

| | |
|--------------|---|
| Title | MAJOR JAPANESE THEORISTS OF POETRY : FROM KI NO TSURAYUKI TO KAMO NO CHŌMEI |
| Author(s) | Marra, Michele |
| Citation | 大阪外国語大学学報. 1984, 67, p. 27-35 |
| Version Type | VoR |
| URL | https://hdl.handle.net/11094/81025 |
| rights | |
| Note | |

Osaka University Knowledge Archive : OUKA

<https://ir.library.osaka-u.ac.jp/>

Osaka University

MAJOR JAPANESE THEORISTS OF POETRY: FROM KI NO TSURAYUKI TO KAMO NO CHŌMEI

by Michele MARRA

The deep Chinese influence on Japanese poetry is manifest even from the time of *Man'yōshū*'s compilation (759). No longer can we interpret that poetry as a manifestation of a pure, genuine Japanese sensibility opposed to the artificial poetry of latter ages modelled upon Chinese examples. Today we realize how strong the Chinese models were in the minds of Ōtomo no Tabito (665-731), Yamabe no Ōkura (?660-?733) and Ōtomo no Yakamochi (718-85) during their experimentations with the didactic, descriptive, narrative and lyrical modes in their poetry.¹ It was exactly the assimilation of Chinese poetry that made the Japanese poets aware of their own particular tradition, urging them to define rules and techniques in which the raw material of their own linguistic peculiarities could be organized. And they observed not only Chinese poetry but the way the Chinese themselves judged it.

The Major Preface to the "Book of Poetry", possibly written by Wei Hung in the first century A.D., clearly emphasized the spontaneous expression of emotion in the act of making poetry. We can see what has been called a "primitivistic concept of poetry"² in some poems of the "Book of Poetry", where the author justifies his intention of writing poetry in order to express fully his restless feelings of sorrow. The Japanese were particularly sensible to this Chinese expressive theory of literature. When time came for them to discuss theoretical principles on poetry, they always kept in mind the following passage from the "Book of Documents" (*Shu-ching*), the earliest historical work in Chinese, probably belonging to the eleventh century B.C.: "Poetry expresses in words the intent of the heart (or mind), songs prolong the words in chanting, notes follow the chanting, and pitch-pipes harmonize with the notes".³

That poetry is expression of the heart and that the heart is expressed through words was clearly stated in the "Book of Odes": "Poetry exists in the soul as will taking shape as verse; the soul moves and takes shape in words".⁴ Heart (mind, will, the inner world) and the words (the expression of the same inner world) are two major concepts in Chinese poetic theory. To these they added very early a third concept, the cause of the heart's movement, the external world. In the essay on poetry called "Poetic Modes" (*Shin p'ing*), written around 500 by Chung Hung, we read: "Things move the spirit, and as a result people respond emotionally to them. Thus the Essential Nature is in motion and this results in songs and dance in various forms".⁵ Considering the three basic elements of heart, words and nature, the Chinese theories

show a clear unbalance in favor of the heart whose power is stressed more than anything else.

Religious considerations induced Kūkai (774-835) to stress the overflowing of the soul (*amari no kokoro*) when, echoing the ideas found in the *Shih ching*, he wrote: "Poetry has will at its base, which is in the soul; in the movement of the soul the words become poetry".⁶ Poetry for Kūkai becomes a way of meditation, of deep internal insight, a means of expressing the noble truth that usual words cannot describe. Kūkai's position is a mystical approach to poetry, similar to the western concept of poetry as stairs to God. As a matter of fact, this was a quite unusual approach in Japan where the two separate spheres of earth and heaven had never existed. Nevertheless the interest Kūkai showed towards poetry, classifying it in his essays *Bunkyōhifuron* (818) and *Bumpitsu Ganshinshō* (819) was of enormous importance in showing for the first time in Japanese history how was possible to approach the problem of poetry in a systematic and analytical way, inviting the Japanese poets to apply in their writings the principles of sound and content used in the Chinese poetry.

