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Coarse Cloth and Fine Brocade: Intertopicality, Lyricism, and Nature in the Poetry of Sugawara no Michizane and Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn

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Introduction: In search of a New Comparative Framework

The role of Sugawara no Michizane (菅原道眞 845–903) in the formation of Japanese literary canon can hardly be overestimated. *Kankeden* (菅家傳 A biography of Sugawara no Michizane), an early biographical source discovered in Kamakura in 1689, states that Michizane's

> … literary talent was utterly sublime and unsurpassed in the realm. Although he occupied a ministerial post, he did not give up sojourns to the world of blossoms and the moon. Many of his writings are relished by the people and, among those of later generations who spoke of literature, no one has neglected the study of his works.[1]

Here "literature" (Jp. *bunshō*, Ch. *wenzhang* 文章) refers specifically to poetry and prose written in literary Chinese. While Michizane left us several poems in the vernacular, almost the entire body of his surviving works is in Chinese, the language that remained the *lingua franca* of the East Asian ecumene until the beginning of the twentieth century. In fact, Michizane himself was a model Confucian scholar-official during the final decades of Sinitic efflorescence at the Heian (平安 794–1185) court. Throughout his lifetime, continental cultural and literary precedent continued to enjoy unparalleled prestige among the nobility only to be eclipsed by a renaissance of vernacular literature shortly after his death. However, the tradition of Chinese learning established by Michizane's grandfather and father persisted well into the Tokugawa period (1603–1868) while his own fame as the paragon of continental scholarship resulted in his veneration as Tenjin 天神, the patron deity of students and scholars.[2]

As Michizane was making waves at the imperial court as a brilliant upstart, another young literatus embarked on his journey toward scholarly

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renown and deification on the opposite side of the Korea Strait. The man's name was Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn (崔致遠 857–?), and, much like Michizane in Japan, he was destined to become the patriarch of Korea's Chinese learning. In his preface to Ch'oe's collected works, the Chosŏn scholar Hong Sŏkchu (洪奭周 1774–1842) boldly proclaims:

> In our eastern land, Lord Ch'oe Koun [i.e., Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn] was the first to produce literature and pass his writings down to posterity. He was also the first among the gentlemen of our land to travel to China to study and achieve fame in All-under-Heaven by means of his writings.[3]

Inspired by an evocative passage from the *Liji* (禮記 The book of rites), Hong proceeds to compare Ch'oe's oeuvre to coarse cloth, which, while imperfect, trumps even the fine brocade of the sovereign's robes and occupies a central place in the sacrificial chamber.[4] Hong's metaphor positions Ch'oe as the progenitor of Korea's Sinitic literature, without whom all the subsequent literary creations—no matter how exquisite—would have been impossible. This is an accolade worthy of a culture hero, if not a deity, and in a manner befitting such a hero Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's name tablet was eventually enshrined in the great temple of Confucius preceded only by that of Sŏl Ch'ong (薛聰 ca. 660–730), the first recipient of this high honor in Korean history.[5]

Michizane and Ch'oe's biographies are similar in many other ways: both came from relatively minor families, both endeavored to serve their rulers with loyalty and passion, and both failed, resulting in Michizane's involuntary exile and Ch'oe's self-inflicted reclusion. However, their largest shared trait is their place in Japanese and Korean literary histories as the originators and foremost masters of Sinitic literature, whose contributions to the tradition were as pivotal as the role of pristine white cloth in the grand sacrifices of Chinese antiquity. Before scholarly attention began to shift to Japanese and Korean vernacular literature in the latter half of the nineteenth century, Michizane and Ch'oe had been counted among the founding fathers of their respective literary canons. While some of the more parochial attitudes of modernist "national literature historiography" (Jp. *kokubungakushi* , Kor. *kungmunhaksa* 國文學史) with its disregard for Sinitic writings have been overcome in Japanese and Korean studies, the remarkable cases of Sugawara no Michizane and Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn invite an investigation of a special kind.[6] Instead of examining the dynamics of cultural exchange and synthesis along the center-periphery axis (as is customarily done in Sino-Japanese or Sino-Korean literary studies), one is compelled to look at how such

dynamics played out synchronously on the margins of the Sinitic world. In this light, the significance of Michizane and Ch'oe in Japanese and Korean literary histories and the striking similarities between the two make their writings well-suited for a comparative analysis.

Curiously, however, such an analysis is yet to graze the pages of academic publications.[7] The cover of a fairly recent collection of essays in Japanese about Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn entitled *Kodai higashi Ajia no chishikijin Sai Chien no hito to sakuhin* (古代東アジアの知識人崔致遠の人と作品, The personality and works of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, an ancient East Asian literatus) touts him as a "cosmopolitan literatus, a contemporary of Sugawara no Michizane," but fails to include a single piece comparing the two men.[8] This is not to say that there is a dearth of scholarship on either Michizane or Ch'oe taken in isolation. The pioneering work of Kawaguchi Hisao (川口久雄), who annotated all of Michizane's extant Sinitic poetry and prose, laid a solid foundation for all subsequent research on the subject. More recently, it has been supplemented by two monographs by Fujiwara Katsumi (藤原克己) and Taniguchi Kōsuke (谷口幸介) that proffer insightful analyses of Michizane's thought, literary technique, and his reception of continental lore.[9] While numerous biographical treatments of Michizane's life in Japanese exist, Robert Borgen's masterful English-language volume *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court* (1986) may be considered among the best of such works in any language and remains the *locus classicus* of Michizane studies in the West.[10]

Similarly, Korean scholars have paid great attention to the life and writings of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn. Not unlike Kawaguchi's work on Michizane, a 1982 annotated translation of all of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's extant writings into Korean edited by Ch'oe Chunok (崔濬玉) made his difficult prose and poetry accessible to a wider audience for the first time and laid down the groundwork for further research.[11] Sŏng Nakhŭi's (成樂喜) *Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn ŭi si chŏngsin yŏn'gu* 崔致遠의 詩精神 研究 (Research on the spirit of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's poetry) became the first monograph dealing with Ch'oe's literary heritage from the point of view of literary theory.[12] Yi Chaeun (李在云) was among the first Korean scholars to attempt a comprehensive study of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's life as well as his political and religious thought, a work that has more recently been brought to a whole new level by Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng (崔英成).[13] Other useful contributions to the field include Chang Ilgyu's 張日圭 *Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn ŭi sahoe sasang yŏn'gu* 崔致遠의 社會思想研究 (Research on Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's social thought), a collection of essays entitled *Koun Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn ŭi simunhak* (孤雲

崔致遠의 詩文學 The poetry and prose of Koun Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn), as well as the seminal articles by Yi Hwangjin (李黃振) and Kim Tongjun (金東俊) specifically concerned with Ch'oe's poetry.[14] Unfortunately, a monograph-length study of Ch'oe's biography akin to Borgen's tome on Michizane is yet to be produced in English.

Nevertheless, these and other scholarly treatments of Michizane and Ch'oe invariably proceed along the center-periphery axis and, consequently, leave ample room for comparative research focusing on literary production on the periphery. It is this gap that this study will attempt to fill by comparing Michizane's and Ch'oe's Sinitic works. How do we account for the authors' preferences for particular literary forms and tropes? What do their tone and diction reveal about the ways in which they engaged with and utilized (or even internalized) continental precedent? To answer these and other questions, this study will develop a comparative framework capable of illuminating the patterns of engagement with Sinitic lore adopted by its aficionados on the margins of the ecumene.[15] In fact, devising such a framework—albeit a provisional and imperfect one—is another task of this study, venturing beyond a mere analysis of the two men's written works. Yet selecting texts for this undertaking is no trivial matter. How do we control for various extrinsic and intrinsic factors in order to make the comparison more compelling and rigorous? The similarities in Michizane's and Ch'oe's education, career, and social standing offer a solid point of departure, but are not sufficient in and of themselves. Therefore, in an attempt to do away with (or at least minimize) intervening factors of an external nature, this study will limit its scope to an investigation of texts produced under very similar circumstances. Moreover, to achieve higher internal cohesion, it will prioritize works with comparable thematic foci and genre characteristics.

In the first month of 886, Michizane received an unexpected gubernatorial appointment to Sanuki (讚岐), modern Kagawa Prefecture. Forty-two years old at the time, he had assumed the high post of professor of literature (Jp. *monjō hakase* 文章博士) at the imperial academy (Jp. *daigakuryō* 大學寮) almost a decade earlier and enjoyed all the perquisites of a court scholar and heir to his family's illustrious Sinological tradition. Michizane considered this sudden transfer a demotion and continued to yearn bitterly for his home in the capital for the duration of his four-year stint.[16] Books 3 and 4 of *Kanke bunsō* (菅家文草 The collected writings of Sugawara no Michizane, abbreviated to *KB*), the former half of Michizane's collected works, are almost entirely dedicated to this period

and will supply the bulk of primary texts for analysis.[17] Curiously, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's oeuvre contains a similar, albeit much shorter sequence. The number of his surviving writings is modest compared to Michizane's, but *Kyewŏn p'ilgyŏngjip* (Plowing with a brush in the cinnamon garden, similarly shortened to *KPJ*), the only extant collection of prose and poetry written and personally arranged by Ch'oe, includes a series of poems composed in Tang China shortly before his return home in 885.[18] In particular, the latter half of Book 20 is suffused with a sense of anxiety and longing for home reminiscent of the melancholy expressed in Michizane's Sanuki-period verse. This study will, therefore, compare the Sinitic writings of Michizane from Books 3 and 4 of *Kanke bunsō* to Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's works found in Book 20 of *Kyewŏn p'ilgyŏngjip*.

