquet held at the mansion of Minamoto no Takaakira 源高明 (914-983) (also included in *Honchō monzui*).⁹³
- (3) A preface composed by Minamoto no Sukenori 源相規 (?-?) at an unknown location.
- (4) A preface composed by Minamoto no Tamenori 源為憲 (?-1011) at the mansion of the Minister of the Left, probably Fujiwara no Michinaga.
- (5) A preface written by Sugawara no Fumitoki at the “water pavilion” (水閣) of the Minister of the Left, probably Minamoto no Kaneakira 源兼明 (914-987).

⁹³ *Honchō monzui* 296.

- (6) A preface composed by Minamoto no Tamenori at the Jōtōmon-in 上東門院 residence of Fujiwara no Michinaga.
- (7) A preface written by Sugawara no Fumitoki for a Blossom-Viewing banquet held by Emperor Murakami 村上 (926-967, r. 946-967) at the Reizei-in 冷泉院 estate.
- (8) A preface written by Fujiwara no Akihira at the residence of Minamoto no Morofusa.
- (9) Another preface written by Fujiwara no Akihira at the residence of Minamoto no Morofusa.

With the exception of the last two pieces by Fujiwara no Akihira, all the prefaces were composed throughout the tenth century. The presence of the Sugawara House in this sequence is interspersed and inconsistent. The excerpt from Sugawara no Fumitoki's preface for the imperially-sponsored Blossom-Viewing Banquet at the Reizei-in estate does not match the rest of the group, which focuses on prefaces composed at aristocratic mansions. I would suggest that the compiler of the extant version of *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui*, in the face of a progressive absence of Sugawara texts associated with aristocratic events from the second half of the tenth century, strived to portray the Sugawara House as maintaining a hold on their prominent position in the changing literary landscape during the shift from the early Heian to the mid-Heian period.

In the history of poetic composition portrayed in *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui* the Sugawara House is associated strongly with events sponsored by the Imperial Household. The excursions to the Suzaku-in mansion were eventually codified in the mid-tenth century ritual manual *Shingishiki* 新儀式 (New Ritual Procedures), suggesting that these ceremonies were already held as *de facto* institutionalized events during the tenth century. The continued participation of the Sugawara House in such events in fact solidified its connection to the socio-political environment of imperially-sponsored institutionalized banquets, upon which, as has been seen in the previous chapters, the Sugawara House laid claims of authority at least from the second half of the ninth century. However, as suggested by the compilation strategies in the third sub-section of the “celebrated [places]” section of *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui*, the deterioration of the infrastructure of imperial banquets during the second half of the tenth century apparently determined a gradual estrangement of the Sugawara House from the new aristocratic venues where banquet poetry was now thriving. In other words, I argue that the strong connection between the modality of imperially-sponsored institutionalized poetic activity and the Sugawara House during the early Heian period meant that the latter could not withstand the disappearance of the former from the second half of the tenth century.

3. *Honchō reisō* and the Mid-Heian Literary Field

While imperially-sponsored institutionalized poetry banquets gradually disappeared from the second half of the tenth century, replaced by banquets held at non-fixed dates, the composition of Sinitic poetry by no means diminished. The reign of Emperor Ichijō 一条 (980-1011, r. 986-1011) witnessed a thriving literary culture. At this time, the court aimed to revive the cultural efflorescence of the Engi 延喜 (901-923) and Tenryaku 天曆(947-957) eras. Accordingly, Sinitic poetry received central stage as numerous poetry banquets were held under Ichijō's sponsorship. However, such banquets are best classified as "private banquets" (*mitsuen* 密宴), that is, small-scale banquets held within a selected entourage around the sovereign. Institutionalized banquets such as the Palace Banquet and the tenth-century Blossom-Viewing Banquet were held only once, in Shōryaku 正曆 4 (993) and Kankō 3 寛弘 (1006) respectively. The Double Nine Banquet was held as a full-scale institutional banquet only three times during Ichijō's reign. Otherwise, the banquet was held under the *hiraza* 平座 form, meaning that liquor would be bestowed to gathered attendants without the sovereign appearing in person in the ceremonial hall. In this case, small-scale poetic gatherings would usually be held in the sovereign's private quarters. All in all, the court of Emperor Ichijō enjoyed a thriving poetic culture while at the same time witnessing the steady decline of institutionalized poetic activity.⁹⁴ At the same time, literary sponsorship began to expand onto the Fujiwara House, matching the political efflorescence of the clan. The diary of the politically prominent Fujiwara no Michinaga, *Midō kanpakuki* 御堂関白記, include a vast number of entries pertaining to the composition of Sinitic poetry (*sakumon* 作文), suggesting that poetry banquets continued to function as powerful cultural tools as aristocratic households incorporated them in their ceremonial activities to support political legitimacy and sustain an economy of socio-political interactions.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 125-44.

⁹⁵ Brian Steininger has discussed mid-Heian literary production in the context of an "economy of gift exchange," whereby *kidendō* scholars would find "commission and reward through individual relationships with powerful senior nobles." Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 69-70. Participation to poetry banquets sponsored by powerful aristocratic sponsors was therefore crucial in order to enter this economy of reciprocity.

In addition to the entries in the aristocratic diaries of the time, the productive literary field of this period is crystallized in the contemporary poetic anthology *Honchō reisō* 本朝麗藻 (Poetic Masterpieces of Our Court). In this section, I will first sketch briefly some features of this anthology, to then move on to discuss the strategies at work in the organization of the selected poets. As I shall argue, *Honchō reisō* constitutes a strategic portrayal of the poetic culture in late tenth and early eleventh centuries, and as such it offers insights into the socio-political developments within the mid-Heian community of *kidendō* scholars and poets.

The Poetic Masterpieces of Our Court

Compiled by Takashina no Moriyoshi 高階積善 (?-?) presumably after Kankō 寛弘 5 (1008), the temporal range of the datable works of *Honchō reisō* overlaps neatly with the court of Emperor Ichijō.⁹⁶ The anthology consists of two volumes organized by thematic categories. The first volume, which includes the categories of the four seasons, is fragmentary as it lacks the beginning and the final sections.⁹⁷ With fifty poems in the first volume and one hundred poems in the second, *Honchō reisō* counts a total of one hundred and fifty surviving poems (some two hundred poems are thought to have been originally included). The most collected type of poetry is the eight-verse regulated *shi* poem composed in the topic-line fashion, suggesting the degree of popularity of this genre at the time the anthology was compiled. Thanks to a reference in the early thirteenth century encyclopedia *Nichūreki* 二中歴 (Combination of Two History Books), it is known that *Honchō reisō* originally included thirty-six authors in total, of which twenty-nine actually appear in the extant version. It is likely that the poets included in the collection were those who repeatedly appeared in the literary events sponsored by Emperor Ichijō or by Fujiwara no Michinaga. At one literary gathering at Ichijō's residence in the detached court at Ichijō-in 一乗院 that took place in the span of two days in the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth days of the four month of Kankō 4 (1007), twenty-one of the thirty-six authors included in *Honchō reisō* attended.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ The oldest identifiable piece in *Honchō reisō* dates to Tengen 天元 5 (982); the latest piece dates to Kankō 5 (1008). Kawaguchi, *Heianchō Nihon kanbungakushi*, 590.

⁹⁷ The first part of the “spring” section and the final part of the “autumn” section are missing. “Winter” is missing altogether.

⁹⁸ The event is recorded in the relative entries of Fujiwara no Michinaga's diary *Midō kanpakuki*. See Kawaguchi, *Heianchō Nihon kanbungakushi*, 615.

The authors included in *Honchō reiso* articulate a very distinctive type of community. What follows is a list of people in *Honchō reiso* organized on the basis of the poets' social class:⁹⁹

Senior nobles (*keugyō* 公卿)

1. Emperor Ichijō 一条 (980-1011, r. 986-1011) [six surviving poems]
2. Prince Tomohira 具平 (964-1009) [nineteen surviving poems]
3. Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966-1028) [six surviving poems]
4. Fujiwara no Korechika 藤原伊周 (974-1010) [fourteen surviving poems]
5. Fujiwara no Tadanobu 藤原齊信 (967-1035) [five surviving poems]
6. Fujiwara no Kintō 藤原公任 (966-1041) [eleven surviving poems]
7. Minamoto no Toshikata 源俊賢 (960-1027) [two surviving poems]
8. Fujiwara no Tadasuke 藤原忠輔 (944-1013) [no surviving poems]
9. Fujiwara no Yukinari 藤原行成 (972-1027) [one surviving poem]
10. Fujiwara no Arikuni 藤原有国 (943-1011) [ten surviving poems]
11. Minamoto no Yorisada 源頼定 (977-1020) [one surviving poem]
12. Sugawara no Sukemasa 菅原輔正 (925-1010) [one surviving poem]
13. Minamoto no Norisada 源憲定 (?-1017) [one surviving poem]

Confucian scholars (*jusha* 儒者)

14. Ōe no Masahira 大江匡衡 (952-1012) [one surviving poem]
15. Ki no Tamemoto 紀為基 (?-?) [one surviving poem]
16. Ōe no Mochitoki 大江以言 (955-1010) [nineteen surviving poems]
17. Ōe no Michinao 大江通直 (?-?) [one surviving poem]

⁹⁹ The list is adapted from Kawaguchi, *Heianchō Nihon kanbungakushi*, 612-15.

18. Sugawara no Nobuyoshi 菅原宣義 (?-1017) [two surviving poems]
19. Takashina no Moriyoshi 高階積善 (?-?) [five surviving poems]
20. Yoshishige no Tamemasa 善滋為政 (?-?) [two surviving poems]
21. Ōe no Takachika 大江拳周 (?-1046) [no surviving poems]
22. Sugawara no Tamekiyo 菅原為清 (?-?) [no surviving poems]
23. Fujiwara no Yoshitada 藤原義忠 (984-1041) [no surviving poems]
24. Fujiwara no Hironari 藤原広業 () [one surviving poem]

Scholarship students (*monjō tokugōshō* 文章得業生)

25. Minamoto no Akimasa 源明理 (?-?) [one surviving poem]
26. Minamoto no Koreyori 源伊頼 (?-?) [one surviving poem]

Literature students (*monjōshō* 文章生)

27. Minamoto no Tamenori 源為憲 (?-1011) [nine surviving poems]
28. Fujiwara no Atsunobu 藤原敦信 (?-?) [one surviving poem]
29. Minamoto no Takamichi 源孝道 (?-1010) [seven surviving poems]
30. Fujiwara no Takanao 藤原拳直 (?-?) [no surviving poems]
31. Fun'ya no Yukimasa 文屋如正 (?-?) [no surviving poems]
32. Fujiwara no Suketada 藤原輔尹 (?-1021) [two surviving poems]
33. Tachibana no Tameyoshi 橘為義 (?-1017) [two surviving poems]
34. Minamoto no Michinari 源道濟 (?-1019) [five surviving poems]
35. Ōe no Tokimune 大江時棟 (?-?) [no surviving poems]
36. Fujiwara no Tametoki 藤原為時 (949-1029) [thirteen surviving poems]

As is clear, the poets included in *Honchō reisō* can be divided in two main social categories: senior nobles (*kyūgyō*) and *kidendō* graduates (Confucian scholars, scholarship students, and literature students).¹⁰⁰ In this way, the poetizing body in *Honchō reisō* can be thought of as representing the social categories at play in the context of poetry banquets, in which courtier poets (*tenjō monnin*) and lower-ground poets (*jige monnin*) would take their seats according to their social position. On the one hand, the coexistence of the two groups in *Honchō reisō* points to the continued significance of *kidendō*-trained expertise in mid-Heian Japan to fuel the production of Sinitic poetry in banquet settings. On the other hand, it also suggests the growing importance of learned nobles in attendance to such settings. Brian Steininger has described the development of banquet culture from the early to the mid-Heian period in terms of the “monopolization of ritual performance by the upper nobility,” that is, an increasingly socially exclusive environment reserved for individuals with high court ranks.¹⁰¹ As a matter of fact, when we consider the number of poems per category, it is evident that in *Honchō reisō* the cultural capital of Sinitic poetry lies predominantly with the group of poets belonging to the senior nobles, and to the Fujiwara clan in particular. In the next section I analyze the strategic patterns of inclusion of Fujiwara poets to show how *Honchō reisō* seeks to build cultural legitimacy for the Fujiwara clan.

The Fujiwara House in the Spotlight

With the exception of Prince Tomohira, who has nineteen poems in *Honchō reisō*, the poets with the highest number of included poems in the collection are Fujiwara no Korechika (fourteen poems), Fujiwara no Kintō (eleven poems), Fujiwara no Arikuni (ten poems), Fujiwara no Michinaga (six poems), and Fujiwara no Tadanobu (five poems), all members of the Northern branch of the Fujiwara regent house. Excluding Arikuni, who had pursued a *kidendō* training, Korechika, Kintō, and Tadanobu were all scions of the Fujiwara clan. Korechika was the son of Fujiwara no Michitaka 藤原道隆 (953-995), Michinaga’s brother, who had served as regent (*sesshō* 摂政) and advisor (*kanpaku* 関白) after the death of his father Kaneie 兼家 (929-990).¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ This distinction is in fact blurred in the case of some individuals. Sugawara no Sukemasa, for example, was a Confucian scholar who attained the junior third rank (the entry rank into *kyūgyō* status) in Shōryaku 3 (992). Likewise, Fujiwara no Arikuni, who was granted the junior third rank in Eiso 永祚 2 (990) was trained in the *kidendō* curriculum and reached the status of scholarship student (*monjō tokugōshō*). However, there is no historical source confirming that he passed the *taisaku* examination. See further Satō, “Fujiwara no Arikuni den no saikentō.”

¹⁰¹ Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 55-57.

¹⁰² For a biography of Fujiwara no Korechika see further Kuramoto, “Fujiwara no Korechika no eikō to botsuraku.”

Kintō was the eldest son of Fujiwara no Yoritada 藤原頼忠 (924-989), who had acted as *kanpaku* for Emperors En'yū 円融 (959-991, r. 969-984) and Kazan 花山 (968-1008, r. 984-986).

However, Kintō lost his prominent political position when Emperor Ichijō ascended the throne and his grandfather Kaneie was appointed regent, which shifted the tide from Kintō's lineage to Michinaga's.¹⁰³ Tadanobu was the son of Fujiwara no Tamemitsu 藤原為光 (942-992), who had a rising career and reached the position of Chancellor (*dajō daijin* 太政大臣) in Shōryaku 2 (991).¹⁰⁴ Korechika, Kintō, and Tadanobu were all members of the politically influent Fujiwara clan yet one step removed from political power, particularly so when the rise of Michinaga's lineage overshadowed the rest of the clan. In this way, the selection of poems from members of different lineages of the Fujiwara clan for inclusion in a poetry collection ensured a representation of socio-political harmony filtered through the prism of poetic activity.

Another reason behind the inclusion of a substantial number of Fujiwara poems might lie in the strategic representation of the Fujiwara House as a literate clan. A cohort of Fujiwara learned individuals surrounding the leader of the house can be thought of as mirroring the way in which poetically talented imperial princes supported the transmission of poetic training and practice within the Imperial Household during the early Heian period. As has been shown in chapter three, poetic literacy was a fundamental tool in establishing the legitimacy of the imperial lineage, both within the imperial clan (for the selection of the Crown Prince, for example) and outside of it (for differentiating the Imperial House from other competing clans). A strategic representation of the Fujiwara House as a clan supported by literate members proficient in the composition of Sinitic poetry, together with a community of *kidendō*-trained poets, mirrored the way the Imperial House nurtured poetic literacy and monopolized the mobilization of human capital (in the capacity of *monnin*) to produce poetry at institutionalized banquets in the early Heian period.

Interestingly, the representation of the banquet culture of the time of Emperor Ichijō and Fujiwara no Michinaga is never completely neutral. Poetry banquets are almost never represented in their entirety, but only with a selected small number of poems. Often, a Fujiwara individual is paired with one or more *kidendō* scholars. Consider the following examples:¹⁰⁵

- (1) “Spring accumulates flowers and birds” (花鳥春資貯)

¹⁰³ A detailed biography of Fujiwara no Kintō is in Murase, “Fujiwara no Kintō den no kenkyū.”

¹⁰⁴ On the political career and literary activity of Fujiwara no Tadanobu see Fukui, “Fujiwara no Tadanobu kō.”

¹⁰⁵ Numbers refer to the *Honchō reishō* critical edition in Ōsone and Saeki.

8. Fujiwara no Tadanobu.

9. Fujiwara no Kintō.

10. Ōe no Michinao.

(2) “Flowers fall as spring takes the returning road” (花落春歸路)

27. Fujiwara no Korechika.

28. Fujiwara no Suketada.

(3) “The pond water encircles the stream under the bridge” (池水繞橋流)

35. Minamoto no Yorisada.

36. Fujiwara no Atsunobu.

(4) “The water and the trees exude a charming aura” (水樹多佳趣)

44. Fujiwara no Tadanobu.

45. Minamoto no Michinari.

(5) “A pleasant wind comes from all directions” (左右好風来)

47. Fujiwara no Michinaga.

48. Tachibana no Tameyoshi.

(6) “After the weather has cleared the mountain river is limpid” (晴後山川清)

57. Fujiwara no Kintō.

58. Yoshishige no Tamemasa.

In the above examples, all groups are formed by poems composed on the same topic by senior nobles and *kidendō* graduates. The poems in group (2), for example, were selected from the poems presented at the banquet that took place at Fujiwara no Michinaga’s Yubadono 弓場殿 in the spring of Kankō 2 (1005).¹⁰⁶ Korechika’s poem is matched with one by the *kidendō* graduate Fujiwara no Suketada.¹⁰⁷ In like manner, the poems of Tadanobu, Kintō, and Michinaga are

¹⁰⁶ *Midō kanpakuki*, Kankō 2 (1005)/3/29.

¹⁰⁷ On the career and literary activity of Fujiwara no Suketada see further Fukui, “Fujiwara no Suketada kō.”

paired with poems by *kidendō*-trained individuals. On the one hand, this arrangement recalls the groups of poems on the same topics by sovereigns or crown princes and by *kidendō* scholars included, for example, in early ninth-century collections such as *Bunka shūreishū* 文華秀麗集 (Collection of Masterpieces of Literary Talent, 818) and *Keikokushū* 經国集 (Collection for Binding the Realm, 827).¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, the singling out and the direct pairing of poems from senior nobles and *kidendō* expert poets facilitates the assumption that the two are comparable, if not equal, in literary quality. It is my suggestion, therefore, that Takashina no Moriyoshi's strategy of selection and inclusion in *Honchō reiso* is aimed, at least in part, to monumentalize the poetic literacy of the Fujiwara clan by legitimizing the poems of its members by means of proximity to those by poets from the *kidendō* elite.

