

KOKORO AS ECOLOGICAL INSIGHT:

THE CONCEPT OF HEART
IN JAPANESE LITERATURE

By

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Thesis Abstract

The concept of kokoro forms a central motif in the poetic theory of Japanese literature. The genesis of kokoro resides in the Shinto understanding that the kami no kokoro, or "the heart of the deity" forms an important bond between the human and spiritual worlds. With increasing Buddhist influence, the concept of kokoro evolves, historically, toward being an ideal for a way of life, and in its medieval variant as mushin (kokoro nashi) approaches being understood in metaphysical terms. Kokoro is defined in this paper as "an innate capacity for feeling which is the innermost nature of things with which binds them to each other".

In the Kojiki and the Manyōshū, kokoro was perceived from a materialistic basis as a physical organ in the human body that responds to emotion. At the same time, kokoro was understood as the seat of an expressive instinct in all beings that urges them toward mutual identification, experienced as metaphor in the human imagination. Ki no Tsurayuki's Preface to the Kokinshū reveals such a trans-species identification through the universal capacity for kokoro and the poetic instinct this implies.

The historical crisis of the twelfth century and the decline of the Heian court precipitated a new interpretation of the tradition of kokoro. A conflict between an optimistic Shinto-esoteric Buddhist affirmation of the spiritual unity of the physical world and the more general Buddhist notion that the world had entered a degenerate age (mappō) forged in literature the notions of yūgen and ushintei whereby

a profound aesthetic penetration into nature reveals an absoluteness of reality within the relativity of the world.

The emphasis of a poetry of kokoro seeking to express an absolute truth about life found new expression and continuity in the Zen-inspired notion of mushin. Mushin confronted a paradox within the concept of kokoro when seen from a Buddhist perspective. Through the doctrine of Codependent Origination, kokoro could not inherently be limited to any single perspective or place, and thus its final unfindability (mu) is the kokoro of kokoro, its intrinsic quality of mushin. Such an understanding underpins the Noh of Zeami and Bashō's haiku.

Finally, the literary tradition of kokoro expression is submitted to a universal theory of language evolution as discussed in Northrop Frye's The Great Code. It is concluded that the Japanese kokoro tradition kept alive for over one thousand years the metaphorical identification of man and nature. The sciences of biology and quantum physics are now urging a similar ecological vision that gives the literary tradition of kokoro in Japan its special importance to the modern world.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

A. The Concept of Kokoro

Literature in Japan has been, essentially, a language of the heart. The concept of heart, known as kokoro, was recognized from ancient times as an expressive instinct in human personality, and such an understanding grew eventually to become an ideal for a way of life. The primacy of kokoro as the proper mode for literary expression is recognizable as a central motif in nearly every aspect of the Japanese literary tradition. The Tokugawa period scholar, Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), while elucidating this quality in the national literature, held that the motive and value of all literary art was a "sensitivity to things" (mono no aware) that flows from our human feelings. Such sensitivity is the natural response of a cultivated heart (kokoro) to the world around it.

Norinaga's research, however, sought to uncover an original intrinsic purity that was thought to exist in the Japanese Shinto influence upon literature before it became cluttered with the imported thought systems of Buddhism and Confucianism. It is the position of this paper that while it was, indeed, the Shinto influence upon the literary tradition that caused it to preserve the value of kokoro in literary expression, it was the transforming impact of Buddhist thought that gave a philosophical depth and universality to the concept of kokoro as it evolved throughout Japanese literary history. The notion of kokoro in Japanese literature is not an immutable essence to be found existing

in the tradition from time immemorial and which affected everything that came into contact with it; rather it was an organically developing predisposition toward an intuitive and metaphorical mode of cognition. It is finally the philosophical alloy of both Shinto and Buddhist elements that gives to the notion of kokoro those qualities which may serve as a definition of the concept in this paper: this is, kokoro understood as a capacity for feeling that is the innermost nature of things and which binds them to each other.

The devotion, in Japan, to a single vision of literature as expression of kokoro gave to one of the longest literary traditions of the world its particular unity. At the same time, literature fulfilled a broader function in the creative life of the nation than it did in China or in the countries of the West. The penchant for great philosophical systems in these countries is almost totally lacking in Japan; instead what we see is a concentrated exploration of every nuance of refined emotion. What in the West and in continental Asia was an impulse toward a comprehensive sense of nature, order, and human purpose was experienced in Japan as a desire to respond directly to life as it is experienced through the heart. The habit of this single vision acted as a filter of value for philosophical and religious thought. The result has been that historically the Japanese have tended to express their understanding not in abstract philosophy but through concrete literary works of art.¹

It is a combination of the broad application of literature to encompass philosophy and religion, while itself being conceived through the structure of a single vision, that gives to literature both its

special significance in Japan, and suggests the importance of the heart (kokoro) to any study of the literary tradition.

The European experience differs vastly from that of Japanese literature. European medieval Christian theology from the time of Augustine upheld a neo-Platonic view of the world as but a "sign" or configuration of the divine supernatural order which is transcendent and originates from God. In Christian theology to love this world in and of itself was to take the appearance for the reality and was regarded as a form of idolatry. Art and literature were pressed into the service of such thinking to turn man from the fleeting pleasures of this world toward the eternity of God: ascent was from the sensual (scencia) to the intellectual (sapientia). In this, the classical literary tradition did not grant a high place to emotion² and emphasized instead those values that would reflect the magnitude and scale of the Christian world-view. Thus the literary modes of Mediterranean civilization tended to be dramatic rather than lyric.³ With a few exceptions it was not until the time of the Romantic movement in the late eighteenth century that Europe conceived of literature as involving primarily a personal emotional response. Rather, Dante's Divine Comedy perhaps best exemplifies the traditional relationship of literature to theology in the West and reveals the greatness that such a union produced.

It is very possible the reference to formal thought systems such as theology that gives Western literature its strong sense of structure, in contrast to Japanese literary works. In this respect, a brief comparison of the Divine Comedy and Murasaki Shikibu's Genji monogatari (The Tale of Genji) is instructive. Both works were written within two hundred years of each other, and the design of Dante's

work is in high contrast to that of Murasaki's. In the case of the Florentine:

Under the wise Virgil's guidance after some trepidation, Dante starts on his fearful journey, which takes him through all the punishments of the damned. These pains are distributed over the nine circles of the inverted cone of Hell, eight of them on circular shelves which surround the pit, the ninth, on the bottom of the pit itself, at the centre of the earth. Each penalty is appropriate to its sin, and all are grouped according to a philosophical plan.⁴

Whereas, the Genji monogatari, according to Donald Keene:

. . . is not constructed in accordance with any Western novelist's conception, but possesses rather the form of one of the horizontal scrolls for which Japan is famous. They often start with just a few figures, gradually develop into scenes of great complexity and excitement, and gradually dwindle back into a cluster of men, then a horse, then, almost lost in the mist, a last solitary soldier.⁵

The first work affirms the belief that formal geometrical design is closer to reality than natural form. The second, on the other hand, would suggest that what really matters is the personal and sensitive encounter at every turn in the world of kokoro.

The special importance of literature in Japan is revealed further by its contrast with the Chinese example. The differences are all the more significant because of the pervasive Chinese influence itself in the Japanese tradition. The Mao Preface to the Shih ching states explicitly that poetry issues from emotional expression.⁶ The mystical tradition of Taoism lent a rich underlay of intuitive naturalism to Chinese culture, and its influence found classical expression in the lyrical poetic form known as shih in such poets as Li Po (701-762) and others.⁷ In general, however, the strong ethical

concerns of Confucianism stressed rather the use of literature for moral cultivation and the art of statecraft. Literature tended to be utilized as an allegorical vehicle for Confucian values. Historically, the result has been that:

In China, most of what we think of as literature-- love poetry, the drama, the novel, etc.-- was considered beneath the dignity of the educated writers, and we possess relatively few works of merit in these genres when compared to the vast bulk of Chinese literature. In Japan, even emperors were not ashamed to write love poetry, and the novels and dramas written by members of the court gave the tone to later works in these forms.⁸

The difference, however, is not only one of genres. The concerns of philosophy in China and of theology in Europe were embraced primarily in Japan through the literary mode. A study of the literature of Japan is thus an especially receptive means for an exploration into the philosophical life of the culture. Furthermore, the centrality of kokoro in the Japanese theory of literature as emotional expression suggests that it is this concept itself which would be the vortex where ideology encounters emotion. Indeed, it is the intellectual leaven, most importantly through Buddhism, that gives the concept of kokoro its increasing depth and richness throughout the many forms of its development.

Poetry in Japan was pre-eminently the Way of Kokoro. From the aristocratic waka form, to the renga and haikai or haiku, the poem was always considered the purest vehicle for expression of kokoro. Even a cursory look at the literary tradition reveals the importance of poetry. The Ise monogatari (Tales of Ise) is an example of an early genre known as uta-monogatari, where the waka themselves, embedded in a loose

network of prose introductions, are the main feature of the work. The Genji monogatari itself contains almost eight hundred poems,⁹ and shows the traditional tendency for Japanese prose to transform into poetry at moments of heightened emotion. Perhaps in no other culture of the world has poetry played such a fundamental role in the life of society. Poetry and poetic allusion were essential to the daily repartee between officials at the emperor's court, and between lovers throughout the Heian period. Renga poets of the Kamakura era and later memorized thousands of waka verses as a storehouse of imagery and allusion for their own verse making. It was not uncommon for a man to renounce his position in life to give himself more fully to the vocation of poetry. Both Saigyō (1118-1190) and Bashō (1644-1694) are examples of this dedication, and it is significant to our study of the relationship between poetic and religious insight that both men saw their poetic vocation in distinctly religious terms.

The importance of poetry as an expression of kokoro need not be belaboured. We have seen that that which makes literature so central to the culture of Japan was its function to include an exploration of those subjects which in China and in the West were considered better treated through philosophy and theology. Within Japan itself poetry was conceived primarily as the expression of kokoro. For an understanding of kokoro, then, we must comprehend the religious factors that exerted influence upon this concept throughout its development. First and foremost of these religious influences must be the Japanese indigenous world-view, or Shinto.

B. The Japanese Indigenous World-View: The Gods Have Heart

The reason that literature became more central to the culture of Japan than it did in either China or the West can be traced finally to the obstinate polytheism and this-world affirmation of Japanese Shinto. A Shinto ethos acted as the culture-dish in which kokoro was germinated. The consistent tendency of this Shinto ethos is a preference for the tangible and the local, with a resultant inclination to particularize abstract thought systems.¹⁰

Japan's geographical position may have played an important role in the development of the Shinto ethos. As an island nation some distance off the coast of continental Asia, Japan was historically better able to control the amount and type of cultural importation considered suitable for its own needs. All such importations were filtered through an indigenous complex of attitudes and customs that reflect Japanese beliefs about the supernatural, the origins of their race, and the land itself. This racial mythology became the focus and measure for Japan's understanding of itself and its prevailing view of the world outside. The consistency of this perspective was due in part to Japan's geographical isolation. While most cultures historically develop their own racial mythology, such systems inevitably become cross-bred, suppressed or subsumed into stronger ideologies by the world currents of cultural and military challenge. Through foreign cultural or military confrontation a people are forced to defend and to "define" themselves by ideology and thought. The need to define the indigenous values in Japan was first created with the importation of Chinese learning in the seventh century. Both the Kojiki (702 A.D.) and the Nihon shoki (720 A.D.) were a response to that challenge, but historically Japan's

comparative isolation allowed the challenge of foreign ideologies to be accepted to the extent that they satisfied predominantly domestic needs and desires. China's capital city of Ch'ang-an during the T'ang dynasty (618-907), which was a creative ferment of Buddhist, Christian, Zoroastrian, as well as Islamic and native Taoist thought, need only be compared to Japan's capital of Heian-kyo at its peak to see the traditional insular character of Japan. This insularity allowed for the growth of a particularly unified aesthetic sensitivity that was to compensate for what the culture lacked in intellectual vigor. Japan's cultural seclusion may also account for a certain undefinability in the traditional conception of kokoro; it remained an emotive principle rather than a philosophical one, something primarily to be felt and experienced within one's person rather than to be explained and theorized upon with others. The primarily subjective nature of kokoro, as we shall see, does much to explain the purpose of the karon, or treatises on poetry, from their first appearance during the Heian period.

Geographical factors alone, however, cannot explain totally Japan's particular world-view; rather, those factors provided the safe borders within which the pure strains of an indigenous ethos could develop. The Japanese ethos in the fourth century was a complex but loose system of local customs that centered around worship of deities known as kami. The kami were in most cases personifications of the awesome power that was felt to reside within certain objects of nature. This sense of the kami as possessing "awesomeness" became generalized to include the worship of great men, heroes, or leaders.¹¹ There was no

transcendent basic principle or absolute entity by which a comprehensive system of belief could be articulated. The kami were thought of in simple anthropomorphic terms, and through the association of the gods with the land, there was a feeling of intimacy between the mythological and the human worlds. The emphasis was polytheistic, material and individual.¹²

The basic nature of these values in Japan acted as a filter through which imported thought systems sifted into the national consciousness. Such an adaptation is visible in the Japanese historical treatment of Confucianism. A central tenet of the Chinese Confucian system was the idea that the Emperor received his moral authority to govern the nation by a Mandate of Heaven which is made manifest by the people's acceptance of his rule over them.¹³ This doctrine of Mencius implicitly recognized the right of rebellion by the people. Such a comprehensive principle in Japan was considered incompatible with the unbroken divine lineage of the Imperial family, and was dropped from Confucian teaching. Confucianism in Japan tended to stress rather the personal bonds of social responsibility as expressed in the doctrine of the Five Relationships.

More important to the concerns of this paper, however, will be to understand how the Japanese indigenous ethos responded to Buddhism. Their mutual interaction in the culture is central to an understanding of the concept of kokoro for in its historical development kokoro often came to be understood in specifically Buddhist terms even while Buddhism itself was being reinterpreted from a Japanese Shinto perspective.

An awareness of kokoro evolved from within the communal and

spiritual life of the Yamato village long before the cultural ethos became identified by the word "Shinto." The kami themselves were considered to be sentient and the ancient ideal that the human heart should reflect the kami no kokoro, or "the heart of the deity," joined the human and divine worlds.¹⁴ The literary genesis for kokoro as spiritually charged utterance can be found in the norito, or incantations to the deities which were recited in the earliest Shinto celebrations. Associated with norito incantation was the belief in the magical power of words through the idea of koto-dama. The combinations of incantation and ceremony form the earliest and un-selfconscious expressions of kokoro as an emotive response to the spiritually sensual world of Yamato. Oral literature and religion were truly one because neither yet existed on its own.

The advent of literacy in the form of Chinese writing and its hybrid man'yōgana necessarily brought with it increased differentiation and self-consciousness to the amorphous unity of the primitive world-view. As the Yamato court became aware of Buddhist and Confucian ideologies the term "Shinto" was created to describe the native religion in order to contrast it with the new foreign faiths; the first usage of the word in Japan is found in the Nihon shoki.¹⁵ With the appearance of the Manyōshū (ca. 759 A.D.) as the first poetic anthology in the native language, we are said to find an unsophisticated sincerity of the heart (magokoro) that reflects the enduring influence of the earlier oral tradition.¹⁶ By the time of the Kokinshū Preface (905 A.D.) we see the first declarative statement on the relationship between kokoro and poetic impulse. Writing in Japanese (Yamato kotoba) had survived the initial onslaught of Chinese cultural

forms and thrived from the challenge; the Genji monogatari was soon to be written, and the Japanese language as the vehicle of kokoro now possessed a distinct literary tradition which in time would rival Buddhism in Japan, for authority and antiquity.

The decline of the Heian court in the early Kamakura period (1185-1338) marks a new turning point in the development of kokoro. The cultural crisis of the late Heian era pitted the increasingly accepted Buddhist notion that the world had entered an age of decay, mappō, against an inherently optimistic Shinto faith that this world was in unbroken continuum with the world of the gods, Kami no yo. The Shinkokinshū poets sought a resolution to the conflicts of the age through a deeper commitment to their art; there was a deliberate and philosophical attempt to equate the poetic tradition with Buddhist practice in order to create a new synthesis that would be capable of standing against the cultural destruction of the period. This effort produced a new depth in their verse and gave to the tradition of kokoro two of its classical modes of expression, yūgen and ushintei.

It was the obstinacy of the indigenous ethos of Shinto that made the literary tradition so important to Japanese culture, but from the beginning Shinto was challenged by a more sophisticated Buddhist revelation shrouded in the mantle of Chinese civilization. One feels that the Taoist sage Lao-tze would have understood how Shinto was ultimately to prevail over Buddhism, as yielding water wears away a stone, but in the process Shinto was changed. If we can say that through the influence of Shinto, abstract truths were immersed into the concrete symbology of the natural world and expressed as poetry, we must also claim it was Buddhism that gave a profound depth and significance to that exercise.

The Buddhist teaching of impermanence (mujō), when filtered through this indigenous ethos, became in haiku a new affirmation of concrete phenomenon made all the more singular and precious by the recognition of inevitable impermanence. It has been noted that it is not the transiency of life but the means of overcoming it that is at the core of Buddhist teaching.¹⁷ The changed emphasis by the time of Tokugawa Japan, however, became a concentration upon an emotive response to the momentariness of things themselves.

Throughout all these changes in Japanese cultural history we find a recurring primacy of an aesthetic impulse over the religious mind. Perhaps it is more correct to say it is a religious impulse experienced through an aesthetic mode, but the two are never really one and a synthesis was not embraced without a certain unease by the greatest poets in every age. We see this conflict in the lives and poetry of Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114-1204), Saigyō, Bashō, and others. In the final analysis, it was a conflict between a Shinto world-view and the Buddhist perspective, a struggle between the voice of poetry and the silence of meditation.