To facilitate the "internal cohesion" mentioned above, the scope of analysis will be further narrowed to poetry, allowing for a more rigorous investigation of formal and topical similarities and incongruities. This point will be elaborated in greater detail in the following section of the study, which address the ways in which Michizane and Ch'oe engage with continental lore through the prism of intertopicality, a theoretical notion developed by Wiebke Denecke.[19] It will further refine Denecke's concept by introducing two modes of intertopical connections—*intuitive* and *counterintuitive*—thus forming the first part of the comparative framework to be applied to the two men's verse. The study will then proceed to analyze the lyric voice in Michizane and Ch'oe's poems paying close attention to the problem of tone, which ranges from subdued to almost hysterical in the texts under discussion. The third section of the study will turn to the treatment of nature by the two poets and, following the arguments of the Korean scholar Chŏng Sunbun (鄭順粉), suggest that, unlike Ch'oe, Michizane did not show a genuine interest in nature as a poetic subject.[20] The tripartite comparative framework based on an evaluation of (1) the modes of intertopicality, (2) tone, and (3) the role of natural imagery in the poets' works reveals palpable idiosyncrasies in Michizane's engagement with continental literary culture. This study will conclude with an attempt to explain them by introducing an important intervening factor, the often unseen presence of the native vernacular tradition in Michizane's case. By analyzing his few extant *waka*, it will hypothesize that, far from a successful synthesis as a result of the so-called *wa-kan* (that is, Sino-Japanese) dialectic, Michizane's engagement with Sinitic lore elicited a split in his literary personality—a phenomenon not immediately perceptible in Ch'oe's works.[21]

"An Autumnal Mind": Modes of Intertopicality in Michizane and Ch'oe's Sinitic Poetry

As the center-periphery axis continues to loom large in the study of literary texts created outside China proper, scholars are compelled to search for continental influences in works written on the margins of the Chinese ecumene with assiduity that can, at times, border on obsession. When the muse of antiquarian philology takes hold of a scholar, he or she is liable to produce a veritable sea of annotations, which may suggest that not a single word in any author's repertoire is genuinely his or hers—a case of intertextuality gone mad. To combat this Barthean understanding of intertextuality, Wiebke Denecke has introduced the notion of intertopicality in her study of *kudaishi* (句題詩), topical Sinitic poetry composed in Heian Japan:[22]

> What I call "intertopicality" is less explicit than a specific intertextual reference to a previous poem but involves more than a random lexical confluence between the two poems. It describes a poet's reliance on a repertoire of topic clusters, which was determined by the season, place, and occasion of composition, and which the poet acquired by both studying previous poetry and internalizing the categories of topically arranged poetic encyclopedias.[23]

In short, Denecke suggests doing away with prolix annotations teleologically assuming poetic borrowing wherever possible (in a pithy turn of phrase, she calls this type of scholarship "Adamic philology") and focusing instead on meaningful intertextual connections—connections involving a conscious dialogue between texts.[24]

While Denecke's proposal is laudable and useful, the process of an author's engagement with previous poetry and literary encyclopedias is of great interest in and of itself.[25] In the case of Sugawara no Michizane and Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, a comparison of the ways intertopicality operates in their poems can reveal the peculiarities of their reception of Sinitic lore. Needless to say, a detailed examination of each poem in *Kanke bunsō* and *Kyewŏn p'ilgyŏngjip* against the totality of Chinese poetic tradition is beyond the scope of this study—and, possibly, beyond the capacity of anything short of artificial intelligence—but such a task is, by and large, unnecessary. Since intertopicality is meaningful only when dealing with topic clusters, we may safely confine ourselves to one of those without falling prey to the dangers of "Adamic philology." Because all the poems in the latter half of Book 20 of *Kyewŏn p'ilgyŏngjip* were composed in (and most also on) spring, the analysis that follows will focus on

Michizane and Ch'oe's vernal verse. Similarly, there is no need to sweep all available manuals of poetic precedent to establish intertopical continuity between Chinese lore and the two poets' texts. A reading of their spring poems against the "Spring" section of a representative encyclopedia will surely suffice for the kind of broad-stroke investigation attempted below, and the early Tang *Yiwen leiju* (藝文類聚 An encyclopedia of fine literature, completed 624) has been chosen for this purpose—not because it was available to both Michizane and Ch'oe, which it certainly must have been, but because of its reliability and almost canonical status in the world of Chinese *belles-lettres*.[26]

I will begin by turning to two of Ch'oe's poems first since they appear to be in perfect accord with the poetic treatment of spring in the Chinese tradition:

KPJ 20.20	**和友人除夜見寄**	**Harmonizing with a friend's poem received on New Year's Eve**[27]
	與君相見且歌吟	Now that we've met, let's simply sing and chant poems!
	莫恨流年挫壯心	No need to grieve over the many years of frustrated ambition.
	幸得東風已迎路	We are blessed, for the eastern wind is welcoming us on our way home:
	好花時節到雞林	We will arrive in Kyerim just in time to enjoy its blossoms.

KPJ 20.22	**海邊春望**	**A spring view by the seashore**
	鷗鷺分飛高復低	Seagulls and egrets part their ways and flutter high and low;
	遠汀幽草欲萋萋	On far-off secluded shoals wild grasses grow ever more rampant.
	此時千里万里意	At this time, my mind is set adrift a thousand leagues away.
	目極暮雲翻自迷	I try to pierce the sunset clouds with my gaze only to lose myself in the view.

The first poem opens what I refer to as "the Chanshan sequence," a series of eight poems written by Ch'oe as he awaited the arrival of a ship to take him back to Silla (mentioned in the poem by its archaic, poetic name "Kyerim") in the vicinity of Mt. Chanshan (巉山) in modern Shandong Province. Kim Tongjun points out that the sequence is characterized by a mixture of emotional "unease" and "happy agitation about returning home," which explains the alternation between melancholy, longing, and hopefulness in Ch'oe's lyric voice.[28] Set in very early spring (still winter

by Western calendrical reckoning), the first verse laments the poet's lack of success in official employment and then proceeds to express cautious optimism in spring-related terms. As the ice-clad winter nears its end, the poet shares high hopes for his new life back in Silla by mentioning the eastern wind "already welcoming" him on his way back to the native blossoms of Kyerim. Eastern wind melting the ice and plum blossoms blooming afresh are part and parcel of spring imagery catalogued in *Yiwen leiju*, and the overall composition of this poem is faithful to Chinese literary convention.[29] For example, verse by Emperor Jianwen (簡文) of Liang (梁 503–551) found in the "Spring" section of the encyclopedia describes these natural phenomena in language reminiscent of *KPJ* 20.20:

春日看梅詩	**Viewing the plums on a spring day**[30]
昨日看梅樹	Yesterday I viewed the plum trees
新花已自生	With their fresh blossoms already in bloom.
今旦聞春鳥	This morning I listened to spring birds
何啻兩三聲	Staying for much more than a few chirps.
凍解池開淥	The ice on the pond has melted, revealing the pure water;
雲穿天半晴	The sun has pierced the clouds, and half the sky is now clear.
遊心不應動	My heart is set on amusement: don't perturb it!
爲此欲逢迎	All this has made me wish to welcome some company.

There is no indication that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's *jueju* is borrowing directly from Emperor Jianwen's poem, which differs markedly from *KPJ* 20.20 in its tone. Nevertheless, just like "Harmonizing with a friend's poem," the emperor's work versifies the enjoyment of blossoms, alludes to spring breeze (three other quotations from the same section of *Yiwen leiju* suggest that it is the wind that does the "melting," Ch. *jie* 解), and even introduces the idea of "welcoming" (Ch. *ying* 迎) a friend to enjoy the season.

"A spring view by the seashore" is similarly springlike with references to clouds, soaring birds, and luxuriant vegetation. Moreover, this poem seems to have been directly inspired by two fragments from the *Chu ci* (楚辭 The songs of Chu) quoted together in the "Spring" section of *Yiwen leiju*:

王孫遊兮不歸	The young lord wanders and does not return,
春草生兮萋萋	The spring grasses grow rampant.
	and
目極千里兮傷春心	I pierce a thousand leagues with my gaze, my heart pained by spring![31]

What is crucial here is the pattern of engagement with Sinitic lore revealed in the two poems by Ch'oe, which is characterized by a faithful following of continental precedent. As will be evident elsewhere, other poems in the Chanshan sequence exhibit this mode of intertopicality, which I will refer to as *intuitive*. One would do well not to expect Ch'oe's spring poetry to veer off track by alluding to "unseasonable" precedent in order to surprise the reader; rather, the poet utilizes intertopical connections in an intuitive way, providing for a smooth poetic experience rich in classical allusion.

What of Michizane's vernal verse? Granted, some of his Sanuki-period (886–890) works dealing with spring conform to the semi-prescriptive lore laid out in *Yiwen leiju* and elsewhere. At the same time, others are ingeniously unorthodox, if not iconoclastic:

KB 215	**早春閑望**	**An idle view in early spring**
	早起灰心坐	Early in the morning, I sit up in my bed, my heart lifeless as a heap of ashes;
	冥冥是夢魂	In the dim twilight, it is as though my spirit had left the body in a dream.
	雲中山色沒	The silhouettes of mountains have disappeared into the clouds
	雨後水聲喧	And the streams, swelled after the rain, burble clamorously.
	强道春先至	I try to convince myself, saying, "Spring has already come,"
	猶知日未暄	While still well aware that the days are yet to grow warm.
	廻頭無外物	Turning my head, I see nothing of the outside world
	漁叟立沙村	But an old fisherman standing on the sandy shore by the village.

Just like *KPJ* 20.20, this poem is set in early spring. Yet it seems as though Michizane attempts to challenge almost every poetic convention having to do with spring imagery. No eastern wind is to be heard in his "Idle view"; the mountains do not just remain bare—they are not seen at all, concealed by thick clouds, and the supposedly mellifluous burbling of the river only irritates the poet. Some may object that such a poetic treatment of spring is not necessarily unorthodox—after all, the belated arrival of the season can become a pretext for innovative expression. However, this poem does not merely replace conventional spring imagery with wintry scenes. In fact,

the first line that sets the tone of the whole work echoes a similar pentasyllabic stanza in the "Autumn" section of *Yiwen leiju*:

寂寞灰心盡	In silence, I exhaust my heart, as lifeless as a heap of ashes.[32]

In a note, Kawaguchi Hisao informs us that the expression *huixin* (灰心) is derived from a passage in *Zhuangzi* (莊子) and points to a long poem by Bai Juyi (白居易 772–846)—the poetic superstar and uncontested favorite of Heian Japan—as a potential inspiration for Michizane's line.[33] Nonetheless, Michizane's usage conflicts with poetic precedent codified in *Yiwen leiju* from the point of view of intertopicality, not to mention the general atmosphere of the poem more reminiscent of monochrome ink painting than colorful vernal verse.