The debt owned by Ki no Tsurayuki (869-945) to the Chinese theories is obvious; it would be enough to mention the fact that his *kana* preface to the *Kokinshū* (905) followed the sense of the *mana* preface by Ki no Yoshimochi, who took the general theory of its opening statement from the Major Preface to the "Book of Poetry".⁷ We find the classical definition of poetry as coming from the human intent which is located into one's heart. When it blossoms into words it produces poetry.⁸ The source of the poetry of Yamato are, according to Tsurayuki, the hearts of the people: "The poetry of Yamato has sprung from the hearts of the people as seeds to grow into myriads of words".⁹

Here again we can find the three elements that explained the process of poetry composition in the Chinese theories mentioned above: the human emotion (*kokoro*), the words (*kotoba*) that make the poem, and the external event that evokes emotion in the poet, represented by the song of the bush-warbler among flowers and the frog's croaking in the water.¹⁰ The debt is clear but Tsurayuki pushes the problem a step further; the first two elements, heart and words, must be balanced some way if the poet wants to reach the level of refined beauty in his poetry. All the Six Poetic Geniuses (*Rokkasen*)¹¹, in fact, are criticized according to the unbalance of one of the two elements. The major fault in their poems is a lack of technique, an incorrect use of the words. Tsurayuki moves to these poets a criticism that will become more and more common in the mid-classical period: the chosen mode does not correspond to the sentiment of the poem. Or, to put it another way, it seems that these poets didn't have any notion of poetic modes at all. Neither could they know them, since nobody had yet classified the poetic modes. Fujiwara no Hamanari (724-90), in spite of his attempt to forge a systematic poetics for Japanese poetry in his *Kakyō hyōshiki* (772), dealt exclusively with rules of metric, of external and internal rhyme, and other rhetorical figures.¹² We would expect Tsurayuki to give us more concrete information about how to order the poetical material. He saw the problem but it was too early for a clear, theoretical classification to which the poets could turn while going to order their innermost feelings into a rational

complex. His enumeration of the six styles in poetry (*mukusa*)¹³ seems more an attempt to match with the Chinese six poetic genres¹⁴ than a spontaneous act of giving the poets a concrete tool in order to avoid the repetition of the Six Poetic Geniuses' mistakes. As a matter of fact, these pronouncements were conveniently ignored by the poets of the time.

The poetic ideal of Tsurayuki is the genuineness of the emotion and the capability of expressing it in a well-balanced form. The modern age, according to Tsurayuki, lacks the main characteristic of the old poems, feeling, while the old poetry lacks skill in expression, a skill well developed in modern poetry. Nevertheless, in the collection of "Newly Selected Poems" (*Shinsen waka shū*) he chose modern works of poets from *Kōnin* and *Enchō* years (810-931), showing once more his interest in problems of technique.

When Tsurayuki says that poetry gives pleasure to men and it helps create a peaceful, well-governed state, for it promotes a better understanding among various members of the society, recognizing two main uses of poetry, hedonistic and didactic,¹⁵ the path faithfully followed is once again the path of the Major Preface, where it is stated that 'the former kings by this [poetry] regulated the duties of husband and wife, effectually inculcated filial obedience, and reverence, secured attention to all the relations of society, adorned the transforming influence of instruction, and transformed manners and customs'.¹⁶

Nothing was further from the intention of the Japanese poets than to teach people through poetry. At Tsurayuki's time Confucian ideas were overcome by a strong Buddhist influence and Japan was starting her own way, departing more and more from the Chinese model. No wonder, therefore, if the later poetry was not to follow the directions suggested by Tsurayuki. Nevertheless he had the high merit of showing how essential it was to define the problem of poetry not only in terms of content and techniques, but also in terms of purposes and, at the same time, he engendered among the literati a critical consciousness of poetry unknown before.