It was the tradition of kokoro that sought a resolution to this dilemma. Somewhere between metaphysics and emotion, in the cleft between a Buddhist way of transcendence and the Shinto inspired aesthetic impulse, kokoro was to find its fertile soil.

C. The Present Approach and Its Specific Purpose

It is a central concern of this thesis to show that the concept of kokoro forms a distinct and comprehensive pattern within the

Japanese literary tradition and that this pattern though influenced profoundly by religious ideas and practices remained recognizably separate from them as a form of poetic vocation. Just as it is necessary to seek a balanced treatment of the distinctive literary and religious influences in the development of kokoro, a study of the kokoro tradition must at the same time seek to express a correct emphasis from among the differing Buddhist and Shinto influences upon that tradition.

It has been suggested already that there is a strong tendency of the Japanese indigenous ethos to dismantle coherent abstract ideologies and that the result was to emphasize the practical and the particular. It is important, therefore, to appreciate the circumstances and psychology through which Buddhist ideas were integrated into the Japanese cultural life. The classical Buddhist, Confucian and Shinto world-views differ radically from our own cultural assumptions. For this very reason it is easy to over-compensate for our cultural differences and to project those ideologies, as pure unitary systems, onto the literature in such a way that they were not comprehended in their own age.¹⁸ It is an inherent danger in any cross cultural study but particularly so of Japan. Any discussion of the Buddhist influence on the tradition of kokoro must be prefaced, therefore, by the realization that unlike medieval Europe where literature was generally subservient to theology, in Japan the practise of literature became a rival to Buddhism as a sustainer of the spiritual life.

No less, however, must we be careful of overemphasizing the more literary aspects in the development of the concept of kokoro. Although a conservative faithfulness to the literary inheritance is a

striking characteristic of the Japanese tradition, that tradition was reinterpreted by every generation to meet the needs of its time; and those needs were experienced primarily through the socio-political and intellectual questions of the age. Inevitably these considerations find their way into the literature. Thus, for example, though the Shinkokinshū poets avoided particular information in their poems about the political and social trends of that period, the decline of the nobility, the wars in the provinces and a vague foreboding coloured their emotional relationship and experience of nature. In this way, the intellectual history of the late Heian era finds its expression in the tone, coloration and intensity of poetic metaphor. A failure to grasp this fact is to miss the "psychological grammar" of the poem, the deep structure of the poet's absorption in his subject as reflected in the work itself. Central to the "psychological grammar" in the poetry of the Shinkokinshū poets is an understanding of their Buddhist convictions concerning the nature of reality. Particularly in the cases of Fujiwara no Shunzei and his son Teika, we shall see that this view of reality was understood in terms of the Tendai Buddhist sect teachings of cessation and contemplation (shikan), and the identity of the phenomenon with the real (genshō zoku jissō). These ideas are fused with Shunzei's sense of yūgen. An excessive concentration upon purely literary aspects of the development of kokoro to the detriment of a proper understanding of the formative religious influences may blind us to a depth of response and insight hidden within a given work.¹⁹

It comes as no surprise then that these two important currents in the evolution of kokoro-- the literary and religious influences-- are

reflected in a double meaning of the word itself. The first and more universal meaning of kokoro has been given already as "an innate capacity for feeling that is the innermost nature of things and which binds them to each other." Kokoro in this sense was a principle of spiritual and aesthetic sensitivity. It will be shown that its meaning evolved from an originally materialistic understanding of kokoro as a physical organ within the human body. Such an interpretation can be assumed to have existed throughout the period of the oral tradition and can be hypothesized from linguistic evidence in the historical era of the Kojiki and the Manyōshū. Its meaning gradually became generalized and more ethereal, being understood as an expressive impulse latent in creation. It was, in this sense, the source of a poetic instinct thought to be found in every species of being. This universality was somewhat obscured by the fact that the mode of experience of kokoro was through personal response rather than philosophical elucidation and thus recognition of kokoro as a concept akin to the Western idea of soul was historically quite weak and relatively undefined. Only finally under the influence of the Zen Buddhist implications of mushin in the Japanese middle ages does the understanding of kokoro in literature approach something of a metaphysical interpretation.

The other crucial meaning of kokoro in our study reflects its literary genealogy. This is its meaning in a more technical sense as found in treatises on poetic theory, or karon. This meaning of the word must be translated variously as the "conception" of a poem, or its spirit in contrast to kotoba, the diction, technique or "material" of the poem itself. The technical sense of kokoro as poetic conception is first found in the Preface of the Kokinshū (905 A.D.) and became

in time, with the concept of kotoba, a central standard by which waka could be appraised and new styles characterized. Ki no Tsurayuki (882-945) in his Preface used both terms as a way of describing the poetic styles of each of the Six Poetic Geniuses (Rokkasen) in the early Heian period, and this established a fundamental criterion for every succeeding generation. Later, Fujiwara no Kintō (966-1041), in one of the earliest examples of the karon genre, was to write his Waka kuhon (Nine Levels of Waka) which set forth the ideal of amari no kokoro, or "more feeling [kokoro] than the words [kotoba] can express." This emphasis was given its fullest literary expression finally in the work of Fujiwara no Teika (1162-1241). Under the inspired influence of him and his father, Shunzei, the notion of kokoro was profoundly deepened and remoulded under the headings of yūgen and ushintei (kokoro aru). In the late Heian period with the rise of poetry contests, (uta-awase), the kokoro of a poem also became related to the spirit of one's handling of the set theme (dai) of a waka.

The transformation of the ideal of ushin (kokoro aru) into that of mushin (kokoro nai) will be seen to parallel important literary and religious developments from the Kamakura period and on into the Tokugawa era. Throughout every change of emphasis, an understanding of kokoro was the central concern of Japan's poetic tradition. As one's conception of the poetic object it was to be harmoniously fused with the language (kotoba) of the poem itself, "like the fragrance and the petal."²⁰

Indeed, in the final analysis, the two fundamental meanings of kokoro can only really be separated as a convenience for discussion. It is a single notion with varying shades of nuance. Kokoro as the spirit

of poetic conception is the genesis of the discipline by which poetry was to attain the status of a Path of Liberation (michi) capable of penetrating into kokoro as "the innermost nature of things." At the same time it was the magic of this potential to reveal the innermost nature of things that elevated the poem itself to its recognition as incantation, or mantra, with a life of its own.

This paper will concentrate primarily upon the poetic tradition because it is there that kokoro is given its purest expression. This, however, cannot be a strict rule, for the kokoro tradition, as metaphorical response, runs deeper than any false dichotomy between poetry and prose. Certainly Genji monogatari is central to the tradition. Throughout our study we shall first try to read the poems under consideration as they were understood within the cultural ethos and perspective of their own day. The attempt is not to utilize the poems as a means of clarifying our knowledge of the historical conditions of its period, the way one approaches an archaeological site. Rather, the desire is to establish a unity between the literary creation and its cultural context. It will also not be necessary to show a continuity of literary style throughout history, but only a tradition of literary theory, in which a continuum of values based on kokoro interlocks with specific historical perspectives like the two meanings within a single kakekotoba of a poem. We must seek to understand the specific cultural ethos which informs the "psychological grammar" of any given work. This effort is based on the assumption that a literary creation is a response to a complex of environmental factors that give it a particularity essential to its fullest understanding.

The Odyssey of Homer can never, therefore, really be separated from the particular blue waters of the Aegean Sea.

The search for this specificity is not, however, to assert that the poems we will consider have a single meaning locked within them that must be de-coded from their elements. Any great work of art encompasses the perennial passions of mankind and thus contains a wealth of valid perspectives. We need only look at the traditions of interpretation of Genji monogatari, (Buddhist, Confucian, Nationalist, Freudian), to see how great art is a mirror to our own preoccupations and yet remains something more. In this we shall be guided by the dictum that ultimately:

A poem should be wordless as a flock of birds,
A poem should not mean, but be.²¹

Our preoccupation here will be to understand the kokoro tradition first within its own terms and context, and then to consider its value for us. The possibility of this dual perspective speaks for the universality of the kokoro tradition, and its relevance to the modern world.

Before this is possible, however, we must begin at the beginning in the early centuries of the Yamato culture and the particular reaction of a people to the universal encounter of man with the awesomeness of nature.

CHAPTER TWO: THE ORAL TRADITION AND THE MANYOSHU

A. The Historical Setting

Japan, in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. was essentially a tribal society. Different families or clans, known as uji centered their identification around a hereditary leader and worshipped a deity associated with their uji, and often thought of as their ancestor.¹ The communal life of the uji villages was bound together by this extended kinship group and its common identification with the deity. The social structure was blended intimately with a spiritual heirarchy. In time, these uji clans formed into larger clusters as the more powerful clans came to dominate the weaker ones through a combination of both military superiority and magical and ritual sophistication. By the end of the fifth century, the strongest such uji cluster which evolved into the Yamato court was under the supremacy of its Sun-deity lineage.

No doubt central to the rising power of the Yamato uji was its continuing contact with the higher civilization of China, through what is now the Korean Peninsula. Through this conduit was to flow the continental cultural forms that would revolutionize these relatively simple kinship groups and assure a certain dominance of the Sun-deity uji that is recognized to this day. By fortunate historical accident,

just as China was uniting itself into one of its greatest periods of history, the T'ang dynasty (618 A.D.-907 A.D.), Japan had reached a political sophistication sufficient to incorporate the higher cultural forms that began to issue from continental Asia.

Chief among these influences for this study are the introduction of a writing system and certain Chinese ideas about government, history, and literature. The introduction of Buddhism to Japan is officially dated as 552 A.D.,² but its permeation into the root consciousness of the literate class was not until centuries later; indeed, it will be argued that the Buddhist influence upon the evolving sense of kokoro in Japanese literature was not to become significant until after the Manyōshū (ca. 759 A.D.) and the radical impact of Kūkai's thought upon Japanese sensibilities.

The two most ancient accounts of Japanese history, the Kojiki (712 A.D.) and the Nihon shoki (720 A.D.) must be seen against the light of the continental influence within the ruling house of the Yamato court. In a conscious effort to consolidate its own power over the other uji clusters, the Yamato court incorporated their mythologies and traditions into its own "official" account of the origin of the land and of the state. The Yamato court sought by this to elevate its own uji-deity cult and to simultaneously approximate a distinguished "history" like that of China. Donald Philippi, who has retranslated the Kojiki into English, makes this point clear in his introduction to the work:

We cannot understand the Kojiki's genealogies, myths, and legends unless we constantly bear in mind the composite nature of the work, the fact that it is a collation of separate accounts and traditions made in an attempt to justify the rule of Yamatö and at the same time to reconcile subordinate interest-groups and give them a place and an interest in the national mythology-genealogy.³

This politics of deity-adoption is, however, only one process at work in the compiling of these earliest accounts of early Japanese culture.

B. Oral Magic and Prayer Literature

The sources of both the Kojiki and the Nihon shoki reach down to the oral literature and prayer magic that centered in the socio-religious life of the uji village. Through the myths and songs gathered from each region of the country we have our earliest glimpse of the simple and unselfconscious celebration of kokoro as a spiritually sensual response to the "awesomeness" of the kami as experienced through such sources as nature, intoxication and communal work. This is the beginning of recorded Japanese poetry; the approximately 111 songs of the Kojiki are among the oldest found in the language.⁴ They were old before they were written down, as the title Kojiki (Record of Ancient Matters), suggests. The anecdotes and songs of the Kojiki were probably recorded from the memorized versions of the katari-be or reciters, a guild of story tellers in each uji whose duty it was to remember the oral literature of the uji group.⁵ In approaching these songs it is imperative to remember the embracive animistic spirit that underlies them. The worship and recognition of the deities was intimately bound

up with daily life, thus division of the songs into strict categories of secular and sacred is not always possible: the very act of singing itself was an activity partaking of the power of the kami. The Kojiki speaks of certain of the songs which were still being performed for special occasions at the court at that time. Certainly the length and the rhythmical qualities of many of the pieces would suggest their performance as dance-dramas or mimes.⁶ Thus, in Book II, Chapter Eighty-eight, it is written that when the mythical emperor Yamato-Takeru-no-Mikoto died, he was transformed into a giant bird and soared through the skies. His grieving wives and children, in trying to pursue the bird, are said to have sung this song as they wept:

Asashi nohara
Koshi nazumu
Sora wa ikazu 7
Ashi yo iku na

Moving with difficulty, up to our waists
 In the field of low bamboo stalks,
 We cannot go through the skies -
 But, alas, must go by foot.⁸

It is explained in the Kojiki that this song and three others accompanying it are "even today" performed at the occasion of an emperor's funeral. Philippi assents to the interpretation of Aiso Teizō that there was probably at one time a funeral ritual whereby mourners, while dressed as birds representing the soul of the dead person, danced and sang these songs either to call back the soul from the dead, or to assist it on its journey beyond.⁹ This soul was called tama and was considered capable of leaving the body even during one's lifetime. It was believed that many, perhaps all things in the animal, vegetable, and

mineral worlds possessed tama in varying degrees. According to An Outline of Shinto Teachings, published by the Kokugakuin University, mi and mono were also ancient words denoting spirit or soul, but whereas tama is a divine or semi-divine spirit, both mi and mono were of a lower order.¹⁰ It is the tama which is capable of becoming kami and which lives on after death. Tamashii is the power or action of that tama.¹¹

On the whole, it would seem that in the early communal context of these oral performances "sacred" ritual was blended easily with "secular" entertainment; such was the intimacy between the human and divine worlds that the deities themselves were thought to be moved and pleased by the purity of emotion in song. This purity was the specific quality of makoto. According to one Shinto expert:

Makoto is a sincere approach to life with all one's heart, an approach to which nothing is shunned or treated with neglect. It stems from an awareness of the divine. It is the humble, single-minded reaction which wells up within us when we touch directly or indirectly upon the working of the Kami, know that they exist, and have the assurance of their close presence with us.¹²

Such intimacy of response between the human and the divine is the fountain-head of the kokoro tradition. This source was to remain a comprehensive influence upon the concept of kokoro long after it had separated from its direct inspiration in the oral tradition. When Ki no Tsurayuki, in 905 A.D., in his Preface to the Kokinshū was to say that song (uta) had within it the power to move the gods of heaven and earth, he was reflecting a continuing impact of the animistic oral tradition long after the advent of literacy. Included within such thinking was

the belief that language contained a magic potency that imbued it with its own kami nature. This power, called koto-dama, or "word spirit," was thought to reside most clearly in the prayer magic known as norito.

It is thought that norito were originally a prescribed formula of words containing magic power.¹³ They were spoken on special occasions, either addressed to the resident kami, or in some cases, spoken through a human intermediary, from the kami to the community. The form of these primitive norito, of course, changed with the increasing consolidation of society under the Yamato court. In fact, almost the only remnants of these earliest norito are found in the Engi shiki arranged in 927 A.D. for ceremonies at the court. The twenty-seven examples of norito in the Engi shiki are written down in Chinese characters used phonetically to reflect the rhythm and sense of the original Japanese (Yamato kotoba).¹⁴ They are mostly in the form of petitionary prayers to the kami for protection and a good harvest, but many contain elements close to incantation and celebrations of blessing in which the rhetorical distance between kami and human is blurred. The extensive use of repetition, metaphor, antithesis and long poetically charged lists of offerings suggests their early magical effect in oral performance.

The whole question of the influence of the writing system upon oral literature will be dealt with presently, but here let us consider the possibility that both the lyrical and narrative strains in Japanese literature issued from the early prayer magic of norito. The structure of each norito can be divided into two parts.¹⁵ The first is a statement of the origin of the matsuri, or religious festival with which the

norito is associated. This section contains mythological traditions which are not found in either the Kojiki or the Nihon shoki.¹⁶ This is followed by an extended section in an elaborately sonorous style that praises the deity and petitions its benevolence. Thus, both a story-telling and a song element are presented. In the performance context of a matsuri it can be assumed that both these lyrical and narrative elements would be included as part of the celebration. It has been hypothesized that as the period of oral literature matured the narrative element separated from its ceremonial context and evolved into the monogatari or story tradition. The song aspects became diverted into poetry.¹⁷

While the early kami-centered nature of the norito in the communal context of the uji village matsuri is very probable, it is difficult to be precise as to the form of the primitive norito. This is, of course, because of the transforming character of written language upon an oral one. The universal nature of such a transformation is important here, but so also is the specific influence of the Chinese language. The Engi shiki, compiled in 927 A.D., very late in the process of literacy in Japan, was no doubt substantially under the sway of Chinese writing. The final literary form in which norito was thus to become fossilized may owe as much to continental influence as it does to the indigenous oral tradition. Specifically the parallelism of the norito, suggestive of primitive song world-wide, may also have been influenced by Chinese poetry, especially the fu poetic form where such a technique is used extensively.¹⁸ It is more certain to say that Chinese writing was the

vehicle by which the Japanese became aware of the distinctive features of their own language and were thus able to attain that aesthetic distance from emotional experience that was the first great awakening in the development of kokoro. The movement from oral myth and prayer magic to written literature is an individualizing process. It allows the articulation (and thus the arousal) of a more subtle and personal response to experience. Northrop Frye summarizes well the significance of this phase in the universal evolution of language:

. . . the release of metaphorical language from magic into poetry is an immense emancipation of that language. Magic demands prescribed formulas that cannot be varied by a syllable, whereas novelty and uniqueness are essential to poetry. Poetry does not really lose its magical power thereby, but merely transfers it¹⁹ from an action on nature to an action on the reader or hearer.