Another example demonstrating Michizane's unusual treatment of spring may be in order:

KB 282	**春詞二首**	**Two spring songs**
	和風料理遍周遊	The gentle breeze, taking charge of the view, has not missed a spot,
	山樹紅開水綠流	And now red blossoms open in mountain groves as blue streams gush forth.
	自古人言春可樂	Since antiquity, people have said that spring is a time to enjoy.
	何因我意凜於秋	So why is my mind colder than autumn?

In this "song," part of a poetic diptych, all the requisite trappings of spring are present including the gentle breeze, the crimson blossoms, and the clear mountain streams. However, having paid obeisance to tradition, Michizane openly challenges it: "Even though people say I *ought* to enjoy spring, why is my mind pierced by a cold feeling more severe than the chill of autumn?" In a way, this final couplet is almost a slap in the face of public taste, to borrow the colorful adage of twentieth-century European futurists. In more subdued parlance, we may say that it is a challenge to conventional intertopical connections. In the poems under discussion, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn alludes to poetic precedent to evoke a "heart pained by spring," while Sugawara no Michizane turns convention on its head. If the former mode of intertopicality may be called intuitive, the latter is best characterized as *counterintuitive*. The above analysis suggests that in his Sinitic verse under discussion Ch'oe stays faithful to continental precedent, choosing to marshal its intricacies to his advantage. Conversely, at least at times, Michizane deliberately violates Chinese convention.

Literary Histrionics and the Problem of Tone

In his introduction to Michizane's collected works, Kawaguchi Hisao writes:

> The world of Michizane's poetry can, by and large, be said to comprise a world of lavish beauty and a world of subdued melancholy. That is, a world of sensuous artistic beauty peppered with classical allusions and accompanied by all but excessive ornamentation and a world of lifelike natural beauty seeking to directly express reality in a smooth and clear manner. As far as his life is concerned, the former becomes especially visible during the period of contented service at the court while the latter during the periods of despair spent in Sanuki and Dazaifu.[34]

In a metaphorical locution, the otherwise scholarly Kawaguchi proceeds to argue that, with the emergence of Michizane, "Japanese *kanshi* (漢詩) quietly lit the flame of life as lyric poetry (Jp. *jojōshi* 抒情詩) for the first time."[35] In almost identical terms, Sŏng Nakhŭi argues that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn "was the first to establish genuine individual lyric poetry" in the history of Korean literature.[36] Yi Hwangjin summarizes scholarship on Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's verse along similar lines:

> Most of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's poetry casts the author in the role of the "lyric hero" and, without exaggerating his personal circumstances and feelings at the time of composition, versifies them truthfully and directly; "Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's poetry is truly like a mirror allowing the reader to penetrate to his interiority."[37]

While the degree of "truthfulness" can certainly be contested in the cases of both Michizane and Ch'oe, their verse from, respectively, the Sanuki years and the Chanshan sequence does exhibit profound lyricism. In the studies of *waka* (和歌), it is customary to classify poems into the categories of *hare* and *ke* (Jp. 晴/霽 and 褻)—or formal and informal—based on the circumstances of their composition. Informal *waka* poetry may be generally characterized by a more pronounced lyric voice, but the same is also true with regard to Sinitic verse composed away from centers of political or religious authority and not originally intended for their denizens' consumption.[38] Michizane's and Ch'oe's poems under discussion have been chosen to conform with the latter characterization. While the official memorials accompanying *Kanke bunsō* and *Kyewŏn p'ilgyŏngjip* tell us that the authors compiled these collections and presented them to the throne themselves (and, needless to say, following their respective political agendas), the circumstances under which most of

the Sanuki poems and the Chanshan sequence were composed allow for a relatively uninhibited comparison of the lyric voice employed therein.[39]

For a comparative analysis of Michizane's and Ch'oe's lyricism, I propose using the concept of tone. If the poet's feelings and emotions are expressed in a subtle, oftentimes indirect way (e.g., the gentle melancholy of *KPJ* 20.22 conveyed through intertopical connections), the tone is generally subdued; conversely, if the interiority of the poet is poured out with vigor (e. g., the "autumnal mind" of *KB* 282), the tone is strongly emotional. Ch'oe's verse is characterized by a subdued tenor of lyric expression:

KPJ 20.24	**海邊閒步**	**An easy walk by the seaside**
	潮波靜退步登沙	The tide has quietly gone out, and now I climb the sandy dunes;
	落日山頭簇暮霞	The setting sun is lighting up the evening clouds stretched over mountain peaks.
	春色不應長惱我	Yet this vernal sight will surely not trouble me for much longer:
	看看即醉故園花	Soon I will be drunk among the blossoms in my old garden.

The final lines of this poem betray both subdued melancholy and subdued elation. On the one hand, the poet is ostensibly uneasy about his trip home, a feeling exacerbated by the magnificent sights of spring in Shandong. On the other, he anticipates a successful return to Silla as though inviting the reader to "look" (看看) at him enjoying a homecoming banquet. The expression of emotion in this poem is still rather direct, however, compared to other examples:

KPJ 20.26	**和金員外贈巉山清上人**	**Offered to the Venerable Qing of Chanshan harmonizing with Councilor Kim**
	海畔雲菴倚碧螺	Surrounded by clouds, a hut dots the green mountains by the seaside,
	遠離塵土稱僧家	Far removed from the dust of the world – a perfect dwelling for a monk.
	勸君休問芭蕉喻	I urge you, sir, ask not about the metaphor of the banana tree!
	看取春風撼浪花	Just cast your gaze on the garlands of waves stirred by spring breeze.

KPJ 20.27	**題海門蘭若柳**	**On the willow at a seaside temple**
	廣陵城畔別蛾眉	When, by the walls of Guangling, I parted with my belle,
	豈料相逢在海涯	Could I foresee that we would meet again here, on this shore?
	只恐觀音菩薩惜	And yet, fearing that the Bodhisattva Guanyin may begrudge it,
	臨行不敢折纖枝	I dare not break off a single branch before setting out on my journey.

KPJ 20.26 was presented to a "Venerable Qing," whose identity remains unknown, but who, according to some scholars, may have assisted Ch'oe in finding suitable lodgings nearby Chanshan.[40] "Councilor Kim" refers to Kim In'gyu (金仁圭 fl. late ninth–early tenth century), a royal official dispatched to Tang to escort Ch'oe back to Silla. Here the poet demonstrates his knowledge of Buddhist scriptures by referring to "the metaphor of the banana tree," a famous simile found in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* (Ch. *Weimojie suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經) underscoring the insubstantiality of all things by comparing them to the hollow trunk of the banana tree.[41] He then suggests in a deferential yet tongue-in-cheek manner that the Venerable Qing stop dwelling on canonical allusions and turn his attention to the outside world, which is supposed to be a no less perfect illustration of the Buddha's teachings.[42] Nonetheless, this tongue-in-cheek attitude is expressed in the form of a mild, humorous reproach unlikely to have grated on the esteemed monastic's sensitive ear.

KPJ 20.27, the last poem in the Chanshan sequence, offers a rare and endearing sketch of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's personal life in Tang China. If we are to trust his poetic testimony, earlier Ch'oe had met a beautiful woman, but was forced to bid her farewell by the walls of Guangling in modern Yangzhou (揚州), part of his itinerary. Upon seeing a willow tree at a Buddhist temple located by the shore (not unrelated, perhaps, to the Venerable Qing), Ch'oe compared it to his belle in an elegant outpouring of longing for someone he was certain to never meet again. His emotions must have been strong—after all, the poet was leaving Tang China after many years for a land he could only vaguely recall from his childhood memories—but in this poem they are expressed in a carefully restrained manner against the backdrop of religious devotion. The entirety of the Chanshan sequence—in fact, the entirety of Book 20 of *Kyewŏn p'ilgyŏngjip*—can be characterized by a subdued tone skillfully employed

by Ch'oe to craft a deeply lyrical, yet subtle poetic experience for his reader.[43]

Michizane's lyric voice is quite dissimilar to Ch'oe's:

KB 222	**晩春遊松山館**	**A late-spring sojourn to the Matsuyama residence**[44]
	官舍交簷枕海唇	With eaves crossed, the official lodgings are nestled against the shore;
	去來風浪不生塵	Stirred by the breeze, waves roll in and out, but no dust is raised.
	轉移危石開中道	Precarious boulders have been moved away to open up a path;
	分種小松屬後人	Small pines have been planted for posterity's sake.
	低翅沙鷗潮落暮	Sea fowl fold their wings as the tide goes out at dusk;
	亂絲野馬草深春	The air shimmers like silken threads over lush spring grasses.
	釣歌漁火非交友	Fishermen's songs and boatmen's torches are not my friends of old.
	抱膝閑吟涙濕巾	Clasping my knees, I idly chant poetry as tears soak through my handkerchief.

This poem is replete with spring imagery and, in a few ways, appears similar to Ch'oe's Chanshan verse (consider references to wind, sea fowl, the tide, or spring grasses). From the point of view of traditional Chinese lore it is unremarkable—that is, until the very last line, which stands out among the somewhat monotonous exposition of Sanuki landscapes. One need only imagine a Heian aristocrat and foremost academic in his forties rocking in a corner in his detached gubernatorial residence humming poetry and wiping his eyes with his headband to realize how profoundly this poem differs from *KPJ* 20.24, 20.26 and 20.27. Another noteworthy point is the unevenness of Michizane's "Late spring sojourn," with all the poet's discontent condensed into just one line at the end. In *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court*, Robert Borgen points to Japanese scholars who have characterized Michizane as "pathologically sensitive."[45] To say whether Michizane's difficult, often quarrelsome personality, idealistic intransigence, and extreme sensitivity revealed by historical evidence permit us to speculate about his mental health is

beyond the scope of this study, but it is his own writings that relate Michizane's concerns about the matter in a poetic way:

KB 247	**春日獨遊三首**	**A solitary excursion on a spring day, three poems**[46]
	放衙一日惜殘春	Released from the office, I spend the day cherishing the remainder of spring;
	水畔花前獨立身	Alone I stand facing the blossoms by the riverside.
	唯有時時東北望	I can't help but cast my gaze over to the northeast again and again
	同僚指目白癡人	As subordinates point and stare, thinking me a halfwit.