From Tsurayuki on, every great poet engaged himself to classify and order the poetic material. Mibu no Tadamine (868-965), co-compiler of the *Kokinshū*, wrote the "Ten Styles of Japanese Poetry" (*Wakatei jūshū*) where, under the influence of Kūkai, he praises the styles which emphasize feeling that reaches beyond words (*yojō*). To look at the past in his "archaic style" has the purpose of giving a poem the elegant formality requested by the aristocratic circles. In Tadamine there is no longing to return to the "simpler" and less elegant style of the early literary age. Therefore his style has been called "neoclassical".¹⁷

"The soul of an *uta* must be profound, and the form pure. Poems that have strangely beautiful souls are the most excellent". This sentence at the beginning of the "Essence of Poetry Newly Selected" (*Shinsen zuinō*) by Fujiwara no Kintō (966-1041) stresses the concept of depth, purity and harmony of soul, main characteristics of the concept of 'overflowing soul' (*amari no kokoro*). The source of Kintō was one of the ten styles discussed in Tadamine's "Ten Styles of Poetry", namely the *yojō-tai* (the *amari no kokoro* style).

We have seen the Buddhist influence upon Kūkai's literary theories, how poetry was for him a particular way of expressing what ordinary language couldn't express. The Buddhist

idea of single-pointed concentration, one of the main goals of all forms of yoga meditation, is a very likely source for a statement of “The Essence of Poetry Newly Selected”: “A poem which chains many images together is bad; *uta* should be written with steady stress on one nerve”.¹⁸

The Buddhist influence on Kintō's theories appears also in the structure of his next essay, “The Nine Levels of Waka” (*Waka kuhon*), an attempt to distinguish good poems from bad. Divided in upper, middle, lower level with illustrative poems for each section, the structure of the work has been compared to one of the three basic texts of the Amida school, the *Kanmuryōjūkyō*, which sets forth the doctrine concerning the nine levels of beings who may obtain entry into the Pure Land Paradise. The nine levels of the Buddhist work are divided into three groups-upper, middle, and lower-each of which has its own meditation practice.¹⁹

The ideal of ‘overflowing souls’ seems the most fit for Kintō's religious concerns. Both words and soul are so elevated that they merge together without leaving any trace of duality. In fact, the upper level in poetry is reached when “the words are so magical that the soul of the poems overflows and lingers”.²⁰ More than the harmony between heart and words as suggested by Tsurayuki, Kintō stresses the fusion of the two concepts. As a matter of fact, all his life was an attempt of adaptation and harmonization. From the technical point of view, he tried to harmonize the so-called ‘oblique’ (*i-p'ang*) style of late Six Dynasties (ca. 420-589) and early T'ang (618-ca. 705) poetry with the simplicity of Po Chū-i's poetic method.²¹ The results did not seem very gratifying from the practical point of view, but the theory of poetry was enriched by an element lacking in Tadamine, the setting up of concrete values for judging good *uta* from bad ones. For this purpose Kintō, using preexisting material,²² compiled in his “The Essence of Poetry Newly Selected” a list of ‘poetic diseases’, such as the repetition of sound or meaning (*dōshinbyō*), the use of ancient words like *kamo* and *rashi*²³, which were to exert an important influence on poetic thinking for hundreds of years afterwards.

The avoidance of repetition of syllables seems to be the main concern of Minamoto no Toshiyori (?1057-1129), who gives a list of ‘poetic-diseases’ in his *Zuinō*. Moved more by the desire to experiment new poetic devices than by the impulse of the theoretician, he did not try to systematize what he saw and heard, limiting himself to synthesize the ten styles of Hamanari and Mibu no Tadamine with the nine steps of *waka* by Kintō.

Zuinō shows how formalism was increasing in poetry. Among the various techniques for the composition of poems described by Toshiyori, it is quoted the so-called *mawashibumi*, in which a poem can be read forwards or backwards, both ways in exactly the same wording. Nothing was really added in the field of criticism by Toshiyori, whose particular skill remains the careful arrangement under detailed heading of the 1600 poems of his personal collection, the *Sanboku kikashū* (ca. 1128), the first of the truly classified personal collections.²⁴

We saw how necessary a classification of the Japanese poetry was felt by Tsurayuki in order to give it the prestige and decorum needed for a life of independence from the Chinese

counterpart. With the beginning of the Kamakura period the aristocrats witnessed the increasing power of the military class, attaching themselves more firmly to the aesthetic values of the old regime. The tradition meant their own power and they fought hard in order to preserve it. Refinement, harmony, gentleness were characteristics of that tradition to be saved at any cost; therefore they had to further develop and elaborate the theories on aestheticism. Moreover, the custom of poetic contests (*uta-awase*) and the practice of selecting poems for imperial anthologies required a solid theoretical ground upon which to base their judgement. The best operators of this theoretical work were Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114-1204), his son Fujiwara no Teika (1162-1241) and Kamo no Chōmei (1153-1216).