C. The Influence of Chinese Writing

In the period before recorded literature the norito provided a unifying liturgy for the oral song and story traditions. The diverse narrative, lyrical and dramatic performance elements were held together by collective context of uji village life and were re-enacted and transmitted socially, in groups bound together by matsuri and norito performances. With the consolidation and formalization of the Yamato court, and with the advent of writing, these elements began to diversify: the norito itself to become standardized as official ceremonies for the court, the narrative and lyrical aspects of the oral literature to be differentiated and re-woven into the texts of the Kojiki and Nihon shoki.

It is the assertion here that from this period of the oral literature, the song, story and dance aspects of the Yamato village ethos assumed an existence within human and divine nature of a transforming metaphorical impulse that was the source of creative inspiration. This was known as kokoro. It was a unifying and healing impulse that joined the kami to this world and the people to each other. Whether in the form of romantic love, reverence to the ancestor kami or in the intoxication of mash-liquor, kokoro was only known through experience, and its expression permeated the religious life of the group.

But how did this poetic inheritance of the oral tradition survive in the cumbersome vehicle of Chinese characters? Specifically, how was this association between poetically charged utterance and the Yamato concept of kokoro expressed at the crucial point of transition from the oral to the written tradition?

The first textual evidence, and the literary precedent for the association between kokoro and poetry is found in the Kojiki. In Book I, the brother of the Sun-Goddess, Amaterasu-ō-Mikami has just slain an eight-tailed dragon that every year had come to devour one of the daughters of one of the earth deities.²⁰ This deity agrees to give his daughter in marriage to Susano-no-Mikoto if he will kill the dragon. When Susano-no-Mikoto accomplishes this deed he finds a sword in one of the dragon's tails which he presents to Amaterasu. This is the famous sword Kusa-nagi which becomes one of the objects of the Imperial Regalia.²¹ Thereupon Susano-no-Mikoto receives the daughter and goes to

the land of Izumo to build his wedding palace (miya). It is at this point that the kami sings the first song to appear in both the Kojiki and the Nihon shoki, and which has traditionally been considered the oldest example of a poem in Japanese, and evidence that the waka poetic form was of divine origin.

The association between kokoro and this first song of Susanō-no-Mikoto is expressed in the lines directly before the poem itself. Arriving at Suga, in Izumo, with his bride-to-be, the kami exclaims:

waga mi kokoro su ga su ga shi
我御心須賀須賀斯 22

Coming here my heart is refreshed. 23

This is the first occurrence of the word kokoro in the Kojiki. Philippi refers to Motoori Norinaga's commentary on this passage that because Susanō-no-Mikoto had killed the dragon and discovered the sword, his past pollutions, (he had been banished from the Heavens for his outrageous behaviour) were thereby absolved and now his heart (kokoro) was "refreshed." Actually the identification between deity, place and song is more complex than simple emotional purification. The Kojiki attributes the place name Suga to the fact that Susanō-no-Mikoto first spoke there, "My heart (kokoro) is refreshed (suga-sugashi)." Thus, the kokoro of the deity is equated with the land itself. It is in this state of mind that Susanō-no-Mikoto sings the famous first waka of the Japanese

tradition, considered to be an ancient song associated with the shrine of Suga:

Yakumo tatsu
Izumo Yaegaki
Tsumagomi ni
Yaegaki tsukuru²⁴
Sono yaegaki o.

The many-fenced palace of Idumo
 Of the many clouds rising-
 To dwell there with my spouse
 Do I build a many-fenced palace:²⁵
 Ah, that many-fenced palace.

Ki no Tsurayuki quotes this poem in his Preface to the Kokinshū as the first song made on earth. The form is in the classical waka pattern of a 5, 7, 5, 7, 7 syllable count. Scholars now agree that its present form is probably a reworking of older materials and that its regularity of form adheres to a literary criteria not present in the original song.²⁶ Such an argument holds that as the process from oral to written literature advances, an increasing concern for poetic form is apparent and that this direction was influenced through the Chinese studies then emanating from the court at Nara. This issue of whether the waka form itself sprang fully complete from the oral tradition or whether it was the consequence of literary adaptation is not crucial to the concern of this thesis. It is enough to show that by the eighth century at least, the Yamato concept of kokoro as the seat of emotion and song in both the kami and human worlds was well established. Including its first appearance just cited, the word kokoro appears in the Kojiki at least five times. Of these five occurrences, the word appears three times in a song: on those occasions it is written using the three characters 許許呂 to

be read phonetically as kokoro in order to emphasize the sounds and rhythms of the original song.²⁷ Two other occurrences of kokoro in the Kojiki are embedded in a narrative context; the passage connected with Susano-no-Mikoto, as we have seen, uses the character 心²⁸ and in a later appearance in narrative, kokoro is written with 情²⁹. In all, the various usages of the word seem to range in meaning from kokoro used in song as a medium of metaphorical identification, in for example:

wa ga ko ko ro
和何許許呂

u ra su no to ri zo
宇良須能登理敍³⁰

My heart is a bird
of the seashore³¹

to its reference as a place of secret emotion, implied to be a physical organ within the body:

ki mo mu ka u
岐毛牟加布

ko ko ro
許許呂

32

Next to the liver,
the heart³³

In another occurrence the word is used to include abstract understanding of kokoro as one's true nature, or the seat of intentionality and motive within a person:

次大雀命、知_F天皇所₌問_見賜₋

ō mi kokoro
之大御情_上而曰、

34

Next, Opo-Sazaki-no-Mikoto, realizing the intention with which the emperor had asked his question³⁵

Just how, over time, the Yamato meaning of the word kokoro became influenced by the Chinese meanings of the characters used to write it is a question beyond the scope of this thesis. It can be assumed that gradually the Chinese nuances of the word 心 became affixed to the oral word kokoro through linguistically related characters that contained the radical 心 within them, such as 思, 想, 感, and 情.³⁶

Here in the Kojiki we have seen the deliberate efforts of its compiler to retain a certain linguistic integrity of the native speech in writing his account of Yamato. We see this effort directed especially at expressing the qualities of the native language in the song-poems. The compiler himself, O-no-Yasumaro, explains the difficulty of his task in his Preface to the Kojiki:

If expressed completely in ideographic writing, the words will not correspond exactly with the meaning, and if written entirely phonetically, the account will be much longer. For this reason, at times ideographic and phonetic writing have been used in combination in the same phrase, and at times the whole matter has been recorded ideographically.³⁷

Yasumaro was struggling here with more than just the issue of language, his task as we shall see, involved mediating between competing ideologies and cultural values.

The prestige of the Chinese language to the court of the Nara period was immense. It seemed the very embodiment of the higher continental culture. It was the language of statecraft, international diplomacy, and the holy Buddhist sutras. While the Kojiki was written in a hybrid version of Chinese characters, some used for their meaning, some used phonetically for each sound of Japanese, the Nihon shoki was written in a purer Chinese. The fact that the Nihon shoki followed the

Kojiki by only eighteen years can perhaps be explained by the need for an internationally legitimate document to submit to foreign courts during the frequent embassies to China and Korea.³⁸ The Yamato court's deliberate creation of a central government at Nara fashioned after the Chinese capital of Chang-an had begun in 604 A.D. with the Seventeen Article Constitution propagated by Prince Shōtoku Taishi (574-622). This was further elaborated after his death by a series of adaptations from the Chinese example, known as the Taika Reforms (645 A.D.). Central Government ministries had been formed and a uniform system of taxation and a general census were instituted.³⁹ These reforms were finally consolidated in the Taihō Ritsuryō Code of 701 A.D. This legal framework systemized rule of the central government over the districts by means of provincial officials (kokushi) appointed through the central bureaucracy. A hereditary aristocratic ruling class was formally constituted and supported by means of a tax on farmers.

The "histories" of the Kojiki and the Nihon shoki were meant to distinguish and legitimize this nation-building effort. These efforts formed the official culture of Japan and were heavily under the sway of both the Chinese language and Chinese ideologies. It has been asserted that the period between 710 and 784 A.D. was the high point of the Chinese political pattern in Japan.⁴⁰ How is it then that in the very middle of this period there was to appear the first anthology of Japanese poetry, the Manyōshū, which for centuries has been regarded as reflecting the truest and purest sentiments of the Japanese heart?

It would seem that the conscious creation of this official culture, was, ironically, the means by which the indigenous impulses of the oral song and prayer magic were released into a literary form that demanded its own expression. T.S. Eliot in his essay, "The Social Function of Poetry", has pointed out how universally tenacious is this relationship between poetry and native language:

That poetry is much more local than prose can be seen in the history of European languages. Through the Middle Ages to within a few hundred years ago Latin remained the language of philosophy, theology and science. The impulse towards the literary use of the languages of the peoples began with poetry. And this appears perfectly natural when we realize that poetry and emotion are particular whereas thought is general. It is easier to think in a foreign language than it is to feel in it. Therefore no art is more stubbornly national than poetry.⁴¹

While Chinese was the official language of the court in Nara, it was still a foreign tongue. The ideologies which were inseparable from it were essentially Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist. The foreignness of both the language and these ideologies made the Japanese aware of their own indigenous and differing tradition: and central to that tradition, was the practise of emotional and ritually charged utterance sustained through the kami centered ethos of the uji clans as the most intimate of their processes of self identification.

The result of this differentiation between a foreign adopted culture and the indigenous values was the arising of a dual language structure whereby abstract thought was expressed in Chinese while the language of Yamato became affirmed as the language of emotion and the

mantle of kokoro. Yamato kotoba became exclusively associated with Japanese poetry: thus such poetic forms as waka, chōka and the sedōka were the main literary expression for the Japanese language until the development of the monogatari genre in the early eleventh century. An appreciation of the exclusiveness of this commission is important for an understanding of how closely the tradition of kokoro emotion and Yamato kotoba are entwined. This fact is reinforced by the recognition that central to the long history of waka is its deliberate exclusion of Chinese words. Ultimately, it was because Chinese took the greater share of literary purposes that Japanese was able to retain its purity as a vehicle for the indigenous tradition of kokoro.

The Manyōshū can be said to stand at the head of this tradition within written literature. Its appearance marks the awakening of the kokoro tradition to self-consciousness, a process we have seen at work unevenly in both the Kojiki and the Nihon shoki, where conscious artifice began the transformation of oral song patterns into regular poetic forms. With the Manyōshū we can say that both the constraints and possibilities of written literature have been recognized, and the transition from oral magic "as an action upon nature" to written poetry "as an action upon the reader or listener" has been substantially completed. This process of critical awakening was aided by the first work to appear in Japan as the progenitor of the karon, or treatises on poetry. This is the Kakyō-hyōshiki written by Fujiwara no Hamanari (733-799). Although not very systematic or lengthy, and written in kambun, it is the first book that attempts to study Japanese poetry

critically.⁴² The work relies heavily upon Chinese ideas about verse and tries rather unnaturally to impose standards such as rhyme, upon the waka and the chōka. Hamanari's contribution is important, however, as the first to introduce the categorization of verse into ten styles (gatai) and to discuss the nature of each.⁴³ From this time on, the karon tended to divide verse into ten styles, and when Fujiwara Teika's later work, the Maigetsushō discusses the ten styles of ushin, or "poetry with heart" (kokoro aru), which marks a crucial development in the concept of kokoro, it must acknowledge the Kakyō-hyōshiki as its literary ancestor.

With the advent of the Manyōshū and the Kakyō-hyōshiki the two elements of a true literary tradition, both a creative and a critical awareness, had been formulated. The difference of sensibility between this tradition and that of the official culture of Chinese language and values is apparent through a brief comparison of the Manyōshū with a contemporary poetry anthology, the Kaifūsō, composed entirely in Chinese.

The Kaifūsō (751 A.D.) was the first anthology of poetry to be compiled in Japan. The scant eight years that separate it and the Manyōshū testify to the differentiation of the Japanese psyche that resulted from the encounter between a literary tradition in Chinese and the oral tradition of Yamato kotoba. This differentiation was no doubt facilitated first by the huge natural differences between the Japanese and Chinese languages, and secondly, by the very foreignness of the Buddhist and Confucian ideologies that seemed intrinsically identified

with the continental language. The Yamato court which was self-consciously involved in the effort of nation building was basing its own legitimacy on the integrity of the indigenous kami-centered ethos while at the same time using the foreign ideologies and language as the rationale and rhetoric for its nation-building effort. In thus attempting to draw to itself the most powerful symbol systems of the two disparate traditions it was necessary to apply each one to its proper field of application: Confucianism, Buddhism and Chinese to the purpose of building a politico-economic governmental infrastructure capable of international recognition; and the indigenous kami-centered ethos as the sacred mantle of authority, for the purposes of domestic legitimacy. The Kaifūsō corresponds to this conscious nation building effort as an artistic accoutrement to the official culture.

The authors of the Kaifūsō poems were members of the aristocracy, scholars of Chinese learning, Buddhist monks, and high appointed officials. There are 120 Chinese poems in the anthology, each attributed to an author. The sentiments are predominantly Taoist and Confucian, affecting a continental and ceremonial air about them. There is, for example, a particular absence of personal love poetry, in contrast to the Manyōshū.⁴⁵ What we see, in effect, are the dilettante workings of infatuated emotion, the poets imagining themselves into the proper aesthetic responses of a foreign language. The Manyōshū, on the other hand, clearly reflects a deeper level of uncontrived emotion in its authors. Though the motive for compiling the Manyōshū may have been to

possess a Japanese equivalent of the Chinese Shih ching, and the ordering of the anthology itself owes much to Chinese ideas of structure, the content is decidedly indigenous and represents the first formal awakening of the kokoro-inspired oral tradition to expression as literary art.

D. The Manyōshū

It is difficult to discuss the Manyōshū. Most of what we think of the work is heavily influenced by the ideas of the Kokugakusha, Nationalist scholars of the Tokugawa period. Among these the interpretations of Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801) hold the most sway. Thus we tend to see in the Manyōshū a poetic expression that is more spontaneous, direct and sincere than any of the work that comes later in history. These qualities are attributed by Norinaga to the closeness of the Japanese at that time, to the native and wholesome spirit of Shinto, while the later tradition was to become encrusted and dulled with a psychological overlay of Buddhist introspection and doubt. While there is certainly a freshness in the Manyōshū that is allied to the animistic simplicity of early Shinto, it is important also to appreciate the deliberate art that was blended into the anthology as a conscious work of literature. An extended quotation from the work of Roy Miller in this field is helpful for attaining a balanced appreciation of the Manyōshū :

It was not because of a lack of ability to evolve a simpler scheme or because of a lack of understanding of the practical advantages of such a system that the Japanese in the Manyōshū turned to such a complex method of presenting their language in writing.

The Manyōshū script esteemed its own complexities as virtues rather than shunning them as defects; these were as much a part of the poet's conscious attempts at literary composition as the content of the poems themselves. There is even in the Manyōshū orthography a clearly discernable tendency to avoid simple Chinese characters, those consisting of only a few strokes (in other words, those characters which the largest number of people at the time might have been expected to know) in favour of more difficult characters with the same phonetic or semantic values.⁴⁶

The result was a conscious effort to achieve a technical dexterity within a fineness of poetic conception and tone. These qualities were to become characteristic of Japanese poetics from this time on.

Such a pluralistic concern for an overall effect in the poems of the Manyōshū must temper any such gloss about the "artless simplicity" of the anthology. In fact, what we are seeing through the vehicle of man'yōgana are the first stirrings of what later was to become an awareness of a poem in terms of its kotoba (diction, materials, form) and its kokoro (conception, or emotional tone). The necessary balance between these two elements was to be viewed from the perspective of the sugata, or overall impression and configuration of the work. Man'yōgana, in effect, reflects the beginning of a broader application of the concept of kokoro, understood as the seat of sensitivity and inspiration, to encompass its second, more literary meaning as the aesthetic handling of a poetic subject. This process of the integration of kokoro into the technical realm of the poetic tradition was finally articulated in the Preface to the Kokinshū, but the genesis for such an awareness can be

found in the Manyōshū's concern for an artful rendering of language. This concern for language helped to clarify the poet's subjective apprehension (kokoro) of his subject, and thus gradually formed the two elements necessary for the realization of any poem, its conception (kokoro) and its cadence (kotoba), into subjects for specific cultivation.

Such a new awareness for the literary potential of language affected the evolving norms governing poetic conception, and this consciousness developed into the literary sense of kokoro as the "heart" or "spirit" of a poem. But what of its primary and still prevalent meaning of kokoro as the seat of emotion and sensitivity, the capacity by which we share in a kami-like nature? A linguistic study of the word kokoro in the Manyōshū suggests some interesting hypotheses concerning the actual manner in which this aspect of kokoro was thought to exist at that time.

We have already seen a reference in the Kojiki to 肝向かふ心, (kimo mukau kokoro), "the heart which faces the liver," in a song that suggests that kokoro is a physical organ in the body.⁴⁷ This expression 肝向かふ(心) is used as a makura-kotoba at least twice in poems of the Manyōshū. We find it in Book II, poem 135 and in Book IX, poem 1792.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the significance of this reference is clarified somewhat by the story of Empress Jingū (ca.201-69) who is said to have girded her belly with two magical stones to inhibit giving birth to a child while on her military campaign to Korea; this story is found in

the Kojiki and in the fūdoki of Chikuzen, and in the Shaku Nihongi (a thirteenth century commentary on the Nihon shoki).⁴⁹ The Manyōshū also contains a poem about the famous stones which the Empress was said to have placed in a field at Kofu of Chikuzen after her return to Japan. The relevant section in the Kojiki says that she wore the stones in order:

即為、鎮 = 御腹

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to "pacify her august womb."⁵¹

The Manyōshū account has:

mi ko ko ro o shi zu me ta ma u to
弥許許呂遠斯豆迷多麻布等

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to "calm her imperial heart."⁵³

The word kokoro would appear to be used here in a sense that is synonymous with the word hara, belly, or womb. Such references as these lead Japanese scholars to hold that the ancient meaning of kokoro was founded on a materialistic understanding.⁵⁴ More specifically, it is hypothesized that the ancient Japanese thought of kokoro as a cord or series of cords existing in the human abdomen.⁵⁵ There is linguistic evidence to substantiate such an interpretation.