KB 248	花凋鳥散冷春情	The blossoms have withered, the birds scattered – the spring now feels desolate.
	詩興催來試出行	My poetic inspiration roused, I venture for a walk outside.
	昏夜不歸高嘯立	Dark night has fallen, but I don't hasten home; instead, I stand singing at the top of my lungs.
	州民謂我一狂生	The local people call me "one crazy scholar."

In his translation, Borgen renders the word *baichi* (白癡) as "mad," perhaps to make the text sound less offensive to our modern sensibilities. However, the original nuance of *baichi*, which implies a serious congenital mental impairment, is better conveyed by such unparliamentary language as "cretin," "idiot," or "halfwit." In *KB* 247 and 248, Michizane expresses his inability to elicit sympathy from his unrefined subordinates, as well as the rustic locals, in a strikingly bold, unabashed manner; the overall thrust of these two poems is also concentrated in their final lines. Such turns of phrase as *baichi* and *kuangsheng* (狂生) are not to be found in Book 20 of *Kyewŏn p'ilgyŏngjip*. Needless to say, not all of Michizane's poems employ provocative vocabulary and exhibit such literary histrionics as the ones above, but it is clear that he considered them admissible when compiling *Kanke bunsō*. This decision has resulted in the generally uneven tone of the Sanuki poems, with some bordering on the hysterical;

conversely, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's Chanshan sequence maintains admirable poetic composure.

Michizane and Ch'oe as Landscape Poets

Echoing Kawaguchi's characterization of Michizane's poetics as comprising "a world of sensuous artistic beauty" (i. e., formal verse) and "a world of lifelike natural beauty" (i. e., informal verse), Taniguchi Kōsuke regards Michizane's formal and informal poetry as "of equal value as a fruit of the poet's inspiration stirred by contact with things."[47] There is no doubt that Michizane considered both types of poetry to be of paramount importance to his vocation as a "court poet" (Jp. *shishin* 詩臣), an appellation he favored when describing himself. Yet a more disinterested examination of how Michizane versifies the "things" (Jp. *mono* 物) Taniguchi mentions reveals a curious and, perhaps, controversial tendency. It has been aptly summed up by Chŏng Sunbun, a Korean scholar of classical Japanese literature, in reference to the Sanuki poems:

> The nature of Sanuki, Michizane's official destination, serves only to magnify [Michizane's] sorrow over his separation from the Heian capital; there is no eruption of love for nature per se. Although Michizane uses the unfamiliar natural surroundings of the distant Sanuki as a means to deepen [the expression of] his loneliness, they are not versified independently and objectively. This is because loneliness—the dominating emotion of his poetry—had as its ultimate object nothing other than the Heian capital.[48]

In short, she suggests that Michizane harbored no substantial interest in nature, one of the foremost sources of inspiration in Chinese poetry. What significance should be attached to Chŏng's observation? A response to this question may be found in a comment made on Chinese literary history by Fujiwara Katsumi in his take on Michizane's use of literary tropes:

> In Chinese poetry, [poets] eventually began to express admiration for natural beauty itself, their gaze turning to nature, spurred by such motifs as philosophical Daoism, reclusion, and fascination with immortal ascetics. … but for Heian *kanshi* and *waka* poets, this historical development in Chinese poetic expression remained alien to their own tradition.[49]

The discussion on the influence of native literary preferences on Michizane's Sinitic verse is illuminating and I will return to it in the concluding sections of this study. For now, however, it will suffice to say that the elevation of nature and landscape to a poetic subject in its own

right—unencumbered by excessive historical allusion and political metaphor—marked an important watershed in the history of Chinese verse. Chŏng's evidence and the texts under discussion in this study suggest that Michizane remained aloof from this seminal development. Two examples from his spring poems will be enough to reinforce this point:

KB 216	**正月二十日有感**	**Overcome with emotion on the twentieth day of the first month**
	寒氣遍身夜涙多	As the freezing air penetrates to my bones, tonight I shed many a tear;
	春風爲我不誰何	Spring wind doesn't bother to enquire who I am or where I came from.
	廻頭左右皆潮戸	Turning my head left and right, I see only the beach dwellings of the sea-folk;
	入耳高低只棹歌	Nothing enters my ears but the undulations of a boatman's song.
	遠憶群鶯馴藥樹	Distantly, I recall the orioles nesting peacefully in the precious trees
	偏悲五馬隔滄波	And can't help but lament a governor's fate far across the blue waves.
	諸兒强勸三分酒	The child attendants urge me to have a little wine:
	謝日忘憂莫此過	There is nothing better to forget my grief as I pass my days.
KB 283	雨後江邊草染來	The rain has stopped, and the grasses by the river have been dyed a verdant green.
	遙思去歳始花梅	Distantly, I recollect the years past, the plum trees in early bloom.
	歸鴻若當家門過	O returning geese! If you happen to fly over my gate,
	爲報春眉結不開	Let my family know that this spring my brows remain furrowed.

In *Kanke bunsō*, *KB* 216 immediately follows the intertopically innovative "heart of ashes" verse. Michizane's own note tells the reader that it was composed "on a day of a banquet at the imperial palace" (禁中内宴之日也), an occasion the self-professed court poet Michizane must have bitterly missed. What is characteristic of this and other similar poems by Michizane is their dipartite structure: the first half introduces the poet's emotional state by bringing up his natural surroundings while the latter highlights his former happy life the capital. In *KB* 216, nature—the wind, the seashore, the orioles (the Chinese referent of 鶯; the Japanese gloss would have been "the warblers"), and the precious trees praised for their

medicinal utility—serves as a simple ploy to express the poet's feelings rather directly; elaborate description or meaningful, sustained personification of natural phenomena are absent from this poem.

The phrase "distantly, I recall …" indicates the turning point in Michizane's lyric narrative. *KB* 283, the second of the "Two spring songs" mentioned earlier, employs the almost identical locution "distantly, I recollect/think of." And, just like "Overcome with emotion," it uses natural imagery as a mere prelude to the crux of the poem: Michizane's longing for the capital and its high society. Curiously, Michizane confesses to his ineptitude as a landscape poet in a rhymeprose work thought to date from his Sanuki years as well (*KB* 515):

感因事而發	Emotion is roused by engagement in affairs;
興遇物而起	Inspiration occurs from encounters with things.
有我感之可悲秋	I have emotions strong enough to lament the autumn,
無我興之能樂水	But no inspiration to enjoy its waters.

In a comment on these couplets, Taniguchi suggests that Michizane never developed the spiritual freedom that would have allowed him to parlay his leisure as governor of Sanuki into genuine enjoyment of his surroundings—a prerequisite without which true landscape poetry is, by and large, impossible.[50] In this respect, Michizane remained something of an oddity, at least within the confines of the contemporary Sinitic lore.

Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's poetry exhibits a more genuine interest in natural phenomena. In fact, one of the most prominent features of the Chanshan sequence is the author's use of personification of nature as a rhetorical device. We have observed how effective this trope can be in *KPJ* 20.27, the "willow branch" poem, and the frequency and skill with which it is utilized elsewhere lend credence to the argument that Ch'oe was an accomplished landscape poet:

KPJ 20.21	**東風**	**The eastern wind**
	知爾新從海上來	I know: you've come to visit me again from across the sea
	曉窓吟坐思難裁	At dawn, when seated by the window, I chant poems, struggling with melancholy.
	堪憐時復撼書幌	How can my heart remain unmoved as you keep rustling the curtains in my study
	似報故園花欲開	As if to tell me that the blossoms in my old garden are about to bloom?

This poem shares part of its conceit with *KB* 283: here, nature acts as a sentient messenger and is used to introduce the poet's emotions. However, Ch'oe's focus on the eastern wind is much more sustained and indicative of a more genuine interest in nature. In his quatrain, three out of four lines are dedicated to the wind: the first line (and the personal pronoun "you" in particular) frames the poem as Ch'oe's dialogue with the elements, while the third and fourth supply additional descriptive and metaphorical detail. Conversely, in Michizane's poem the returning geese are nothing more than a nod to tradition used conventionally and only in passing; the geese are neither described or endowed with any kind of real agency. The following example makes this contrast even starker:

KPJ 20.23	**春曉閒望**	**A leisurely view on a spring morning**
	山面嬾雲風惱散	The wind is busy scattering the lazy clouds from mountain slopes;
	岸頭頑雪日欺銷	The sun pretends to melt the stubborn snow on the cliffs by the shore.
	獨吟光景情何限	Alone amidst this landscape, I chant poems, unable to restrain my heart
	猶賴沙鷗伴寂寥	And follow the sea fowls with the silent void as my companion.

This poem, which echoes Du Fu's (杜甫 712–770) masterpiece "Thoughts while travelling at night" (Ch. *Lüye shuhuai* 旅夜書懷), openly states the poet's fascination with his natural surroundings ("alone amidst the landscape …unable to restrain my heart") and personifies wind, clouds, the sun, and snow by endowing them with human qualities.[51] Needless to say, *KPJ* 20.21 and 23 are not "pure" landscape poetry (if such a thing exists), but other poems in Book 20 of *Kyewŏn p'ilgyŏngjip* that are not part of the Chanshan sequence show an even greater mastery of natural depiction. One last example comes from a series of poems written just before Ch'oe's move to Chanshan and sent to Gao Pian (高駢 ca. 821–887), his former superior and personal benefactor. While these poems have been excluded from this study owing to their more formal character, the first one in the series testifies to Ch'oe's mastery of landscape verse:

KPJ 20.13	**石峯**	**Rocky peaks**
	巉嵒絶頂欲摩天	Steep cliffs and lofty summits all but graze the sky;
	海日初開一朶蓮	At dawn the sun rises over the ocean like a solitary lotus.
	勢削不容凡樹木	The terrain is rough – no place for

	ordinary trees;
格高唯惹好雲煙	The elevation is high, enticing only the finest clouds.
點酥寒影妝新雪	Crisp and gleaming like milk curd, fresh snow adorns the scene;
戛玉清音噴細泉	The crystal tone of jade chimes resounds as slender springs gush forth.
靜想蓬萊只如此	I calmly observe, “Penglai must be just like this.
應當月夜會群仙	Here, on a moonlit night, one is sure to chance upon the immortals…”

While intended to please Gao Pian by tacitly alluding to his fine personal qualities undiminished by the “rough terrain” of court politics, this work is, nonetheless, an impressive landscape piece.[52] Its metaphors are conventional yet fresh, and its diction (especially in lines five and six with their skilled use of inversion) attests to Ch’oe’s formidable command of poetic syntax put at the service of natural description. While it may be said that Michizane’s counterintuitive use of intertopical connections makes his poetics more interesting to the modern reader, Ch’oe’s facility with landscape versification is, perhaps, beyond Michizane’s reach.