In his “Notes on Poetic Styles Through the Ages” (*Korai fūteishō*) Shunzei gives examples of the historical evolution of the styles of poetry, explaining the change of style as a consequence of the changing tastes and needs of the times. He looked at the poems of ancient time as at the product of genuine feeling and sincerity, devoid of technique’s awareness, thus perpetuating a misjudgement of the high technically developed *Man’yōshū*’s poems.²⁵

His poetry has been defined” as gentle and evocative, infused with deep feeling, and moving in its sensitivity. His style particularly appeals to my humble taste”.²⁶ The author of this statement, the Retired Emperor Go-Toba, in judging Shunzei uses the term *aware* (moving in its sensitivity), a dominant aesthetic ideal of Heian literature that now becomes a term of high praise limited by Go-Toba to Shunzei’s greatness. The other word used by Go-Toba is *kokoro fukashi* (suffused with deep feeling), a term very close to the other one mentioned above, *amari no kokoro*. As a matter of fact, we can perceive a clear continuity going through Kūkai, Kintō and Shunzei in their approach to criticism; the act of making poetry is explained in religious terms, although the poem itself was not by any means to be considered as a religious poem.

Shunzei quite often used the term *hon-i* (the essence of the described thing) while acting as a judge in poetry contests. In order to obtain *hon-i* the poet had not only to express the essential quality of a topic according to the conventional treatment, but also to achieve a kind of mystical identification with the topic by means of intense concentration and meditation. This practice was the exact reproduction in the field of poetry of the practice of “concentration and insight” (*shikan*) developed by the Buddhist Tendai sect. The concentration of the poet upon a topic in order to grasp the essence of that experience is the same concentration of the believer trying to reach a universal vision of the Buddha. This particular aspect of Japanese criticism confirms the high ambition of poetry in putting itself in the position of searching for the truth as if the poem’s words were able to solve those problems usually answered through a Buddhist approach.²⁷

The same Buddhist atmosphere, enriched by new Zen nuances, was to imbue Teika’s ideas of poetry. For him the art of poetry cannot be learned through barren theories, and the value of a poem must be innerly felt more than rationally understood. The end of his “Superior Poems of Our Time” (*Kindai shūka*, around 1220)’s Prefatory Essay says: “These things merely represent the few ideas I have, for I have never studied or learned anything about

general principles of evaluating poetry, of telling the bad from the good”.²⁸

Intuition has a great deal in the act of composition, particularly when the poet is still without experience and an exaggeration of reasoning would lead to a lack of immediacy. In his “Monthly Notes” (*Maigetsushō*), a letter written to one of his pupils, probably the young *shōgun* Minamoto no Sanetomo (1192-1219), he says: “At the stage of initiation one should not forcibly exert oneself in cogitation. Being mistakenly convinced that *waka* must necessarily be composed through cogitation and constantly engaged in so doing, the spirit may become stupefied from exhaustion and, as a result, one may begin to feel even repugnance toward *waka*- composition. In order to attain proficiency, let one be inured to indite *waka* lightly and promptly, though, from time to time, as my late father admonished, one should also quietly become absorbed in cogitation”.²⁹

As in Buddhist meditation, particularly Zen meditation which has its goal in the attainment of imperturbability and the establishment of a total equilibrium inside the individual, Teika pursues the ideal of absolute balance of the poem’s components. Pushing to the extreme point Tsurayuki’s ideal, he gives as an exemplary type of *waka* (*shūitsu*) a poem “profound in *kokoro*, sublime [in its poetic tone] and ingenious [in its rhetorical techniques] , with the aesthetic plenitude of words overflowing, so that there might emerge a whole poetic figure (*sugata*) with a noble gracefulness”.³⁰

Teika seems to be particularly concerned with the emphasis given to the overflowing of the heart (*amari no kokoro*) by his predecessors Kūkai, Kintō and his father, and he tries to give the aesthetical qualities of calm and tranquillity to the content of a poem. Realizing the difficulty to choose the correct poetic mode according to the occasion of the poem, he reaches the point of claiming the transcendence of all modes in order to comprehend them all.