In the Azumauta, Songs of Azuma, section of Book XI and XII of the Manyōshū there is a category of songs listed:

正述 = 心緒 - 歌

or "songs which express 心緒". The word 心緒 was read as おもひ and in the Manyōshū meant "love" or "desire".⁵⁶ The reference which combines the ideas of heart 心 and cord 緒 cannot be sufficient, however, to prove their association in ancient Japanese thought. The word 心緒 exists independently as a Chinese word and is found at least in the poetry of Po Chu-i (772-846).⁵⁷ In various poems of the Manyōshū, however, a metaphorical identification of kokoro with the idea of cord 緒 is notable. Thus, in Book XIV there is the poem:

Akagoma.
Uchite saobiki
Kokorobiki
Ikanaru sena ka
Wagari komu to iu

You lured me to you,
like putting reins to a red horse,
tugging at my heart-strings to make me yours,
and what kind of man are you now
saying you will come to visit?

赤駒を打ちてさ緒引き心引きいかなる背なか吾かり来むといふ、

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Here the parallelism between 緒引き, "pulling at the reins", and 心引き; "tugging at the heart" effectively portrays the emotional intensity of the woman's emotion, as speaker of the poem, hoping for her lover's arrival. This could well be more than poetic parallelism used for literary flair; if we interpret the phrase 緒引き

心引き to mean something like "pulling the strings of the heart," it is possible that an organic anatomical description is being poetically identified with the reins of a galloping horse.

There are other examples in the Manyōshū that seem to identify the heart as a cord,⁵⁹ but again this evidence must be mitigated by the possibility that such an identification could be a literary device brought into Japanese poetry through Chinese learning; specifically this identification could have been introduced from the Chinese word

心 緒 itself. This possibility would necessitate that the issue go unresolved if it were not that there were further indications in the poetry that, indeed, kokoro was thought of as an internal cord or series of cords, and that this idea is embedded in habits of expression in Yamato kotoba apparently separate from Chinese linguistic influence.

Two poems from the Manyōshū can serve to highlight this further identification of kokoro with certain characteristics that by extension, seem to be considering the heart as a cord or series of cords. One such example is found in Book II:

<u>Iwashiro no</u>	Those pine boughs that were left
<u>Nonaka ni tateru</u>	entwined together on the tree
<u>Musubi matsu</u>	standing in the field at Iwashiro;
<u>Kokoro mo tokezu</u>	My heart is tangled when I think of them
<u>Inishie omooyu</u>	and remember all that has past.

磐代の野中に立てる結び松

情も解けず古思ほゆ

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Another example appears in Book III:

<u>Omi no umi</u>	Plovers, when you call
<u>Yūnami chidori</u>	from out over the evening waves
<u>Na ga nakeba,</u>	of Omi no umi,
<u>Kokoro mo shinoni</u>	My heart goes slack
<u>Inishie omooyu</u>	thinking of the past of this place.

淡海の海夕波千鳥汝か鳴けば

情もしのに古思ほゆ

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It is this accumulation of evidence reinforced by such expressions as 心も解けず "my heart is tangled" and 心も萎にいにしへ思ほゆ "my heart goes slack thinking of the past," that has led scholars to believe that in ancient Japan, the heart, kokoro, was conceived of in basically materialistic terms: conceived of as a physical organ in the human abdomen, shaped like a cord that in the pull of emotion became slack or tangled in itself.⁶² Further weight is added to this hypothesis by evidence that such a belief was widespread among many ancient peoples in the world.⁶³

The concept of kokoro by the time of Manyōshū was already going through an evolution of meaning that allowed it to encompass more abstract qualities, and later, with increasing sophistication under Buddhist influence, it was to become almost a metaphysical principle; the concept of kokoro, however, throughout this long development was always to retain something of its original quality: its physical and sentient immediacy.

E. An Overview

The complex system of any culture is united by inner correspondences among the many levels of its vast expression. Japanese culture by the late eighth century was evolving firmly toward a Chinese political model with the emperor's original role as Shinto cult chief rapidly being supplanted by his role as a Chinese-style Heavenly Sovereign, Tennō. Concurrent with this shift and intimately bound up with it, were

corresponding changes in the literary and religious fields. In literature, as we have seen, the movement was from the oral prayer magic of norito and song toward the art and discipline of written poetry. In religion, the early animism of the kami-centered uji social structure began to be reinterpreted from within a Buddhist ideological context. The process was inexorably one of individuation. The new and radical teachings of karma stressed the personal responsibilities of moral cause and effect and seemed to come between the people and the animistic deities that united their physical and spiritual worlds.⁶⁵ Among the literate class, the written language itself imposed a sense of individuality, as the creative context shifted from group performance to the individual reader.

Three lineages can be perceived working their way through these changes. One is the continuing oral tradition, of which little is known. Literacy was limited to the court aristocracy and members of the Buddhist church; among the masses of people the kami-centered shamanism of archaic Shinto would have remained the mainstay of their world-view. Such early Buddhist saints as Gyōgi-Bosatsu (670-749) travelled among them teaching a rough form of Buddhist-Shinto amalgamation. The traditions of oral literature and song were sustained within this milieu and exercised a distant but vital spiritual force upon the higher literature.

The second discernable lineage as we enter the Heian period (794-1185) is the cultural view dominated by the Chinese language. Increasingly the Japanese were becoming more comfortable with Chinese

writing and thinking, and the value system this implies must be said to evolve from being simply the official culture, to becoming the dominant culture.

It is the third force that is our concern, as it moves between the indigenous oral tradition and the Chinese lineages, absorbing influences from both. The oral tradition had successfully transplanted itself into a literary mode by means of this third force, while retaining a strong continuity of language and values. The language was Yamato kotoba, and the central value was a tradition of spiritually charged utterance whose roots were in the kami-centered ethos and whose conduit was a capacity for heart (kokoro) that joined the gods to the land and the people to the gods.

Setting aside the oral folk tradition, the two literary lineages were characterized at this point by their mutual exclusion; we see from the lack of any extensive Buddhist influence in the Manyōshū that the kokoro tradition sought, under the onslaught of Chinese learning, to retain an identifiable continuity with its roots even as it sought to make use of those continental forms, such as writing, that were necessary for its own articulation and growth. The situation in 794 A.D. when the city of Heian-kyo was established was that both literatures were being produced, though Chinese was in definite ascendancy. A reasoned amalgamation of Japanese and Chinese elements in the evolving culture had not been comprehensively approached; high and low were not yet united. A synthesis was needed.

Among members of the embassy from Japan that visited the Chinese T'ang court in 804 A.D. were two figures that were to provide the intellectual framework for just such a synthesis. These two men were Kōbō Daishi (774-835), hereafter called Kūkai, and Dengyō Daishi (767-822) also known as Saichō, two Buddhist monks who, on their return, introduced a new great wave of the Buddhist revelation, the Shingon and the Tendai sects, respectively. These two sects became the dominant ideologies of the Heian period and their influence permeated into every aspect of the culture of that era. The eclecticism of the Tendai sect and its classification of various teachings into different levels of truth each with its own validity did much to ennoble the kokoro heritage against the grander Buddhist tradition. The towering historical figure of Kūkai with his esoteric Buddhist perspective achieved a grand synthesis that contained and deepened much that was latent in the Shinto spiritual view.

By the earlier Heian period, however, the kokoro-inspired poetic lineage had only just established itself among the currents of the evolving culture. It had achieved self-consciousness but not yet any significant definition of its own values. The Shinto conviction that the spiritual world was intimately related to the physical world had nourished and raised Japanese poetry thus far. Important elements of Buddhist doctrine would ultimately reinforce this Shinto belief, but Buddhism's central concern remained a minute study of man's inner world and its qualitative relationship to the external environment.

It was just this articulated knowledge that Shinto lacked. Thus a Buddhist explanation of the spiritual dynamics that lead to a world-affirming realization provided the tools for the indigenous poetry to define its own values: for it was whenever Buddhism reaffirmed the Shinto perspective that it most invigorated the kokoro tradition.

CHAPTER THREE: BUDDHISM AND THE CULTURE OF THE COURT

A. The Problem of Poetry in Buddhist Terms

The environment changes in accordance with the functioning of the mind: if the mind is filthy, the environment will be polluted. The mind in turn is influenced by the environment: when the surroundings are quiet, the mind becomes calm. Thus mind and environment relate to each other in an invisible manner, very much like the Tao and the Virtuous Efficiency which reside in the obscure.¹

As this quotation from Kūkai makes clear, it was the interior life, and how it relates to the world around us that mattered to the Buddhists. Central to this perspective was spiritual practise, shūgyō, which stressed the purification, centering and deepening of consciousness. The discipline of shūgyō revealed the relativity and shifting multiplicity of the world of appearance. A profound distrust of sensual experience and a withdrawal from the surface cacophony of life was a central tendency of Buddhist culture. It was through a life of meditation and study that Buddhists hoped to gain insight into the Great Matter (daiji) of why we live.

Such an attitude was antithetical to poetry. For such thinking, the world was already a deceptive chimera of mere appearances, and to indulge and glorify it through poetry was only to deepen one's ignorance. Poetry was the practise of kyōgen kigo, "excessive words and ornate phrases"; this expression, first used by Po Chu-i to criticize his own poetry as superficial emotion, was extensively quoted by Japanese poets in their own discussions of the sinfulness of poetry from within a Buddhist perspective.² The ambivalence toward poetry within Buddhism was never to disappear, and as Buddhism gained in ascendancy in

the Heian period and beyond, its uneasy co-existence with the poetic tradition became a central dilemma of the age.

This conviction, however, represents only one perspective in the spectrum of Buddhist interpretation. The central problem involved a question about the nature of the world, whether it was to be transcended or not, and for Buddhists, believing that the quality of the world is conditioned by the quality of one's consciousness, this necessarily involved a question about the nature of the mind that produces poetry.

The process of resolving these issues infused a new depth to the kokoro based poetic values. A profound criteria of worth began to open, for if a poetry suffused with wisdom could penetrate beyond the world of appearance, it could then reflect the true nature of that world. Poetry then disappears as an obstacle to truth, and resurfaces on the side of the Buddhist sutras, as an indicator to the truth, as a Way, michi, for the achieving of Buddhahood.

This, however, is to jump too far ahead, to oversimplify a dilemma whose resolution was achieved only through often painful self-searching among poets and monks as the Heian period developed and on into the medieval era. For an understanding of the structure of their discussion it is necessary to examine the religious ideas that underpin both sides of the issue. Chronologically, and appropriately by virtue of his influence, we must begin with Kūkai for whom the unity of great art with the Buddhist truth was a primary value.

B. Kūkai and Esoteric Buddhism

Kūkai's vision of esoteric Shingon Buddhism exerted both a strong aesthetic and philosophical influence upon the Heian Court. For Kūkai, nature, art, and religion were one.³ His master in China, Hui-kuo,

had told Kūkai that only art could express the profound meaning of the esoteric teachings.⁴ Kūkai himself explained this relationship between art and religion:

The law [dharma] has no speech, but without speech it cannot be expressed. Eternal truth [tathatā] transcends color, but only by means of color can it be understood. Mistakes will be made in the effort to point at the truth, for there is no clearly defined method of teaching, but even when art does not excite admiration by its unusual quality, it is a treasure which protects the country and benefits the people.⁵

The extensive use of painting, music, ceremony and mantra within the Shingon monasteries no doubt contributed to the fast growing aestheticism of the Heian court. The peace and security of the new permanent capital and an increasing self confidence about their understanding of Chinese civilization inspired the Japanese to modify the cultural borrowings to suit their own evolving tastes. The cross-fertilization between the imported and the native Japanese elements of their culture became a natural and enriching process.

Of special importance to this thesis is how Buddhist thought increasingly permeated Japanese culture. The process begins with the Kokinshū which marks a revival of the native poetry tradition from under heavy Chinese dominance: its sources and inspiration reflect contemporary court life, the Manyōshū being almost unreadable to tenth century poets and the Buddhist influence upon literature still too slight to be significant. By the mid-tenth century, however, court poets such as Fujiwara no Kintō were analysing the aesthetic worth of poems into categories that parallel Buddhist hierarchies of value.⁶ By the early eleventh century Murasaki Shikibu was defending her fictional prose writing as a contribution to Buddhist teaching;

and finally as the Heian period was going into eclipse Fujiwara no Shunzei was to assert that the Way of Buddhism (butsudō) and the Way of Poetry (kadō) are one. The distance in time between Kūkai and Shunzei, however, is almost four hundred years, and the court of the early Heian period had not yet achieved any of the sophisticated integration of Buddhist learning with kokoro aesthetics that characterizes Shunzei. The influence of Shingon teachings, and those of the Tendai esoteric teachings which originated with Kūkai was a gradual orienting process that proceeded throughout the Heian period.

Some scholars assert that the Heian court's understanding of Buddhist practises was at best shallow and was utilized mainly as an aesthetic diversion.⁷ Yet central to Buddhist teaching, and to the Shingon sect in particular, is the idea that knowledge of truth eludes the categorizing and articulating mind, that its mode of comprehension is other than the intellectual; thus in esoteric Buddhism especially it is said to resonate with the practitioners' liturgical participation in the symbology of the teaching. Surely, then, the implicit and "real" meanings of Buddhist ceremony would become felt long before the intellectual extensions of such knowledge were articulated. A transmission of the Buddhist understanding would then have been a gradual but steady process of absorption, or osmosis, as a plant takes in water.⁸

It is on this inarticulate level that Buddhist learning would have first contacted the kokoro tradition in the personal experience of the court poets. The tradition of kokoro was for them anything but an intellectual belief. It existed in their native poetry, in their sacred Shinto Classics, and in the hearts of the kami allied with the earth. As Yoshito Hakeda makes clear in his comprehensive work on Kūkai's thought:

The Esoteric Buddhism of Kūkai, though incomparably more complex and sophisticated than Shinto, had many elements compatible with the latter. A few of these were the idea of the oneness of man and nature, a belief in the magical efficacy of the word (mantra in the former, kotodama in the latter), and the concept of a ritually consecrated realm. It was only natural that as time went by Esoteric Buddhism should have come into close association with Shinto.⁹

Those elements of esoteric Buddhism which had most reference to Shinto would thus have been the first aspects of esoteric Buddhism to be understood by the poets of the court. These elements of overlap between the indigenous and imported faiths provided the means of transition for the tradition of kokoro to move from its Shinto inspired genesis to a new Buddhist guided maturity. At the same time these Buddhist elements gave to the kokoro heritage a "vocabulary" of experience by which it could articulate its own values.

One such shared principle between the kokoro tradition's supporting ideologies of Shinto and Esoteric Buddhism was a common faith in the spiritually suffused unity of the phenomenal world. Kūkai's essay Benkenmitsu nikyō-ron, (The Difference between Esoteric and Exoteric Buddhism), seeks specifically to show that the esoteric Buddhist revelation is the teaching of the Buddha's eternal Dharma Body, Dharmakāya.¹⁰ The traditional Buddhist doctrine of the Three Bodies asserts that the Buddha exists in his three aspects: the Nirmānakāya (Body of Manifestation), identified with the historical Shakyamuni; the Sambhogakāya (Body of Bliss), associated with Buddha as a transcendent savior, such as in the form of Amitabha; and finally there is the Dharmakāya, that is Buddha in his final aspect of Suchness (tathatā), or the eternal cosmic Law of Buddhahood. The Three Bodies are characterized in the Tendai sect as being, respectively, the

Enlightened, the Enlightener, and Enlightenment itself.¹¹ Traditionally, Buddhism had considered the Dharmakāya to be imageless and beyond conceptuality. Kūkai, in contrast however, asserted the Shingon sect's unsurpassed status by claiming that the esoteric teaching was the unconditioned preaching of the Dharmakāya. He equated the Dharmakāya with the Buddha Vairocana considered none less than "the cosmos itself, limitless, without beginning or end."¹² It is this equation of the Buddha Vairocana, with the cosmos that gave the Shingon sect its this-world affirming attitude. In the stability of the early Heian period such belief lent "a spirit of intellectual curiosity in the things of this world that distinguished Shingon from most other forms of Buddhism."¹³ In contrast to exoteric Buddhist doctrine, which saw enlightenment as a distant goal achieved only after eons of religious practise, Kūkai stressed the "attainment of enlightenment in this very existence" (sokushin jobutsu).¹⁴ This insistence was closely allied to his belief in man's "original enlightenment", (hongaku).