The New *Kidendō* Poets: The Sugawara House Dismissed

One major change that accompanied the mid-Heian shift towards the Fujiwara regents as brokers of social and cultural capital is that private patronage relationships supplanted the quasi-bureaucratic means by which poets were recruited for imperially-sponsored institutionalized banquets. It would be surprising if these changes had not had an impact on the relative position of the Sugawara House within Japan's literary ecosystem in the transition from the early to the mid-Heian period in the second half of the tenth century. In fact, members of that house are conspicuously absent from literary anthologies of material from the mid- to late-Heian period. The large presence of early Heian members of the Sugawara House in the memory of mid- and late-Heian literary culture, as seen for example in works such as Fujiwara no Akihira's *Honchō monzui*, stands in sharp contrast to their noticeable absence from contemporary works that anthologized contemporary material such as Takashina no Moriyoshi's *Honchō reiso*. As a matter of fact, only three poems by Sugawara representatives are included in *Honchō reiso*, one by Michizane's great-grandson Sugawara no Sukemasa and two by Fumitoki's grandson Sugawara no Nobuyoshi.¹⁰⁹ By contrast, other scholarly individuals and lineages are more conspicuously included, both as groups and as individuals. For example, Ōe no Masahira's lineage is relatively

¹⁰⁸ Tasaka Junko has made the case that in *Honchō reiso* there are various examples of the same language and rhetoric used in poems on the same topic by Fujiwara individuals and by *kidendō* scholars. Tasaka, "Honchō reiso no uchi to soto." This evidence suggests that mid-Heian Fujiwara-sponsored poetry banquets might have functioned in a similar way to those held by members of the Imperial Household during the early Heian period. As has been seen in chapter three, in the latter the presence of the same poetic language in the poems by the banquet host and in those by the summoned *kidendō* scholars can be thought of as showing traces of poetic pedagogical practice.

¹⁰⁹ Respectively *Honchō reiso* 111 and *Honchō reiso* 34 and 113.

well represented, inasmuch as the original version of the collection also included poems by his sons Takachika and Tokimune. However, particularly well represented are *kidendō* scholars who had strong ties to the Fujiwara regent house. *Honchō reiso* includes, for example, nineteen and nine poems, respectively, by the *kidendō* graduates Ōe no Mochitoki and Minamoto no Tamenori 源為憲 (941-1011). Both of these scholars had a solid relationship with the Fujiwara clan in terms of literary patronage and served as tutors to Fujiwara offspring.¹¹⁰

The pre-eminence of members of the Fujiwara House and scholars associated with it through private patronage is indicative of the impact of the mid-Heian shift in power on the socio-political configuration of the literary field. To the extent that *Honchō reiso* can be thought of as the strategic representation of a specific literary circle, that sponsored by Emperor Ichijō and Fujiwara no Michinaga, the marginalization of the Sugawara House may have had strategic undertones as well. At least one excerpt from a preface composed by Sugawara no Sukemasa for a royal excursion by Emperor Ichijō to the residence of his maternal grandfather Fujiwara no Kaneie 藤原兼家 (929-990) suggests a smoother transition of established ritual practices to new socio-political networks than the agenda behind the choice of poems for inclusion in *Honchō reiso* might suggest. Nevertheless, the consistently limited representation of the Sugawara House in mid- and late-Heian collections suggests that the social configuration of the literary field in *Honchō reiso* represented the beginning of a trend.¹¹¹ Arguably, the Sugawara-oriented *Itsumei shijoshū bassui* stands in stark contrast to the otherwise conspicuous absence of compilations centered on the Sugawara House during the same period. Even in this case, however, the organizing principle of the collection emphasizes the early Heian association of the Sugawara House with poetic events sponsored by the Imperial Household—while at the same time testifying to the gradual disappearance of this network. Thus, the section on “Celebrated

¹¹⁰ Historical and literary evidence suggests that Mochitoki was a retainer of Fujiwara no Korechika; see Gotō, *Heianchō kanbungaku ronkō*, 249-51. Korechika is, incidentally, one of the best represented poets in *Honchō reiso*. The joint prominence of Korechika and Mochitoki could also be due to their personal relationship with *Honchō reiso*'s compiler Takashina no Moriyoshi. Moriyoshi, as a matter of fact, was Korechika's maternal uncle. See further Uzumaki, “Korechika sangatsu mikka.” Tamenori composed didactic works such as *Kuchizusami* 口遊 (Singing to Yourself, 970), a primer intended for the education of the eldest son of the statesman Fujiwara no Tamemitsu; see Ury, “Chinese Learning and Intellectual Life,” 348-52; Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 163.

¹¹¹ Other late Heian anthologies in which members of the Sugawara House are poorly represented are *Honchō mudaishi* 本朝無題詩 («Poems from This Court Without Topic-Lines», mid 12th century), and two collections referred to as *Shijoshū* 詩序集 («Collection of Poetic Prefaces», mid 12th century), and *Chiyūki burui shibai kanshishū* 中右記部類紙背漢詩集 («Collection of Classified Sinitic Poems Written on the Reverse Side of the *Chiyūki* Diary», 12th century). *Honchō mudaishi* and *Shijoshū*, at least, were compilation projects associated with the ceremonial branch (*shikike* 式家) of the Fujiwara House, which had developed as a scholarly lineage beginning in the 11th century; see Satō, “shijoshū seiritsu kō,” and Satō, *Honchō zoku monzui to Honchō mudaishi*.”

[places]” begins with excerpts from prefaces composed for banquets held at the residences of retired sovereigns, to then move to sites of imperial excursions, to finally shift to prefaces composed for events held at aristocratic mansions; the Sugawara House is well represented in the former section but virtually absent from the latter. In *Itsumei shijoshū bassui*, therefore, the mid-Heian transition from sovereign-centered poetic activity to events sponsored by politically prominent aristocratic houses such as the Fujiwara House goes hand-in-hand with a gradual decrease in the attested poetic activity of the Sugawara House.

Taken together, the extant evidence suggests that, from the mid-Heian period, poetic composition remained a marginal form of cultural capital for the Sugawara House, or at least one that lacked a widely recognized socio-political arena. Moreover, most literary collections in the mid- and late-Heian period were produced by other scholarly lineages, such as the ceremonial branch of the Fujiwara House, and were naturally centered on the literary compositions of the members of these other clans in order to enhance their literary prestige. One way to explain the marginalization of the Sugawara House within the literary field of mid-Heian Japan is in terms of its intimate association with the cultural paradigm of institutionalized banquets that characterized the early Heian period. From this perspective, the changing socio-political framework of the banquet culture of mid-Heian Japan also established the possibilities and limitations for a scholarly lineage associated with what proved to be a declining mode of literary production. The significant ways in which the system of institutionalized banquets informed the ecosystem of literary production while the connection between the Sugawara House and the Imperial Household was strong meant that the latter could hardly sustain the gradual disintegration of the former. By approaching the ecosystem of early Heian Sinitic poetry as a network of cultural and political legitimation, it is possible to appreciate how the cultural legitimacy inherent in poetic activity ensured that Sinitic poetry continued to remain at the core of Heian culture through the mid-Heian cultural and political shift. At the same time, this approach clarifies the manner in which the gradual disappearance of institutionalized banquet culture allowed new socio-political agents to occupy and reshape the literary field. Thus, the Fujiwara regent house matched and eventually superseded the Imperial Household as sponsor of poetic composition. At the same time, scholarly houses like the Ōe and the ceremonial branch of the Fujiwara clan gradually came to fill the niche previously occupied by the Sugawara House.

Conclusions

During the so-called Anna Incident of Anna 安和 2 (969), the northern branch of the Fujiwara clan was able to send a powerful rival of the Fujiwara House, Minamoto no Takaakira, into exile. Afterwards, the Fujiwara House rose to a dominant position at court by consistently monopolizing the positions of regent (*sesshō* 摂政) and chancellor (*kanpaku* 関白) as well as other high-ranking offices. The Anna Incident has become a standard point at which to divide the Heian period, opening a subperiod—from late tenth to mid-eleventh centuries—in which the Fujiwara regent house achieved its greatest power.¹¹² As *Honchō reiso* attests, the Fujiwara House rose to a dominant position within the literary field in tandem with its political ascent. Roughly coincidental with the Anna Incident was in fact the disappearance of the early tenth-century ecosystem of literary production centered on the model of institutionalized banquets, which gradually gave way to networks based on relationships of private patronage between members of the aristocracy and the body of *kidendō* graduates. In many ways, the fate of institutionalized banquets mirrored the broader social and economic transformations of the Heian polity during the tenth century, which saw the aristocratic household gradually emerge as the primary unit of socio-political, economic, and cultural meaning as the functions of the centralized state began to wither.¹¹³

One more outcome of this shift seems to have been the disappearance of the Sugawara House as a constitutive element of the literary field. In like manner as Sugawara no Michizane capitalized on the paradigm of institutionalized banquets to claim a position of authority and legitimacy for his poetic activity, the disappearance of this paradigm and the appearance of new socio-political and cultural networks meant that the members of the Sugawara House lost direct access to the participation in poetic activity at court. Texts from the mid- and late-Heian period testify to the ambivalent position of the Sugawara House within the literary field at the time, insofar as Michizane and his early Heian descendants were heavily anthologized and capitalized upon so that their contribution remained vivid in the memory of Heian literary culture. Most of the poetic prefaces composed for imperially sponsored banquets that are anthologized in *Honchō monzui*, for example, date from the early Heian period and were by members of the Sugawara House and their affiliates. To understand the relationship between the Sugawara House and the Imperial Household during the early Heian period as one type of ecosystem means that we can observe how the system behaves when subjected to an unbalance. Thus, the gradual

¹¹² Hurst, “The Heian Period.”

¹¹³ Piggot, “Court and Provinces under Regent Fujiwara no Tadahira.”

disappearance of institutionalized poetry banquets from the second half of the tenth century also signified that the Sugawara House became less and less engaged in poetic production at court.

The notion of an early Heian ecosystem of Sinitic poetry also helps us position the poetic activity of *kidendō* graduates of the time in relation to the dominant mode of poetic expression. Thus, the texts of a *kidendō* graduate such as Ōe no Asatsuna, whose activity as a Confucian scholar was seemingly predicated on his poetic talent, exist within a degree of continuity with the texts produced by the members of the Sugawara House. The concept of ecosystem further helps us visualize the vectors of transmission of poetic literacy in the early Heian period: the fact that Asatsuna's texts reveal contiguity to the texts of the Sugawara House produced for similar contexts suggests that the balanced early Heian ecosystem guaranteed the continued circulation and transmission of a context-specific poetic literacy. Yamamoto Mayuko has showed the dynamics that governed the literary coterie formed around Prince Tomohira 具平 (964-1009). In particular, she has discussed how the group of *kidendō* scholars who trained and produced poetry for Tomohira, namely Minamoto no Shitagō 源順 (911-983), Tachibana no Masamichi 橘正通 (?-?), and Ki no Tadana 紀齊名 (957-1000), supported their claims of social identity through the use of the same continental rhetoric, which was thus transmitted from text to text in the course of the late tenth century.¹¹⁴ In the Heian period, therefore, multiple forms of poetic literacies and multiple socio-political vectors of transmission of poetic erudition existed, through which social bodies such as Prince Tomohira's literary entourage could fashion their socio-political identities. During the early Heian period, I argue, the primary form of poetic literacy and the main vector of transmission for poetic erudition was the system of imperially-sponsored banquets, a cultural environment inhabited by the ecosystem formed by the solid association between the Imperial Household and the Sugawara House.

¹¹⁴ Yamamoto, "Minamoto no Shitagō to Ki no Tadana no shijo hyōgen ni tsuite."

Conclusions

1. The Fate of Sugawara no Michizane

At the beginning of Shōtai 昌泰 4 (901), Sugawara no Michizane was removed from the position of Minister of the Right (*udaijin* 右大臣) and demoted to the Dazaifu 太宰府 headquarters in the capacity of supernumerary governor (*gon no sotsu* 権帥). Some of his sons, including the two *kidendō* scholars Takami 高視 and Atsushige 淳茂, were also sent away from the capital to act as provincial assistant governors. This event would then be known as the “Shōtai incident” (*shōtai no hen* 昌泰の変). The reasons for Michizane’s removal are listed in the imperial edict regarding the demotion, which is included in the governmental compendium *Seiji yōryaku* 政事要略 (Compendium of Governmental Affairs, 11th century). Arguably they are in fact quite vague and indistinct, relating to such invoked crimes as “disrupt[ing] the imperial succession,” “shatter[ing] the feelings of benevolence between father and son,” and “destroy[ing] the love between older and younger brother.”¹ On a general level, Michizane’s political downfall was traditionally regarded as an event that signaled the failure of a system of political recruitment of talented *kidendō* scholars. In many ways, Michizane’s demotion has been seen as a historical watershed representing the end of an era in which Confucian scholars could achieve a successful governmental career and rise in court rank. In reality, Michizane’s political ascent is best interpreted as an exceptional case. Moreover, we should keep in mind that many *kidendō*-trained Confucian scholars rose to senior noble (*keugyō* 公卿) status after Michizane well into the tenth century. In fact, the incorporation of *kidendō* scholars into the state bureaucracy seems to have increased during the tenth century.² In other words, Michizane’s exile should be considered more in political than ideological terms.

Vague as they may be, the reasons for Michizane’s demotion that appear in Emperor Daigo’s edict suggest that this incident was connected to issues of lineage and succession within the Imperial Household. In this way, Michizane might have been caught in the middle of the political struggle between the current sovereign Daigo and his father, the retired sovereign Uda. One

¹ A translation of the edict is in Borgen, *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court*, 278.

² Suzuki, “Kyū, jusseki no bunjin kanryō.”

plausible cause behind the Shōtai incident could have lied in the marriage politics of the Imperial Household and in the selection of Emperor Daigo's Crown Prince. While Daigo had married Princess Tameko 為子 (?-899), a maternal sister of Retired Emperor Uda, at an early stage, she had died suddenly after two years. At this point, Daigo aimed to make Fujiwara no Onshi 藤原 穩子 (885-954) an imperial consort (*nyōgo* 女御), for which he met a strong opposition from his father Uda and his grandmother Hanshi 班子 (833-900). On the one hand, Onshi's eventual entrance at court marked the failure of Uda's marriage politics.³ On the other hand, it accentuated the tensions between the current and the retired sovereign.⁴

One important aspect of the tensions within the Imperial Household regarding the selection of an imperial consort was therefore the instability of Daigo's lineage as he lacked any children that could be appointed Crown Prince. One way to explain the dynamics that governed the Shōtai incident is thus to direct the attention to the possibility that the Crown Prince might be selected among Daigo's brothers. The ideal candidate is usually identified by modern scholars with Emperor Uda's third son Prince Tokiyo 齊世 (886-927). The fact that Tokiyo took the Buddhist tonsure short after the Shōtai incident might be an indication that this plan was a real possibility.⁵ If this was the case, Michizane's involvement might have primarily lied in his familial ties with Prince Tokiyo, as the latter had taken a daughter of Michizane as consort. Furthermore, Tokiyo was the son of Emperor Uda and Tachibana no Yoshiko 橘義子 (?-?), the daughter of the Confucian scholar Tachibana no Hiromi 橘広相 (837-890), who had trained with Michizane's father Koreyoshi and was a close retainer of Uda before and after the latter's ascension to the throne.⁶ Scholarly and familial ties with a candidate to the position of Crown Prince might have therefore affected the fate of Michizane in the Shōtai incident.

I would however add another layer to the complex political tensions that resulted in the Shōtai incident. As has been seen in chapter three, I have posited poetic literacy and performance as a crucial element for the legitimation of the position of the Crown Prince within the imperial lineage. As he had familial ties with Michizane, Prince Tokiyo would have had direct access to the scholarship and poetic erudition of the Sugawara House as a form of cultural legitimacy. As a

³ Kōchi, *Kodai seijishi ni okeru tennōsei no ronri*, 287-88.

⁴ Kamiya, "Shōtai no hen to jōkō."

⁵ Kōchi, *ibid.*, 290.

⁶ In fact, Tachibana no Hiromi might have acted as the pivotal connection that established the bond between Uda and Michizane at the beginning of the Kanpyō era (889-898).

matter of fact, Prince Tokiyō's son, Minamoto no Fusaakira 源英明 (?-939) was plausibly trained within the tradition of the Sugawara House as his poetry shows continuity with the latter's poetic language.⁷ Michizane's demotion, together with that of his sons Takami and Atsushige, could then be connected to the potential role of the Sugawara in supporting the cultural legitimacy of a candidate to the position of Crown Prince. This connection would also explain why not only Michizane but also the *keidendō*-trained scions of the Sugawara House were removed from the capital. In this light, Michizane's exile can be interpreted as a direct consequence of his prominent position as a poet whose activity was primarily predicated on the relationship with the Imperial Household. When such relationship crossed the boundaries of literary service into political and familial ties, Michizane's renown as a court poet and that of his clan as an institution that pursued poetry as a specific form of cultural capital conversely became a potentially subversive weapon that could threaten the stability of the Imperial Household. Ultimately, I would argue that Michizane was removed from the court to subtract the educational infrastructure of the Sugawara House to a potential political rival of Emperor Daigo. The Sugawara House, then, momentarily lost its socio-political position because of its indissoluble function of provider of poetic culture, performance, and education for the Imperial Household in the early Heian period.⁸

2. The Zenith of Sinitic Poetry

Sugawara no Michizane's downfall has usually been interpreted as heralding an era of decline for the socio-political position of Confucian scholars and for the prestige of Sinitic poetry at the Heian court. In reality, Sinitic poetry continued to thrive. Institutionalized banquets continued to be held annually at least until the end of the reign of Emperor Daigo.⁹ During Daigo's reign, the Blossom-Viewing Banquet (*hana no en* 花宴) began to appear repeatedly as a court ceremony, and it would later be institutionalized in the tenth-century manual *Shingishiki* 新儀式 (New Ritual Procedures). The reign of Emperor Murakami marked a peak in the imperial enthusiasm towards poetic composition in literary Sinitic, with numerous extraordinary poetry banquets being held

⁷ For a brief discussion on Minamoto no Fusaakira's poetry see chapter four, pp. 178-79.

⁸ Michizane's sons Takami and Atsushige would later be reinstated in court bureaucracy a few years after the incident.

⁹ The Double Nine Banquet (*chōyō no en*) was cancelled soon after Daigo's death (930) because of its temporal proximity to it.

together with the institutionalized ones.¹⁰ As has been seen, even when imperially-sponsored poetry banquets began to decline and the sponsorship of poetic activity shifted to the Fujiwara regent house, poetry banquets maintained their cultural and socio-political significance. The early eleventh-century collection *Honchō reisō* testifies to the thriving poetic culture around Emperor Ichijō and Fujiwara no Michinaga. As new scholarly lineages rose to prominence in the course of the eleventh century, collections of poetry and prose that focused on material from the early Heian period appeared that contributed to these clans' literary training and claim of legitimacy. As has been seen, Fujiwara no Akihira's *Honchō monzui* deals predominantly with material from early Heian authors, suggesting that by the mid-Heian period the early Heian literary tradition was highly valued. By the late Heian period, Sinitic poetry had reached a stable position side-by-side with erudition (*saigaku*) as a foundational component of Confucian scholarship.