So far, this study has developed an analytical framework consisting of three main criteria—mode of intertopicality, quality of tone, and attitude toward nature—to be applied to the Sinitic verse of Sugawara no Michizane and Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn. The results of this comparative analysis are best summed up in a table:

Criterion	*Sugawara no Michizane*	*Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn*
Mode of intertopicality	Often counterintuitive	Consistently intuitive
Quality of tone (the lyric voice)	Emotional, often almost hysterical	Consistently subdued
Attitude to nature/landscape	Used as a poetic ploy	Genuine interest

Table 1. A comparative analysis of the poetics of Sugawara no Michizane and Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn

It may be said in general that Ch’oe is a more conventional and well-rounded poet from the point of view of Sinitic tradition while Michizane is significantly more idiosyncratic. How can this difference be explained?

It is true that Michizane had never travelled to the continent, while Ch’oe spent about sixteen years of his life in China as an examination

candidate and mid-level Tang official. Ch'oe departed for Chang'an (長安) at the age of twelve and succeeded at passing the specially-designed imperial examination for foreigners (Ch. *bingong-ke*, Kor. *pingong-kwa* 賓貢科) in 874. The number of his compatriots travelling to China to study in the ninth century was significant: Kang Nari's research indicates that more than 200 Silla students were officially reported as staying in Tang in 837 alone and their presence continued to increase until the fall of Silla in 935.[53] This suggests that Ch'oe was not necessarily isolated from his compatriots during his early years and may have been exposed to indigenous cultural practices. Moreover, while serving as a Tang bureaucrat, Ch'oe continued to exhibit a profound sense of Silla identity. In his research on the matter, Kawamoto Yoshiaki (川本芳昭) has concluded that "while [self-deprecatingly] describing himself as a 'commoner from across the Eastern Sea' or a 'man from ten thousand leagues away,' Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn was nonetheless intensely proud of being a man of Silla" and was conscious of the Chinese viewing him as a "barbarian."[54] In turn, Chŏng Chongdae (鄭宗大) argues that "the sense of alienation found in [Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's] lyric poetry has its origins in the limitations of his status—being a foreigner in China and holding the sixth head rank (Kor. *yuktup'um* 六頭品) in Silla."[55] Similarly to Kawamoto, Chŏng believes that Ch'oe was profoundly conscious of his position as a foreigner in Tang China.

In short, both Ch'oe and Michizane were steeped in continental culture from early childhood. While not exposed to it to the same extent as Ch'oe, Michizane received a thorough Sinological education at the imperial academy and had rather extensive interactions with foreign envoys from Parhae (渤海 Ch. Bohai); it is also said that he could read and write Chinese without relying on Japanese glosses.[56] Therefore, I believe that one possible explanation for the dissimilarity of the two men's poetics does not lie in their geographical proximity to the center of the ecumene. Rather, in Michizane's case, his idiosyncrasies as a Sinitic poet are better accounted for by turning to the complicated influence of the native tradition, that is, of *waka* poetry. Michizane did not consider *waka* composition as important as *kanshi*, and his surviving Japanese oeuvre is remarkably small (Michizane's self-compiled collected works do not include a single text in Japanese). However, his Sinitic verse is profoundly conditioned—and, as will be demonstrated below, even limited—by the presence of the vernacular tradition deceptively absent from the obverse of his textual heritage.

Split Personalities and the *wa-kan* Dialectic

In his *Fracture of Meaning: Japan's Synthesis of China from the Eight through the Eighteenth Centuries*, David Pollack has made an argument of wide-ranging consequences:

> From what can be considered the first act of writing in Japan was born a dialectic, in the ongoing synthesis of whose terms—the fullness, implicitness, an ineffability of native Japanese content on the one hand, the emptiness, explicitness, and power to signify of alien Chinese form on the other—can be read the history of Japanese literature in the broadest sense, and indeed of Japan itself.[57]

Here we will not concern ourselves with the multiple facets of Pollack's argument; rather, we will turn to the idea of a *dialectic* in what is now often considered the Hegelian sense, as something inevitably resulting in synthesis.[58] In a way, then, the totality of Japanese culture can be explained as a result of such synthesis, the thesis and antithesis to which have been "the indigenous" (that is, the Japanese, or *wa*) and "the alien" (the Chinese, or *kan*). This is how the notion of the *wa*-*kan* dialectic is born and, albeit wrought with controversy at higher levels of philosophical abstraction, it is a profoundly useful one, especially when juxtaposed with earlier conceptual frameworks such as the notorious *kokubungakushi* mentioned in the introduction.

From a more practical standpoint, the *wa*-*kan* dialectic may be expected to result in literary and intellectual synthesis in a general sense, but what about individual authors? The degree to which Michizane was steeped in continental precedent may lead us to believe that his works—in both literary Chinese and Japanese—are likely to exhibit some semblance of *wa*-*kan* "synthetic" features. However, that does not seem to be the case when the three-pronged comparative approach developed in this study is applied to his *waka* as well. In her survey of Michizane's surviving Japanese poems, Hellen McCullough raises similar issues:

> Did he [i.e., Michizane], then, function as an arbiter of taste during his lifetime? More specifically, how, if at all, did he influence the contemporary *waka*? Might not the example of his outstanding *kanshi* on subjects of private concern and his obvious interest in the informal style have found an echo in Japanese composition, and even have helped to foster a revival of the *chōka*?[59]

Belying the idea of synthesis inherent in the *wa*-*kan* dialectic, all of McCullough's propositions must be answered in the negative, as she

herself does later in her chapter. For Michizane, composition in literary Chinese and Japanese adamantly resisted cross-fertilization, but exhibited a relationship of a different kind, which becomes clear once his Japanese works are analyzed from the standpoints of intertopicality, tone, and treatment of nature and paired with his Sinitic poetry and, most importantly, with Chinese poetry written by Ch'oe.

First, Michizane's *waka* are remarkably faithful to conventional intertopical connections employed in Japanese versification in his day and codified in *Kokin wakashū* (古今和歌集 A collection of poems, ancient and modern, 905) soon after his death. Among the poems identified by McCullough as most likely to be Michizane's authentic *waka*, the following exemplify his intuitive use of intertopical connections well.[60]

KKS 272	*akikaze no* *fukiage ni tateru* *shiragiku wa* *hana ka aranu ka* *nami no yosuru ka*	White chrysanthemums growing at Fukiage where autumn winds blow: are they in truth flowers? Or might waves be rolling in?
SKKS 1441	*furu yuki ni* *iro madowaseru* *ume no hana* *uguisu nomi ya* *wakite shiniobamu*	Blossoms of the plum your color made indistinct by falling snowflakes is it only the warbler who can know and value you?

The first poem was composed on a public occasion and versifies the chrysanthemum—an autumn flower—placing it within the larger context of the aristocracy's seasonal festivities. The second is a mélange of the most characteristic trappings of spring in Japanese literary canon: snow, plum blossoms, and the warbler. These two verses violate no conventional rules and could have been composed by any educated courtier from the same period. One may even say that, devoid of the punning of *KKS* 272 (*fuku*, "to blow" is merged with Fukiage, a place name), which would have been considered clever by Michizane's contemporaries, *SKKS* 1441 is remarkably bland. Unlike his *kanshi*, not a single surviving *waka* by Michizane deploys counterintuitive intertopical connections.

Second, Michizane's Japanese poems, as McCullough states, "observe aesthetic rules familiar to *Kokinshū* readers: the imagery is conventional, the tone elegant, the diction smooth and polished, the expression of emotion subdued."[61]

GSS 5	*sakurabana* *nushi wo wasurenu* *mono naraba* *fukikomu kaze ni* *kotozute wa seyo*	Blossoming cherry: if you are one who does not forget a master, you must send me messages on breezes blowing my way.
SIS 1006	*kochi fukaba* *nioi okoseyo* *ume no hana* *aruji nashi tote* *haru wo wasuru na*	If an east wind blows, send me your fragrance by it, blossoms of the plum: do not forget the spring time because your master is gone.

The first poem was written as Michizane was preparing to leave for Sanuki; the second is a lament composed before his departure for Dazaifu, his place of exile. Compared with his Sanuki *kanshi*, these two verses exhibit a tone that is significantly more subdued. It is also noteworthy that in these poems, too, the mode of intertopical connections remains intuitive despite the perceived need for a more vigorous expression of emotion, especially in the case of SIS 1006—after all, unlike his term of service in Sanuki, Michizane's exile was not metaphorical, but very real and would eventually claim his life.

Lastly, Michizane's degree of interest in nature is greater in his *waka* than his Sinitic verse. Given the constraints of the *tanka* (短歌) form (and all of Michizane's Japanese poems are in this thirty-one-syllable form) and its formulaic nature, it is increasingly difficult to ascertain the place landscape takes in such compositions. However, if we confine ourselves to the role of personification of nature, its significance as Michizane's preferred *waka* trope will come to the fore:

SKKS 1448	*michinobe no* *kuchiki no yanagi* *haru kureba* *aware mukashi to* *shinobare zo suru*	When springtime arrives, sad memories of past days waken in the heart of the decayed willow tree standing alongside the road.
SKKS 1649	*oinu tote* *matsu wa midori zo* *masarikeru* *waga kurokami no* *yuki no samosa ni*	My once black tresses are now like those fleecy flakes, yet in the snow-cold the pine tree men call age merely shows a deeper green

SKKS 1448 is somewhat reminiscent of Ch'oe's "On the willow"; the way the tree is personified in this poem is also very similar to *GSS* 57 and *SIS*

106. *SKKS* 1649 blends the human and the natural domains, a typical *waka* strategy. While in these poems nature is still utilized as a ploy to introduce the poet's emotion, Michizane's sustained use of personification endows them with a charm far greater than that of his Sinitic poems dealing with landscape. Incidentally, concern and a keen fascination with natural phenomena are characteristic of the *waka* tradition as a whole and not limited to Michizane's poems.