“Being transcendent over all predispositions, showing no particular attachment to anything, appearing not to belong to any one of the ten modes³¹, and yet somehow comprising all features of these, and being fragrantly suggestive-one feels as if one stood in front of a man decorous in his inner disposition impeccably attired with his court costume-such is indeed what I would consider the ‘excelling exemplar’ (*shūitsu*) of *waka*.”³² This statement is nothing but the application of a Buddhist principle to literary theory. This is the reason why Teika, in spite of his attempt to transcend all the styles, was going to stress more and more the “style of intense feeling” (*ushintai*), particularly in the passionate love poetry that he wrote in his late sixties and seventies. “The absolute serenity of the mind” deriving from the *ushin* style gives no more any room but to an unpretentious, plain beauty (*heitambi*), discarding the complexities of his earlier style of “ethereal beauty” (*yōen*). “Verily, among the aforementioned ten modes, I do not know a more perfect embodiment of the quintessence of *waka* than the Mode-with-Mind (*ushintai*). To grasp the spirit of this mode is, accordingly, to be considered a rare attainment. With a vacillating mind struggling with chance expressions, the pursuit of this ideal could never be expected to lead to success. It is only when one attains the absolute serenity of the mind and becomes immersed deeply into the state of inner ‘equilibrium’ that one could hope occasionally to indite *waka* of the Mode-with-Mind”.³³

Even when he is trying to help his disciples selecting poems and poetic modes to be imitated-what it has been called explanatory or formulary criticism-, Teika follows the Buddha's way of teaching, taking into considerations each particular individual, never forgetting the different inclinations and dispositions of anybody. "The Buddha, in teaching various truths (Dharma), is said to have given his explanations in close accord with the inborn nature of each individual with whom he dealt. A poet, in giving poetic instructions to people, should never, even slightly, deviate from this example set by the Buddha. However much a poet may be fond of a particular mode for which he himself is endowed with potentiality, if he tries to impose it upon others who are not endowed by nature with a capacity for the mode, he would be causing a grave and ominous hindrance to the way of *waka*".³⁵

The art of poetry becomes the Way of *waka*, and for people like Teika entirely committed to it, this was the Way for excellence; at this point no distinction between the way of poetry and the way of Buddha is allowed any more. Concentration, deep meditation, careful choice of words reaching mystical nuances are all elements leading to the perfection of that art. Teika found it fundamentally through simplicity, using a "style of polished ingenuity combined with a gentle elegance".³⁶

The difficulty to express in words the meaning of poetry is stressed over and over again by Kamo no Chōmei in his *Mumyōshō* ("Nameless Book", ca. 1211), particularly when he approaches the problem of modern poetry's aesthetic. Talking of the ideal of "mystery and depth" (*yūgen*) so effectively used by Shunzei, Kamo emphasizes the difficulties of trying to say in words what cannot be said. As if he was to speak of a religious experience, he talks about everything around the concept of *yūgen* without defining it. *Yūgen*, in fact, cannot be stated in words but still emerge naturally if certain conditions are fulfilled. The importance of *yūgen* lies in the "overflowing of the heart" (*yojō*) "which is not stated in words". Kamo says: "How can such things be easily learned or stated precisely in words? You can only comprehend them for yourself".³⁷ If we could explain the value of a poem with words, we would be at the presence of a simple statement, not of art. A poem does not show any formulated idea to the reader, whose ability lies in his skill to perceive the multiple suggestions spreading from the depth of the world. On these bases Kamo sets the difference between poetry and prose. According to him, prose's experiments are described as faithfully as possible, leaving nothing to the imagination of the reader, who is always aware of the writer.