Curiously, it is precisely during the early stage of the gradual disappearance of imperially-sponsored institutionalized poetry banquets from the second half of the tenth century that legitimizing discourses about the position of poetry within Confucian scholarship and performance begin to appear. At this time, specifically, *keidendō* scholars start to mention their poetic abilities in tandem with their Confucian training and erudition in their petitions (*sōjō* 奏状, or *mōshibumi* 申文) to the throne, suggesting that poetic skills had gained socio-political currency as a form of exchangeable capital. Mid-Heian scholars of the Ōe House, in particular, show a tendency to capitalize on poetic literacy and performance.¹¹ Consider the following passages from two petitions by Ōe no Masahira and Ōe no Mochitoki respectively:

敘位勞十箇年、博士勞五箇年、以儒學為業、以風月為資。

Ten years since I received the fifth rank, five years since I was appointed professor of literature. I have made Confucian scholarship my activity; I have made the wind and the moon my wealth.¹²

蓬宮芸閣賜宴之筵、必蒙其微辟。王公卿相言詩之座、必列其風塵。雖慙才望之愚賤、未免風月之荷擔。

I invariably received the command to appear on the mats at the banquets bestowed in the Penglai palace and in the perfumed herb pavilion. I invariably lined up in the windy dust in the seats where poetry is

¹⁰ During Murakami's reign, the Lingering Chrysanthemum Banquet (*zangiku no en* 殘菊宴) began to be held in the tenth month in substitution of the Double Nine Banquet. On the banquet culture of Emperor Murakami's reign see further Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 94-122.

¹¹ Petitions were documents in parallel literary prose drafted by individuals who sought to address requests, generally for rank or office, directly to the throne. By the mid-Heian period, petitions had become highly rhetorical and refined literary texts. Ono Yasuo sees a stylistic and socio-political convergence of the two genres of banquet prefaces (*jō*) and petitions from the mid-tenth century. See further Ono, *Heianchō Tenryakuki no bundan*, 169-88.

¹² *Honchō monzui* 160.

uttered at the behest of princes and nobles. Although I am ashamed of my worthless talent, I never turned away from the task of the wind and the moon.¹³

In Masahira's petition, poetic composition ("the wind and the moon") appears hand-in-hand with Confucian erudition as the fundamental assets of a Confucian scholar.¹⁴ According to Takigawa, this form of rhetoric implies that at this stage poetry had received an acknowledgement as a useful activity for the support of the state, insofar as poetic talent is listed among the career achievements in petitions such as Masahira's.¹⁵ On the other hand, Brian Steininger has remarked how at this time poetry, and literary composition in general, had solidly entered the economy of reciprocal gift exchange established between the nobility and *kidendō* graduates such as Masahira and Mochitoki, whereby presents such as gowns and silk were bestowed in exchange for literary texts such as prefaces, petitions, and memorials.¹⁶ Continued literary performance was a fundamental part of the activity of poetry-oriented Confucian scholars. In contrast to Masahira's text, Mochitoki's petition is more focused on invoking a sustained poetic performance at banquets sponsored by the Imperial Household and the nobility than in articulating the ideological value of poetry. In both cases, however, the invocation of poetry as a form of erudition within Confucian scholarship and as a sustained performance at banquets supports the petitioners' claims to a legitimate career as Confucian scholars. By the second half of the tenth century, Sinitic poetry thus enjoys a prestigious status within the fields of activity of *kidendō*-trained individuals, one whose public recognition is strongly claimed by means of its invocation in official texts such as petitions.

In many ways, the prestige attached to the status as a poet repeatedly summoned at banquets sponsored by the Imperial Household or the nobility in the mid-Heian period stands in contrast to the unstable status of self-proclaimed poets at the early Heian court. As has been seen, in the early Heian period the status of "poet" (*shijin* 詩人) was inextricably tied to the status of *monnin* at institutionalized banquets, a service that by default could be demanded of any *kidendō* graduate. Texts produced within or around the Sugawara House, such as Sugawara no Michizane's collection *Kanke bunsō* or Ki no Haseo's preface to the poems composed after the Engi era (*Engi igoshi jō*), are at pains to articulate and negotiate the socio-political status of poetry-oriented *kidendō*

¹³ *Honchō monzui* 165. The "Penglai court" is a reference to the imperial palace; the "perfumed herb pavilion" stands for the imperial library (*uchi no gosho-dokoro* 内御書所).

¹⁴ As shown by Takigawa, "wind and moon" (風月) is a way to refer to poetic composition performed at official banquets. See further Takigawa, *Tennō to bundan*, 145-61.

¹⁵ Takigawa, "Heianchō kanbungaku no kisō."

¹⁶ Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms*, 67-69.

scholars, both within the community of Confucian scholars and at court more in general. While the Sugawara House was able to secure a niche for itself as providers of poetic capital for the Imperial Household during the early Heian period, the disappearance of this network and the gradual expansion of poetic sponsorship among the nobility during the tenth century opened up the field to the participation of poets from other scholarly clans, such as the Ōe and the ceremonial branch of the Fujiwara. At the moment when the early Heian ecosystem centered on the connection between the Sugawara House and the Imperial Household was fading, the performance, value, and status of Sinitic poetry reached its zenith at the Heian court.

3. Conclusions

This dissertation has explored the gradual creation and substantiation of what I have called the “ecosystem of Sinitic poetry” in early Heian Japan. Starting from the process of institutionalization of poetic practice, which began in the early ninth century, and arriving at the formation of a fully balanced ecosystem formed at the intersection of institutionalized poetry banquets, the imperial clan, and the Sugawara House, this thesis seeks to rethink the role of this cultural process in the identity formation of those *kidendō*-trained Confucian scholars who pursued poetry as a form of capital to master, occupy, and monopolize. The early Heian ecosystem, specifically, is maintained by the continued association between the Sugawara House and the Imperial Household. While the position of the Sugawara House is sustained by its connection with the performative environments provided by the institutional court and the imperial clan, the poetic erudition supplied by the Sugawara House conversely contributed to legitimize the cultural prestige and the political position of the Imperial Household. This ecosystem thus is configured as a perfectly balanced environment of cultural production, one that determines the coordinates along which the composition of poetry in literary Sinitic develops during the early Heian period. This environment of cultural production, furthermore, shows both balance and resilience, insofar as some cultural practices that emerge at the end of the tenth century seek to reproduce and perpetuate the same mechanics of the early Heian ecosystem as a source of cultural authority. Thus, the “Sugawara century” indicates that historical moment from the second half of the ninth century to the first half of the tenth century during which the Sugawara House gained socio-political prominence in the arena of imperially-sponsored institutionalized poetry banquets. The study of the cultural ecosystem that was created around the practice of Sinitic poetry during the early Heian period is thus fundamental in order to better appreciate the complex process by which poetry developed as a self-sustaining and prestigious

form of cultural capital and the process of the formation of the poets' cultural identity, two aspects that would come to play a significant role within the environment of literary production of mid- and late Heian period.

Appendix I

Index of Poems in Sugawara no Michizane's *Kanke bunsō* (Literary Drafts of the Sugawara House)

(The reference text is the critical edition of *Kanke bunsō* by Kawaguchi Hisao in *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 72)

VOLUME 1

[1] 月夜見梅花 于時年十一。嚴君令田進士試之予始言詩。故載編首。

Moonlight night, admiring the plum flowers. (Composed at the age of eleven. The rigorous lord commanded the Advanced Scholar Shimada to test me. This was my first poetic utterance; this is why I put it at the beginning of the collection.)

[2] 臘月獨興 于時年十有四。

Twelfth month, solitary inspiration. (Composed at the age of fourteen.)

[3] 殘菊詩 十韻、于時年十六。

Poem on the lingering chrysanthemums. (Ten rhymes. Composed at the age of sixteen.)

[4] 賦得赤虹篇、一首 七言十韻、自此以下四首、臨應進士舉、家君每日試之。雖有數十首、採其頗可觀、留之。

Obtaining “Piece on the crimson rainbow” as a topic for composition. One poem. (Seven characters per line, ten rhymes. The following four poems were composed when preparing for the Advanced Scholar examination. Everyday the House Lord would test me; although I produced dozens of poems, here I only selected the most accomplished ones.)

[5] 賦得詠青、一首 十韻，泥字，擬作。

Obtaining “Composing on blue-green” as a topic for composition. One poem. (Ten rhymes on the character “mud.” Test composition.)

[6] 賦得躬桑、一首 六十字，題中韻。

Obtaining “Going in person to the mulberry trees” as a topic for composition. One poem. (Sixty characters, the rhyme is taken from the topic.)

[7] 賦得折楊柳、一首 六十字，題中韻。

Obtaining “Breaking the willow branches” as a topic for composition. One poem. (Sixty characters, the rhyme is taken from the topic.)

[8] 九日侍宴，同賦鴻雁來賓，各探一字，得葦，應製 自此以下十九首，進士及第之作。

Ninth day, attending a banquet, composing along on the topic “Wild geese arrive as guests.”
Selecting one rhyme character each, obtaining “reed.” Composed in response to a command by the sovereign. (The following nineteen poems were composed after I passed the Advanced Scholar examination.)

[9] 八月十五夜，嚴閣尚書，授後漢書畢。各詠史，得黃憲。 並序。

Eighth month, fifteenth night. At the end of the lecture on the History of the Later Han by the Master of Writing in the official government, each composed on a historical subject. I obtained Huang Xian. (With preface attached.)

[10] 重陽侍宴，賦景美秋稼，應製

Double Yang, attending a banquet. Composing on the topic “Sunlight shines beautifully on autumn harvest” in response to a command by the sovereign.

[11] 翫梅華，各分一字 探得勝字。

Admiring the plum flowers, one rhyme character each. (I draw the character “to bear.”)

[12] 八月十五夜，月亭遇雨待月。 探韻得無。

Eighth month, fifteenth night. Encountering rain while waiting for the moon at the moon-viewing pavilion. (drawing the rhyme character “none.”)

[13] 秋風詞。 題中韻。

Lyric on the autumn wind. (Taking the rhyme from the topic.)

[14] 仲春釋奠，禮畢，王公會都堂，聽講禮記。

Mid-spring *sekiten* rite. At the end of the ceremony royals and nobles gathered in the main hall to hear a lecture on the Book of Rites.

[15] 奉和安秀才無名先生，寄矜伐公子。 次韻。

Respectfully harmonizing with Flourishing Talent A[be]’s poem “In the voice of an anonymous master, sending a poem to a boasting son of a high official.” (Following the rhymes.)

[16] 和春十一兄老生吟見寄。 次韻。

Harmonizing with a poem composed and sent by a scholar of advanced age, the eleventh brother Haru[zumi?]. (Following the rhymes.)

[17] 入夏滿旬，過藤郎中亭，聊命紙筆。

Ten days after entering summer, passing by the pavilion of the Assistant Minister Fujiwara I ask for paper and brush.

[18] 會安秀才餞舍兄防州。 探得隅字。

Joining the Flourishing Talent A[be] in sending off his elder brother to Suō province. (Drawing the rhyme character “corner.”)

[19] 侍廊下，吟詠送日。

Attending the Hallway, sending off the day chanting and reciting.

[20] 感源皇子養白雞雛，聊敘一絕。

Moved by the Imperial Son Minamoto's raising of white-chicken chicks, I express my feelings in one broken verse.

[21] 秋夜。離合。

Autumn night. In the "separating and matching" style.

[22] 奉和執金吾相公彈琴之什。

Respectfully harmonizing with the Commander of the Inner Palace Guards and Councilor's poem on playing the lute.

[23] 仲春釋奠，聽講論語。

Mid-spring *sekiten* rite, hearing the lecture on the Analects.

[24] 踐別同門故人各著緋出宰。 探得夢。

Sending off old friends who studied with the same master who wore the scarlet garment and were appointed to the provinces. (Drawing the character "dream.")

[25] 喜雨詩。 以龍為韻。限八十字。每句用漢代良吏名。

Poem on rejoicing over rain. (Using "dragon" as a rhyme character. Setting the limit to eighty characters. Each verse must include the name of illustrious officials of the Han dynasty.)

[26] 賀宮田兩才子入學。

Congratulating the talented scholars Miya[?] and [Shima?]da on their admittance to the school.

[27] 早春侍內宴，同賦無物不逢春，應製。 并序。自此以下，秀才作。

Early Spring, attending the Residential Palace Banquet. Composing along on the topic "No thing does not encounter spring" in response to a command by the sovereign. (With preface attached. The following poems were composed after becoming Flourishing Talent.)

[28] 仲春釋奠，聽講孝經，同賦資事父事君。 并序。

Mid-spring *sekiten* rite, hearing a lecture on the Classic of Filial Piety. Composing along on the topic "Serving one's ruler as one serves his father." (With preface attached.)

[29] 詠瞿麥花呈諸賢。

Composing on the *dianthus* flower and submitting the poem to all the virtuous.

[30] 戊子之歲，八月十五日夜，陪月臺，各分一字。 探得登。

Year of the Earth Rat, eighth month, fifteenth night, attending at the moon-viewing platform. One character each. (Drawing the rhyme character "ascending.")

[31] 觀王度圍碁，獻呈人。

Looking at Wang Du playing the game of *go* and presenting him with a poem.

[32] 春日假景，尋訪故人。

Moment of leisure on a spring day, visiting an old friend.

[33] 陪寒食宴，雨中即事，各分一字。 得朝。

Attending the Cold Meal Banquet, impromptu composition amidst the rain, one character each. (Drawing the rhyme character “morning.”)

[34] 史記竟宴，詠史得司馬相如。

Composing on historical subjects at the banquet celebrating the end of the lectures on the Records of the Grand Historian. I obtained “Sima Xiangru.”

[35] 寄巨先生乞畫圖。 于時先生為神泉苑監，適許遊覽。仍獻乞之。

Sending this poem to master Ko[se] to request a painting. (At the time the master was acting as supervisor to the Shinsen'en park I was granted a tour of the park. This is why I present a poem and advance this request.)

[36] 山陰亭，冬夜待月。

At the *Yamakage* Pavilion, waiting for the moon on a winter night.

[37] 七月六日文會。

Poetic gathering on the sixth day of the seventh month.

[38] 停習彈琴。

Giving up on learning to play the lute.

[39] 八月十五夕，待月。席上各分一字。 得疏。

Eighth month, fifteenth night, waiting for the moon. Distributing one character per participant on the floor. (Drawing “flowing.”)

[40] 九月侍宴，賦山人獻茱萸杖，應製。

Ninth day, attending a banquet. Composing on the topic “The mountain men present *zhuuyu* sticks as offering” in response to a command by the sovereign.

[41] 仲春釋奠，聽講毛詩，同賦發言為詩。

Mid-spring *sekiten* rite, hearing a lecture on the Book of Poetry. Composing along on the topic “Uttered words become poetry.”

[42] 團坐言懷

Sitting in a circle I speak my feelings.

[43] 王度讀論語竟。聊命盃酌。

At the end of Wang Du's lecture on the Analects I ask for liquor.

[44] 花下餞諸同門出外吏，各分一字。 探得轅。

Under the flowers, sending off those who studied under the same master who are leaving for provincial office. One character each. (Drawing the rhyme character “axle.”)

[45] 晚春，同門會飲，翫庭上殘華。

Late spring, gathering with those who studied under the same master, [composing on the topic] “Admiring the lingering flowers in the garden.”

[46] 過尾州滋司馬文亭，感舍弟四郎壁書彈琴妙，聊敘所懷，獻以呈寄。

Passing by the Poetry Pavilion of the governor of Owari Shige[no?], I am moved by the beauty of the wall inscriptions and the lute music by his fourth younger brother. I express my feelings and present a poem.

[47] 哭菅外史，奉寄安著作郎。

Crying for the death of the provincial official Suga[?], respectfully sending a poem to Inner Scribe A[be].

[48] 九日侍宴，同賦喜晴，應製。 并序。

Ninth day, attending a banquet, composing along on the topic “Rejoicing at clear sky” in response to a command by the sovereign. (With preface attached.)

[49] 晚冬過文郎中，翫庭前早梅。 并序。

Late winter, passing by the second assistant minister Fun[ya?], [composing on the topic] “Admiring the early plums in the garden.”

[50] 奉和王大夫賀對策及第之作。 次韻。

Respectfully harmonizing with Lord Wang's [?] poem congratulating my passing of the *taisaku* examination. (Following the rhyme.)

[51] 賦得麥秋至，一首。 敕安寬寒竿壇端。

Obtaining the topic “Autumn harvest season arrives.” One poem. Setting the rhyme characters as: “quiet,” “vast,” “cold,” “pole,” “altar,” “end.”

[52] 五月，長齋畢，書懷簡諸同舍。

Fifth month, ending the long period of abstinence, writing my feelings and sending to all my lodging mates.

[53] 長齋畢，聊言懷寄諸才子，酬答頻來，吟詠有感。

At the end of the long period of abstinence, I uttered my feelings and sent a poem to all the talented scholars. Responding poems arrived in great numbers, and I was moved as I chanted and recited them.

[54] 翫秋花。 東宮侍中局，小宴之作。

Admiring the autumn flowers. (Composed at a small banquet at the Crown Prince's chamberlain office.)

[55] 仲秋釋奠，聽講周易，賦鳴鶴在陰。

Mid-autumn *sekiten* rite, hearing a lecture on the Book of Changes, composing on the topic "Crying cranes lie in the twilight."

[56] 九日侍宴，同賦天錫難老，應製。 并序。

Ninth day, attending a banquet, composing along on the topic "Heaven grants longevity" in response to a command by the sovereign. (With preface attached.)

[57] 冬日，賀船進士登科，兼感流年。

Winter day, congratulating the Advanced Scholar Funa[?] on passing the examination, while at the same time being moved by the passing of time.

[58] 冬至日，書懷奉呈田別駕。

Winter solstice, writing my feelings and respectfully submitting a poem to the Assistant Governor [Shima]da.

[59] 近以冬至書懷詩，奉呈田別駕。 酬答中，有恐作冬雷開蜃促之句。 吟翫未畢，重寄一封，敘云，詩去須臾天南雷鳴一聲，擊睡覺夢，有感更用本韻。 予止讀驚愕。 已悟天人相應，即又以本韻，重以呈之。

Recently I respectfully submitted the poem "Winter solstice, writing my feelings" to the Assistant Governor [Shima]da. In his answer there was the verse "I fear that winter thunders have risen from their hibernation." I was still chanting and admiring this verse when a letter arrived that said: "After reading your poem a thunder sounded its voice south of the sky, striking my sleep and awakening me from my dreams. I was moved and composed a poem using the same rhymes." Amazed, I interrupted my reading. Realizing that heaven and man resonate with each other, I composed one more poem on the same rhymes and submitted it.

[60] 殘燈，風韻。

Lingering lanterns, using the rhyme "wind."

[61] 書懷，寄安才子。

Writing my feelings and sending a poem to the talented scholar A[be].

[62] 同舍，小飲。

Small banquet with my lodging mates.