Given the discussion above, Table 1 may be modified as follows:

Criterion	*Sugawara no Michizane*		*Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn*
	Sinitic	*Vernacular*	
Mode of intertopicality	Often counterintuitive	Consistently intuitive	Consistently intuitive
Quality of tone (the lyric voice)	Emotional, often almost hysterical	Consistently subdued	Consistently subdued
Attitude to nature/landscape	Used as a poetic ploy	Moderate interest	Genuine interest

Table 2. A comparative analysis of the Sinitic and vernacular poetics of Sugawara no Michizane and Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn

The table demonstrates that Michizane's poetics are inconsistent across linguistic media. In fact, it suggests that, essentially, Michizane's literary personality was split into two, endowed with opposite—and not just dissimilar—characteristics. His case is not one of a *wa-kan* synthesis; rather, it represents what I provisionally call a *wa-kan* split or, more simply put, a split in literary personality alongside linguistic divisions. Even more importantly, the vernacular component seems to be the causal variable in this configuration. Michizane's Sinitic poetics betray an attempt at escaping the rigidity of *waka* expression to the detriment of aesthetic consistency. In Michizane's day, Sinitic culture still retained its prestige at the court, but the native tradition was in the ascendant. Had Michizane lived just two years longer, he would have witnessed the creation of the *Kokinshū*, this touchstone of all subsequent Japanese verse. Michizane's Sinitic poetics go against everything codified in the *Kokinshū* with its strict intertopical rules, its tacit injunction against direct and vigorous expression of emotion, and its fixation on the progression of natural seasons. Apparently, the power of precedent was already so overwhelming during Michizane's lifetime that he was unable to parlay his Sinological expertise into a richer and more "synthetic" (along the *wa-kan* lines) *waka* poetics.

The case of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, a literatus remarkably similar to Michizane in many ways, has served us well in arriving at this conclusion. Yet it continues to remain an enigma in its own right because no writings in the vernacular by him (if there indeed were any) survive to this day. Earliest extant poetry in Old Korean, *hyangga* (鄕歌), predates Ch'oe's life by at least two centuries, but the degree to which he was engaged in literary production in the vernacular is unknown.[62] To the best of my knowledge, two pieces by Ch'oe composed in literary Chinese can testify to his involvement in local cultural practices in Silla. The first is a series of five poems called *Hyangak chabyŏngsi* (鄕樂雜詠詩 Miscellaneous airs on Silla music) and recorded in Book 32 of the *Samguk sagi* (Records of the three kingdoms). In these verses, Ch'oe depicts traditional dance performances, which, nonetheless, are believed to have been heavily influenced by the culture of China's western periphery and particularly Sogdiana.[63] The second is an inscription entitled "Nallang pi sŏ" (鸞郎碑序 Preface to an inscription commemorating Nallang) preserved in the *Samguk sagi*, Book 4. This short fragment is part of a no longer extant stele inscription commemorating a certain *hwarang* (花郎), in which Ch'oe identifies the essence of *p'ungnyudo* (風流道), the ancient Korean tradition of ethical and martial education peculiar to the *hwarang* group.[64] According to the inscription, he believes that *p'ungnyudo* encapsulates the moral message of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism, which has prompted Yi Chaeun to suggest that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn sought to approach the essence of *p'ungnyudo* as "the first scholar of Korean thought in history."[65] However, the evidence is scant at best and illuminates Ch'oe's engagement with the indigenous tradition only indirectly. Barring an archeological discovery of historic magnitude, the question of Ch'oe's involvement in cultural production in the vernacular is likely to remain unanswered. At the same time, this does not mean that the comparative framework applied to Ch'oe's and Michizane's verse cannot be similarly put to use to study other literati's engagement with continental precedent—and not just in Japan or Korea, but also in other regions located on the margins of the Sinitic ecumene (e. g., Vietnam or the various "barbarian" polities of Northeastern and Northwestern China).

In Place of a Conclusion: Synthesis and Its Limitations

In his "Conclusion," David Pollack recapitulates the idea of the *wa-kan* dialectic:

> In this study I have attempted to investigate the idea of a fundamental "fracture of meaning" in Japanese civilization through its development

> in aesthetic terms over the course of a thousand years. In every period and in every area touched by aesthetics—which is to say nearly everything, for aesthetics in its widest sense includes everything that is expressed—the structure of meaning has been polarized into antithetical but complimentary terms: inner and ineffable "content" on the one hand, exterior and "alien" form on the other. I have also proposed that these terms constitute the thesis and antithesis of a dialectical process, and that it is this dialectical process that originated in and continued to govern Japan's absorption of China through its literate history.[66]

It is beyond the scope of this study to ascertain whether Pollack's conceptual framework can be used as "a hermeneutics of Japanese culture," as he himself suggests. However, when applied to the case of Sugawara no Michizane, it yields curious results. It would be unwarranted (and also obfuscating) to say that "a fundamental fracture of meaning" obtains in Michizane's poetry, either Sinitic or vernacular, along the lines of the "inner and ineffable" and "exterior and alien." Both his *kanshi* and *waka* function well within their conventional domains, and the fracture occurs instead along linguistic lines resulting in split literary personalities, each with its preferred forms and tropes. In fact, it is the "alien" *kanshi* that permit Michizane to pour out the "inner and ineffable" as opposed to the formulaic and constraining *waka* tradition, which impels the poet to go to great lengths in his lyric expression, throwing his Sinitic poetics off its conventional kilter—something Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn does not do.

More importantly, this split in Michizane's literary personality does not result in any semblance of a synthesis, something we expect of a dialectic by default. The *waka* tradition does not elevate his *kanshi* to new heights; granted, it makes them more peculiar at times, but it also constrains Michizane from attaining to the formidable prowess of the Chinese masters. His own *waka* remain faithful to the native tradition: no attempt to make them as unconventional as his Sinitic poetry is detected anywhere in his surviving vernacular oeuvre, even though it may have been more than intuitive for him to resurrect the longer and potentially more expressive *chōka* (長歌) form much better suited to the kind of lyricism he preferred than the rigid *tanka*. In Michizane's case, the thesis and antithesis of the *wa*-*kan* dialectic remain essentially isolated—a fact suggestive of the patterns of engagement with Sinitic lore that had developed in Japan by Michizane's day. Earlier *waka* poets—especially the *Man'yōshū* (萬葉集) Sinophiles such as Yamanoue no Okura (山上憶良 ca. 660–ca. 733) or Ōtomo no Tabito (大伴旅人 665–731)—had

produced truly synthetic works in the vernacular, but the increasing codification and formalization of the *waka* tradition stifled this trend. The studies of scholars following in Konishi Jin'ichi's (小西甚一) footsteps have demonstrated later continental influences on the vernacular poetic tradition, but these invariably fall short of a true synthesis, never approaching the degree of innovation seen in the *Man'yōshū* Sinophiles' texts.[67]

What has been said above is but a hypothesis casting some doubt on the *wa*-*kan* dialectic; to be taken more seriously, it needs to be tested against additional evidence. To conclude this study, I will briefly discuss two poems from *Shinsen man'yōshū* (新選萬葉集 A new collection of ten thousand leaves, completed ca. 913), a text epitomizing the *wa*-*kan* split that we have observed earlier in Michizane's works. The preface to Book 1 of *Shinsen man'yōshū* states:

> [Emperor Uda] arranged a poetry contest … [People] presented poems about the four seasons, and His Majesty gave a banquet in the palace. As an extension of the entertainment compositions on *koi* (i.e., love) and *omoi* (i.e., longing) were added.[68]

At a somewhat later date, Sinitic quatrains were composed to accompany the original *waka* collected in the anthology, and it is conjectured that Michizane may have even lent his hand in the task.[69] Be that as it may, *Shinsen man'yōshū* continues to embody the *wa*-*kan* split since the poems recorded therein show few signs of cross-fertilization. For instance, Entry 24 of Book 1 reads:[70]

samidare ni	As I lose myself to longing
mono-omoi oreba	in the rains of the fifth month,
hototogisu	the cuckoo cries
yo fukaku nakite	deep at night and
izuchi yukuramu	I wonder where it must go.

蕤賓怨婦兩眉低	In the fifth month, the resentful lady is lowering her eyes.
耿耿閨中待曉鷄	Troubled, she awaits the rooster's morning crow in the boudoir.
粉黛壞來收涙處	Her makeup is now smudged from wiping tears,
郭公夜夜百般啼	And the cuckoo cries bitterly as it has for many a night.

It cannot be said that, in this set of poems, the *waka* is somehow "Sinitic"

and the *kanshi* somehow "Japanese"; if anything, the Sinitic verse serves to enlarge the inherently compact lyric world of the *waka*, but the two still observe all the requisite conventions prescribed by, respectively, Japanese and Chinese precedent. While fascinating as an eclectic work, *Shinsen man'yōshū* was stillborn as a "synthetic" text failing to advance either *waka* or *kanshi* technique. This failure was conditioned by several factors which, given the scope of this study, can only be mentioned in brief.

To begin with, Heian-period Japan lacked the institutional factors necessary for maintaining a high level of Sinological expertise. As the Japanese polity developed, it quickly became clear that Chinese learning with its emphasis on dynastic legitimacy, meritocracy, and individual ability could threaten the foundations of the state.[71] Consequently, the imperial academy—the purported center of Sinological education at the time—continued to lose prestige and eventually ceased to function, while Sinological knowledge became compartmentalized and monopolized by an extremely narrow circle of specialist families (including the Sugawara) and monastics. Scholars have emphasized the precipitous decline in the quality of most Sinitic compositions produced in Japan in the latter half of the Heian period; with their literary Chinese proficiency limited at best, *kanshi* poets remained content to faithfully imitate continental models, and artistic experiments were out of the question for most.[72]

At the same time, the exigencies of courtly life demanded increasing skill in composing *waka* from the aristocracy. The lore's codification in the form of imperial anthologies and its de facto restriction to the short *tanka* form resulted in a situation where any literate individual could compose a passable poem. Under such circumstances, formal innovation became not just unnecessary but also inimical to the interests of the poet-aristocrats, all of whom were expected to be able to produce decent, conventional verse *à livre ouvert*. Moreover, those few who had the opportunity to practice poetry composition as professionals were keen to privatize the requisite know-how, forming poetic families that zealously guarded their secrets and felt obligated to follow in the footsteps of their founders. The Rokujō (六條) and Mikohidari (御子左) lineages are the most well-known examples of such poetic "guilds," which reached their full maturity in the medieval period.