Footnotes

- 1) Robert Brower and Earl Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961), pp. 82-94.
- 2) James J.Y.Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 68.
- 3) Quoted in *Chinese Theories of Literature*, p. 69.
- 4) Quoted in Nicholas J.Teele, "Rules of Poetic Elegance. Fujiwara no Kintō's *Shinsen Zuinō* & *Waka Kuhon*", in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. XXXI, n.2, 1976, p. 148.
- 5) Quoted in Teele, p. 148.
- 6) Quoted in Teele, p. 149.

- 7) See Shuichi Kato, *A History of Japanese Literature. The First Thousand Years* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1979), p. 113.
- 8) James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, IV, "The She king" (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), pp. 34-36.
- 9) H.H.Honda, *The Kokinshū* (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1968), p. 1.
- 10) See the analysis of the three elements in Makoto Ueda, *Literary and Art Theories in Japan* (Cleveland: The Press of Western Reserve University, 1967), p. 3.
- 11) The Archbishop Henjō (815-890); Ariwara no Narihira (825-880); Bunya no Yasuhide; the priest Kisen; Ono no Komachi (second half ninth century); Ōtomo no Kuronushi.
- 12) Brower and Miner, p. 93; Teel, p. 149.
- 13) (1)Allegorical poetry (*soeuta*), the way of expressing the heart with the pretext of describing things. (2) Enumerative poetry (*kazoeuta*) which seems to point toward those poems in which the poet enumerates the objects he proposes to depict, a type of descriptive poetry. (3)Metaphorical poetry (*nazuraeuta*).(4)Allusive poetry (*tatoeuta*).(5)Plain poetry (*tadagotouta*) which refers to poems in which the poet plainly states his emotion, a poetry in the method of prose. (6)Congratulatory poetry (*iwaiuta*). Saeki Umetomo, *Kokinwakashū* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1958), pp. 95-96; Honda, pp. 3-5; Makoto Ueda, p. 9.
- 14) The six classes recorded in the Great Preface to the "Book of Odes" are: (1) *Fung*, lessons of manner. (2)*Foo*, straightforward descriptive pieces. (3)*Pe*, metaphorical pieces. (4)*Hing*, allusive pieces. (5)*Ya*, Odes. (6)*Sung*, Hymns. Legge, pp. 34-36.
- 15) The hedonistic use of poetry is exemplified in the passage of the Preface dealing with Prince Katsuragi who was sent to Michinoku and displeased at the bad treatment received by the governor of a province. After having been offered *sake* by a woman who recited a poem, "his displeasure was gone". Honda, pp. 2-3. The didactic use of poetry is expressed in the following passage: "Songs can move Heaven and Hearth, induce the gods to feel the pathos of things, render men and women harmonious, and soothe the hearts of warriors". Honda, p. 1. This terminology is used in Makoto Ueda, pp. 20-24.
- 16) Legge, I V, p. 34.
- 17) Brower and Miner, pp. 177-178; Hilda Kato. "The *Mumyōshō* of Kamo no Chōmei and its significance in Japanese Literature", in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. XX I I I, nn. 3-4, 1968, p. 334.
- 18) Teele, p. 154. For the Buddhist influence see pp. 151-152.
- 19) Teele, pp. 151-152.
- 20) *Waka kuhon*, in Teele, p. 160.
- 21) Brower and Miner, p. 181.
- 22) The sources are once again Chinese. In Japan, Fujiwara no Hamanari listed in his *Kakyō hyōshiki* seven kinds of 'poetic diseases': (1)*tōbi* (first two lines with the same last syllable); (2)*kyōbi* (first two lines' last syllable and second line's third or sixth syllable are the same); (3)*yōbi* (third line's last syllable is repeated at the end of another line); (4)*enshi* (third line's last syllable is repeated in the middle of another line); (5)*yūfū* (a line's second and last syllable are the same); (6)*dōseiin* (third and last lines have the same syllable); (7)*henshin* (repetition of a syllable anywhere, except the last syllable of the third line). Teele, p. 156, n. 75.
- 23) Suffixes widely used in the *Man'yōshū*.
- 24) Hilda Kato, pp. 336-337; Phillip Tudor Harries, "Personal Poetry Collection. Their Origin and Development through the Heian Period". in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. XX X V, n.3, 1980.
- 25) Brower and Miner deal extensively with the skillful technical innovations of the *Man'yōshū's* compilers well aware of the refined Chinese techniques. Brower and Miner, pp. 79-156.
- 26) In Robert H.Brower, "Ex Emperor Go Toba's Secret Teachings: Go-Toba no In Gokuden", in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 32, 1972, pp. 35-36.
- 27) The interest in the practice of *shikan* reflected in Shunzei's *Korai fūteishō* has been studied by Brower and Miner, p. 257. See also Earl Miner, *An Introduction to Japanese Court Poetry* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968), p. 110.
- 28) Robert H.Brower and Earl Miner transl., *Fujiwara Teika's Superior Poems of Our Time. A Thirteenth-Century Poetic Treatise and Sequence* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967), p. 46.