Kūkai was the first person in Japan to teach that man is by nature originally enlightened, and this doctrine found strong resonance with the generally optimistic Shinto mentality of the Japanese.¹⁵ The doctrine of hongaku however, implies not only an essential root enlightenment in human consciousness but an original or intrinsic enlightenment in all beings. The research of William Lafleur has shown that Buddhist debate in China dealt with the question of just how far the Bodhisattva's vow to liberate all sentient beings was to be interpreted. Was this vow to include the eventual attainment of Buddhahood by plants and trees? Did this condition of "sentient beings" limit or universalize the possibilities for salvation? Lafleur explains:

Implicitly, the problem was not limited to a question concerning vegetation alone but included all of the natural world in distinction from that which is human.¹⁶

By identifying the Dharmakāya with the phenomenal world, Kūkai was able to transcend this older distinction between sentient (yūjō) and insentient (mujō) beings.¹⁷ According to Lafleur:

The whole of Kūkai's thought seems to be directed toward the forging of such an ontological union of the absolute with the mundane. Therefore, in his view plants and trees are capable of having Buddha-nature simply because they, along with everything else in the phenomenal world, are ontologically one with the Absolute, the dharmakāya.¹⁸

The question shifts then from "How will these things become Buddha?" to "How will we come to realize that they already are Buddha."

The answer to this concern lay in the religious disciplines which Kūkai taught. The very name of Shingon, "True Words", stresses the importance that was accorded to language in Kūkai's thought. The Three Mysteries of esoteric Buddhism were body, speech, and mind. Through the secret power hidden within each of these Three Mysteries one is able to attain Buddhahood. The mysteries of the body include the practise of mudra, or hand and body gestures with symbolic meaning; the mystery of speech involved the use of mantras, or seed-syllables that resonate and awaken various levels of consciousness; and finally the mystery of mind included different practices of meditation. With regard to Kūkai's concern for the mystery of language, Yoshito Hakeda asserts that:

Kūkai untiringly explains the mystical power inherent in mantras, saying that they are impregnated with Mahavairocana's saving power. Hence, the recitation of a mantra unites the reciter directly with Mahavairocana, or reaches Mahavairocana indirectly through lesser Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and others. Kūkai employed the magic of words, or the common belief in the mystical power of sound for the spiritual discipline of all, be it learned monks or humble folk.¹⁹

The implications for poetry in all this are quite clear. The philosophical orientation of these teachings set the tone for the aesthetic attitudes that formulated the kokoro heritage as the Heian period developed. Meanwhile, Kūkai's direct literary contribution to this process was no less imposing. His works on Chinese poetry, notably the Bunkyo hifuron, were the first in Japan to show that one could approach poetry in a methodical way.²⁰ His mastery and fearless analysis of Chinese poetry encouraged among the court poets a similar critical awareness of Japan's own literary tradition. Kūkai's emphasis upon proper scriptural scholarship within the Shingon sect stimulated a broad range of Japanese studies. Perhaps foremost of Kūkai's contributions to Japanese culture was the development of the hiragana script, an invention with which he is traditionally credited. This revolutionary achievement facilitated a broadening of the Japanese literary tradition to include prose writing and the flowing art of hentai-gana calligraphy.

It must be emphasized, however, that although the combined effect of Kūkai's religious and literary example stimulated the kokoro tradition throughout the Heian period and into the middle ages, poetry was generally thought to be within the realm and inspiration of Shinto. Evidence for this assumption can be found in the continuing practise of

attributing the composition of various poems to certain shrine kami such as Sumiyoshi, and so on.²¹ Furthermore, ample contemporary textual evidence, including Shunzei's Korai fūteishō, illustrates the advocacy of whorship of Shinto deities through poetry.²² The intellectual basis for the acceptibility of the kokoro tradition to Japanese Buddhism can be found in embryonic form within the esoteric teachings of the Shingon sect. Besides these elements of Kūkai's thought which were sympathetic to the values of kokoro, it is necessary, however, to consider the doctrine of honji-suijaku. In this doctrine the same process of deity adoption by which the Yamato uji had earlier strengthened its ascendancy over the other clans is now found operating within the newly dominant Buddhist ideology as a way of incorporating Shinto to itself.

The teaching of honji-suijaku permitted the eventual synthesis of Buddhism with Shinto. According to this doctrine certain Shinto kami were taken to be local incarnations of the original form of various Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. Thus, for example, Mahavairocana, is written as Dainichi in Japanese, and means "Great Sun"; the eventual identification of Dainichi Buddha with the Shinto Sun Goddess Amaterasu was a natural development. Although Kūkai himself never explicitly related Amaterasu with Dainichi in his writings²³ his equation of Dainichi with the phenomenal world, and thus all of nature, which was the realm of Shinto, made such a synthesis possible.

The long process of this amalgamation of Shinto with Buddhism actually began in the Nara period. Gyōgi Bosatsu (670-749) had been commissioned by the Emperor Shomu to request that the kami of the Ise Shrine, Amaterasu, become a guardian of the Great Dainichi Buddha completed at Todaiji in 749.²⁴ Gyōgi and other wandering ascetics of the time practised a rough conglomeration of such Shinto practises as

mountain worship with Buddhist teachings. Kūkai's later establishment of Mt. Kōya as his monastic headquarters, and the seemingly occult nature of his teachings, caused him to be identified with this older tradition of the forest dwelling ascetic.²⁵ Until the time of Kūkai, Buddhist temples had always been built in the plains; the founding of esoteric monastic centers on Mt. Kōya, by Kūkai, and on Mt. Hiei by Saichō were the first of their kind.²⁶ This older lineage of Buddhist-Shinto ascetics loosely associated with the esoteric schools became known in time as Shugendō, and it was their example that allowed such poets as Saigyō, and later Bashō, to combine a religious and poetic vocation that immersed them in nature while freeing them from both temple politics and Buddhist orthodoxy.

C. The Historial Setting

The importance of Heian history to the study of kokoro centers around the changing attitudes with which the Heian court perceived itself and how these attitudes moulded poetic expression from the ninth to the late twelfth century. It is largely the history of an aristocratic social class isolated within the capital and absorbed with itself.

Despite the Taihō laws of the eighth century Heian aristocratic families had retained large properties in the countryside. The financial wealth of court families depended upon these estates, known as shōen, and the degree to which they were exempt from taxation by the central government. These privately owned properties were gradually extended as new paddy fields were opened for cultivation and the right of inheritance became established. The economic pattern that emerged by this process tended to weaken the income of the central government, and

at the same time, to strengthen the loyalties between those regional powers that managed these private estates and the various court families that owned them. Such a situation gradually stripped the central government of any important function in the governing of economic wealth. This development was paralleled in the ninth century by the hegemony of the Fujiwara family over that of the imperial family. Members of the Fujiwara house began to control the important offices of government and dominate the imperial blood-line through marriage. By the eleventh century, rivalries between the land owning factions and court were echoed by an increasing violence. Armed groups were formed in the regions to protect the economic interests of the estate owners.

Two regional families, the Minamoto and the Taira, became the dominant provincial powers, and each allied itself with one of the two competing factions at the court. When a dispute broke out over imperial succession in 1156 two brief wars ensued that brought warriors into battle in the capital itself. These two struggles, known as the Hōgen and Heiji Wars, sent shock waves through the cultured milieu of the courtier's world. It was apparent that real power now resided with the new class of provincial warriors, or bushi. By 1185 a Minamoto victory over the Taira clan was complete and Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147-1199) became the ruler of all of Japan. His government, known as the bakufu resided in the comparable wilderness of Kamakura, while continuing to show respect and symbolic subservience to the imperial court at Kyoto.

This then, is the background against which an incredible blossoming of culture occurred within the Heian court. The essence of the cultural awakening revolved around a deepened understanding of the concept of kokoro and its renewed expression. Part of this process involved a new awareness about the importance of history. The increasingly visible

decline of the political importance of the court caused thinkers to re-examine themselves and their past in an effort to explain the causes of contemporary events. Such studies of history as the Gukanshō by the Tendai Abbot Jien (1155-1225) stressed that the world was now entering into the latter day of the Buddhist Law, or mappō, in which society must degenerate as the Buddha's truth becomes increasingly misunderstood.

The preponderance of this view of the world as mappō in the late Heian era conflicted with the earlier more optimistic concept of Kūkai's teaching about hongaku, the original enlightenment of both man and nature. The tension between these two great concepts informs the intellectual struggle of the age, and as we shall see, is discernable through the poet's emotional coloration and experience of nature. Kūkai had taught that hongaku was perceivable through the senses and in things.²⁷ Such thinking was in strong opposition to the whole idea of mappō, which directly inspired the other-worldly orientation of Pure Land Buddhism and the other Kamakura era sects.

The clash between the two ideas of hongaku and mappō was experienced in poetry through the crucible of yūgen, by which a profound penetration into nature affirms an absoluteness of reality within the relativity of the world. We will see this in the waka of Shunzei, Teika, and Saigyō. It is necessary first, however, to look to the early Heian period of the first imperial anthology of waka poetry, the Kokinshū, upon which these poets self-consciously based both their language and their poetic values.

D. The Kokinshū

The word kokoro appears twenty-three times in the Preface to the Kokinshū. The term, with its range of meanings, is the most important

concept of this first piece of prose in the national language. Ki no Tsurayuki's Preface is thus the first statement explicitly to indicate the ancient poetic values of Japanese verse and of the oral tradition from which it issued. This new affirmation of the kokoro tradition owed much to the example and even dominance of Chinese literature in Japan. The indigenous tradition had been forced to define itself as an entity distinct from writing in Chinese, and by doing so at a crucial point in history, Tsurayuki brought about its revival. Ezra Pound, in our century, has written that "a renaissance is a thing made by conscious propaganda,"²⁸ and in this way Tsurayuki self-consciously looked to the past to see a venerable tradition for what he calls the Japanese uta, while simultaneously revolutionizing that same heritage. He makes direct reference to the divine origin of Japanese verse from its inception with the song of Susanō no Mikoto as seen in the Kojiki. He then goes on to a critical evaluation of the poetry of the Six Poetic Geniuses (Rokkasen) from the early Heian. The terminology with which Tsurayuki evaluates their verse became a standard criterion for poetic excellence to all later court poets. Here such terms as kokoro (spirit, or emotional tone), kotoba (diction, materials), sama (decorum), and aware (sensitivity) are used for the first time. Tsurayuki goes further than this by setting up six principles (rokugi) for classifying types of Japanese poetry.

The importance for later poetics of this new terminology deserves that it receive a close inspection of its meaning. His evaluation of the poet Narihira (825-880) is instructive in this regard. Tsurayuki says of Narihira's verse that it is "rich in emotion but insufficient in expression" (kokoro amarite kotoba tarazu) and thus is "like a faded flower without colour where yet the scent remains" (shibomeru hana no iro nakute, nioi nokoreru ga gotoshi). He then quotes an example from

Narihira's work that bears out his assertion:

Tsuki ya aranu
Haru ya mukashi no
Haru naranu,
Waga mi hitotsu wa
Moto no mi ni shite²⁹

Is this not that moon,
 and this season, not that spring
 we knew before . . .
 the love I felt in my body then
 alone has remained unchanged.

This poem first occurs in Narihira's Ise Monogatari. From the context it is clear the poem refers to Narihira's questioning his lover's fickleness of heart as he revisits the place of their earlier meetings. While the last two lines (shimo no ku) suggest the intensity of his feelings (kokoro) for the girl, the elliptical and rhetorical diction (kotoba) of the first three lines (kami no ku) of the poem are perhaps insufficient to carry the full weight of the implied emotion.

These standards by which Tsurayuki judges Narihira's work set forth what was to become an accepted belief for all later poets: the writer must both be moved by a genuine emotion and subsequently be able to express that quality in well-balanced literary form. The creative flow is from the kokoro of the person into the kokoro-kotoba alloy of the poem. The subject matter that Tsurayuki thought appropriate to inspire a genuine emotion for poetry influenced the direction of court poetry as much as the critical principles for composition that he created. It is apparent from both the subject categories of the Kokinshū and the particular sources of inspiration that Tsurayuki mentions in the Preface that the accent was on a delicacy of feeling and subtlety of expression within a limited forum of elegant subjects. Gone were any such poems as Hitomaro's elegy for the body of a dead man on the stones of Samine, as found in the Manyōshū. The new aesthetics of the Heian court stressed rather courtly elegance in such topics as autumn maple leaves floating on a river, the sakura in spring, or snow on plum blossoms, and the sound of the uguisu nightingale and the kajika frog. Human themes

were generally restricted to every nuance of love and parting as well as congratulatory poems to those of high rank and birth. It was a drastic narrowing of the range for inspiration, but this was balanced by the full development of rhetorical techniques for compressed expression of the Japanese language. Such devices as the kakekotoba (pivot-word), engo (association), allegory, and poem prefaces (jo) are all used to maximum effect.

Japanese verse making in Tsurayuki's day was an essential art for daily social intercourse. It was expected as part of the natural banter of dialogue between individuals. Too often it was little more than an elegant pasttime, and we see in the period a pronounced emphasis on poetry as a form of interpersonal communication.³⁰ Tsurayuki sought to elevate the art of poetry from such mere versification. For this purpose he praised the poets of the past, raising their example as a model of serious devotion to the art. Secondly, he sought to articulate a poetic theory for waka as a tradition of purified emotional expression. He places the ancient animistic sense of kokoro as an emotive impulse in creation at the centre of this poetic theory. The famous first part of the Kokinshū Preface reveals Tsurayuki's sense of the universality of this animistic interpenetration of things through kokoro:

The heart [kokoro] of man is the seed of our poetry, and from it unfolds the various leaves of words. Because of our involvement in this world we express those things in the heart [kokoro] from what we see and hear. When we hear the uguisu nightengale in the flowers, and the kajika frog in the water, we ask is there no living being without a poem? Effortlessly turning heaven and earth, moving the invisible gods to pity [aware], and softening relations between man and woman, while bringing peace to the heart [kokoro] of the warrior: it is poetry which does all this.³¹

Tsurayuki emphatically makes no distinction between the human and natural worlds in their ability to possess kokoro and the poetry which issues through it. The universe is a spiritually suffused sentient creation held together by the inherent response of each of its parts to the other. Human verse, the warble of birds, and the calling of frogs form a single melodious continuum, and it is their respective capacity for kokoro which joins them to each other.

Tsurayuki's Preface to the Kokinshū is thus a classic testament of the kokoro tradition. From the early norito and belief in koto-dama, with the kami presence in nature of ancient Shinto, through those aspects of Buddhist teaching that reinforced it, it is a tradition of poetry as metaphorical response to an underlying spiritual unity within all phenomena. The naturalness, for Tsurayuki, of this spiritual affinity between things is expressed succinctly by Makoto Ueda in his own study on this subject:

The existence of harmony between man and nature did not require the poet to be an idealist who would create his own private world of dreams. He could complacently accept external reality as it was. Hence in Tsurayuki's theory of poetry there is no place for imagination, no debate on reality and illusion. Metaphor is to him a means of evoking, a feeling in the reader, a feeling available in ordinary human life; it never develops into a mystical symbol that conjures up ghosts from the "other world." Poetic experience and ordinary experience do not qualitatively differ; truth in poetry and that in ordinary life are the same.³²

The later court poets based their aesthetic values and their language on the Kokinshū. The renaissance of native poetry that Tsurayuki and his fellow compilers brought about was continued and expanded after their death. The imperial court became the official

guardian of poetry and a Bureau of Poetry was formally established in 951.³³ As the practice of poetry contests (uta-awase) became more popular a new genre, the karon, or treatise on poetry developed in order to sustain and reinterpret for each age the kokoro values that Tsurayuki first articulated.

E. Kokoro In The Early Karon And Genji monogatari

With the appearance of the Kokinshū, poetry in Japanese, by virtue of its official patronage at court, received a new prestige, a rejuvenated sense of its antiquity and an aura of sanctity. It was natural to perceive this new worth in terms that rivalled the two other major traditions in Japan, those of Chinese literature and Buddhism. Karon treatises, in attempting to construct a theoretical framework for waka, drew their inspiration from both of these sources. The Buddhist influence on karon theory especially became increasingly strong as the Heian period matured and then declined. Poets turned to the literary tradition to preserve all that seems threatened in the old aristocratic order. More than this, the crisis of society turned men's minds inward to search for meaning. The faith in the spiritual affinity between man and his world that Tsurayuki could take for granted was severely strained, and poets felt the necessity to penetrate through the mujō of appearances to find through poetry a more stable and enduring reality. Buddhist notions about the dialectics of insight contributed greatly to this task. By an intense devotion to their art they sought both a defense of the social order and a means for the personal achievement of Buddhist salvation.

Karon writings, in this regard, emphasized the cultivation of kokoro as a practise akin to Buddhist meditation. As in every other

stage of the Japanese tradition there were both religious and specifically literary motives for this new emphasis on depth. The practise of poetry began to be seen, under Buddhist influence, as a method for achieving a philosophical depth of insight into the true nature of reality. A parallel influence, however, through the practice of uta-awase, was an increasing stress on formal, public poetry whose strictures of decorum and precedent necessitated a new infusion of personal lyrical response and genuine emotion to save it from stultification. Both influences combined to deepen and give a more explicitly philosophical turn to the development of kokoro.

A fellow compiler of the Kokinshū with Tsurayuki, Mibu no Tadamine (868-965) set out to construct his own system for Japanese poetry in his Wakatei jusshu, (Ten Styles of Waka). He emphasized the beauty in poetry of an abundant feeling that transcends the words (yojō; 餘情). His work is notable also as containing the first incidence of the word yūgen in relation to literature in the Japanese language.³⁴ This term, which was to become so important in the era of the Shinkokinshū, originated in China. It can be found among the sayings of the ninth century Chinese Zen master Lin chi (Rinzai), where it is written, "The law of Buddha is yūgen" 佛法幽玄.³⁵ Within Japan the word first appears in the writings of the Tendai master Saichō and then in the Chinese Preface (Manajo) to the Kokinshū.³⁶

Mibu no Tadamine's ideal of yōjō finds strong continuity in the next important karon of this era, the Wakakuhon or Nine Levels of Waka, by Fujiwara no Kintō (966-1041). Kinto gives the highest value to poems that contain amari no kokoro, or "overflowing feeling." It is no coincidence that his first example of this standard is a poem by Mibu no Tadamine:

Haru tatsu to
 iu bakari ni ya
 mi Yoshino no
 yama mo kasumite
 kesa wa miyuran³⁷

Feeling that spring
 is now just here,
 imagine this morning
 though the mist,
 the peaks of Mt. Yoshino.