[63] 漢書竟宴，詠史得司馬遷。

Banquet celebrating the end of the lectures on the History of the Han, composing on historical subjects, I obtain "Sima Qian."

[64] 八月十五夜，月前話舊，各分一字。 探得心。
Eighth month, fifteenth night, talking about the past in front of the moon. One character each.
(Drawing the character “mind.”)

[65] 謁河州藤員外刺史，聊敘所懷，敬以奉呈。
Visiting the supernumerary governor of Kawachi Fuji[wara], expressing my feelings and respectfully submitting a poem.

[66] 早春侍宴仁壽殿，同賦春雪映早梅，應製。
Early spring, attending a banquet at Jijūden, composing along on the topic “Spring snow reflects the early plums” in response to a command by the sovereign.

[67] 早春，陪右丞相東齋，同賦東風粧梅。各分一字。 探得迎字。
Early spring, attending at the eastern study of the Minister of the Right, composing along on the topic “The wind from the East adorns the plum.” One character each. (Drawing the rhyme character “welcoming.”)

[68] 書齋雨日，獨對梅花。
In my study on a rainy day, facing the plum flowers in solitude.

[69] 拜戶部侍郎，聊書所懷，呈田外史。
Being assigned to the Assistant Minister of Popular Affairs, I write my feelings and submit a poem to the provincial official [Shima]da.

[70] 九日侍宴，同賦紅蘭受露，應製。
Ninth day, attending a banquet, composing along on the topic “The crimson orchids receive frost” in response to a command by the sovereign.

[71] 九日侍宴，同賦吹華酒，應製。
Ninth day, attending a banquet, composing along on the topic “Blowing on the flower liquor” in response to a command by the sovereign.

[72] 傷安才子。
Lamenting the death of the talented scholar A[be].

[73] 雪中早衙。
Early office amidst the snow.

[74] 早衙。
Early office.

[75] 秋日山行二十韻。 于時祈神向越州社。
Autumn day, walking in the mountain, twenty rhymes. (At the time I was travelling to the shrine in Echizen province to worship the deities.)

[76] 海上月夜。 于時祈神到越州。

Moonlight night on the sea. (At the time I had arrived in Echizen province to worship the deities.)

VOLUME 2

[77] 早春，侍宴仁壽殿，同賦認春，應製。 自此以下百六首，吏部侍郎之作。

Early spring, attending a banquet at Jijūden, composing along on the topic “Recognizing spring” in response to a command by the sovereign. (The following 106 poems were composed after I received the office of Assistant Minister of Ceremonial Affairs.)

[78] 暮春，見南亞相山莊尚齒會。

Late spring, witnessing the gathering for the veneration of old age at the mountain villa of Major Counselor Mina[buchi].

[79] 早春，侍宴仁壽殿，同賦春暖，應製。 并序。

Early spring, attending a banquet at Jijūden, composing along on the topic “Spring is warm” in response to a command by the sovereign. (With preface attached.)

[80] 喜田少府罷官歸京。

Rejoicing at Assistant Governor [Shima]da relinquishing his post and returning to the capital.

[81] 仲春釋奠，聽講孝經。

Mid-spring *sekiten* rite, hearing a lecture on the Classic of Filial Piety.

[82] 講書之後，戲寄諸進士。

After the lecture on the History [of Later Han] I present a poem to all the Advanced Scholars.

[83] 早春，侍內宴，賦聽早鶯，應製。

Early spring, attending the Residential Palace Banquet, composing on the topic “Hearing the early warblers” in response to a command by the sovereign.

[84] 元慶三年孟冬八日，大極殿成畢，王公會賀之詩。

A poem on royals and nobles gathering to celebrate the completion of the Great Hall of State [*daigokuden*] on the eighth day of the mid-winter month in Gangyō 3 [879].

[85] 早春，侍內宴，同賦雨中花，應製。

Early spring, attending the Residential Palace Banquet, composing along on the topic “Flowers amidst the rain” in response to a command by the sovereign.

[86] 傷巨三郎，寄北堂諸好事。

Lamenting the death of the third son Ko[se?], sending a poem to all the distinguished fellows at the Northern Hall.

[87] 博士難。 古調。

Hardships of professorship. (Ancient style.)

[88] 仲春釋奠，聽講左傳，賦懷遠以德。

Mid-spring *sekiten* rite, hearing a lecture on the Commentary of Zuo, composing on the topic “Extending virtue upon remote people.”

[89] 暮春，送因州茂司馬，備州宮司馬之任，同賦花字。
Late spring, sending off the second assistant governor of Inaba Shige[?] and the second assistant governor of Bi[zen?] Miya[?], composing along on the rhyme character “flower.”

[90] 北堂澆章宴後，聊書所懷，奉呈兵部田侍郎。
After the banquet celebrating the end of lectures at the Northern Hall, I write my thoughts and respectfully submit a poem to the junior assistant Minister of Military Affairs [Shima]da.

[91] 後漢書竟宴，各詠史，得光武。
Banquet celebrating the end of the lectures on the History of Later Han, each composing on historical subjects, I obtain “Guangwu.”

[92] 山家晚秋。以題為韻。右親衛平將軍河西別業也。
Late autumn at the mountain house. (Taking the topic as rhyme. It is the villa of the Commander of the Imperial Guards of the Right Taira west of the river.)

[93] 奉和兵部侍郎哭舍弟大夫之作。押韻。
Respectfully harmonizing with the poem by the junior assistant Minister of Military Affairs on crying for the death of his younger brother. (Using the original rhymes.)

[94] 勸吟詩，寄紀秀才。元慶以來，有識之士，或公或私，爭好論議，立義不堅，謂之痴鈍。其外只醉舞狂歌，罵辱凌轢而已。故製此篇，寄而勸之。
Recommending chanting poetry, sending a poem to the Flourishing Talent Ki. (From the Gangyō era, knowledgeable scholars both publicly and privately like to debate. However, they lack solidity in their arguments and I call them foolish. Besides, they simply dance as if drunk and sing songs as if crazy, so I cannot but scold and reprimand them. This is why I have composed this piece and sent it as a way of advice.)

[95] 路次，觀源相公舊宅有感。相公，去年夏末，薨逝。其後數月，臺榭失火。
Along the road, looking at Councilor Minamoto’s old mansion and being moved. (The councilor passed away at the end of last year’s summer. A few months later his mansion was lost to fire.)

[96] 雲州茂司馬，視詩草數首。吟詠之次，適見哭菅侍醫之長句。不勝復悼，聊敘一篇。
The second assistant governor of Izumo Shige[?] showed me a number of his drafts. While I was reciting and chanting his poems, I came across a long verse on crying for the death of the Imperial Doctor Suga[wara?]. I could not bear the pain so I expressed my feelings in this poem.

[97] 詩草二首，戲視田家兩兒。一首以敘菅侍醫病死之情。一首以悲源相公失火之家。丈人侍郎，適依本韻，更酬一篇。予不堪感歎，重以答謝。
I showed for leisure two of my poems to the two [Shima]da boys. One poem expressed my feelings about the death by illness of the Imperial Doctor Suga[wara?]; one poem expressed the sadness

about the mansion of Councilor Minamoto being lost to fire. My father-in-law, the junior assistant minister, sent me a poem in response using the same rhyme. I could not bear the emotion so I answered with one more poem.

[98] 有所思。元慶六年夏末，有匿詩。誹藤納言。納言見詩意之不凡，疑當時之博士。余甚慙之。命矣，天也。

Having thoughts. (At the end of summer of Gangyō 6 [882] an anonymous poem appeared that criticized Counselor Fuj[wara]. The Counselor, seeing that the poetic sentiment was not ordinary, thought that this was the product of the Professor of the time. I was extremely embarrassed by this. It must be the will of Heaven.)

[99] 九日侍宴。各分一字，應製。探得芝。

Ninth day, attending a banquet. One character each. [A poem composed] in response to a command by the sovereign. (Drawing the rhyme character “perfumed.”)

[100] 喜被遙兼賀員外刺史。

Rejoicing at being granted the position of absentee supernumerary governor of Kaga.

[101] 春日於相國客亭，見鷗鳥戲前池有感，賦詩。

Spring day at the Chancellor’s pavilion for guests. Looking at seagulls playing in the front pond and being moved by it, I compose a poem on this topic.

[102] 春日過丞相家門。

Spring day, passing by the Minister’s house gate.

[103] 陪源尚書，餞總州春別駕。同用難寬看三字。

Attending at the mansion of the Master of Writing Minamoto, sending off the assistant governor of Kazusa [Shimōsa?] Haru[mi?]. (Using together the three rhyme characters “difficult,” “vast,” “gaze.”)

[104] 去春詠渤海大使，與賀州善司馬，贈答之數篇。今朝重吟，和典客國子紀十二丞見寄之長句，感而翫之。聊依本韻。

Last spring I read the poems exchanged between the Balhae ambassador and the second assistant governor of Kaga [Mi]yoshi. Today I chanted the long verse sent in response to a poem by the Child of the Realm at the Office of Reception Ki the twelfth. I was moved and admired it, so I composed one poem following the same rhymes.

[105] 重依行字，和裴大使被誄之什。

One more poem using the rhyme “going” in response to a poem sent by the Ambassador Bae.

[106] 過大使房，賦雨後熱。

Passing by the Ambassadors rooms, composing on the heat after the rain.

[107] 夏夜對渤海客，同賦月華臨靜夜詩。題中取韻，六十字成。

Summer night, meeting the guests from Balhae, composing along on the topic “The moon flower shines over a quiet night.” (Taking the rhyme from the topic. A poem made of sixty characters.)

[108] 醉中脫衣，贈裴大使，敘一絕，寄以謝之。

Amidst intoxication we took off our robes and gave them to Ambassador Bae. I composed one broken verse and sent it as a token of gratitude.

[109] 二十八字，謝醉中贈衣。裴少監，酬答之中，似有謝言。更述四韻，重以戲之。

Amidst intoxication I sent a robe together with a twenty-eight character poem as a token of gratitude. In the answer by the Junior Controller Bae there seemed to be words of gratitude. I compose another four-rhyme poem and reciprocate one more time for leisure.

[110] 依言字。重酬裴大使。

Using the character “word” I send another poem in response to Ambassador Bae.

[111] 夏夜於鴻臚館，餞北客歸鄉。

Summer night at the Kōrokan, sending off our northern guests who return to their homeplace.

[112] 酬裴大使留別之什。 次韻。

Sent in response to Ambassador Bae’s farewell poem. (Following the rhyme.)

[113] 臨別送鞍具總州春別駕。

Approaching separation, I send a saddle to the assistant governor of Kazusa [Shimōsa?] Haru[?].

[114] 小廊新成，聊以題壁。

The small hallway being newly completed, I compose a poem on the wall.

[115] 勸野營住學曹。

Advising Yaei [Ono no?] on residing in the school dormitory.

[116] 水中月。

The moon inside the water.

[117] 夢阿滿。

Dreaming of my son.

[118] 詩情怨。 古調十韻。 呈菅著作，兼視紀秀才。

Lament of the poetizing mind. (Ten rhymes in the ancient style.) Submitting the poem to the Inner Scribe Suga[no] and showing it as well to the Flouring Talent Ki.

[119] 余，近敘詩情怨一篇，呈菅十一著作郎。長句二首，偶然見酬。更依本韻，重答以謝。

I recently composed the piece “Lament of the poetizing mind” and submitted it to the Inner Scribe Suga[no] the eleventh. Two long verses arrived in response. Using again the same rhymes, I send another poem as a token of gratitude.

[120 - 121] 予作詩情怨之後，再得菅著作長句二篇。解釋予憤，安慰予愁。憤釋愁慰，朗然如醒。予重抒蕪詞，謝其得意。 本韻。

After I composed my “Lament of the poetizing mind” I received two more long poems from the Inner Scribe Suga[no]. They dispelled my resentment and consoled my sadness. Dispelling resentment and consoling sadness felt like sobering up, bright and clear. I composed again my weed-like lyrics to thank him for his thoughtful sentiment. (Following the rhyme.)

[122] 夏日偶興。

Summer day, impromptu inspiration.

[123] 見渤海裴大使真圖，有感。

Moved by a truthful portrait of Ambassador Bae of Balhae.

[124] 九日侍宴，觀賜群臣菊花，應製。

Ninth day, attending a banquet, looking at the assembled ministers receiving the chrysanthemum flowers. [A poem composed] in response to a command by the sovereign.

[125] 題白菊花。 去春，天台明上人，分寄種苗。

Composed on white chrysanthemum flowers. (Last spring, an illustrious superior man of Tendai sent me the seeds.)

[126] 同諸才子，九月卅日，白菊叢邊命飲。 同勒虛餘魚，各加小序。不過五十字。

Together with all the talented scholars, on the thirtieth day of the ninth month, having a banquet near the white chrysanthemum grass. (Together setting the rhyme scheme on the characters “empty,” “excess,” “fish.” Each must attach a small preface of no more than fifty characters.)

[127] 典儀，禮畢，簡藤進士。

At the end of the ceremony I sent this to the Advanced Scholar Fuji[wara].

[128] 賦得春深道士家。 限四十字，題中取韻。筆不停滯，文不加點。

Obtaining “Spring deepens in the house of the master of the Way” as a topic of composition. (Setting the limit to forty characters; taking the rhyme from the topic. [Composed] without halting the brush or revising the text.)

[129 - 138] 絕句十首，賀諸進士及第。

Ten broken verses composed to congratulate all the Advanced Scholars who passed the examination. (Poem n. one)

[139] 八月釋奠，聽講孝經，賦秋學禮。

Eighth month, *sekiten* rite, hearing a lecture on the Classic of Filial Piety, composing on the topic “In autumn learning ceremonies.”

[140] 傷藤進士，呈東閣諸執事。

Lamenting the death of the Advanced Scholar Fuji[wara], submitting a poem to all the retainers at the Eastern Gate.

[141] 去冬，過平右軍池亭，對乎圍碁，賭以隻圭新賦。將軍戰勝，博士先降。今寫一通，誦一絕，奉謝遲晚之責。

Last winter, passing by the pond pavilion of the Commander of the Imperial Guards of the Right Taira, we played *go* wagering [?] new compositions. The Commander won while the Professor lost. Now I wrote a letter accompanied by a broken verse in order to respectfully apologize for the late accomplishment of my duty.

[142] 感小蛇，寄田才子，一絕。來訪之間，此蛇在前。故感之。

Moved by a small rainbow, offering a poem to the talented scholar [Shima]da. (While he was visiting, this rainbow appeared in front of us. This is why I was moved.)

[143] 近日野州安別駕，製一絕寄諸同志。有頻歷外吏，獨後倫輩之歎。予不勝助憂，聊依本韻誦。

Recently the assistant governor of Shimotsuke A[be] composed a broken verse and offered it to all his like-minded friends. In the poem there was the lament of serving a long time in the province and falling behind all his companions. I could not bear the sadness and answered with a poem following the same rhyme.

[144] 重陽日，侍宴紫宸殿，同賦玉燭歌，應製。六韻已上成。

Day of the Double Yang, attending a banquet at Shishinden, composing along on the topic “Song of the jade candle” in response to a command by the sovereign. (A poem of more than six rhymes.)

[145] 勸學院，漢書竟宴。詠史得叔孫通。

Banquet celebrating the end of the lectures on the History of the Han at Kangakuin. Composing on historical subjects, I obtained “Shusun Tong.”

[146] 相國東廊，講孝經畢。各分一句，得忠順弗失而事其上。

At the Eastern Hallway in the Chancellor’s mansion, end of the lecture on the Classic of Filial Piety. One line each, I obtained “Not failing in loyalty and obedience in serving those above.”

[147] 賦木形白鶴。八年十二月廿五日夜，金吾納言，祝四十年法會賦之。

Composing on a wooden white crane. (Eighth year, second month, night of the twenty-fifth day, [a poem] composed at the buddhist gathering celebrating the fortieth birthday of the Counselor and Commander of the Imperial Guards.)

[148] 早春內宴，侍仁壽殿，同賦春娃無氣力，應製一首。并序。
Early spring, Residential Palace Banquet, attending at Jijūden, composing along on the topic
“Spring ladies lack vital strength.” One poem [composed] in response to a command by the
sovereign. (With preface attached.)

[149] 相府文亭，始讀世說新書。聊命春酒，同賦雨洗杏壇花。應教一首。
At the Minister’s Poetry Pavilion, the reading of the “New account of tales of the world” begins.
Spring liquor is brought and we compose along on the topic “Rain washes the flowers on the
Apricot Altar.” One poem [composed] in response to a command by the Minister.

[150] 七月七日，憶野州安別駕。
Seventh month, seventh day, remembering the assistant governor of Shimotsuke A[be]

[151] 秋夜，宿弘文院。
Autumn night, spending the night at Kōbun’in.

[152] 仁和元年八月十五日，行幸神泉苑。有詔侍臣。命獻一篇。同勒門存根恩。
On the fifteenth day of the eighth month of the first year of Ninna [885], royal progression to the
Shinsen’en park. A command was extended to the attending ministers to present a poem. (All
composing on the rhyme characters “gate,” “existing,” “roots,” “grace.”)

晚秋二十詠。九月廿六日，隨阿州平刺史，到河西之小庄。數盃之後，清談之間，令多進士題二十事。于時
日迴西山，歸期漸至。含毫詠之，文不加點。不避聲病，不守格律，但恐世人嘲弄斯文。恐之思之、才之拙也。
Twenty compositions about late autumn. (On the twenty-sixth day of the ninth month I followed
the governor of Awa, Taira, to his little detached villa west of the river. After a number of wine
cups and in the midst of idle talking, I had the Advanced Scholar Ō produce twenty topics. At that
time the sun had passed over the west mountains and the time to return home was slowly
approaching. I held the brush and composed these poems. I did not revise the text, nor avoided
tone maladies and followed formal restrictions. I only fear that people of this world will laugh at
this poetry. Thinking of this, it is because of my mediocre talent.)

[153] 殘菊。
Lingering chrysanthemums.

[154] 小松。
Small pine.

[155] 黃葉。
Autumn leaves.

[156] 古石。
Ancient rock.

[157] 疏竹。
Scattered bamboo.

[158] 老苔。
Old moss.

[159] 紅蘭。
Crimson orchid.

[160] 石泉。
Rocky spring.

[161] 灘聲。
Rapids' sound.

[162] 秋山。
Autumn mountain.

[163] 片雲。
Lone cloud.

[164] 薄霧。
Thin mist.

[165] 孤雁。
Solitary goose.

[166] 山寺。
Mountain temple.

[167] 釣船。
Fishing boat.

[168] 樵夫。
Woodcutter man.

[169] 柴扉。
Purple gate.

[170] 晴砂。
Clear sand.

[171] 水鷗。
Water seagulls.

[172] 晚嵐。

Evening haze.

[173] 九月九日，侍宴，應製。 聖曆仁和，以和為韻。

Ninth month, ninth day, attending a banquet, [a poem composed] in response to a command by the sovereign. (The sacred calendar marks the Ninna era, so we use “tranquillity” as the rhyme character.)