To sum up, the prevailing societal and cultural circumstances of the time militated against meaningful synthesis between the *kanshi* and the *waka* traditions. *Shinsen man'yōshu* is an early example of this phenomenon, which can also be observed in the works of Sugawara no

Michizane. This is not to say that the *wa-kan* split governed the dynamics of literary borrowing and cross-fertilization in the period under discussion; however, examining points of rupture and discontinuity in addition to successful cases of *wa-kan* synthesis may prove to be a useful strategy for future research.

NOTES

A note on formatting: Chinese characters are provided in the body of the text for all premodern East Asian names, titles of literary works, terms, and toponyms. Characters are also given for the names of contemporary scholars, but not for well-known modern placenames. All the characters are provided in their traditional form except in the bibliography, where simplified Japanese characters are retained for Japanese sources. No characters are given for book titles in the footnotes since they are included in the bibliography. The footnotes and bibliography follow the Chicago Manual of Style except for Buddhist works, which are cited by their number indexed in the *Taishō Tripitaka*. No page numbers are provided for original texts cited from standard editions and scholarly monographs with established numbering; however, whenever ambiguity may arise, page numbers are given. The transcription systems used for Chinese, Japanese, and Korean are, respectively, Pinyin, Hepburn, and McCune-Reischauer.

[1] Kawaguchi Hisao, ed., *Kanke bunsō, Kanke kōshū*, *Nihon koten bungaku taikei*, vol. 72 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1966), 75.

[2] Robert Borgen, *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1994), 3.

[3] “Kyoin *Kyewŏn p’ilgyŏngjip* sŏ” 校印桂苑筆耕集序, in *Kyewŏn p’ilgyŏngjip* 桂苑筆耕集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 1. Hong’s family had been in possession of Ch’oe’s collected works for generations. He entrusted them to another prominent Confucian scholar and government official, Sŏ Yugu 徐有榘 (1764–1845), who was the first one to have them printed in movable type in 1834. Incidentally, here we are faced with a curious issue: some of the authors I quote use *tianxia* 天下 to refer to the whole Sinitic ecumene (mostly Korean authors) while others (mostly Japanese) apply it to Japan. This is reflected in my translations: “All-under-Heaven” is used in the ecumenical sense; conversely, “realm” is used when the author is referring to a given polity.

[4] A passage in the “Jiao tesheng” 郊特牲 chapter reads (adapted from James Legge’s rendering): “Admirable as are the spirits and sweet spirits, a higher value is attached to the dark spirit and the bright water, in order to honor that which is the source of the five flavors. Beautiful as is the elegant embroidery of robes, a higher value is set on plain, coarse cloth, going back to the

commencement of woman's work." *Li chi: Book of Rites: An Encyclopedia of Ancient Ceremonial Usages, Religious Creeds, and Social Institutions*, trans. James Legge, vol. 1 (New Hyde Park, N. Y.: University Books, 1967), 435. Here the collocation "dark spirit" (Ch. *xuanjiu* 玄酒) indicates sacrificial water used to replace liquor as a ritual offering.

[5] This fact attracted the attention of European scholars as early as 1903, see George H. Jones, "Ch'oe Ch'i-wun: His Life and Times," *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3 (1903), 3. With regard to Sŏl Ch'ong's role in the history of Chinese learning in Korea, the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 reads, "Ch'ong, being bright and sharp by nature, had an inborn knowledge of the Way and its art. Using the local language, he read the Nine Classics and instructed later generations. To this day scholars venerate him as their patriarch," adapted from Na Sanghoon, Shin Jeongsoo, "Chapter 46 of the *Samguk sagi*: An Annotated Translation of Biographies of Gangsu and Others," *The Review of Korean Studies* 22.2 (2019), 288.

[6] In a recent monograph, William Hedberg has summarized the most important achievements of Sino-Japanese literary studies to-date. See William C. Hedberg, *The Japanese Discovery of Chinese Fiction:* The Water Margin *and the Making of a National Canon* (New York: Columba University Press, 2019), 11. As for national literature historiography, I refer to it as "modernist" to emphasize the fact that, from its very inception, this field has remained in the thrall of theoretical and critical approaches developed in western Europe and the United States after the industrial revolution. Similar to modernist literary movements in the West, Japanese and Korean national literature historiography was a response to "a sense of profound change as the safety and predictability of traditional structures was shattered and replaced with the powerful push of urbanization, mechanization, and industrialization" (See Megan Swift, "Literature Subject Overview," in *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Modernism*, https://www.rem.routledge.com/articles/overview/literature-subject-overview).

[7] The only piece of writing that explicitly addresses Michizane and Ch'oe together I am aware of is a Ph. D. dissertation by Wei Xin entitled "The Literary Chinese Cosmopolis" and completed at Oxford in 2017, https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:b4bba502-e364-4b1b-a22d-8ffb6cc61890. In her work, Wei Xin attempts to adapt Sheldon Pollock's (see note 15) theoretical framework to East Asia and discusses cultural production on the periphery in terms of power dynamics and other associated categories. The mode of analysis she undertakes is very different from the tripartite philological framework that I employ in this paper; moreover, her dissertation does not address the Sinitic poems that I examine in this study with the exception of *KPJ* 20.21.

[8] Hamada Kōsaku 浜田耕策, ed., *Kodai higashi Ajia no chishikijin Sai Chien no hito to sakuhin* (Fukuoka: Kyūshū daigaku shuppankai, 2013). On the other hand, this volume does include an essay comparing Ch'oe with Abe no

Nakamaro 阿倍仲麻呂 (ca. 698–ca.770), another well-known premodern Sinophile.

[9] Fujiwara Katsumi, *Sugawara no Michizane to Heian-chō kanbungaku* (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 2001); Taniguchi Kōsuke, *Sugawara no Michizane no shi to gakumon* (Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 2006).

[10] A concise, but useful treatment of Michizane's life is found in Sakamoto Tarō's 坂本太郎 *Sugawara no Michizane* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1962). Among more recent publications, *Kujira to yobareta otoko* by Higashi Shigemi 東茂美 (Fukuoka: Kaichōsha, 2019) is noteworthy for the scrupulous attention it pays to Michizane's poetry.

[11] Ch'oe Chunok, ed., *Kugyŏk Koun sŏnsaeng munjip* (Seoul: Poryŏngak, 1982). This is the edition that was consulted in the course of preparing this study. The original edition was published by Hagyesa in 1972–73. It must be noted that this volume is a collective work of several translators, hence the varying quality of its modern Korean renderings.

[12] Sŏng Nakhŭi, *Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn si chŏngsin yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Kwandong ch'ulp'ansa, 2000). The first edition of this work was published in 1986.

[13] Yi Chaeun, *Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Paeksan charyowŏn, 1999) and Ch'oe Yŏngsŏng, *Koun Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn ŭi ch'ŏrhak sasang* (Seoul: Tosŏ ch'ulp'an munsach'ol, 2012).

[14] *Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn ŭi sahoe sasang yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Sinsŏwŏn, 2008); *Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn ŭi simunhak* (Seoul: Tosŏ ch'ulp'an munsach'ŏl, 2011); Yi Hwangjin, "*Kyewŏn p'ilgyŏngjip* kwŏn 20 sojae si ŭi p'yŏnjipsang ŭi t'ŭkching koch'al," *Kukhak yŏn'gu* 22 (2013): 39–69; Kim Tongjun, "Kwiguk-ki Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn hansi ŭi chabu wa changsim e taehayŏ: *Kyewŏn p'ilgyŏng* kwŏn 20 e surok toen hansi 30 su e taehan tokhae," *Chindan hakpo* 112 (2011): 265–290.

[15] A well-known and influential attempt to conceptualize the impact of "cosmopolitan" languages on the periphery was made by Sheldon Pollock with regard to Sanskrit in his *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2006). Parts of Pollock's approach were adopted and significantly reworked by Peter Kornicki to better suit the circumstances of the Sinosphere in *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts in East Asia* (Oxford, U. K.: Oxford University Press, 2018). However, in this article I attempt to devise a practical and philologically-informed approach to be used as a heuristic in the comparative study of Sinitic texts without venturing into broader theoretical generalizations.

[16] The circumstances of this "demotion" are aptly described in Borgen, 147–196.

[17] Hereafter, Michizane's works will be referred to by the number assigned to them in Kawaguchi's edited volume.

[18] Works from this collection will be referred to by the number of book and the poem in question as found in the *Zhonghua shuju* edition. Incidentally, I render *kyewŏn* as "cinnamon garden" and not as "cassia garden" following Paul Kroll's warning not to translate the word *gui* 桂 (Kor. *kye*) as "cassia" found in his *A Student's Dictionary of Classical and Medieval Chinese* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 148.

[19] Wiebke Denecke, "'Topic Poetry is all Ours': Poetic Composition on Chinese Lines in Early Heian Japan," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 67.1 (2007): 1–49.

[20] Chŏng Sunbun, "Sugawara no Michizane no shizen'ei: Sanuki no kami jidai wo chūshin ni," *Ilbon munhak hakpo* 27 (2005): 113–128.

[21] The notion of the *wa-kan* dialectic (spelled "wakan" in the original text) was first introduced by David Pollack in *The Fracture of Meaning: Japan's Synthesis of China from the Eighth through the Eighteenth Centuries* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1986). More will be said on this idea in the concluding section of the study.

[22] In "Lyricism and Intertextuality: An Approach to Shunzei's Poetics," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 1.1 (1990), 71, Haruo Shirane draws attention to the following quote from Barthes' *S/Z*: "'I' is not an innocent subject, anterior to the text …. This I which approaches the text is already itself a plurality of other texts, of codes which are infinite, or more precisely, lost (whose origin is lost)." With the validity of Barthes' overarching philosophical positions aside, the latter characteristics of his "intertextuality" (the infinity and irrecoverability of "original" texts) may render any scholarly search for intertextual connections utterly futile.

[23] Denecke, 2.