In poems of this level Kintō says that "the words are so magical that the soul of the poem overflows and lingers."³⁸

The Tendai scholar, Manaka Fujiko, has shown how Fujiwara Kintō based his Nine Levels of Waka on the Amida Pure Land text the Kam nuryōju kyō which concerns the nine levels of beings who are capable of entering the Pure Land (Jōdo) of Amida Buddha.³⁹ The structure of Kintō's Waka kuhon and the Kam nuryōju kyō are the same: the nine levels are separated into upper, middle and lower, and each of these in turn is divided into three levels. Nicholas Teele's work on the Waka kuhon summarizes the correspondence between both of these texts:

The Upper Level, "upper", in the sutra, corresponding to the upper amari no kokoro level of the Wakakuhon, describes the three characteristics of the soul of a person who is born into the Pure Land from the highest level: a soul that is at once faithful, profound and truly repentant. Such a person shows compassionate mercy to all beings, chants the sutras, and meditates upon the Pure Land. This is the kind of consciousness which Kintō applies to uta when he uses the term amari no kokoro.⁴⁰

Such equation of poetic standards in waka with levels of consciousness for the purpose of Buddhist insight became more pronounced in the karon and in poetry after the time of Kintō.⁴¹ This process led inevitably to a concentration on the practise of poetic training. The values of amari no kokoro inherently pointed to a sensitivity that went beyond words themselves. The cultivation of poetic sensitivity demanded a continual practice of "hearing" and "seeing" with the heart; the karon

attempted to teach that great poetry from such a depth was something to be recognized rather than explained. This accounts for a tendency in karon to teach by poetic examples rather than analysis. The level of consciousness which the best poets sought to attain was a quality that by nature transcended the articulating mind, and it was the singular mystery of poetry as incantation, (as kotō-dama and mantra) that it could bring forth that depth through words.

It was left to Murasaki Shikibu (?978-?1016) in this period to show that the expression of kokoro was in no way limited to poetry alone. Her Genji monogatari is a moving testament to kokoro as prose; it is poetry diluted and extended to reveal itself through every facet of individual life. When it is remembered that writing in Japanese had been originally a matter of poetry, it is easy to see how early in the eleventh century prose fiction would retain much of that original quality. Indeed, Brower and Miner assert that:

It is no accident that the greatest single Japanese literary work, the Tale of Genji, should have been written in this period, for it reflects the temper of the age by exploring -- in a prose studded with poems and itself a marvel of lyric beauty -- the same subjective complexities as the poetry, so creating a literary kind without comparison until the modern novel.⁴²

The writing of monogatari in Heian Japan was considered a woman's activity, beneath the dignity of those who wrote history and literature in Chinese. Those who criticized the practise did so mainly on the grounds that it dealt in deception (soragoto) and idle fantasy removed from actual history.⁴³ The defence against this charge is best made in Murasaki's own words in her famous discussion in Genji monogatari, on the art of fiction:

People began writing the novel when they were captivated by something good or bad in human life, something that seemed too fascinating to keep to themselves and let disappear with their deaths.⁴⁴

.....

Indeed, without these old tales we would have no way by which to kill our hopelessly tedious hours. Yet among such make-believe things there are some which, having truly convincing pathos, unfold themselves with natural smoothness. We know they are not real, but still we cannot help being moved when we read them.⁴⁵

Murasaki makes the point that the writing of monogatari, like that of poetry itself, originates in the experience of a genuine emotion within the author. The reader is subsequently moved by mono no aware, a sensitivity to things that compels him naturally to sympathy. Her argument, however, goes further than this:

Novels are the records of the things that have happened since the Age of the Gods. What the Chronicles of Japan [Nihon shoki] and other history books say is but a fraction of the whole. It is in novels that we find true happenings written in detail.⁴⁶

Here Murasaki defends fiction against the authority of historical "facts". She charges that historical accounts can not contain the real life of those with which it deals. The real life of an individual is in the particular and the psychological rather than in the abstraction of facts. She holds that what matters more than history is the honest depiction of human nature in all of its facets:

A novelist, therefore, would write all kinds of good things when he wants to present someone in a favourable light. Or he might gather unusually ugly facts if needed to impress the

reader in that way. Yet, good or evil all these are not outside of this world.⁴⁷

Having defended the monogatari against the prestige of historical writing, Murasaki then turns to a justification of fictional prose within Buddhist terms. Her argument is similar to the one that Shunzei will use almost two centuries later in the Korai fūteishō in the defense of poetry against Buddhist censure. Murasaki's case rests upon the sanction of hōben, or "adopted truth," within Buddhism. The second chapter of the Lotus Sutra upholds the efficacy of this teaching when the Buddha states that in order to lead all beings toward enlightenment he has taught the truth in many forms, each suitable to the different capacities of his listeners. In the Lotus Sutra it is an argument for the ultimate harmony of the Three Vehicles of Buddhism (Hinayana, Mahayana and Esoteric), and of the many paths to enlightenment. Murasaki uses this logic to affirm the usefulness of fiction as a means for causing readers to contemplate the true nature of human life:

Some works may be profound, and others shallow, but it would not be right to condemn all tales as falsehood. Even in the teachings of pure-hearted Buddha there is the so-called Adopted Truth, and some uninspired readers may be perplexed to find apparent contradictions in various parts of the holy texts. The contradictions occur most frequently in the Mahayana Scriptures. And yet, in the final analysis, they all serve a single purpose. The distance between the Awakening and the Sinful Desires in Buddhism is the same as that between Good and Evil in human life. Nothing in this world is useless if one takes it in good part.⁴⁸

Ultimately, Murasaki's contention is that good art is by nature moral because it is most true to life. A good monogatari inspires a

genuine emotion of mono no aware; and it is through this feeling that one experiences life closest to reality. Genji monogatari, as just such an extended treatment of every nuance of sensitive emotion and response to nature, is thus a major contribution to the kokoro tradition. It is no surprise, then, that the poets of the late Heian period, and especially Shunzei, turned to a study of this work as an aid to the understanding of their own literary art.⁴⁹

F. Shunzei's Yūgen And The Shinkokinshū

There are, in general, three definable currents of literary thought interweaving through the tradition of kokoro in Japan.⁵⁰ The first of these is its most essential element, the necessity of makoto, sincerity, or a single minded devotion to the totality of the aesthetic experience. This Shinto quality is central to every literary period and is nearly synonymous with kokoro itself. The second current, fostered in the sensitivity of the Heian Court, is the concept of mono no aware, that which is moving to a person of refined sensibility. Its tone is one of elegant and sophisticated sympathy. Such a value of delicacy could not withstand the rupture of social fabric as the Heian era ended. A new value was needed, one that was at once deeper, less emotional, and that could include more of life. The aesthetics of yūgen provided such a value from the late classical period and on into the middle ages.

Fujiwara Shunzei lived for ninety-one years, from 1114 to 1204 and witnessed great changes of history. Throughout his life, as a thinker and a major poet, he forged a personal conviction about the nature of waka and the necessity for it to change. Shunzei's devotion to the art of poetry, his unerring decisions as a judge (hanja) at poetry

uta-awase, and perhaps his own good nature made him a major arbiter of good taste in the period of the Shinkokinshū. Shunzei was the first person to advocate yūgen as a central aesthetic concept,⁵¹ but as Konishi Jin'ichi has warned in his writings, Shunzei's sense of the word has its own particular meaning.⁵² While the concept has become associated with Shunzei, it is in Kamo no Chōmei's (d./ 1216) karon, the Mumyōshō that yūgen is given its fullest definition. Kamo no Chōmei had studied poetry under Shunzei, and while they shared the same principles of yūgen, their respective interpretations differ. The essence of the style, however, is contained in Chōmei's description:

Only when many ideas are compressed in one word, when without displaying it you exhaust your mind in all its depth and you imagine the imperceptible, when commonplace things are used to display beauty and in a style of naivete an idea is developed to the limit, only then, when thinking does not lead anywhere and words are inadequate, should you express your feelings by this method . . .⁵³

From this quotation it is clear how yūgen has developed even further the implications of yojō or amari no kokoro. Also in the Mumyōshō, Chōmei says that yūgen:

. . . may be likened to the looks and bearing of a fine lady who has some grievance, does not however, express it in words, but suffers secretly and gives only a faint clue as to her situation; this has a stronger appeal to one's compassion than if she were exhausting her vocabulary with complaints and made a show of herself wringing out her sleeves.⁵⁴

Or:

On an autumn evening, for example, there is no color in the sky, nor any sound, and although we cannot give a definite reason for it, we are somehow moved to tears.⁵⁵

Yūgen in poetry, then, is a quality that suppresses subjective explanation and demands a radical identification with the poetic object through one's deepest will. With Chōmei, the new style is associated with yojō as "emotional reverberations," while in Shunzei's work as we see in this poem, there is an emphasis on seijaku, or tranquility:

Yū sareba
nobe no akikaze
mi ni shimite
uzura naku nari
fukakusa no sato.⁵⁶

In the dusk
 the autumn wind in this field
 soaks through to the bone,
 while the cry of a quail
 lifts from the grass
 in the village of Fukakusa.

The difference between Shunzei's and Chōmei's interpretation of yūgen is apparent from their differing evaluations of this poem. Chōmei quotes approvingly the criticism of his teacher Shun'e that the line mi ni shimite, "soaks through to the bone" is too explicitly revealing of the poet's emotion.⁵⁷ For Shun'e, and Chōmei under his influence, the ideal of yūgen required an extreme of descriptive symbolism that only by implication reveals the poet's involvement.⁵⁸ To Shunzei, however, neither the subjective response nor the objective scene can be ignored, each must permeate the other in an experience that transcends language. As we shall see through the Korai fūteishō, the dialectics for this process are based upon Shunzei's literary application of the teaching of shikan, cessation and contemplation, in Tendai Buddhism.

It is important, first, to consider the wider range of poetic values in both Shunzei and Teika. Their poetry is not, after all, to be

read as religious allegory. The new trend that Shunzei was leading looked to the past literary heritage while attempting to rejuvenate and extend itself within the old forms. It has been called an age of neo-classicism.⁵⁹ Shunzei's prescription for kotoba furuku, kokoro atarashi, "old words with new heart," sought a fresh sensibility within a traditional imagery and diction. The new sensibility was based on the religious grounding of yūgen; the old diction was generally the rhetoric and language of the Kokinshū, already rich with association and music. Poets of the day perceived that the value of tradition is in the shared meaning of a system of symbols, the slightest innovation of which can express the greatest subtlety of emotion. Such neo-classical thinking in eighteenth century England produced a great literature of satire precisely because of the strong coherence of social values that could be played against. Though Heian society felt little need for satire, the poetry of this age found in the practise of honkadori a means of invoking the richness of tradition while extending the depth of its poetic associations. Honkadori, or allusive variation, was the practise of borrowing a phrase from an older poem (honka) and incorporating it into a new creation. This technique was used, in some cases, to emphasize the passage of time, thus creating a sense of sadness and depth (yūgen) by invocation of an earlier age, while in other instances it stresses a continuity of human wisdom reaffirmed in new form in every age, as much as part of nature as the changing seasons.

The poetics of yūgen also involved a broadening of the traditional sense of mujō. The decline of Heian society and the general acceptance that the world had entered the degenerate age of mappō encouraged a sensitivity to the transience of life. There is a gradual increase in the poems that deal with loneliness (sabi) from the eleventh century

onwards.⁶⁰ With the development of the ideal of yūgen these feelings of sabi and mujō are used to heighten a sense of inwardness and desolate beauty. We see these new values in such poems as this by Teika:

Miwataseba
hana mo momiji mo
nakarikeri
ura no tomaya no
aki no yūgure.⁶¹

When I gaze out far
 there are no cherry blossoms
 nor red maple leaves,
 only these fishing huts
 darkening in the autumn
 dusk by the bay.

Here, to see far is to see inwardly and deep. The emotion is unexpressed but implied in the poet's search (miwataseba). The scene reveals a humbler beauty close to the earth with the hard livelihood of the fisherman suggestive of the deep affinities within human need. This poem shows the new sensibility through its re-interpretation of mujō. The traditional symbols of beauty (hana mo momiji mo) themselves are transient, and a new, distant scene is disclosed before it too disappears in the dusk. While Teika's poem thus affirms the inevitable impermanence of all phenomena, with its attendant feelings of wistful sadness, it is no less important to realize that it is through their belief in this impermanence that the yūgen poets sought to express the preciousness of transient experience as understood through the Tendai teaching of "every unrepeatable moment" (ichigo, ichie).

The dynamics of Shunzei's, and later Teika's, understanding of this relationship between Buddhist truth and the art of poetry is made clear by a study of Shunzei's karon, the Korai fūteishō. In the preface of the first volume Shunzei has written:

The monk Kuan-ting has written in the preface of the Tendai Maka shikan that "the clarity and calmness of shikan has not been truly understood in any previous age." As soon as one

hears this Maka shikan, its depth seems unlimited yet its deepest meaning is somehow able to be sensed; and in like manner, because the striving to know the essence of a poem, its good and its bad qualities, is also difficult to explain in words, we should surely think of poetry in the same way as shikan.⁶²

Shunzei's purpose in writing the Korai fūteishō was to admonish the poets of his day who turned their attention only to the external components of verse, competing between schools of poetic thought, and neglecting the expressive spirit which is the life of a poem:

In the past and still today one sees so much that is written on poetic style, or places of literary association or written to clarify perhaps some doubtful point concerning diction, or ancient custom, and matters of etiquette, or that describe a scenic place celebrated in verse etc., and because all these writings are handed down in every family, and each house seeks to compete with the other for literary influence, one feels as if the content were all the same.

Yet concerning the total effect of a poem, such as what elements are desirous, which are to be avoided and in what way ought one to separate these qualities, these things are difficult to explain, and it seems there are only a few people who know how.⁶³

He was highly critical of those people who:

will consent only to a poetry which can be composed easily; they do not think of it as something someone must deeply strive and seek for.⁶⁴

For Shunzei, poetry was a practise into which one must profoundly immerse both one's body and spirit. In addition to the meditative state of shikan, poetry was to be understood in terms of the Tendai doctrine

of the Three Stages of Truth, (santai):

The Deep Way of Poetry resembles the Three Doctrines of Pure Emptiness (kū), Temporality (ke), and the Middle Absolute (chū).⁶⁵

William Lafleur has shown how Shunzei's poetic theory, through the teachings of shikan and santai, aims at the final equanimity of a phenomenon's arising, transiency and return to its essential emptiness.⁶⁶ A closer analysis of these Tendai doctrines will clarify just how Shunzei develops such thinking in the Korai fūteishō. The practice of shikan was given its clearest enunciation in the Ta-ch'eng chih-kuan fa-men or the "Mahayana Method of Cessation and Contemplation," traditionally attributed to the Chinese monk Hui-ssū (515-77).⁶⁷ This treatise, quoted below, describes a spiritual exercise designed to enable the pure nature of our original mind to become manifested:

What is called cessation (chih) is the realization that all things (dharmas), from the very beginning, are devoid of any nature of their own and undergo neither production nor destruction.⁶⁸

The achievement reached by cessation is that of embodying and experiencing the pure mind, becoming merged by means of Truth with the non-dual nature, and forming with all sentient beings a single perfect body.⁶⁹

Poetically, for Shunzei this involved achieving harmony through an art whose intense absorption in nature found a correspondence with one's inner most self. Only by makoto, the single-minded devotion to the totality of the aesthetic experience, was it possible to attain this "single, perfect body." As for contemplation (kuan: kan):

. . . through it we know that (things), though neither originally generated nor now destroyed, nevertheless arise out of the causation of the mind's nature . . . like illusions of a dream, they have 'being' though not (real) being.⁷⁰

.

The achievement reached by contemplation is that of manifesting the essential substance of the mind so that it functions without interference within the world of physical things and spontaneously emanates the potentialities of all things, both pure and impure . . .⁷¹

Thus poetically, contemplation (kan) involved an observation of the nature of things from the perspective of the "single, perfect body." Contemplation (kan) includes the practitioner's observation of his own consciousness interfusing with "external" phenomenon as a continuous unified field without obstruction (muge). Within this state one turns to "an analytic discernment of the truths of dependent origination (pratītyasamutpāda) and impermanence (anitya)"⁷² without falling from the perspective of the "single, pure body", (shi). The Buddhist scholar, Jeffrey Hopkins, has made it clear that the attainment of shikan is only complete when contemplation (kan) sustains and strengthens the experience of cessation (shi).⁷³ The two aspects of shikan at this level are, thus, not sequential but interpenetrative. As Robert Gimello confirms in his own study of shikan:

This application [kan] is made as the experience is still directly present to the meditator's attention rather than after the experience in a 'cool moment' of tendentious reflection.⁷⁴

In this fact lies the difference between Shunzei's mode of poetry and what would otherwise be an extraordinary correspondence in the poetic theory of William Wordsworth. As Wordsworth declares in his Preface to the Lyrical Ballads, written in 1800:

I have said that poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful emotions: it takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquillity: the emotion is contemplated till, by a species of reaction, the tranquillity gradually disappears, and an emotion, kindred to that which was before the subject of contemplation, is gradually produced, and does itself actually exist in the mind. In this mood successful composition generally begins . . .⁷⁵

With Wordsworth, one looks back and re-orders the experience through a sequence of tranquilization and ressurected emotion. In Shunzei, however, one begins with tranquilization and one's poetic emotion is experienced within that state on the return to a consciousness of the phemonenal world. For Shunzei, the experience and its expression are one and simultaneous. (This possibility is no doubt facilitated by the brevity of the waka form.)