右親衛平將軍，率殿亭諸僕，奉賀相國五十年。宴座後屏風圖詩五首。 并序。

The Commander of the Imperial Guards of the Right Taira, leading all the retainers from the stable pavilion, respectfully congratulated the Chancellor on his fiftieth birthday. Five poems were composed to match the paintings of the folding screens presented after the banquet. (With preface attached.)

[174] 郊外翫馬。

Admiring the horses in the suburbs.

[175] 謝道士勸恒春酒。

Thanking the Master of the Way for offering the ever-spring wine.

[176] 卜居。

Choosing the place of residence.

[177] 南園試小樂。

Trying some little music in the southern garden.

[178] 園池晚眺。

Night view at the garden pond.

夏日四絕。

Four broken verses on a summer day.

[179] 苦熱。

Suffering the heat.

[180] 聞蟬。

Hearing the cicadas.

[181] 新竹。

New bamboo.

[182] 沙庭。

Sand garden.

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[183] 早春內宴，聽宮妓奏柳花怨曲，應製。 自此以後，讚州刺史之作。向後五首，未出京城之作。

Early spring, Residential Palace Banquet, listening to the palace entertainers performing on the tune “The garden of willows and flowers.” [A poem composed] in response to a command by the sovereign. (The poems after this were composed when I was already appointed governor of Sanuki. The next five poems were composed when I had not yet left the capital.)

[184] 予為外吏，幸侍內宴裝束之間，得預公宴者，雖有舊例，又殊恩也。王公依次，行酒詩臣。相國以當次，又不可辭盃。予前佇立不行。須臾吟曰明朝風景屬何人。一吟之後，命予高詠。蒙命欲詠，心神迷亂，纔發一聲，淚流嗚咽。宴罷歸家，通夜不睡。默然而止，如病胸塞。尚書左丞，在傍詳聞。故寄一篇，以慰予情。

After being appointed provincial governor I had the fortune to attend the Residential Palace Banquet. While there are some precedents of being summoned at an official banquet during the time of preparation before leaving for the province, still this was an opportunity granted by special mercy. Royals and nobles took turns at pouring liquor to the poetizing ministers. When the turn of the Chancellor came, I could not refuse another cup. He stood in front of me without acting, and after a while he recited: “Tomorrow’s landscape: to whom does it belong?” After he had chanted this, he demanded that I recite it out loud. I received the command and tried to recite the verse, but my mind was confused and could but produce a feeble voice. Tears were flowing as I sobbed. When the banquet ended and I returned home, I could not sleep all night, I lay in silence and felt as though I was ill as my heart was beating fast inside my chest. The Master of Writing and Left Controller was sitting near me at the banquet and heard everything in detail. This is why I send him this poem as a way to console my feelings.

[185] 尚書左丞餞席，同賦贈以言，各分一字。 探得時字。

Banquet at the mansion of the Master of Writing and Left Controller, composing along on the topic “Sending farewell words,” one character each. (Drawing the rhyme character “time.”)

[186] 相國東閣餞席。 探得花字。

Banquet at the Chancellor’s Eastern Gate. (Drawing the rhyme character “flower.”)

[187] 北堂餞宴、各分一字。 探得遷。

Banquet at the Northern Hall, one character each. (Drawing the rhyme character “moving.”)

[188] 中途送春。 以下二首，行路之作。

Sending off spring along the way. (The following two poems were composed on my way to the province.)

[189] 途中遇中進士，便訪春試二三子。

Along the way I meet the Advanced Scholar Naka[hara?] and I ask about the spring examinations of two or three students.

[190] 得故人書，以詩答之。 以下卅四首，到州之作。

Receiving a letter from an old friend and answering by way of a poem. (The following thirty-four poems were composed after arriving in the province.)

[191] 金光明寺百講會有感。

Being moved by the one hundred lectures at the Konkōmyō temple.

[192] 早秋夜詠。

Early autumn, night composition.

[193] 新月二十韻。

New moon, twenty rhymes.

[194] 始見二毛。

Seeing two [white] hairs for the first time.

[195] 秋天月。

Moon in the autumn sky.

[196] 秋。

Autumn.

[197] 重陽日府衙小飲。

Day of the Double Yang, small gathering at the provincial headquarters.

[198] 近曾有自京城至州者。誦書一絕云，是越州巨刺史，秋夜夢菅讚州之詞也。予握筆而寫。寫竟興作，聊製一篇，以慰悲感。

Recently someone arrived in the province from the capital. He read a broken verse to me saying that this was the lyric by the governor of Echizen Ko[se] who dreamed of [the governor of] Sanuki Suga[wara] on an autumn night. I took the brush and copied the poem. Upon finishing copying it inspiration arose and I composed this piece as a way to console my feelings of sadness.

[199] 詠後，聞進士公宴詩。不堪欣感，便寄一絕。

After composing the poem, I listened to the official banquet poem by the Advanced Scholar. I could not contain my feelings of joy and so I offered a broken verse.

[200 - 209] 寒早十首。 同用人、身、貧、頻四字。

Ten poems on the early cold. (Using the same four rhyme characters “person,” “body,” “poverty,” “frequent.”)

[210] 客舍冬夜。

Winter night at the traveller's lodge.

[211] 同諸小兒，旅館庚申夜，賦靜室寒燈明之詩。

Together with the little boys, on the *kōshin* night at the travel building, I composed a poem on the topic “The cold lantern lightens the quiet chamber.”

[212] 在州以銀魚袋贈吏部第一郎中。

While in the province, I sent the silver fish bag to the first junior assistant Minister of Ceremonial Affairs.

[213] 旅亭除夜。

New year’s eve at the traveler’s pavilion.

[214] 旅亭歲日，招客同飲。

First day of the year at the traveler’s pavilion, inviting guests and having a banquet together.

[215] 早春閑望。

Early spring, quiet view.

[216] 正月二十日有感。 禁中內宴之日也。

Being moved on the twentieth day of the first month. (This is the day when the Residential Palace Banquet is held in the Imperial Palace.)

[217] 夢宇尚貞。 府衙書生，一日頓死。

Dreaming of U[?] no Naotada. (A scribe disciple at the provincial headquarters, one day he fell and died.)

[218] 春日尋山。

Spring day, visiting the mountain.

[219] 行春詩。 七言二十韻。

Spring tour lyric. ([A poem with] seven characters per line in twenty rhymes.)

[220] 州廟釋奠有感。

Sekiten rite at the provincial shrine, being moved.

[221] 路遇白頭翁。

On the road I meet an old white-haired man.

[222] 晚春遊松山館。

Late spring, visiting the *Matsuyama* official building.

[223] 讀書。

Reading a letter.

[224] 春盡。

End of spring.

[225] 書懷贈故人。

Writing my thoughts and sending a poem to an old friend.

[226] 思家竹。

Thinking of the bamboo at home.

[227] 分良藥寄倉主簿。

Distributing the good medicinal herbs and sending them to the third assistant governor Kura.

[228] 問藺笥翁。

Questioning the rush basket old man.

[229] 代翁答之。

Response in the voice of the old man.

[230] 重問。

Another question.

[231] 重答。

Another answer.

[232] 衙後勸諸僚友，共遊南山。

After office I invite my fellow colleagues to visit the southern mountain together.

[233] 觀瀑布水。

Watching the waterfall water.

[234] 得倉主簿寫情書，報以長句，兼謝州民不歸之疑。 以下乞暇入京之作。

Receiving a letter that transmits the feelings of the third assistant governor Kura, responding by way of a long verse, and at the same time reassuring the people of the province about my return. (The following poems were composed when I asked leave to return to the capital.)

[235] 宿舟中。

Spending the night on the boat.

[236] 舟行五事。

Five poems as the boat moves on.

[237] 到河陽驛，有感而泣。

Arriving at the Kaya station, being moved and crying.

[238] 殘菊下自詠。 以下五首，到京之作。

One composition about myself amidst the lingering chrysanthemums. (The following five poems were composed after arriving in the capital.)

[239] 冬夜閑居話舊，以霜為韻。

Winter night, talking about past things at the tranquil dwelling, using the character “frost” as rhyme.

[240] 三年歲暮，欲更歸州，聊述所懷，寄尚書平右丞。

End of the third year [of Gangyō], speaking my thoughts as I am about to return to the province, sending a poem to the Master of Writing and Right Controller Taira.

[241] 正月十日，同諸生吟詩。

First month, tenth day. Chanting poetry together with all the students.

[242] 賦得春之德風。 題中取韻，卅字成篇。

Obtaining “Virtuous wind of spring” as a topic of composition. (Taking the rhyme from the topic. A piece of forty characters.)

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[243] 題驛樓壁。 歸州之次，到播州明石驛。自此以下八十首，自京更向州作。

[A poem] composed on the wall of the station building. (As I was travelling to the province I arrived at the Akashi station in Harima. The following eighty poems were composed after I left the capital and returned to the province.)

[244] 書懷寄文才子。

Writing my thoughts and sending a poem to the talented scholar Fun[‘ya].

[245] 聞文進士及第，題客舍壁。 文室時實。

Hearing that the Advanced Scholar Fun[‘ya] passed the examination, composing a poem on the wall of the traveller’s lodge. (Fun’ya no Tokizane.)

[246] 哭翰林學士。

Crying for the death of the Hanlin scholar.

[247 - 249] 春日獨遊三首。

Spring day, solitary wandering. Three poems.

[250] 別遠上人。

Parting with the superior man En[?].

[251] 四年三月廿六日作。 到任之三年也。

Composed on the fourth year [of Gangyō], third month, twenty-sixth day. (This is the third year of my provincial appointment.)

[252] 首夏聞鶯。

Hearing warblers at the beginning of summer.

[253] 新蟬。

New cicadas.

[254] 對鏡。

In front of the mirror.

[255] 寄雨多縣令江維緒一絕。

Sending a broken verse to the district administrator of Uda [Ō]e no Koreo.

[256] 遊覽偶吟。

[A poem] chanted upon going on a tour.

[257] 法花寺白牡丹。

White peony at the Hōka [Hokke] temple.

[258] 題南山亡名處士壁。

Composed on the wall of an unlisted unemployed scholar in the southern mountain.

[259] 客舍書籍。

[Composed on] the books in the traveller's lodge.

[260] 言子。

Talking about my children.

[261] 讀家書有所歎。

Caught in sadness reading a letter from home.

[262] 丙午之歲，四月七日，予初蒞境，巡視州府。府之少北，有一蓮池。池之近東，有一長老。長老曰是蓮也，元慶以往，有葉無花。仁和以來，花葉俱發。適至夏末，已遇花時。長老之言，誠而有驗。爾時予向僚屬，作是唱言，採摘池中百千萬莖，分捨部內二十八寺。聞者隨喜，見者發心。加之香油，東西供養，乃謂自我為故，將貽後人。至于去年，亦復如是。意之所約，不為不諧。今茲自春不雨，入夏無雲。池底塵生，蓮根氣死。天與人失，心與事違。非佛力不至，蓋人心之不信。聊敘文章，便以嗟歎云爾。

In the year of the fire horse [Ninna 2], on the seventh day of the fourth month, I arrived at the frontier and went on an inspection tour of the province. A little north of the provincial headquarters there is a lotus pond. Near this pond, to the east, there was one elder man. This man said: "This lotuses, until the Gangyō era had leaves but no flowers. From the Ninna era both leaves and flowers have bloomed." At that time we were right at the end of summer and therefore met the flower season. The words of the elder were indeed truthful as there were signs that proved them. So I went to my colleagues and suggested we pluck one hundred, one thousand, ten thousand stems from the pond and distribute them among the twenty-eight temples of the province. Those who heard were moved; those who saw made vows. In addition, perfumed oil was supplied from east to west. Then I said: "This originated from me, but I shall pass it on to those who will follow." The same thing occurred again last year. That which was promised must not remain unrealized. This year there was no rain from the beginning of spring, and still no clouds when we entered summer. Dust rose from the bottom of the pond, the vitality of the lotus roots withered. Heaven and man were not aligned; mind and things were mismatched. If the power of the Buddha does not act, it is because the heart of the people does not believe enough. So I produced this patterned text as a means to praise the Buddha.

[263] 憶諸詩友，兼奉寄前濃州田別駕。

Remembering all my poetizing friends, and respectfully sending a poem to the former assistant governor of Mino [Shima]da.

[264] 謝文進士新及第，拜辭老母，尋訪舊師。

Thanking the Advanced Scholar Fun[‘ya] who recently passed the examination and left his aged mother to visit his old teacher.

[265] 聞早雁寄文進士。

Hearing early geese, sending a poem to the Advanced Scholar Fun[‘ya].

[266] 江上晚秋。

Late autumn on the river.

[267] 九日偶吟。

Ninth day, impromptu composition.

[268] 別文進士。

Parting with the Advanced Scholar Fun[‘ya].

[269] 寄白菊四十韻。

Offering a poem to the white chrysanthemums, forty rhymes.

[270] 秋雨。

Autumn rain.

[271] 踏邊殘菊。

Lingering chrysanthemums at the side of the road.

[272] 驚冬。

Surprised by winter.

[273] 晨起望山。

Waking up early in the morning and gazing at the mountain.

[274] 冬夜閑思。

Idle thoughts on a winter night.

[275] 冬夜對月憶友人。

Winter night, remembering my friends in front of the moon.

[276] 客居對雪。

Facing the snow at the traveller’s dwelling.

[277] 酬藤十六司馬對雪見寄之作。

Responding to the poem sent by the second assistant governor Fuji[wara] the sixteenth on facing the snow.

[278] 立春。 在十二月廿六日。

Beginning of spring. (On the twenty-sixth day of the twelfth month.)

[279] 懺悔會作，三百八言。
Buddhist confession, 308 characters.

[280] 元日戲諸小郎。
First day of the year, [reciting a poem] for leisure to all the young boys.

[281] 寄紙墨以謝藤才子見過。
Sending paper and ink as a way of thanking the talented scholar Fuji[wara] for passing by.

[282 - 283] 春詞二首。
Spring lyric. Two poems.

[284] 正月十六日，憶宮妓踏歌。
First month, sixteenth day, remembering the palace entertainers' stamping songs [*tōka*].

[285] 聞群臣侍內宴賦花鳥共逢春，聊製一篇寄上前濃州田別駕。
Hearing that the assembled ministers attended the Residential Palace Banquet and composed on the topic “Flowers and birds together meet spring,” so I composed one piece and sent it to the former assistant governor of Mino [Shima]da.

[286] 酬藤司馬詠廳前櫻花之作。押韻。
Responding to the poem by the second assistant governor Fuji[wara] on the cherry blossoms in front of the hall.” (Following the rhyme.)

[287] 亞水花。
Flowers hanging on the water.

[288] 官舍前播菊苗。
Sowing chrysanthemum sprouts in front of the governmental lodge.

[289] 齋日之作。
Composed on a day of abstinence.

[290] 酬備州刺史便過旅館告別。
Responding to the governor of Bi[?] who passed by to report his leave.

[291] 予曾經以聞群臣賦花鳥共逢春之詩，寄上前濃州田別駕。別駕今之不遺，遠辱還答，詩篇之外，別附書問。予先讀消息。詩云書云，不覺流淚。更用園字，重感花鳥。

In the past I sent the poem “Hearing that the assembled ministered composed on the topic ‘Flowers and birds together meet spring’” to the former assistant governor of Mino [Shima]da. Without forgetting, the former governor replied from afar. In addition to a poem he also attached a letter, so I first read the news. Upon reading both the poem and the letter I couldn't help but cry many tears. So again using the character “garden” I send one more poem being moved by flowers and birds.

[292] 苦日長。 十六韻。
Suffering for a long day. (Sixteen rhymes.)

[293] 端午日賦艾人。
Fifth month, fifth day, composing on the topic of the mugwort man.

[294] 讀開元詔書，絕句。
Reading the edict promulgating the change of the era, one broken verse.

[295] 喜雨。
Rejoicing at rain.

[296] 納涼小宴。
Small banquet to enjoy the cool.

[297] 一葉落。
A leaf falls.

[298] 八月十五日夜，思舊有感。
Night of the fifteenth day of the eighth month, moved by thinking of the past.

[299] 水邊試飲。
Trying some wine near the water.

[300] 路次見芭蕉。
Seeing a banana tree along the road.

[301] 白毛歎。
Lament for white hairs.

[302] 小男阿視，留在東京。寫送田大夫禁中瞿麥花三十韻詩云此詩也，應詔作之。時人重之。故奉之。予吟之翫之，不知其足。仍製一篇、續于詩草云爾。
My little son [?]mi remained in the eastern capital. He copied and sent me the poem by Lord [Shima]da “Thirty rhymes on the dianthus in the imperial palace” saying: “This poem was composed in response to a command by the sovereign. People at the time treasured it, this is why I respectfully sent it.” I chanted and admired it, not knowing its worth. Then I composed one piece as a continuation to the poetic draft.

[303] 同諸小郎，客中九日，對菊書懷。
Ninth day amidst travel, together with all the boys. Writing my thoughts in front of the chrysanthemums.

[304] 早霜。

Early frost.

[305] 對殘菊詠所懷，寄物忠兩才子。

Composing on my thoughts in front of the lingering chrysanthemums, sending a poem to the two talented scholars Mono[?] and Tada[?].

[306] 吟善淵博士、物章醫師兩才子新詩，戲寄長句。

Chanting the new poems by the two talented scholars the professor Yoshibuchi and the master of medicine Monosuke, sending a long verse for leisure.

[307] 冬夜有感、簡藤司馬。

Moved by a winter night, I send this to the second assistant governor Fuji[wara].

冬夜九詠。

Winter night, nine compositions.

[308] 不睡。

Sleeplessness.

[309] 獨吟。

Solitary chanting.

[310] 山寺鍾。

The mountain temple bells.

[311] 誦經。

Reciting the classics.

[312] 老松風。

Wind amidst the old pine.

[313] 曉月。

Moon at dawn.

[314] 野村火。

Fires in the village plain.

[315] 水聲。

Sound of water.

[316] 殘燈。

Lingering lantern.

[317] 酬藤六司馬幽閑之作，次本韻。

Responding to a poem by the second assistant governor Fuji[wara] on the secluded idleness, following the original rhymes.

[318] 庚申夜，述所懷。

Kōshin night, expressing my thoughts.

僧房屏風圖四首。

Four poems attached to the folding screen paintings of a monk.

[319] 野庄。

Mansion amidst the fields.

[320] 曉行。

Roaming about at dawn.

[321] 閑居。

Tranquil dwelling.

[322] 尋師不遇。

Visiting the master yet not meeting him.

[323] 春日感故右丞相舊宅。 自此以下十三首，罷秩歸京之作。

Spring day, moved by the old mansion of the former Minister of the Right. (The following thirteen poems were composed when I returned to the capital after finishing my assignment in the province.)

[324] 三月三日，侍於雅院。賜侍臣曲水之宴，應製。

Third month, third day, attending at Ga-in, a Winding Stream banquet is bestowed to the attending ministers. [A poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.