- 29) *Maigetsushō*, in Toshihiko and Toyo Izutsu, *The Theory of Beauty in the Classical Aesthetics of Japan* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publ., 1981), p. 93.
- 30) *Maigetsushō*, p. 87.
- 31) (1)the “style of mystery and depth” (*yūgen’yō*); (2)the “style of universally acceptable statement” (*koto shikarubeki yō*); (3)the “style of elegant beauty” (*uruwashiki yō*); (4)the “style of intense feeling” (*ushintei*); (5)the “lofty style” (*taketakaki yō*); (6)the “style of describing things as one sees them” (*ken’yō*); (7)the “style of interesting treatment” (*omoshiroki yō*); (8)the “style of novel treatment” (*hitofushi aru yō*); (9)the style of exquisite detail” (*komayaka naru yō*); (10)the “style demonquelling force” (*onishishigitei*). See Brower and Miner, pp. 246-247.
- 32) *Maigetsushō*, p. 86.
- 33) *Maigetsushō*, p. 82.
- 34) *Fujiwara Teika's Superior Poems of Our Time*, p. 15.
- 35) *Maigetsushō*, p. 91.
- 36) *Go-Toba no In Gokuden*, in “Ex-Emperor Go-Toba's Secret Teachings”, p. 38. This work is particularly striking as an example of criticism of individual poets, following the path set up by Tsurayuki in his *Kokinshū*'s preface, but not maintained in later works of criticism.
- 37) *Mumyōshō*, in Hilda Kato, pp. 408-409.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Brower, Robert H. “Ex-Emperor Go-Toba's Secret Teachings: Go-Toba no In Gokuden”, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 32, 1972.
- Brower, Robert H. & Miner, Earl, transl. *Fujiwara Teika's Superior Poems of Our Time. A Thirteenth-Century Poetic Treatise and Sequence*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967.
- Japanese Court Poetry*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961.
- Harries, Phillip T. “Personal Poetry Collections. Their Origin and Development through the Heian Period”, in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. XXXV, n. 3, 1980.
- Honda, H.H. *The Kokinshū*. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1968.
- Kato, Hilda, “The *Mumyōshō* of Kamo no Chōmei and its significance in Japanese Literature”, in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. XXI I I, nn. 3-4, 1968.
- Kato, Shuichi. *A History of Japanese Literature. The First Thousand Years*. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1979.
- Izutsu, Toshihiko and Toyo. *The Theory of Beauty in the Classical Aesthetics of Japan*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publ., 1981.
- Legge, James. *The Chinese Classics*, IV, “The She King”. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960.
- Liu, James J.Y. *Chinese Theories of Literature*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1975.
- Marra, Michele. “*Mumyōzōshi*: Introduction and Translation”, in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. XXX I X, nn. 2-3-4, 1984.
- Miner, Earl. *An Introduction to Japanese Court Poetry*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968.
- Teele, Nicholas J. “Rules for Poetic Elegance. Fujiwara no Kintō's *Shinsen Zuinō* & *Waka Kuhon*”, in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. XXX I, n. 2, 1976.
- Ueda, Makoto. *Literary and Art Theories in Japan*. Cleveland: The Press of Western Reserve University, 1967.
- Umetomo, Saeki. *Kokinwakashū (NKBT 8)*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958.