The fused vision of shi and kan within the practitioner's consciousness allows him simultaneously to perceive the temporality (ke) of things and yet their lack of inherent existence (kū). This perspective, within the teaching of santai, is known as chū, the middle absolute. The relationship to poetry in this is explained by both Fujiko Manaka and William Lafleur to be the "identity of phenomenon with the real" (genshō-zoku-jissō).⁷⁶ The truth of reality, by the practise of shikan, can be found within phenomena itself. The quietness (seijaku) of Shunzei's poetry, and the plainness of expression that characterizes Teika's later work reflect this understanding. Bashō too, under the influence of Zen, in his style of karumi, "lightness", came finally to this appreciation.

It is a peculiarity of the Buddhist dialectic that in thus diffusing and equalizing the sense of sacredness it tends to release one from any specific focus for religiousity. This tendency made a positive

contribution to poetry as wisdom-insight in Japan. If there is to be no sacred focus which art must glorify, then poetry is left to fulfill that role by striving for excellence within its own terms. Such a circumstance freed the yūgen poets, and later Bashō, from the need for any overt religiousity in their verse. The situation, given Buddhist criticism of poetry as kyōgen kigo, "excessive words and ornate phrases" was, however, much like that expressed by William Blake in his axiom from the Marriage of Heaven and Hell:

If the fool would persist
in his folly he will become wise,⁷⁷

for the purity and mastery of any one thing will resonate with the purity inherent in all things. The result, as Konishi has demonstrated, is that while Shunzei used the dialectics of shikan in his poetry, he felt free to transpose that logic into values more consistent with literary understanding. Later, Teika formalized Shunzei's thought in the Maigetsushō by advocating ushintei, or "immersion in the heart" as a supreme poetic value.

Konishi asserts that from a study of the judgments at uta-awase from the time of the Kokinshū through to the Shinkokinshū era, we find that the concept of kokoro undergoes a radical change with Shunzei's interpretation.⁷⁸ One finds that in the early uta-awase of the Kokinshū era (905), the emotion, such as praise for the blossom or pathos for the mist, is referred to as kokoro. With the Shūishū (984-86?), the capacity of expressing the heart (kokoro no hataraki) is also being referred to as kokoro. After the period of the fifth imperial waka anthology, the Kinyōshū (1124-27), this first type of kokoro develops another aspect. Thus besides the emotion itself, that characteristic which is most misty in the case of mist, or ideal

blossoms in the case of blossoms, become known as the kokoro or mist, and the kokoro of blossoms, etc. The concept of kokoro as understood until the end of the Heian period can, therefore, be generally divided into three categories:

- 1) emotional expression as characterised in the Kokinshū era, and which Konishi designates "The kokoro which is expressed."
- 2) the second major category, emphasized in the period of the Shūishū is the capacity for heart which gives voice to expression. This Konishi calls "the kokoro which expresses."
- 3) the first category, from about the time of the Kinyōshū then begins to include an objectification of emotion through the idealization of phenomenon such as the kokoro of mist, and so on.

The various usages of kokoro before Shunzei can be thus summarized as simply dividing the concept between the artist and the poetic object. It was Shunzei who, through the influence of shikan, united both aspects of kokoro. In Shunzei's theory, the poet must immerse himself in the kokoro of the poetic object and find in that state a correspondence whereby the poetic object resides firmly in the kokoro of the poet. The fusion that this engenders is the source of yūgen.

Poems containing such thinking need not necessarily depict only a haunting autumnal beauty. This poem by Shunzei is said to create "a complex atmosphere of yūgen within a highly subjective framework:"⁷⁹

Tare ka mata
hanatachibana ni
omoïden
ware mo mukashi no
hito to narinaba.⁸⁰

Will someone someday
 remember me in this scent
 of summer orange blossoms,
 when I too shall become
 a person from the past?

Here Shunzei is united through the fragrance of orange blossoms with his memory of, perhaps, some lover from his past. The equalizing of past and present, and of his longing and imagining being longed for, gives the sense of the impermanence and preciousness of life. The depth of this wistful equanimity is strengthened by the recognition that this poem is a honkadori to a verse of similar sentiment from the Kokinshū.⁸¹ It is just this distancing and objectifying of the emotion while yet experiencing it intimately that unifies the "kokoro which is expressed" and the "kokoro which expresses." Shunzei portrays the essence of the orange fragrance in summer through an essential longing within himself.

Saigyō is another crucial poet whose work in this devotedly religious age, was permeated with Buddhist influence. Poems of Saigyō are the most numerous of any single writer in the Shinkokinshū. Instead of the ceremonious life of poets like Shunzei and Teika at the court, Saigyō became a wandering monk, and thus, moving in all levels of society he was able to experience for himself the great political changes occurring at the end of the Heian period. Indeed, Saigyō can be said to bridge the aristocratic Heian values and the evolving standards of the succeeding middle ages in a way that can not be said for any other poet in our study.

Specifically, Saigyō seems to have felt the full weight of an individual struggle between his vocation as a poet with its affirmation of nature and the values of kokoro, and his life as a monk, as one who has "left the world" (shukke). Saigyō's resolution of his struggle was

to graft the highest Buddhist values onto the stem of a deeply responsive kokoro sensibility. To make one these two worlds was his constant aim and religious practise (shūgyō) as he immersed himself in nature while travelling throughout Japan. The monk, Myōe (1173-1232) is quoted in a biography written by his disciple:

Saigyō frequently came and talked of poetry. His own view of poetry he said, was far from the ordinary. Cherry blossoms, the cuckoo, the moon, snow: confronted with all the varied forms of nature, his eyes and ears were filled with emptiness. And were not the words that came forth true words [shingon; mantra]? When he sang of the blossoms, the blossoms were not on his mind, when he sang of the moon he did not think of the moon. As the occasion presented itself, as the urge arose, he wrote poetry.⁸²

Myōe's words are instructive; he says of Saigyō that "as the urge arose, he wrote poetry," but all the while "his eyes and ears were filled with emptiness." It is interesting to study two poems by Saigyō that concern themselves with the denial of kokoro expected of a monk and yet Saigyō's resilient faith in the value of the "urge" of the heart:

Kokoro naki
mi ni mo aware wa
shirarekeri
shigi tatsu sawa no
aki no yūgure.⁸³

Even for a monk
who had denied his heart,
a deep feeling wells up -
a snipe breaks from the marsh
into the autumn evening sky.

Hana ni somu
kokoro no idade
nokorikemu
sutehateteki to
omou waga mi ni.⁸⁴

A heart still dyed
in blossoms, why
does it remain . . .
in this body I denied
when I gave up the world.

The fact that both of these poems maintain that a person has sensitivity (aware) even while suppressing his feelings (kokoro) indicates the depth

which Saigyō believed these qualities assumed within our fundamental nature. Saigyō's poetic works would suggest that he perceived that only by elevating rather than denying such an essential value can a person ultimately find peace.⁸⁵

G. Teika's Ushintei

The yūgen poets all believed that the kokoro tradition could not be simply inherited, it had to be earned, but perhaps it is Teika who most clearly embodied this belief. The great emphasis that he placed upon the training necessary for a poetic vocation, and the methodical nature of his karon treatises combine to allow him to be called "a poet's poet." Poetic training was private and individual centered in a master-disciple relationship.⁸⁶ Teika's karon, the Kindai shūka, written to instruct the young shogun Minamoto no Sanetomo (1192-1219) in the poetic art, exemplifies the standards to be met. Teika chose from among the greatest poems of the past those he considered models for his student. It was left for Sanetomo to scrutinize those works to discover within himself why they are great and then to compose works of his own for submission to his master. These were returned, each poem marked either with approval or rejection, and again it was left for the disciple to determine by himself what makes the difference. This process was repeated "until by constant study, reflection, and practise he made the standards of the masters his own."⁸⁷ The relationship between poetry master and disciple is analogous to that within Buddhism, and as we have seen already, the goal to be achieved by poetry was considered to be much the same as in Buddhism.

The mastery of a diversity of styles was considered necessary for any mature poet, each to be suitable for the proper occasion. Teika, in

his youth, emphasized a personal style of yōen, or ethereal elegance. The style of yōen in Teika's hands, is said to be touched with a sense of solitude (sabishisa) and yet an ethereal gaiety.⁸⁸ As Teika grew older however, as in the Maigetsushō written when he was fifty-seven years old, there is a re-orientation in his preference and he stresses the importance of ushin, "immersion in the heart" as an essential value. While modern explanations of medieval aesthetic terms can be just as confusing as their vague articulation in the Heian karon themselves, a comparison of yōen and ushin with yūgen can be fruitful to an understanding of their common underlying values. Hisamatsu Sen'ichi's lead is perhaps the best to follow.⁸⁹ Hisamatsu explains that Teika's style of ushin is a further development of yūgen; they overlap yet they are not the same. Teika's advocating of ushin was the evolving result of his early preference for yōen. While yōen emphasized an ethereal elegance within a softness and solitude, it also stressed the quality of yojō (amari no kokoro) as overflowing emotion that reverberates beyond the words. Ushin, then, is finally a composite beauty of yojōyōen; it is the quality of yojō that ushin shares with yūgen, while the feeling of yōen within ushin is unique to Teika. Thus while in Shunzei's yūgen, yojō is experienced within a deep quietness (seijaku), in Teika's ushin, that same yojō is refracted through an ethereal elegance (yōen). "The only difference is one of degree."⁹⁰ Throughout the middle ages, and as we shall see in Zeami especially, yūgen retained its philosophical value as a search for permanent truth, while at the same time, the form of yūgen as seen in Noh owes much to Teika's re-orientation of this concept through the ideal of ushin as yojōyōen.

Teika gives his clearest description of ushin in his karon the Maigetsushō. It is Konishi's assertion that the sense of ushin

expressed in the Maigetsushō as an absolute value is Teika's way of casting Shunzei's shikan-oriented view of waka into more explicitly literary terms. We have noted that while Shunzei openly acknowledged the importance of shikan in his verse, he did not especially advocate the term yūgen himself. Yūgen was used by others to describe the new trend which Shunzei exemplified. Teika after his father's death felt compelled to carry on those philosophical values inherent in Shunzei's poetry while yet giving them new expression through his own personal style.

Teika's personal diary, the Meigetsuki, reveals his profound study of the Maka shikan, the Buddhist sutra that Shunzei uses to describe his shikan theory of waka in the Korai fūteishō. From the entry of the eighteenth day of the third month in the first year of the Kanki era, (1229), Teika discloses that he has begun work on copying and transcribing into kambun all ten volumes of the Maka shikan. He later records finally finishing the task. It was an arduous labour, about which Konishi says:

The process of supplying grammatical punctuation to the Chinese text was in reality a process of interpreting its meaning. Teika, in short, interpreted the whole of the Maka shikan. He could not simply transcribe the material with unassuming faith; his approach was one of investigative inquiry that took into account each of the various interpretations of the text.⁹¹

This evidence of Teika's involvement with shikan is reinforced by the name he took for himself when, in old age, he became a Buddhist priest. His name, Myōjō, is taken from the first line of the Maka shikan itself where it is written, "Shikan is clear and calm (myōjō)."⁹²

It is certainly reasonable then, to think that Teika as a loyal successor to Shunzei in the master-disciple relationship, and as father and son, retained the same shikan orientation in his poetry as Shunzei. An example of a poem by Teika may help us to recognize the quality of ushin and at the same time reveal a representative characteristic of waka in this period:

Ikukaeri
narete mo kanashi
ogiwara ya
sue kosu kaze no
aki no yūgure.⁹³

Though many times
 I have known it: a sadness remains
 in this field of reeds
 when the autumn wind
 blows through the dusk.

The depth of feeling in this poem is carried by a radical and snake-like syntax whereby the reader is led through an abstract diction to the final active and vital image that alone "makes sense" of everything that precedes it. As in this verse, the high frequency of nouns in the poetry of this period was a literary expression of the values of yūgen and ushin; in contrast to verbs, the "muteness" of nouns allowed the image to reverberate with a depth of associative meanings through which one could more freely enter into the emotion of the scene. It was a lesson not lost on Bashō.

A proper understanding of the concept of kokoro in the poetry of the Heian period, must finally include a discussion of the importance of the uta-awase in forming the literary values of that time. The formality of uta-awase in the presence of the court exerted a strong influence on the mode of response to the inspiration of kokoro. The poetic themes (dai) for a poetry contest were handed out in advance. The poets composed their verses ahead of time and their works were judged in performance at the court by strict standards of balance, precedent and decorum. While these values were conservative, even stultifying, they encouraged a deeper sensitivity to the total effect

(sugata) of each poem. As Clifton Royston says in his thesis on Shunzei's poetics:

Many of Shunzei's comments on cadence seem to be bound up with the oral presentation of utaawase poetry. Of several poems he says with approval Iishirite kikoyu: that is, they sound practised and lucid - the poem is both pleasing in sound and readily apprehended by ear. Smoothness of syntax and melliflence of sound reciprocally enhance one another; they are also related to the tranquility and refinement of the conception.⁹⁴

"The tranquility and refinement of the conception" as the experience of kokoro owed its quality to the permeating influence of Buddhist thought in this period. The poetic values which such an influence engendered were continued through the Kyōgoku-Reizei line of poets descended from Teika, well into the Kamakura period, but the vitality and vigor of the shogun's court inevitably became the new focus for creative genius. Poetry anywhere stimulates and responds to social change. New forms were needed and were found: renga, Noh, and haikai no renga became the new poetic genres. Underlying these literary changes were formative religious impulses. Once again the native culture was refreshed by new cultural forms from China, this time the Buddhism known as Zen. Its austerity and martial vigor was embraced as a welcome tonic by the shogun's court, which wanted both to retain its prowess while yet adorning itself with the accessories of culture. The new age achieved a continuity of literary values by turning them inside out: ushin transformed into its opposite mushin, and in the conundrum of Zen, kokoro is sought where nothing can be found.

CHAPTER FOUR: ZEN, NOH, AND HAIKU

A. The Historical Setting

The period from Minamoto no Yoritomo's establishment of the bakufu government in Kamakura in 1185 until the founding of the Tokugawa shogunate late in 1603 is often referred to as the middle ages (chūsei) in Japan. In contrast to the "peace and tranquility" of the preceding Heian period and of the ordered regimentation and seclusion of the later Tokugawa era, the middle ages are characterized politically by disunity and violent change.¹ The idea that the world was indeed entering the age of mappō seemed well justified. Buddhism responded to this general feeling by a new emphasis on salvation by faith (tariki) as the Pure Land philosophy of Hōnen (1133-1212) and Shinran (1173-1262) spread among the common people. There is a new pessimism and sense of tragedy reflected in the literature of the period in such works as the Heike monogatari that depict the fall of the Taira clan.

This dominant sense of the turmoil of life was given a certain balance and perspective, however, by the more optimistic belief and rigorous discipline of Zen Buddhism. The Rinzai and Sōtō sects of Zen were introduced from China by the monks Eisai (1141-1215) and Dōgen (1200-1253) in 1191 and 1227, respectively. The Rinzai sect especially found immediate acceptance in the Kamakura court. The stark simplicity of its style and the emphasis on self-reliance (jiriki) in the pursuit of truth was readily embraced by the new class of bushi who sought both a fresh ideology to distinguish the new political order and values that could correspond to their own martial way of life. There was much in Zen to satisfy both of these needs. The influence of Zen Buddhism permeates so much of the life and literature of the middle ages that it

can truly be called an age of Zen culture. Despite the almost continual warfare of the Ashikaga period (1336-1573), and perhaps because the regionalism of the times encouraged local development, it was a period of great economic growth and cultural achievement.² The inheritance of cultural refinement from the Heian aristocracy blended with the vigor of the bushi class, under Zen influence, to produce such marvels as the architecture and landscape gardens of Kinkakuji and Ginkakuji, as well as the tea ceremony and the Noh drama.

The understanding of kokoro which underlay the Heian aesthetic values of yūgen and ushin found continuity within a new perspective through Zen's insistence on "Pointing directly to the heart of man" 直指人心 and thus "Attaining Buddhahood by seeing into one's real Nature" 見性成佛. This new perspective on the continuing central value of kokoro owed much to the particular approach that Zen advocated in the pursuit of Buddhist realization. It is important for this study, then, to investigate first just how the Zen dialectic engaged the concept of kokoro and then to examine the literary art that such thinking produced. The new perspective is given its clearest expression in the most representative art of this period, that of the Noh theatre.

B. The New Aesthetics of Mushin

The yūgen associated with Shunzei and the ushin advocated by Teika were, as we have seen, under the direct influence of the Tendai teaching of shikan. Both of these aesthetic concepts expressed a desire to achieve an unchanging truth through the medium of poetic expression; they stressed an experience that in itself was beyond words but was yet capable of transmutation into poetry. This same desire for an immutable truth exerted itself in the middle ages through the Zen influenced

value of mushin.