[325] 依病閑居，聊述所懷，奉寄大學士。

Idle dwelling due to illness, I express my thoughts and respectfully send a poem to the [Bureau of] High Learning scholars.

[326] 感秋。

Moved by autumn.

[327] 書懷奉呈諸詩友。 予州秩已滿，被符在京。分付之間，不接朝士。

Writing my thoughts and respectfully sending a poem to all my poetizing friends. (I completed my period of assignment in the province, received the official documents and I am now stationing in the capital. During the transfer of office I am unable to attend court in any capacity. This is why I composed this.)

[328] 九日侍宴，同賦仙譚菊。各分一字，應製。 探得祉字。

Ninth day, attending a banquet, composing along on the topic “Chrysanthemums at the pond of the immortals,” one character each, in response to a command by the sovereign. (Drawing the rhyme character “blessing.”)

[329] 奉謝源納言移種家竹。

Respectfully thanking the Counselor Minamoto for replanting the house bamboo.

[330] 近以拙詩一首，奉謝源納言移種家竹。前越州巨刺史，忝見誦和。不勝吟賞，更次本韻。

Recently I respectfully thanked the Counselor Minamoto for replanting the house bamboo with a mediocre poem of mine. The former governor of Echizen Ko[se] did me the honor of harmonizing in response. As I could not bear chanting and appreciating it, I compose one more poem following the original rhymes.

[331] 感白菊花，奉呈尚書平右丞。

Moved by the white chrysanthemum flowers, I respectfully submit a poem to the Master of Writing and Right Controller Taira.

[332] 霜菊詩。 同日序，并未旦求衣賦在別卷。

Poem on chrysanthemums in the frost. (The preface from the same day is attached to the rhapsody “Searching for the robe early in the morning” in a different volume.)

予罷秩歸京，已為閑客。玄談之外，無物形言。故釋逍遙一篇之三章，且題格律五言之八韻。且敘義理，附之題腳。其措詞用韻，皆據成文。若有諳之者，見篇疏決之。 I completed the period of assignment in the province and returned to the capital, now I find myself in idle travel. Except by Daoist conversations, nothing can be expressed in words. This is why I interpreted three passages in the section about untroubled idleness and have composed poems in the format of five characters per line, eight rhymes. Moreover, I described the argumentations and attached them after the topics. Diction and rhymes were taken from these texts. If there are people who are versed in the original texts, let them have a look at the explanations and judge.

[333] 北溟章。

Composition on the Northern Ocean.

[334] 小知章。

Composition on small knowledge.

[335] 堯讓章。

Composition on Yao resigning the throne.

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[336] 閏九月盡，燈下即事，應製。 並序。

End of the intercalary ninth month, impromptu composition under the light of the lanterns, [a poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign. (With preface attached.)

[337] 隔壁聽樂。 絕句為體，時侍雅院。

Hearing music beyond the walls. (The style is broken verse. [A poem composed] when I was attending at Ga-in.)

[338] 和田大夫感喜敕賜白馬，上呈諸侍中之詩。 次韻。自此以下三首，散位初，聽昇殿之作。

Harmonizing with Lord [Shima]da's poem "[A poem] presented to all the Palace Attendants as I rejoice deeply moved by the royal reward of a white horse." (Following the rhyme. The following three poems were composed when I held no office yet was granted access to the Courtier Hall.)

[339] 十月十一日，禁中初雪，應製。

Tenth month, eleventh day, first snow at the imperial palace. [A poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.

[340] 上巳日，對雨翫花，應製。

First day of the snake, enjoying the flowers amidst the rain. [A poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.

[341] 就花枝，應製。 自此以下廿五首，左中辨之作。

Approaching the flower branch. [A poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign. (The following twenty-five poems were composed when I held the office of Middle Controller of the Left.)

[342] 三月三日，同賦花時天似醉，應製。 並序。

Third month, third day (Double Third), composing along on the topic "When flowers bloom the sky looks inebriated" in response to a command by the sovereign. (With preface attached.)

[343] 詩客見過，同賦掃庭花自落，各分一字。 探得懃。

The poetry guests pass by and we compose along on the topic "Sweeping the garden as the flowers keep falling," one character each. (Drawing the rhyme character "courteous.")

[344] 賦春夜櫻花，應製。

[A poem] composed on the topic "Cherry blossom on a spring night" in response to a command by the sovereign.

[345] 惜春絕句。 勒閑還山，枇杷殿作。

Lamenting spring. Broken verse. (Setting the rhyme characters as "tranquil," "returning," "mountain." Composed at Biwa-dono.)

[346] 七月七日，代牛女惜曉更，各分一字，應製。 探得程字。
Seventh month, seventh day (Double Seven), [a poem composed] in the voice of the Herd and the Weaver lamenting the approaching of dawn, in response to a command by the sovereign. (Drawing the rhyme character “extent.”)

[347] 哭田詩伯。
Crying for the death of the master of poetry [Shima]da.

[348] 九日侍宴，群臣獻壽，應製。
Ninth day, attending a banquet, the assembled ministers present auspicious gifts, [a poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.

[349] 重陽後朝，同賦秋雁櫓聲來，應製。 並序。
Day after the Double Yang, composing along on the topic “Autumn geese come with the sound of oars” in response to a command by the sovereign. (With preface attached.)

[350] 暮秋，送安鎮西赴任，各賦分字。
Late autumn, sending off A[be] to take duty at the [governmental post] Appeaser of the West. Each composing upon selecting one character.

[351] 秋日，陪源亞相第，餞安鎮西、藤陸州，各分一字。 探得紅。
Autumn day, attending at the mansion of the Major Counselor Minamoto where a banquet is held to send off A[be] to the [governmental post] Appeaser of the West, and Fuji[wara] to Michinoku Province. One character each. (Drawing the character “crimson.”)

[352] 金吾相公，不棄愚拙，秋日遣懷，適賜相視。聊依本韻，具以奉謝，兼亦言志。
The Councilor and [Bearer of] Imperial Insignia did not dismiss my mediocre services and showed to me his poem “Autumn day, sharing my thoughts.” Using the original rhymes I respectfully answered to show gratitude and to speak my intentions.

[353] 金吾相公，枉賜遣懷，答謝之後，偶有御製，有感更押本韻，事君之道，盡于此篇。某不勝助喜，兼敘私情，有如白日，敬以呈上。
The Councilor and [Bearer of] Imperial Insignia especially showed me [his poem on] sharing his thoughts. After I answered in gratitude, there was a composition by the sovereign. I was deeply moved and composed another poem following the original rhymes. The Way of serving one’s lord really comes out in this piece. I am overcome by joy and my feelings are clear like a bright sun. I present and submit it respectfully.

[354] 雨晴對月，韻用流字，應製。
Facing the moon when the rain has stopped, using the character “flowing” for rhyming. [A poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.

[355] 曉月，應製。

Moon at dawn, [a poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.

[356] 惜殘菊，各分一字，應製。 並序。

Cherishing the lingering chrysanthemums, one character each, [a poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.

[357] 左金吾相公，於宣風坊臨水亭，餞別奧州刺史，同賦親字。 古調十四韻。

[A poem] composed along using “intimate” as a rhyming character at a farewell banquet for the governor of Michinoku held by Councilor and Left [Bearer of] Imperial Insignia at the Gazing Water Pavilion in *Senpū* ward. (Fourteen rhymes in the old style.)

[358] 感金吾相公，冬日嵯峨院即事之什，聊押本韻。

Moved by the poem of the Councilor and [Bearer of] Imperial Insignia “winter day, impromptu composition at Saga-in” [I composed a poem] following the original rhyming scheme.

[359] 冬夜，呈同宿諸侍中。

Winter night, [a poem] presented to all the fellow Palace Attendants.

[360] 假中書懷詩。 古調。

A poem on writing my thoughts during leisure time. (Od style.)

[361] 霜夜對月。 勒泥迷啼西。

Facing the moon on a frosty night. (Setting the rhyme pattern on the characters “mire,” “straying,” “crying,” “west.”)

[362] 田家閑適。 屏風畫也。

A farmer’s peaceful contentment. (Inscribed on a folding screen painting.)

[363] 漁父詞。 屏風畫也。

Lyric of the fisherman. (Inscribed on a folding screen painting.)

[364] 早春侍內宴，同賦開春樂，應製。

Early spring, attending the Palace Banquet, composing along on the topic “Unfolding the music of spring” in response to a command by the sovereign.

[365] 早春，觀賜宴宮人，同賦催粧，應製。 並序。

Early spring, watching the banquet bestowed to the palace ladies, composing along on the topic “Urging the make-up” in response to a command by the sovereign. (With preface attached.)

[366] 御製，題梅花，賜臣等句中，有今年梅花減去年之歎。謹上長句，具述所由。

自此以下，六十五首，參議之作。

Among the verses of the royal poem composed on the topic of plum flowers, upon which the ministers were allowed to lie their eyes, there was the lament that this year plum flowers have

bloomed less than last year. Respectfully I present a long verse so as to describe the reason thereof. (The next sixty-five poems were composed when I held the office of Councilor.)

[367] 仲春釋奠，聽講古文孝經，同賦以孝事君則忠。

Mid-spring *sekiten* rite, hearing a lecture on the Old Text of the Classic of Filial Piety, [a poem] composed along on the topic “When the ruler is served with filial piety, then there is loyalty.”

[368] 被拜宰相，奉謝藤納言賜鄭州玉帶。

Upon being appointed Councilor, I respectfully thank Counselor Fujii[wara] for bestowing me a jade belt from Zheng province.

[369] 七夕秋意，各分一字，應製。 探得深。

Seventh night [*tanabata*], signs of autumn. One character each, [a poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign. (Drawing “deep” as a rhyme character.)

[370] 仲秋釋奠，聽講禮記，同賦養衰老。

Mid-autumn *sekiten* rite, hearing a lecture on the Book of Rites, [a poem] composed along on the topic “Taking care of the old and feeble.”

[371] 重陽夜，感寒蛩，應製。

Double Yang night, moved by the cold cricket’s voice, [a poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.

[372] 文章院，漢書竟宴，各詠史，得公孫弘。

Banquet at Monjō-in celebrating the end of the lectures on the History of the Han, each composing on historical subjects, obtaining “Gongsun Hong.”

[373] 賦葉落庭柯空。 勒冬從龍松榕豐農重縫峰春慵蜂攻鐘衝濃。于時諸文人相招，飲于紀學士文亭。

Composing on the topic “Leaves fall, the garden branches are bare.” (Setting the rhyme pattern on the characters “winter,” “following,” “dragon,” “pine,” fig,” “plenty,” “farming,” “heavy,” “sewing,” “peak,” “mortar,” “laziness,” “hornet,” “attack,” “bell,” “charge,” “thick.” At that time all the men of letters were invited to a gathering at the Scholar Ki’s Poetry Pavilion.)

[374] 遊龍門寺。

Visiting the Dragon Gate Temple.

[375] 感雪朝。 敕使施老僧綿襖。

Moved by a snowy morning. (The imperial messenger treats the old monk with a robe of cotton fabric.)

[376] 翫梅花，應製。

Admiring the plum blossoms, [a poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.

[377] 有敕，賜視上已櫻下御製之詩，敬奉謝恩旨。

Upon a decree, I was shown the imperial poem “First day of the Snake, under the cherry tree.” I respectfully offer my gratitude for the favor bestowed.

[378] 同紀發韶，奉和御製七夕祈秋穗詩之作。

Together with Ki no Haseo I respectfully harmonize with the imperial poem on the topic “Seventh night, praying for autumn ears of grain.”

[379] 重陽節侍宴，同賦天淨識賓鴻，應製。

Festival of the Double Yang, attending a banquet, composing along on the topic “With cleansed sky the visiting geese are seen” in response to a command by the sovereign.

[380] 賦雨夜紗燈，應製。 并序。于時九月十日。

[A poem] composed on the topic “Silk lanterns in a rainy night” in response to a command by the sovereign. (With preface attached. [Composed] on the tenth day of the ninth month.)

[381] 暮秋，賦秋盡翫菊，應令。 并序。

Late autumn, composing on the topic “End of autumn, admiring the chrysanthemums” in response to a command by the Crown Prince. (With preface attached.)

[382] 仲春釋奠，聽講論語，同賦為政以德。

Mid-spring *sekiten* rite, hearing a lecture on the Analects, [a poem] composed along on the topic “Exercising government by means of virtue.”

[383] 神泉苑三日宴，應製。

Banquet of the third day at Shinsen'en park, [a poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.

[384] 春，惜櫻花，應製一首。 并序。

Spring, cherishing the cherry blossoms, [a poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign. (With preface attached.)

[385] 月夜翫櫻花，各分一字，應令一首。 得開。

Moonlit night, admiring the cherry blossoms, one character each, one poem in response to a command by the Crown Prince. (Drawing the rhyme character “opening.”)

[386] 廬山異花詩。

A poem on the wondrous flowers of mount Lu.

[387] 題吳山白水詩。

A poem composed on the white flower of mount Wu.

[388] 劉阮遇溪邊二女詩。

A poem on Liu Ruan encountering two women at the mountain stream.

[389] 徐公醉臥詩。

A poem on Xu Gong lying intoxicated.

[390] 吳生過老公詩。

A poem on a student of Wu visiting an old man.

七年暮春二十六日，予侍東宮，有令曰，聞大唐有一日應百首之詩。今試汝以一時應十首之作。即賜十事題目，限七言絕句。予採筆成之，二刻成畢。雖云凡鄙，不能燒卻。故存之。

In the late spring of the seventh year [of the Kanpyō era], on the twenty-sixth day, I was attending at the Eastern Palace when a command was issued by the Crown Prince saying that he had heard that in the Great Tang one hundred poems had been composed in only one day. Now I was to be tested in composing ten poems in one hour. He bestowed topics on ten things and set the format to seven-character-line broken verse. I took the brush and committed to finishing in two quarters of an hour. Although the poems are mediocre, they are not to burn either. This is why I preserved them.

[391] 送春。

Seeing off spring.

[392] 落花。

Falling flowers.

[393] 夜雨。

Rain at night.

[394] 柳絮。

Willow catkin.

[395] 紫藤。

Purple wisteria.

[396] 青苔。

Green moss.

[397] 鶯。

Warbler.

[398] 燕。

Swallows.

[399] 黃雀兒。

Yellow sparrow chicks.

[400] 燈。

Lantern.

東宮寓直之次，下令曰去春十首，既知急捷。今取當時二十物重要。某不停滯，即來令之後，不敢固辭。自酉二刻，及戌二刻，篇數僅成。慎令旨也。經數十日，要寫一通，近習少年，斷失三首。初不立案，無處尋覓。一十七首，備于實錄云爾。

As I spent the night at the Eastern Palace, a command by the Crown Prince was issued that stated: "Thanks to the ten poems you composed last spring, I now know how fast your skills are. This time I require once again that you compose on twenty things appropriate to the season." I couldn't stand still and after the command arrived, I could not refuse. From the second quarter of the hour of the Chicken to the second quarter of the hour of the Dog I only drafted the pieces following with care the command of the Crown Prince. After some ten days had passed, I wanted to make copies of them, but the young imperial retainer had lost three poems. Since I had not produced drafts, there was no way to recover them, so I have left this veritable record with seventeen poems.

[401] 風中琴。

Lute in the wind.

[402] 竹。

Bamboo.

[403] 薔薇。

Rose.

[404] 松。

Pine.

[405] 酒。

Liquor.

[406] 牡丹。

Peony.

[407] 古石。

Old rock.

[408] 扇。

Fan.

[409] 屏風。

Folding screen.

[410] 錢。

Coins.

[411] 弓。
Bow.

[412] 石硯。
Inkstone.

[413] 筆。
Brush.

[414] 圍碁。
Go.

[415] 鼓。
Drum.

[416] 蜘蛛。
Spider.

[417] 壁魚。
Bookworm.

[418] 感殿前薔薇，一絕。 東宮。
Moved by the roses in front of the hall, one broken verse. ([Composed at the] Eastern Palace.)

[419] 客館書懷，同賦交字，呈渤海裴令大使。 自此以後七首，予別奉敕旨，與吏部紀侍郎詣鴻臚館，聊命詩酒。大使思舊日主客，將賦交字。一席響應，唱和往復。來者宜知之。
Writing my thoughts at the traveler's building, composing along on the character "exchanging," submitting my poem to the honorable Ambassador Bae of Balhae. (The following seven poems were composed when I received a special command and together with the junior assistant to the Ministry of Ceremonial Affairs Ki moved to the Kōrokan and organized a banquet. The Ambassador indulged in thoughts about our past encounter and urged poetic composition on the character "exchanging." All attendants resonated with this and harmonizing poems were exchanged in great numbers. Let those who shall come in the future know about this.)

[420] 答裴大使見詠之作。 本韻。
Responding to a poem sent by Ambassador Bae. (On the original rhymes.)

[421] 重和大使見詠之詩。 本韻。
Harmonizing one more time with a poem sent by the Ambassador. (On the original rhymes.)

[422] 和大使交字之作。 次韻。
Harmonizing with a composition by the Ambassador on the character "exchanging." (Following the rhymes.)

[423] 客館書懷，同賦交字，寄渤海副使大夫。

Writing my thoughts at the traveler's building, composing along on the character "exchanging," sending my poem to the vice-ambassador of Balhae.

[424] 和副使見訓之作。 本韻。

Harmonizing with a composition sent by the vice-ambassador. (On the original rhymes.)

[425] 夏日餞渤海大使歸，各分一字。 探得途。

Summer day, banquet to see off Ambassador of Balhae returning home, one character each. (Drawing the rhyme character "road.")

[426] 賦晴霄將見月，各分一字，應令。 得秋。

Composing on the topic "With clear sky the moon is going to appear," one character each, [a poem] composed in response to a command by the Crown Prince. (Drawing "autumn.")

[427] 七夕，應製。

Seventh night [*tanabata*], [a poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.

[428] 重陽侍宴，同賦秋日懸清光，應製。

Double Yang, attending a banquet, composing along on the topic "The autumn sun radiates limpid light" in response to a command by the sovereign.

[429] 重陽後朝，同賦花有淺深，應製。

Day after the Double Yang, composing along on the topic "Flowers all have different shades" in response to a command by the sovereign.

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[430] 早春內宴，侍清涼殿同賦春先梅柳知，應製。 自此以下，十一首，中納言之作。
Early spring, Palace Banquet, attending at the Hall of Purity and Coolness [seiryōden], composing along on the topic “Plums and willows know spring first” in response to a command by the sovereign. (The following eleven poems were composed when I held the office of Middle Counselor.)

[431] 扈從雲林院，不勝感歎，聊敘所觀。 并序。
Escorting the sovereign to Urin-in, I could not bear the feeling of awe, expressing what I witnessed. (With preface attached.)

[432] 行幸後朝，憶雲林院勝趣，戲呈吏部紀侍郎。
The day after the imperial progression, remembering the superb atmosphere at Urin-in, submitting a poem for leisure to the junior assistant at the Ministry of Ceremonial Affairs Ki.