[24] With regard to "Adamic philology," Denecke argues that Japanese scholars of Sinitic poetry are prone to tracing "every lexical unit to a point of origin, as if it had been 'quoted' directly from a Chinese source for the first time in the history of Japanese writing," erroneously perceiving speakers as "'biblical Adams' who utter each word with virginal candor for the first time in the history of all humanity." Ibid., 4.

[25] Endymion Wilkinson remarks with regard to literary encyclopedias (Ch. *leishu* 類書), "They served as aids to composition, as vast repositories of well-turned phrases and allusions. They were either general in application, or devoted to specific models, such as poetry composition, letter writing, or document drafting." *Chinese History: A New Manual*, 5th ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2018), 1079.

[26] *Yiwen leiju* is mentioned in *Nihon koku genzaisho mokuroku* 日本國現在書目錄, the earliest catalogue of literary works available in Japan and compiled in 891. As a foremost scholar, Michizane must have had access to the encyclopedia; as

an examination candidate living and studying in the Tang capital, Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn was bound to come across the work.

[27] Unless otherwise indicated, all translations into English are mine.

[28] Kim, 285. For the sake of parsimony, no explicit distinction will be made hereafter between "the lyric persona" and "the poet." The reader may consider all references to "the poet" to mean "the poet's lyric persona" or "lyric hero."

[29] Refer to the "Spring" subdivision of the "Suishi shang" 歳時上 chapter, *Yiwen leiju*, by Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1994), 40–45.

[30] Ibid., 42.

[31] Ibid. The first fragment comes from the *Chu ci* poem "Calling the hermit back" (Ch. *zhao yinshi* 招隱士), the second from "Summoning the soul" (Ch. *zhao hun* 招魂). Full English translations of the respective works can be found in Gopal Sukhu's *The Songs of Chu: An Anthology of Chinese Poetry by Qu Yuan and Others* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 211–212 and 170–178.

[32] Ibid., 57, from a poem by Wang Bao 王褒 (507–571?) "Harmonizing with Commandant of Justice Yin at the close of the year" (Ch. *he Yin tingwei suimu shi* 和殷廷尉歲暮詩).

[33] Kawaguchi, 684.

[34] Ibid., 53–54.

[35] Ibid., 54.

[36] Sŏng, 277.

[37] Yi, 41.

[38] Borgen, 182. This distinction is also applicable to Ch'oe's poetry in Book 20, some of which bears a number of characteristics of formal verse.

[39] In his article, Kim Tongjun explains that *Kyewŏn p'ilgyŏngjip* was intended by Ch'oe as a record of his achievements in Tang, as well as one of his poetic gift. Similarly, Taniguchi shows that the Sanuki poems were meant to convey the *raison d'être* of a true poet to the then-crown prince. See Kim, 286–288 and Taniguchi, 102.

[40] Wang Qingyun 王慶雲, "Xinluo Cui Zhiyuan jibo Shandong bandao shiwen chuangzuo kao," *Tongbanghak* 13 (2007): 256–257.

[41] T 475.14.537a–557b. Alternatively, it may be suggested that the "banana metaphor" here refers to a parable from *Liezi* 列子, which underscores the penetrability of the boundary between reality and dream, but I believe that taking it as a Buddhist allusion is much more appropriate. This interpretation is further supported by Yi Chaeun, who argues that Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn "does not appear to have been immersed in Daoism, and his understanding of Daoist thought seems to have been less profound than that of Confucianism and

Buddhism." *Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn yŏn'gu*, 170. For an English translation of the *Liezi* parable see Lionel Giles, trans., *Taoist Teachings from the Book of Lieh-tzŭ* (London: Murray, 1959), 66–69.

[42] For a treatment of Buddhist themes in Ch'oe's poetry see Kang Sŏkkŭn 姜錫瑾, "Koun Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn ŭi pulgyosi chaeron," in *Koun Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn ŭi simunhak* (Seoul: Tosŏ ch'ulp'an munsach'ŏl, 2011), 333–357.

[43] An alternative and equally plausible interpretation of this poem has been proposed by Richard D. McBride II in his "Of Monasteries and Monks: Mainstream Sinitic Buddhism in the Poetry of Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn," *Acta Koreana* 24.1 (2021), 9. In his article, McBride suggests that the "belle" in the first line of the poem does not refer to a living human and connects the whole work to the cult of Guanyin and her depictions holding a willow branch. I believe that whether one chooses to interpret the "belle" as referring to the tree alone is a matter of preference. Incidentally, McBride's piece is a rare and useful example of English-language scholarship on Ch'oe's religious views.

[44] This poem is also translated in Borgen, 184 and Helen C. McCullough, *Brocade by Night:* Kokin wakashū *and the Court Style in Japanese Classical Poetry* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985), 278. In my estimation, McCullough's rendering is somewhat superior, but the translation here is mine.

[45] Borgen, 138.

[46] Also translated in Borgen, 186.

[47] Taniguchi, 82.

[48] Chŏng, 126.

[49] Fujiwara, 282.

[50] Taniguchi, 110.

[51] Du Fu's poem has been translated by Vikram Seth as follows: "Light breeze on the fine grass, / I stand alone at the mast. / Stars lean off the vast wild plain, / Moon bobs in the Great River's spate. / Letters have brought no fame. / Office? Too old to obtain. / Drifting, what am I like? / A gull between earth and sky." *Three Chinese Poets: Translations of Poems by Wang Wei, Li Bai, and Du Fu* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1992), 35.

[52] Kim, 283. Gao Pian's relationship with the Tang court began to deteriorate after a major setback in the military campaign against the rebel Huang Chao 黄巢 (835–884) in 880. Having lost imperial favor, Gao became embroiled in factional strife, which claimed his life in 887. In his preface to *Kyewŏn p'ilgyŏngjip*, Sŏ Yugu suggests that Ch'oe—a close confidante of Gao's responsible for drafting important documents including a famous denunciation of Huang Chao—must have realized the danger of remaining under Gao's patronage and left China. See "Kyoin *Kyewŏn p'ilgyŏngjip* sŏ," in *Kyewŏn*

p'ilgyŏngjip, 3 (the title of this preface is identical to that by Hong quoted earlier).

[53] Kang Nari, "Silla hadae todang yuhak ŭi sŏnghaeng kwa kŭ paegyŏng," *Hanguk kodaesa yŏn'gu* 90 (2018), 178–179.

[54] Kawamoto Yoshiaki, "Sai Chien to Abe no Nakamaro: Kodai Chōsen, Nihon ni okeru 'Chūgokuka' to no kanren kara mita," *Kyūshū daigaku tōyōshi ronshū* 31 (2003), 201.

[55] Chŏng Chongdae, "Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn ŭi sŏjŏngsi e nat'anan sooe ŭisik," in *Koun Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn ŭi simunhak* (Seoul: Tosŏ ch'ulp'an munsach'ŏl, 2011), 299.

[56] Borgen, 97.

[57] Pollack, 17–18.

[58] Pollack's argument generally proceeds along the "thesis-antithesis-synthesis" lines. Paul Rouser has observed that "scholars in our century have often seen Japanese history as propelled by a continual Hegelian dialectical tension between polarities" in his "Early Buddhist Kanshi: Court, Country, and Kūkai," *Monumenta Nipponica* 59.4 (2004), 441. I believe his observation hits the mark.

[59] McCullough, 286.

[60] All the *waka* transliterations and translations used in this section are from McCullough's subchapter "*Kudai waka* and *Shinsen man'yōshū*" in *Brocade by Night*, 254–292, which also uses the following abbreviations: *KKS* for *Kokinshū* 古今集, *GSS* for *Gosenshū* 後撰集, *SIS* for *Shūishū* 拾遺集, and *SKKS* for *Shinkokinshū* 新古今集.

[61] Ibid., 289.

[62] For an illuminating comparison of Silla-period *hyangga* and *hansi* see Sŏng, 258–272.

[63] For a literary analysis of *Hyangak chabyŏngsi* see Yun Kwangbong 尹光鳳, "*Hyangak chabyŏng* osu ron: yŏn'gŭksajŏk ch'ŭngmyŏn esŏ," *Tongak ŏmunhak* 14 (1981): 31–72. This article also contains modern Korean translations of all the poems.

[64] Ch'oe Kwangsik 崔光植 has argued that *p'ungnyudo* was the "guiding principle" of the *hwarang* institution. He also believes that the phenomenon described in "Nallang pi sŏ" should be called *p'ungnyudo*, the "way" or "principle" of *p'ungnyu*, as something distinct from "indulgence in poetry, prose, music and alcohol" or mere aristocratic refinement. See "Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's *p'ungnyudo* and Present-Day *hallyu*," *International Journal of Korean History* 21.1 (2016), 193, 211.

[65] Yi Chaeun, 195. This somewhat cryptic inscription is cited verbatim in Yi, 190 and reads: "In the land there is a profound and sublime Way called *p'ungnyu*. The origins of this teaching are recorded in detail in the chronicles of the

immortals [Kor. *sŏnsa* 仙史]. Indeed, it encapsulates the Three Teachings, allowing one to approach and edify all living beings. Now to be filial to the [elders of] the household when inside and loyal to the [rulers of the] land when abroad is the essence of Confucius' [doctrine]. To attend to the affairs of non-action and practice the teaching of non-speaking is the foundation of Laozi's [thought]. To do no evil and undertake the practice of good is the edifying [precept] of Prince Siddhartha's [Dharma]."

[66] Pollack, 227.

[67] See Konishi Jin'ichi and Helen C. McCullough, "The Genesis of the *Kokinshū* Style," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 38.1 (1978): 61–170.

[68] Quoted in McCullough, 261–262.

[69] Ibid., 274–275.

[70] Hanzawa Kan'ichi 半澤幹一 and Tsuda Kiyoshi 津田潔, eds., *Taishaku* Shinsen man'yōshū (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2015), 188.

[71] In recent scholarship, this argument has been aptly articulated by James McMullen in his *Worship of Confucius in Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2020).

[72] See, for example, Burton Watson, "Some Remarks on the Kanshi," *The Journal-Newsletter of the Association of Teachers of Japanese* 5.2 (1968), 15; Timothy Bradstock and Judith Rabinovitch, trans., *An Anthology of Kanshi (Chinese Verse) by Japanese Poets of the Edo Period (1603–1868)* (Lewiston, N. Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1997), 19; and Donald Keene, *Seeds in the Heart: Japanese Literature from Earliest Times to the Late Sixteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 341.

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