[433] 詩友會飲，同賦鶯聲誘引來花下。 勒花車遮賒斜家。
Drinking gathering with the poetizing friends, composing along on the topic “The voice of the warblers invites us under the flowers.” (Setting the rhyme pattern on the characters “flower,” “cart,” “cover,” “distant,” “oblique,” “house.”)

[434] 春日行幸神泉苑，同賦花間理管絃，應製。 題中取韻。
Spring day, imperial progression to Shinsen'en park, composing along on the topic “Tuning the instruments amidst the flowers” in response to a command by the sovereign. (Taking the rhyme from the topic.)

[435] 九日侍宴，同賦菊花催晚醉，應製。
Ninth day, attending a banquet, composing along on the topic “Chrysanthemum flower exhibit late intoxication” in response to a command by the sovereign.

[436] 九日後朝，同賦秋深，應製。
Day after the ninth day, composing along on the topic “Autumn grows deep” in response to a command by the sovereign.

[437] 北堂文選竟宴，各詠史、句，得乘月弄潺湲。 仁壽年中，文選竟宴，先君詠句，得樵隱俱在山。古調，多敘所懷。予，今習先君體，寄詩言志，來者語之。
Banquet celebrating the end of the lectures on Wen Xuan at the Northern Hall, each composing on historical subjects, obtaining the verse “Taking advantage of the moonlight I admire the slow stream of water.” (During the Jijū era, at the banquet celebrating the end of the lectures on the Wen Xuan, the previous lord composed on the verse “The woodcutter and the recluse together dwell in the mountains.” He composed a poem in the ancient style expressing plenty of personal thoughts. Now, following the example of the previous lord, I speak my mind in this poem. I tell this for those who will come in the future.)

[438] 賦新煙催柳色，應製。 以陽為韻。

Composing on the topic “The new vapors accentuate the colors of willows” in response to a command by the sovereign. (Using “sun” as a rhyme character.)

[439] 陪第三皇子花亭勸春酒，應教。

Attending at the Flower Pavilion of the third imperial son, offering spring liquor, [a poem] composed in response to a command by the imperial prince.

[440] 早春侍宴，同賦殿前梅花，應製。

Early spring, attending a banquet, composing along on the topic “Plum flowers in front of the hall” in response to a command by the sovereign.

[441] 八月十五夜，同賦秋月如珪，應製。 探得門。自此以下十五首，大納言作。

Eighth month, fifteenth night, composing along on the topic “Autumn moon resembles a jade table” in response to a command by the sovereign. (Drawing the rhyme character “gate.” The following fifteen poems were composed when I held the office of Major Counselor.)

[442] 九日侍宴，觀群臣插茱萸，應製。

Ninth day, attending a banquet, watching the assembled ministers put on ornamental *zhuuyu*, [a poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.

[443] 九日後朝，侍朱雀院，同賦閑居樂秋水，應太上天皇製。 并序。

Day after the ninth day, attending at Suzaku-in, composing along on the topic “Tranquil dwelling, enjoying the autumn waters” in response to a command by the retired sovereign. (With preface attached.)

[444] 敬奉和左大將軍扈從太上天皇，舟行有感見寄之口號。 押韻。

Respectfully harmonizing with the chant sent by the Grand Commander of the Left “Escorting the retired sovereign, being moved as the boat moves along.” (Following the rhymes.)

[445] 同賦春淺帶輕寒，應製。 勒初餘魚虛。

Composing along on the topic “Mild spring retains a soft cold” in response to a command by the sovereign. (Setting the rhyme pattern on the characters “beginning,” “excess,” “fish,” “void.”)

[446] 早春內宴，侍清涼殿同賦草樹暗迎春，應製。

Early spring, Palace Banquet, attending at the Hall of Purity and Coolness [seiryōden], composing along on the topic “Plants and trees quietly welcome spring” in response to a command by the sovereign.

[447] 勸前進士山風種庭樹。 進士山口谷風。

Advising the former Advanced Scholar Yama[guchi] no [Tani]kaze to plant a garden tree.

[448] 重陽侍宴，同賦菊有五美，各分一字，應製。 探得仙字。

Double Yang, attending a banquet, composing along on the topic “Chrysanthemums possess five virtues,” one character each, in response to a command by the sovereign. (Drawing the rhyme character “immortal.”)

[449] 九日後朝，侍宴朱雀院，同賦秋思入寒松，應太上皇製。 題中取韻。

Day after the ninth day, attending a banquet at Suzaku-in, composing along on the topic “Autumn thoughts enter the cold pine” in response to a command by the retired sovereign. (Taking the rhyme from the topic.)

[450] 和由律師獻桃源仙杖之歌。 于時上皇幸雲林院。

Harmonizing with the song by the Precept Master Yu[sei] on presenting a cane of the immortals from the Peach Blossom Spring. (At the time the retired sovereign progressed to Urin-in.)

[451] 對殘菊待寒月。 于時閏十月十七日，陪第九皇子詩亭。

Looking at the lingering chrysanthemums while waiting for the cold moon. ([Composed] on the seventeenth day of the intercalary tenth month, attending at the Poetry Pavilion of the Ninth Prince.)

[452] 賦殿前梅花，應太皇製。

Composing on the topic “Plum Blossoms in front of the hall” in response to a command by the retired sovereign.

[453] 早春內宴，侍清涼殿同賦鶯出谷，應製。

Early spring, Palace Banquet, attending at the Hall of Purity and Coolness [seiryōden], composing along on the topic “Warblers come out of the valley” in response to a command by the sovereign.

[454] 早春侍朱雀院同賦春雨洗花、應太皇製。

Early spring, attending at the Suzaku-in, composing along on the topic “Spring rain washes the flowers” in response to a command by the retired sovereign.

[455] 春夕移坐遊花下，應製。

Spring night, moving the seats to idle under the flowers, [a poem] composed in response to a command by the sovereign.

[456] 三月三日，侍朱雀院柏梁殿，惜殘春，各分一字，應太上皇製。 探得浮字。并序。以下十三首，右丞相作。

Third month, third day (Double Third), attending at the Cypress Bridge Hall in Suzaku-in, cherishing the lingering spring, one character each, [a poem] in response to a command by the retired sovereign. (Drawing the rhyme character “floating.” With preface attached. The following thirteen poems were composed when I held the office of Minister of the Right.)

[457 - 458] 寒食日，花亭宴，同賦介山古意，各分一字。 探得交字。

Cold Meal day, Blossom-Viewing Banquet, composing along on the topic “Ancient spirit of Mount Jie,” one character each. (Drawing the rhyme character “exchanging.”)

[459] 清明日，同國子諸生，餞故人赴任，勒雲分薰三字之作。

Pure Brightness day, together with all the Son of the Realm students, seeing off old friends to their provincial assignments, setting the rhyme pattern on the three characters “cloud,” “dividing,” “fragrance.”

[460] 九日侍宴，同賦菊散一叢金，應製。

Ninth day, attending a banquet, composing along on the topic “Chrysanthemums scatter one bush of gold” in response to a command by the sovereign.

[461] 九月盡日，題殘菊，應太上皇製。 同敕寒殘看蘭。

Last day of the ninth month, composing on lingering chrysanthemums in response to a command by the retired sovereign. (Setting the rhyme pattern on the characters “cold,” “lingering,” “gazing,” “orchid.”)

近院山水障子詩。 六首。

Poems for paintings of mountains and rivers on paper sliding doors at Kon'in. Six poems.

[462] 水仙詞。

Lyric of the aquatic immortal.

[463] 下山言志。

Descending the mountain and speaking one's mind.

[464] 閑適。

Idleness.

[465] 山屋晚眺。

Evening view at the mountain shelter.

[466] 傍水行。

Walking along the water.

[467] 海上春意。

Signs of spring on the sea.

[468] 早春侍內宴，同賦香風詞，應製。

Early spring, attending the Palace Banquet, composing along on the topic “Lyric of the perfumed wind” in response to a command by the sovereign.

Appendix II

Translation of the section “Celebrated [Places]” from *Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui* (Refined Excerpts from an Anonymous Preface Collection of the Heian Court)

(The reference text is in Makino, “(Honchō) bunshū hensan shiryō ni tsuite no ichikōsatsu” and Yamazaki, “Heianchō itsumei shijoshū bassui ni tsuite.”)

(1)

皇城近東有一禪院故法眼和尚之花園也地富泉石天縱風流。翫庭前紅梅。淳茂。

In the near East of the imperial city there is a pavilion for meditation. It is the flower garden of the late venerable monk of the Dharma Eye. The terrain is abundant in spring rocks; The sky stands out above wind and streams.

“Admiring the red plum flowers in front of the garden”

[Sugawara no] Atsushige

(2)

紫宮之東橫街之北不經幾程有一仙居蓋上皇遁世之別館也天縱風流地得形勝屬千花之爭綻賜一日之佳遊。落花亂舞衣。江相公。

East of the purple court, north of the horizontal avenue, there is one immortal dwelling not too far away. It is in fact the detached palace of the retired sovereign who renounced the world. The sky stands above wind and streams; the earth exhibits a magnificent shape. At the time when a thousand flowers compete to bloom, a splendid entertainment is bestowed for one day.

“Falling flowers are confounded in the dancing robes “

Councilor Oe [no Asatsuna]

(3)

子城東南半里余有一玉洞煙霞春濃泉石秋冷蓋我太上叡賞虛之地也。隔花遙勸酒。菅輔昭。

South-East of the imperial city, only half a *li* of distance, there is a jade grotto. The misty vapors are dense in spring; the spring rocks are chill in autumn. It is the place where our retired sovereign contemplates the void.

“Moving away from the flowers, encouraging liquor from afar”

Sugawara no Sukeakira

(4)

洛陽城內有一離宮・竹樹泉石如仙洞爾・蓋世之所[覽]亭子院焉。月影滿秋池。淳茂。

Inside the citadel of Luoyang there is a detached court. The bamboo trees and the spring rocks resemble an immortal grotto. This is in fact the place known in the world as the Teiji palace.

“The shadow of the moon fills the autumn pond”

[Sugawara no] Atsushige

(5)

夫嵯峨院者・弘仁先皇・遁世之別宮也・囂塵作界・煙霞卜鄰。山寒水石清。紀納言。

The Saga palace is the detached court where the previous sovereign of the Kōnin era renounced the world. While noise and dust make up the world, the misty vapors indicate these confines.

“In the cold mountain the rocks in the water are clear”

Consultant Ki [no Haseo]

(6)

王舍城中有一仙洞・松栢雖旧・水石猶新・每[至]苔色春月影秋花開鳥囀之朝葉墜螢乱之夕莫不蓄玄覽之幽趣。初冬翫紅葉。江相公。

Within the royal citadel there is a grotto of immortals. While pines and oaks are old, water and rocks are fresh. Whenever the moss-colored spring or the autumn when the moon casts its shadow arrive, in the mornings when flowers bloom and birds twitter, in the evenings when leaves fall and fireflies fill the air, the graceful atmosphere is maintained upon which lies the sovereign's gaze.

“Early winter, admiring crimson leaves”

Councilor Oe [no Asatsuna]

(7)

洛中有一仙洞・太上法皇閑居之地也松叢投分石泉奏音入門息塵_ノ界之懷隔垣晦煙霞之跡至如愛日初晴疾風漸扇庭柑葉乱影於簾櫳之辺都梁色衰告老於塔砌之下。殘菊映仙溪。在昌。

In Luoyang there is an immortal grotto. It is the place where the retired sovereign of the Dharma dwells in tranquillity. Pines and grass are spread out; the spring plays a melody on the rocks. Entering the gate we relinquish the thoughts of the dusty world; moving away from the fence the traces of the misty vapors start to disappear. The light of this lovely winter day begins to clear as the hasty wind gradually caresses us. The leaves of the orange tree in the garden are falling: their shadows are disorderly cast on the curtains; the color of the “capital beam” orchid is starting to fade: it announces old age from the bottom of the stone stairs.

“Lingering chrysanthemums are reflected on the immortals stream”

[Ki no] Arimasa

(8)

銅馳街南有一甲第泉石占勝竹樹蔭奇彼蓬萊者列仙之陬也尋之則童男徒老嶺州者遐適之境也到之亦玄馬正黃不若此地在洛中不經時月而來遊無費舟車而盛樂。入夜花如雪。齊名。

South of the copper-camel avenue there is a splendid mansion. The spring rocks exude magnificence; the shade of the bamboo trees is uncanny. Penglai is the corner of the exemplary immortals: looking for this place, the young males will grow old in vain. The duckweed shore is a distant confine of pleasures: arriving here, the dark horses will in fact be yellow. Nothing surpasses this place being within the capital. Amusement arrives without time passing by; pleasure grows without embarking on a journey by boat or carriage.

“Entering the night, flowers are like snow”

[Ki no] Tadana

(9)

若夫蓬山沼遛奏皇憶而不遑崑嶺嵯峨周王遊以忘倦言如成望朔京城之內拜勝地而作園魏闕之前道神泉以為流。神泉花宴。菅清公。

Dreaming from afar of Mount Peng, the Emperor of Qin incessantly pursued his quest; resting on the steep Kun Peak, the Duke of Zhou let go of his worries. Yet how could they match the wisdom of our sovereign? Within the borders of the capital, he finds a superb terrain and transforms it into a park; before the imperial gates, he traces the path of the sacred spring and generates a stream. “Blossom-Viewing Banquet at the Shinsen Park”

Suga[wara] no Kiyotomo

(10)

帝宮之南小一里得右丞相百花亭嚶鳴曉飛石泉暮咽髣髴於神仙之宅宛然於上界之居誠天縱煙霞地繞水樹是似棲息於其間者也。百花亭行幸。都良香。

South of the imperial court, less than a *li* away, there is the one-hundred-flower pavilion of the Minister of the Right. At dawn the voices of flying birds echo in the air; at sunset the gurgling of the spring water is heard among the rocks. This place looks like the residence of the immortals; it seems to be the dwelling of the upper world. The sky casts its light among the vapors in the air; the earth encloses streams and woods. It is really as though we have come to live in those confines.

“Royal progress to the one-hundred-flower pavilion”

Miyako no Yoshika

(11)

神泉苑者・古之樂遊園也・天縱清流縮鏡湖之而設砌地繞勝趣移金谷以排扉宣門之外數百[步]常非望翠華哉。神泉行幸花間理管弦。菅高規。

The Shinsen'en park is the garden of pleasure and amusement of the times of old. The sky stands over a limpid stream; it narrows the Mirror Lake within the paved banks. The earth surrounds a superb landscape: it moves the Golden Valley behind the gates. It only happens rarely to be able to gaze at the feathered banners some hundred feet away from the gates of the imperial residence!

Imperial progress to Shinsen'en park, “Tuning the instruments amidst the flowers”

Suga[wara] no Takami

(12)

夫朱雀院者洛下之別宮寰中之勝境煙華數尋縮嵩華於垣墻之裏沙堤半頃釣江湖於簾幕之前風流之妙天下無双者也。朱雀院林池秋景。淳茂。

The Suzaku mansion is a detached court inside the capital, and a superb place within the confines of the entire realm. Light spreads amidst the air vapors across several *jin*. It seems like mounts Song and Hua have narrowed within the walls. The gravel bank extends for half a *qing*. It looks like rivers and lakes have stretched before the curtains. The charm that permeates the air and water of this place has no match under the Heaven.

Suzaku-in “Autumn scenery at the forest pond”

[Sugawara no] Atsushige

(13)

夫朱雀院者・洛陽別宮也風流卜旧水石煙幽写白蘋州於河堤之間縮青草湖於月池之裏
既勝境尽叶仙遊乎。霜葉滿林紅。輔正。

The Suzaku mansion is a detached court in Luoyang. The wind and the streams preserve the
appearance of the past; soft fumes rise from the wet rocks. It seems as though the White
Duckweed shores were painted on the riverbank. It looks as though the Greengrass Lake was
narrowed in the moonlit pond. This is a superb place: how could it not match with the pleasures
of the immortals?

“Frosted leaves fill the woods with crimson,”

[Sugawara no] Sukemasa

(14)

帝里東有甲第台閣壯麗林泉幽奇本是左僕射翫春花樂秋水之地今則藤叟相為新山開旧
池之場也。行幸東三条管弦時上曲。輔正。

East of the imperial residence there is a superb mansion. The palace stands with magnificent
splendor; the spring in the woods cast a tranquil aura. This was originally the place where the
Minister of the Left gazed at the spring flowers and enjoyed the autumn waters. Now it is the
place where Counselor Fujiwara has raised a new hill and has opened the old pond.

Imperial progress to the residence at the Eastern Third Avenue, “The instruments play a melody
above the waves,”

[Sugawara no] Sukemasa

(15)

百花亭者・昔為右丞相之蓮府・今即常州王之花亭也・水石不改・風煙猶幽・縮松江
於砌前・摸柱水於牆門・是則洛陽中一仙洞也。花錦不須機。菅雅規。

The one-hundred-flower pavilion was in the past the residence of the Minister of the Right.
Today it is the flower pavilion of the Hitachi Prince. The rocks amidst the water have not
changed; soft vapors still rise in the tranquil air. It looks as though the Pine River was narrowed
in front of the paved stairs, and that the Cassia Waters were painted inside the walls. This is in
fact an immortal grotto within Luoyang.

“The flower brocade does not need a loom”

Suga[wara] no Masanori

(16)

永寧坊有一仙洞風煙幽奇水石清麗東則延喜之長公主卷錦帳垂珠簾西亦応和之大納言
建月台排花閣。花開已廻樹。順。

In the Einei ward there is an immortal grotto. The windy vapors confer a peculiar tranquillity; the rocks in the water are beautiful and clear. In the East, that is where the royal princess of the Engi era rolled up the brocade curtains and dropped down the jewel blinds. In the West, that is where the Consultant of the Ōwa era built a moon platform and opened a flower pavilion.

“The flowers open as they cover the trees”

[Minamoto no] Shitagō

(17)

夫仙洞之地衆木成林春憐其空之開敷秋愛其葉之灑落。竹風声如雨。源相規。

The terrain of the immortal grotto assembles trees and makes up a wood. In spring, it is touching how the flowers open up against the sky; In autumn, it is lovely how the leaves scatter across the air. “The wind in the bamboo sounds like rain”

Minamoto no Sukenori

(18)

陽明里中有一名地本承平左丞相之旧府也地以靈勝而久待主境富風流而期遇時爰大相
府伝其基跡加以潤草木幽奇閩風嶺之花讓色巖泉勝慨朝霞亭之水愧声古人所謂名教之
中有樂矣誠哉斯言。花露春歸。為憲。

In the Yōmei ward there is a renowned place. Originally it was the old residence of the Minister of the Left of the Jōhei era. This wonderful place has long awaited for an owner; this confines are abundant in wind and streams and are waiting for their time. The Grand Minister inherited these remnants and renewed them. Grass and trees exhibit a peculiar tranquillity: the flowers of the Langfeng mountain cannot boast the same colors. The spring among the rocks emanates a splendid sound: the water of the rosy-cloud pavilion is ashamed of its voice. The people of old would say that in renown and in instruction is found leisure. How true these words are!

“With dew on the flowers, spring goes away”

[Minamoto no] Tamenori

(19)

左相府水閣者洛外之地也苔岸氣冷誠是於鑒清流桂洞月晴亦便望遙漢。含嬌渡淺河。
菅三品。

The water-towering pavilion of the Minister of the Left is a place outside of the capital. On the banks covered by moss the aura is chill; truly the current is clearer than a mirror. Over the cassia grotto the moon is clear; so we gaze at the river afar.

“With charming demeanor [the deity] crosses the shallow river”

Third-rank Sugawara [no Fumitoki]

(20)

上東門南陽明里北有一甲第蓋左相府顯仁智之居也相府主此地以降泉石貯勝竹樹逐幽
風台水樹縮蓬瀛而若仙苔髮雲膚稟華山而為子。風高霜葉前。為憲。

South of the Upper-East gate and north of the Yomei district there is a splendid mansion. It is the dwelling where the Minister exhibits benevolence and wisdom. Since the Minister inherited this place the rocks in the spring have been increasing their splendor, and the bamboo trees have been chasing tranquillity. The wind platform and the water trees narrow down the islands of Peng[lai] and Ying[zhou]: it is like being immortal. The hair of the moss and the skin of the clouds make up the Hua mountain: it is like becoming [Daoist] masters.

“The wind rises in front of the frosted leaves”

[Minamoto no] Tamenori

(21)

冷泉院者萬葉之仙宮百花之一洞也景趣幽奇煙霞勝絕。花光水上浮。菅三品。

The Reizei mansion is the immortal court of one thousand eras, the immortal grotto of one hundred flowers. The landscape exhibits a peculiar tranquillity; The vapors in the air have no match in their splendor.

“The light of the flowers floats above the water”

Third-rank Sugawara [no Fumitoki]

(22)

夫、碧樹不高、則文鳳無属栖息之心、施淵不深、亦彩龍無寄游泳之思。豪家之占勝地、其義、鑿池沼而湛千秋之水、構林巒而象九華之山。敏心巧目之輩、皆感風流之異俗寰、一鶚兩驪之才、尽称地勝之叶詩境。佳会之趣、誠有以哉。月出先照山。明衡。

If the green tree is not high, then the patterned phoenix will not have the intention of living there. If the jade water is not deep, then again the colored dragon will not bear the thought of swimming in it. As a flourishing family has selected a superb terrain, its path was to dig a pond and fill it with the waters of a thousand autumns, and build a forest peak in resemblance to the nine-flower mountain. Those with sensitive minds and skillful eyes will certainly appreciate how the wind and the streams are different from the vulgar world; those with the talent of one fishhawk and two thoroughbred horses will admire fully how this superb place is appropriate as the realm of poetry. This is truly the atmosphere for a graceful meeting!

“The moon rises and first shines on the mountains”

[Fujiwara no] Akihira

(23)

爰近占東都新排甲第枕山以置高閣遥嘲臨風觀之幽奇向水以構曲台更徧映月亭之(以下闕) [勝絶]

Recently, upon selecting the eastern district of the capital, [Major Consultant Minamoto] has newly built a splendid mansion. A high tower is placed at the foot of the hill, making fun of the peculiar aura of the wind-facing sight from afar. A winding platform is built facing the water, bringing down the exceptional splendor of the reflecting-moon pavilion even more.

“The moonlight is bright leaning on water”

[Fujiwara no] Akihira

Appendix III

Kanpyō 1 (889) Lingering Chrysanthemum Banquet

(The texts are in *Honchō monzui*, in Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikai 27, and Zatsugon hōwa, in *Gunsbo ruijū*, vol. 9)

Preface by Ki no Haseo

惜秋翫殘菊、各分一字、應製。紀納言。

Lamenting autumn while enjoying the lingering chrysanthemums, distributing one character each, composed in response to a command by the sovereign. Consultant Ki.

晚秋九月、夜漏三更、聖皇詔於侍臣、令各獻詩。即賜題目、惜秋翫殘菊。蓋賞時變也。當時侍者、皆相語曰、凡情之難堪者、莫過於秋天、感之至切者、莫深於歲暮、況復孤叢之將盡、寒花之纔殘、豈止可惜於俗眼之下、亦知被翫於叡襟之中。所謂聖人者、不私其心、以百姓心為心、無常其思、以四海思為思者乎。如然者、何能使群下感秋之意、更過主上送夜之遊。遂以近叢而翫之、挑燭以看之。分膏腴於醉鄉、割要害於樂地。臣之不敏、粗以敘之。謹序。

In the late autumn of ninth month, when the water clock entered the third term of the night, the sage sovereign addressed his attendants and commanded that everyone present a poem as he bestowed the topic *Lamenting autumn while enjoying the lingering chrysanthemums*. Indeed, this is no other than to admire the shifting of time. By the time, those who were attending all engaged in a discussion and said: “Nothing is as difficult to bear for the heart as the autumn sky, and nothing causes as deep an emotion as the end of the year. How much more is that so as for the solitary grass nearly facing its end, bearing only a few cold flowers! This can hardly be grieved only in the eyes of the common people. In fact, we know that the sovereign too cherishes it within his very heart. It is not said that a sage man has no heart of his own, but makes the hearts of the hundred families his heart, and likewise he has no fixed thought, but makes the thoughts of the four seas his thought? If this is so, then how could the feelings of the subjects who lament autumn ever surpass the desire of the Sovereign to oversee this night passing by?” Thus, everybody moved towards the grass holding a light so to see and admire it, while fertile soil was cast on the lands of inebriation and defenses were dismantled from the grounds of amusement. Although my lack of talent resulted in such rough narration, I humbly present this preface.

(*Honchō monzui* 331)

Poems from *Zatsugon hōwa* 雜言奉和 (Harmonizing Poems in Miscellaneous Verses)

(1) 七言。惜秋翫菊花應製一首。探得晞字。

One poem with seven characters per line composed on imperial command on the topic
“*Admiring autumn while enjoying the chrysanthemum flowers.*” Obtaining “dry” as rhyme character.

民部大輔正五位下臣惟良宿禰高尚上

Presented by His Subject Korenaga no Sukune Takanao, Senior Assistant of the Ministry of
Popular Affairs, Senior Fifth Rank, lower grade.

驚看秋景疾如飛 I watch in astonishment autumn scenery passing as swift as if flying;
最愛菊花咲晚暉 All the more I cherish the chrysanthemum flower blooming at twilight.
莫問孤藪留野外 Do not ask whether the solitary grass grows out in the fields;
唯知一種在宮闈 Just know that this one kind lies within the palace gates.
襲人香氣寧因火 Their perfumed scent descends on people: how could it come from the
brazier?
學錦文章不用機 Their patterned shape resembles brocade: it hardly uses a loom.
賜宴尋常猶可醉 Being bestowed a banquet, as is usual, we shall get intoxicated:
況乎恩湛露難晞 All the more so when the deep grace will not let the dew dry.

講師

Lecturer

(2) 七言。惜秋翫殘菊應製一首。探得深字。

One poem with seven characters per line composed on imperial command on the topic
“*Admiring autumn while enjoying the lingering chrysanthemums.*” Obtaining “deep” as rhyme character.

前美濃介從五位下臣嶋田朝臣忠臣上

Presented by His Subject Shimada no Ason Tadaomi, former Assistant Governor of Mino,
Junior Fifth Rank, lower grade.

一叢寒菊咲千金 One single grass of cold chrysanthemums blooms in a thousand golds;
夜翫殘榮秋欲深 At night we enjoy its lingering splendor as autumn grows deep.
月桂混香依檻外 The moon cassia mingles its scent, leaning beyond the balustrade;
燈花和色隔紗陰 The lantern flowers blend their color, interspersing the silky shadows.
簾褰星苑陶籬接 The blind is raised before a garden of stars, adjacent to the fence of Tao;
閣倚天潢灑水浸 The pavilion stands against the Celestial Pier, soaked by the waters of Li.

除卻藥珠宮裡觀 Except admiring the spectacle of the flower pearls inside the palace,
不如此夕拜乾臨 Tonight nothing compares to humbly laying eyes on the gaze of Heaven.

(3) 七言。惜秋翫殘菊應製一首。探得栽字。

One poem with seven characters per line composed on imperial command on the topic
“*Admiring autumn while enjoying the lingering chrysanthemums.*” Obtaining “growing” as rhyme
character.

大外記外從五位下臣大藏朝臣善行上

Presented by His Subject Ōkura no Ason Yoshiyuki, Major Outer Secretary, Outer Junior Fifth
Rank, lower grade.

黃星星與白皚皚 Yellow as the shining stars, white as the glowing snow;
野種竦根禁掖栽 Wild seeds and rising roots growing inside the palace.
增暎應同殘月助 Their growing glare: it is as though it enhances the lingering moon;
孤奢不被曉霜摧 Their solitary elegance: it is not injured by the frost at dawn.
多憐晚色寒初綻 We should admire their fading color as it first blooms with the cold;
難見鮮花歲盡開 It is difficult to watch the beautiful flowers open at the close of the year.
此艷那逢秋後發 Why should this elegance only be enjoyed so deep into autumn?
雞人莫報漏頻催 Time-keeper, do not announce the passing of time as the water clock flows!

(4) 五言。惜秋翫殘菊應製一首。探得籬字。

One poem with five characters per line composed on imperial command on the topic “*Admiring
autumn while enjoying the lingering chrysanthemums.*” Obtaining “fence” as rhyme character.

大藏少丞正七位下臣小野朝臣滋陰上

Presented by His Subject Ono no Ason Shigekage, Junior Secretary of the Ministry of Treasury,
Senior Seventh rank, lower grade.

何處翫殘菊 When are lingering chrysanthemums enjoyed?
清商欲晚時 At the time when autumn wind is about to cease.
金花留北闕 Golden flowers only grow in the Northern Palace;
玉蘂少東籬 Pearl buds are scanty under the eastern fence.
白露凝紅粉 White dew coagulates on the red powder;

丹霜染素絲 Cinnabar-red frost dyes the white threads.
聖君殊愛惜 The sage ruler treasures this especially;
酈縣是應移 Li County should indeed move onto here.

(5) 七言。惜秋翫殘菊應製一首。探得燈字。

One poem with seven characters per line composed on imperial command on the topic
“*Admiring autumn while enjoying the lingering chrysanthemums.*” Obtaining “lantern” as rhyme character.

文章生正七位上臣藤原朝臣菅根上

Presented by His Subject Fujiwara no Ason Sugane, Student of Literature, Senior Seventh rank,
upper grade.

仙叢省禁繞階繩 The grass of immortals entwines the steps of the stream flowing in the
court;
黃似黃金白似冰 The yellow ones are like gold, the white ones are like ice.
籬朵秋深非柳圈 Clusters of flowers under the fence, autumn so deep: is this
not a garden of willows?
砌花夜久映蘭燈 Flowers amidst the stone-pavement, the night still long: they are reflected by
the orchid lanterns.
宮人側目雖摧盡 The court ladies cast a glance even though [the flowers] are injured;
聖主降憐免犯凌 The wise ruler bestows his awe as to spare them to fade.
終有兩三霜後色 At the end there remains the color of two or three flower after frost;
天長應獻歲寒徵 We ought to present them to the long-lasting Heaven at the summons of the
cold season.

(6) 七言。惜秋翫殘菊應製一首。探得花字。

One poem with seven characters per line composed on imperial command on the topic
“*Admiring autumn while enjoying the lingering chrysanthemums.*” Obtaining “flower” as rhyme character.

阿波權守臣藤原朝臣直方上

Presented by His Subject Fujiwara no Ason Naokata, Supernumerary Governor of Awa.

晚秋欲盡景將斜 When late autumn is drawing to a close and the sun is descending;
愛翫深宮殘菊花 We enjoy the lingering chrysanthemum flowers deep inside the Palace.
欲道銀臺芬馥色 Were I to speak of their densely scented color upon the silver board,
黃金數朵異陶家 I would say that these clusters of gold surpass those of the house of Tao.

(7) 七言。惜秋翫殘菊應製一首。探得叢字。

One poem with seven characters per line composed on imperial command on the topic
“*Admiring autumn while enjoying the lingering chrysanthemums.*” Obtaining “grass” as rhyme character.

彈正大弼從四位下臣平朝臣惟範上

Presented by the official Taira no Ason Korenori, Senior Assistant President of the Board of
Censors, Junior Fourth rank, lower grade.

送盡秋風百草空 The autumn wind blows in vain on the one hundred plants;
禁闈孤有菊殘叢 In the forbidden quarters grows a solitary grass of chrysanthemum.
花光暮與秋光暮 The light of the flowers fades and the light of autumn fades,
一種蕭條翫惜中 As we admire and cherish this one desolate kind.

(8) 七言。惜秋翫殘花應製一首。探得稀字。

One poem with seven characters per line composed on imperial command on the topic
“*Admiring autumn while enjoying the lingering flowers.*” Obtaining “rarely” as rhyme character.

左近衛將監臣藤原滋實上

Presented by His Subject Fujiwara no Shigezane, Captain of the Left Bodyguards.

時臨木落百叢微 The time has come for trees to fade as the one hundred plants become few;
可惜黃花變紫稀 We should cherish the yellow flowers that change into purple ever so rarely.
憑託秋風留莫散 I trust the autumn wind to hold back and not scatter them:
是尤仙殿萬年暉 As this is the one-thousand-year radiance in the hall of the immortals.

(9) 七言。惜秋翫殘菊應製一首。探得殘字。

One poem with seven characters per line composed on imperial command on the topic
“*Admiring autumn while enjoying the lingering chrysanthemums.*” Obtaining “lingering” as rhyme
character.

左衛門少尉臣藤原定國上

Presented by His Subject Fujiwara no Sadakuni, Lieutenant of the Palace Guards of the Left.

可惜素秋花菊朵 We should cherish the branches of chrysanthemum flowers in the white
autumn;
時來憐見晚光寒 The time has come when we look in awe at the cold fading light.
何因今夜心情切 Why are our feelings so painful tonight?
洞裏仙庭一色殘 In the garden of the immortals inside the cave only one color is lingering.

(10) 五言。惜秋翫殘菊應製一首。探得群字。

One poem with five characters per line composed on imperial command on the topic “*Admiring autumn while enjoying the lingering chrysanthemums.*” Obtaining “group” as rhyme character.

蔭子橘公緒上

Presented by Tachibana no Kimio, Shadow Child.

九月秋將盡 In the ninth month autumn is about to end;
天臨翫菊芬 The gaze of Heaven admires the chrysanthemums' aroma.
色和庭上燎 Their color harmonizes with the lanterns shining above the garden;
香混閣中芸 Their scent confounds with the perfumed herbs inside the pavilion.
酒客攀相伴 The liquor guests arrive together and bend their branches;
詩仙繞作群 The poetry immortals assemble in a group around them.
五更猶未睡 In the fifth hour, still we do not sleep:
共詠舜南薰 We chant together of the perfumed southern wind of Shun.

(11) 五言。惜秋翫殘花應製一首。探得釵字。

One poem with five characters per line composed on imperial command on the topic “*Admiring autumn while enjoying the lingering flowers.*” Obtaining “hairpin” as rhyme character.

蔭子藤原如道上

Presented by Fujiwara no Yukimichi, Shadow Child.

紫禁秋天晚 In the purple palace autumn is about to end;
夜來殘菊奢 The lingering chrysanthemums bloom as night comes.
軒前凝雪聳 In front of the canopy they rise as solidified snow;
臺上帶霜斜 On the platform they lean over carrying frost.

裁錦純青葉 The pure-green leaves look as though they were cut from brocade;
點珠半白花 The half-white flowers resemble shining jewels dotting the ground.
蕭條垂朵處 As the branches hang down with desolation,
似擲舞人釵 It is like a dancer who throws away her hairpin.

(12) 七言。惜秋翫殘菊應制一首。探得清字。

One poem with seven characters per line composed on imperial command on the topic
“*Admiring autumn while enjoying the lingering chrysanthemums.*” Obtaining “pure” as rhyme character.

右近衛少將正五位下臣源朝臣湛上

Presented by His Subject Minamoto no Ason Tatau, Lesser General of the Right Bodyguards,
Senior Fifth rank, lower grade.

三秋已盡變冬律 The three months of autumn end here as they turn into winter;
殘菊承霜一兩莖 One or two stalks of lingering chrysanthemums receive the frost.
香獨先梅飛曉月 Their scent propagates before that of the plums, flying towards the moon at
dawn.
色同白雪夕燈清 Their color is like white snow, shining pure under the night lanterns.

(13) 七言。惜秋翫殘花應制一首。探得心字。

One poem with seven characters per line composed on imperial command on the topic
“*Admiring autumn while enjoying the lingering flowers.*” Obtaining “heart” as rhyme character.

藏人正六位上行兵部少丞臣藤原朝臣孝快上

Presented by His Subject Fujiwara no Ason Takayasu, Chamberlain, Senior Sixth rank, upper
grade acting as Junior Secretary of the Ministry of Military Affairs.

三秋已晚千花盡 The three months of autumn end here as the thousand flowers fade;
紫禁孤叢似鬱金 The solitary grass in the purple palace looks like dense gold.
不異微臣殘悴色 Not dissimilar from the small servants with their withered colors:
將含濃露表丹心 Drenched in thick dew they will surely reveal a loyal heart.

(14) 七言。惜秋翫殘花應制一首。探得香字。

One poem with seven characters per line composed on imperial command on the topic “*Admiring autumn while enjoying the lingering flowers.*” Obtaining “scent” as rhyme character.

蔭子藤原有賴上

Presented by Fujiwara no Ariyori, Shadow Child.

禁省翫花秋恨長 Admiring the flowers in the palace, autumn sorrow is deep;
是因風氣散芬芳 This is because the gusts of wind scatter the fragrant scent.
孤叢白映流光日 The solitary grass reflects in the changing light of the day;
數片紅逢殺色霜 The petals turn red as they meet the frost that injures their color.
桂聚可慙獨自盛 The cassia trees should be embarrassed that [the flowers] alone flourish;
梅園正妬發先香 The plum garden is surely jealous that they bloom and first release scent.
瓊漿本自殊凡草 The precious liquor is naturally superior to [that from] mediocre weed:
只任栽來獻聖王 I shall make my duty to grow [the flowers] and present them to our wise ruler.

(15) 七言。惜秋觀殘菊。得芳字。

A poem with seven characters per line on the topic “*Admiring autumn while enjoying the lingering chrysanthemums.*” Obtaining “fragrance” as rhyme character.

天皇宇多帝御製

Royal composition by the sovereign Emperor Uda

金風吹起欲終處 As the golden wind has arisen and it is about to cease;
殘菊前簷堪愛芳 Then it is worth cherishing the fragrance of the lingering chrysanthemums
in the
front veranda:
何事殷勤今夜翫 Why are we to admire them so passionately tonight?
明年此節示愚王 Next year, at this very moment, this foolish ruler shall be revealed.

朕以晚成人可不見毀

As my talent is late to bloom, people shall see no fault [in my poem].

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