Both mushin and ushin were traditional concepts in Japan dating from the time of the Manyōshū.³ Traditionally, ushin (kokoro aru) was associated with makoto in the sense of possessing a deep sincerity and purity of heart. Mushin (kokoro nai), on the other hand, customarily referred to poems that lacked such sincerity, that were excessively contrived, or imperfectly conceived. By the middle ages, however, in a process of artistic expansion that seems universal in art world-wide, that of creativity to assert itself as deviation from its preceeding norms, the value of mushin became transformed with a new significance that was seen as transcending ushin. Zen Buddhism was an active catalyst in this transformation.

While ushin had been understood as an experience of emotional extremity, mushin shifted this emphasis to a new centre by muting the emotional response and laying importance upon a more explicitly philosophical mode of comprehending the poetic object. It thus decentered the emphasis on human response in order to centralize on an essential, abstract value that was thought to characterize all phenomenon equally: their lack of any single unrodable identity separate from the ecological web of causes and conditions through which all things are related in co-dependent origination. Mushin became the new aesthetic vehicle for experiencing the Buddhist truth of the absence of inherent existence (muga) in all things. The mu, 無, "nothingness" of mushin was in this way re-interpreted from simply existing in opposition to u 有, "being" to its equation with the transcending values of zettai-mu "absolute nothingness" and kū "emptiness."⁴ Rinzai Zen through its prescription for "Pointing directly to the heart of man"

直指人心 insists that one must penetrate to the ineffability (mu) of that heart (shin) to "realize one's real nature and become a Buddha" 見性成佛. An understanding of mu is a fundamental

kōan, or Zen Barrier, in Rinzai practise as exemplified in the first kōan of one of Zen's basic texts, the Mumonkan, (The Gateless Gate).

Hisamatsu sees both ushin and mushin as graduations of emphasis within the general category of the yūgen aesthetics that begin with Shunzei and carry through to Zeami's Noh. A comparative examination of Tendai shikan with Zen thought would be useful then, for an understanding of how their respective teachings underpin the changing emphases of both literary theory and expression from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. Sekiguchi Shindai's comprehensive work on Tendai shikan finds that Zen and Tendai shikan are essentially identical, differing only in their teaching methods.⁵ While shikan encourages a systematic approach of progressive insight, Zen demands an immediate realization of the absolute, transcending all intermediate stages of attainment. Whereas in shikan one alternates between cessation (shi) and contemplation (kan) in a successive withdrawal from and return to phenomenal existence, Zen issues from a radical identification with the absolute nature of truth that implies a collapse of means and ends into a single transforming experience:

Even if you go through all the stages of a Bodhisattva's progress towards Buddhahood, one by one; when at last, in a single flash, you attain to full realization, you will only be realizing the Buddha-Nature which has been with you all the time; and by all the foregoing stages you will have added to it nothing at all.⁶

The result is that Zen's natural mode of figurative expression, then, tends to reply upon paradox, metaphor, and unexpected juxtaposition to force the mind toward that indistinguishable fusion of the absolute with the mundane; and it is precisely these qualities that we find emphasized in Zeami's treatises on Noh drama, and which later give Bashō's haiku

their concentrated focus. It would be incorrect to project wholesale onto Noh and haiku similarities to Zen which properly should be attributed to more specifically literary influences but in both art forms the dominant aesthetic concern is filtered through the complex and paradoxical Zen Buddhist implications of mushin.

While ushin, in its mode [] of attainment, was achieved through an emotional bonding with the poetic object, as the poet in a sense reaches out and enters into the thing itself, mushin was experienced through a more introspective, meditative insight into one's essential identity with it. In both cases the result is the same: one realizes with the object a mutual absence of any enduring self-hood (muga); but what characterizes the Zen mode, however, is its radical collapse of the process of attainment. For Zen, the essential quality is to be grasped directly within the experience of phenomenal existence, seeing the multiplicity of differences as manifold expression of an equally apparent identity. Phenomena and emptiness must be seen as interdependent and as reciprocal as the relationship between inside and outside, deep and shallow, or the crest and trough of a wave. To assert one is necessarily to invoke its corollary. The increasing philosophical influence of this Zen emphasis on an immediate, simultaneous recognition of both the emptiness and yet the actuality of phenomena layed bare a paradox within the concept of kokoro itself. For where then is the heart (kokoro) of an object to be found? Where is the essence? Kokoro itself became a conceptual kōan, for the idea necessarily implied absolute standards of kernal and chaff, a proposition that the dialectics of Buddhist logic denied.

The aesthetics of mushin were the philosophical result of this paradox within kokoro. Because kokoro inherently could not be limited

to any particular place or perspective, its final unfindability (mu) is thus the kokoro of kokoro, its intrinsic quality of mushin.

C. Mushin in Noh Drama

The concept of kokoro and its metamorphosis in mushin is central to both Noh theory and performance. The advent of Noh within the kokoro tradition is in many senses the classical flowering of that tradition. The animism of original Shinto blends with the full richness of Buddhist psychology in a form that issues back to the performance context of song and dance-miming in the ancient norito while presenting a dramatic expression of Buddhist cosmology. The spirit possession of the main actor (shite) in Noh dramas is "reminiscent of the shamanistic mediums of ancient Japanese folk religion"⁷ just as it also depicts for us a Buddhist vision of "the inevitability of transmigration."⁸ The two religious traditions that have nurtured the development of the concept of kokoro come together in a multifaceted art form that combines all the characteristic expressions which that development has taken.

It is apparent from a reading of Zeami's Noh treatises that the diverse aspects of a Noh performance must be unified within the actor himself through the "One Mind linking all powers."⁹ This mind is the concentrated power of mushin, and through it flows the moving depths of yūgen. Zeami compares this mind to the hidden strings of a marionette which hold together the various parts of a performance but which must not be disclosed to the audience:

. . . it is undesirable for the actor to permit this inner strength to become obvious to the audience. If it is obvious it becomes an act, and is no longer "no-action". The actions before and after an interval of "no-action" must be linked by entering the state of mindlessness in which one conceals even from oneself one's intent.¹⁰

It is this highly suggestive, but hidden quality of mushin projected through the bareness and simplicity of the stage and the actor's movements that gives depth to the beauty of yūgen in Noh. Zeami's ideal of mushin is an ultimately unexpressible presence that must be cultivated by a Noh performer both on and off the stage, for what is spiritual practise in life becomes religious ritual in performance:

Day or night, wherever he may be, ~~what~~ ever he may be doing, he should not forget this resolution, but should make it his constant guide, uniting all his powers. If he unremittingly works at this his talent will steadily grow.¹¹

In a treatise called the Nine Stages (Kyūi) written by Zeami late in his life he attempts to give a systematic organization to the aesthetic principles found in his previous writings. His terminology and imagery rely heavily on Zen forms of expression and metaphor. His explanations are oblique and are meant to be understood intuitively rather than through the intellect, but an examination of Zeami's three highest standards suggest those qualities to be most valued in Noh and something of the underlying ideological framework upon which they are based. The lowest of the three he terms the Flower of Stillness characterized by "snow piled in a silver bowl."¹² Here we are in the realm of mushin at rest, the purity of original nature, pristine emptiness before its functioning in motion and phenomena. In Shinto terms it is the ancient ideal of purity of heart (kiyoki kokoro). Bashō would seem to be giving voice to this same value in a haiku he wrote shortly before his death:

Shiragiku no
me ni tatete miru
chiri mo nashi.¹³

Peering intently
into a white chrysanthemum -
there is no dust at all.

In Zeami's image of "snow piled in a silver bowl" we feel the crystalline clarity in this stage of Noh called the Flower of Stillness.

The higher standard to this is the Flower of Supreme Profoundity which Zeami characterizes as "Snow covers a thousand mountains -- why does one lonely peak remain unwhitened?"¹⁴ Zeami, here, would seem to be addressing himself to a traditional Zen kōan implicit within the previous Flower of Stillness: "When all things are reduced to the One, what then is that One reduced to?" Zeami gave an answer to this kōan more explicitly in one of his last treatises: "All laws return to the Law. Where does the Law return to? It returns to all laws."¹⁵ In Zeami's characterization of this second highest level of Noh performance we see an imagistic parallel to this understanding of the kōan, for here the undifferentiated becomes manifest in the world of particularity. Again it would not be unfair to compare this aspect of Noh with another haiku by Bashō:

Shizukasa ya
iwa ni shimiiri
semi no koe.¹⁶

From out of the quietness -
piercing into the rocks,
a cicada's cry.

The purity of original nature is heightened by its metamorphosis in diversity, just as the stillness of night is deepened by a sound. Here the single unwhitened peak looms with an inexplicable and strange beauty.

The climatic beauty of Zeami's Nine Stages is a paradoxical metaphor: "At midnight in Silla the sun is bright."¹⁷ This is the Flower of the Miraculous. Silla is part of Korea and while in China at midnight, in Korea to the east the sun is shining.¹⁸ As Makoto Ueda asserts of this highest level of the nine ranks of Noh:

We see contradictions in the universe only because we are confined within space and time. Once we transcend our limited senses, what we have hitherto seen as contradictions may not be contradictions. A superb Nō actor, though the Style of a Mysterious Flower, makes us visualize such a transcendental world, a world of higher reality lying beyond our ordinary senses. It is a realm of permanence, of immortal souls. At its sight we are struck with the feeling of austerity. Such is the impact of a sublime performance.¹⁹

Here at the pinnacle of the Nine Stages of Noh we are transported from our normal human mind and see with the mind of mushin. The undifferentiated purity of "snow piled in a silver bowl" has given way to manifestation in particularity, "a single unwhitened peak," and these in turn find through mushin a higher synthesis and equality in the "sun shining at midnight." It is thus certainly possible to see in Zeami's paradigm of Noh a Zen-styled equivalent of the emptiness (kū), temporality (ke) and the synthesizing middle (chū) in the Tendai doctrine of santai.

The highest level of Zeami's Noh goes beyond time and space and the limitations of human sense. And thus Zeami says of it: "The miraculous transcends the power of speech and is where the workings of the mind are defeated."²⁰ It is on this level that all things share in their essential being, where the natural world, suffused with consciousness, is joined to man steeped in his own original nature. Noh, through the philosophy of mushin, gives dramatic expression to this new level of integration between the human and non-human worlds. As we have seen in the study of Kūkai the question of whether plants and trees were also capable of salvation had been a serious inquiry within Buddhism in both China and Japan. The universalism of the Chinese T'ien-tai (Tendai)

sect under its ninth patriarch Chan-jan (711-782) had held that because all things possessed the fundamental, unchanging nature, plants and trees were thus capable of Buddhahood.²¹ Within Japan the court in 963 had ordered a formal debate on this same subject to be conducted between the Tendai and Hossō sects.²² A resolution to this question within Buddhism no doubt concerned the court especially, because Shinto had always taught that nature was sentient. The Shingon affinity with Shinto and the Chinese Taoist influence of naturalism on Zen, no less than the consequences of an inner logic within Buddhism itself, all combined certainly by the Ashikaga period to hold that the things of nature were both capable of Buddhahood and at the same time the very embodiment of that goal. The attribution of feelings, poetry and self-identity to trees and plants in the Noh theatre was then, for the audience of that day, not an exercise in what today would be called pathetic fallacy, but a figurative portrayal of the truth of existence.

Certain of the Noh plays written in this period deal with just such a theme. One such example is the play Bashō (The Banana Tree). In this Noh play a hermit dwelling in seclusion recites aloud passages from the Lotus Sutra each night. He becomes aware that an old woman is listening each evening in his garden as he intones the sutra. When he asks her who she is, the old woman finally admits that she is the spirit of the banana tree beside his hut, and in gratitude for being able to achieve enlightenment by listening to the hermit's recitation of the Lotus Sutra she dances for him, "waving her sleeves which represent the broad leaves of the bashō-tree."²³ In an important passage during this dance the chorus chants:

The nonsentient grasses and trees are, in truth
the substance of Genuine Thusness without form.
As "one speck of dust contains the dharma-element."
Its shapes are shown in rain, dew, frost and snow.
Offering one spray of flowers, it manifests
the beauty of the Law.

"One flower opens and spring is everywhere";
Receiving the sunlight from the tranquil sky,
The willow, damson, peach and plum,
Are dyed in their various colours and fragrances,
And all elements are in their True State without
differentiation.²⁴

Saigyō recognizes that the spirit of the cherry is indeed correct and the play ends with the poet awakening from his dream to find the cherry blossoms scattered around him on the ground.

In these Noh plays and in others as well, we see the dynamics of Noh theory projected into art on the stage. Ultimately, the Noh is a drama of dream psychology, where events and characters have a profound symbolism that reaches through to the archetypal depths of the mind. Such a penetrating art demands much from its audience. Zeami himself has declared just what quality is required to understand this art:

Among those who witness Nō plays the connoisseurs see with their minds [kokoro], while the untutored see with their eyes. What the mind [kokoro] sees is the essence; what the eyes see is the performance.²⁹

D. Bashō and the Haikai Movement

The peace established by the bakufu (1603-1867) ushered in an era that accented a new kind of man, the robust city dweller in an age of commerce, and a different kind of poetry responded to this milieu. We now reach a unique and final development in the kokoro tradition, for with the rise of the haikai movement in poetry we find an art form that has little or nothing to do with either the aristocracy of the emperor's court nor patronage by the shogunate. Haikai achieves a broadening of the sphere of poetic inspiration by centering itself in common, daily life while exerting to their natural consequences the inner tendencies toward secularism within the Zen Buddhist philosophy which underlies the new art. By the seventeenth century the years of heavy Buddhist dominance in the culture of Japan produced finally a rejection of Buddhist influence.

Intellectually, Buddhism in general, had responded to the years of warfare and turmoil by an increasing pessimism, and with the establishment of a new, vigorous era of peace there was a desire to throw off the darker aspects of Buddhist interpretation and seek a more stable, secular ideology committed to order and prosperity within the human world. Neo-Confucianism fit the needs of the age. A new, more sophisticated and politicized Shinto exerted itself into the consciousness of the people.

Yet despite the forward-looking exuberance of this new age, in the matter of culture we are well advised to heed the words of Brower and Miner in their study of Japanese court poetry:

One cannot pursue one's study of the esthetic ideals of Zeami or Bashō very far without returning to Shunzei's ideal of yūgen or Saigyō's poetry of sabi, any more than one can approach the renga of Shōtetsu, Shinkei, and Sōgi except through the ideals of Teika and the practise of the Kyōgoku-Reizei poets. ³⁰

Since ancient times there had been a custom of having one poet write the first three lines of a waka (kami no ku), while another poet finished the poem by adding the final two lines (shimo no ku). This practise eventually became extended, through multiple authorship, to a hundred stanzas of alternately three and two lines. This new verse form, which became known as renga, first originated among court poets as a form of amusement and relaxation after an evening of serious waka composition. By the Ashikaga period, however, renga itself had achieved maturity as a serious poetic form. Such poet-priests as Shinkei (1406-75) and Sōgi (1421-1502) expressed their poetic genius by their excellence in the renga form. Renga adopted many of the conventions, diction, and imagery

of the older court poetry tradition, but the creative impulses, stimulated by the changes in society, exerted themselves beyond renga into a further derivation from the court tradition in the form of non-standard or haikai no renga. Subject matter for haikai included the menial, the unexpected and humorous, even the vulgar. Earl Miner explains:

[Haikai had] to use meaningfully and aesthetically a language extended to include low images, sinicisms, and other techniques banned from both waka and renga. At the same time, this fresh, widened, lowered world had to be treated with mature art if what languages implies -- thought, values, and other aspects of our understanding of life -- was to be more than a game.³¹

It was this disparity which made haikai all the more difficult to write than renga. To see depth in the commonplace, to see meaningful beauty in the plain and humble moved Japanese poetry toward greater universality. The symmetrical and the obviously beautiful tend to immediately absorb the senses, to divert the aesthetic thirst toward the "form" of the object; the asymmetrical and the imperfect, on the other hand, invite us to completion, to participation and to the recognition of our interrelationship with all things.

These potentialities for universality, inwardness, and interconnection latent within haikai no renga were brought to classical fruition under the influence of Zen Buddhism. Zen's emphasis on the Buddha-mind in everyday activities lends itself to an expression of the absolute through the transient and the ordinary. Though it is questionable to go as far as Shuichi Kato's assertion that Zen did not give rise to such arts as the tea ceremony but simply became those things,³² it is no doubt correct to see in Zen's claim to a Special Transmission outside the Scriptures 教外別伝 a tendency to

stress the revelation of truth within the secular and natural world. Thus while it is known that Bashō studied Zen with the priest Butchō (1642-1715), we cannot call him a Zen poet in the sense, for example, that Gerald Manley Hopkins was a Catholic poet, and yet the spirit of Zen permeates Bashō's mature poetry and its inexplicit presence is a Zen characteristic itself.

While Bashō learned from Zen, he also acknowledged Saigyō and Shunzei as his masters.³³ The ideal of sabi was one of the shades of yūgen that both court poets sought to express in their verse, and Bashō embraced this value as a poetic standard for most of his life. In Saigyō's poetry sabi suggests a colorless or faded imagery such as moonlight on the withered autumn grass, or the snipe shooting up from a marsh in the twilight. With Bashō, the same ideal tends to be less vast and more precise:

Fuyu niwa ya
tsuki mo ito naru
mushi no gin.³⁴

In the winter garden,
the weak voice of insects
thins into threads of
moonlight.

Hototogisu
keiyuku kata ya
shima hitotsu.³⁵

Where the small cuckoo
disappears out over the sea -
there: a single island.

In both poems there is an appreciation of an implicit loneliness that draws us in to the true nature of the image. The deep suggestiveness of yojō, or emotional reverberation, was a related value to sabi, that Bashō also prized, and which hearkens back to Shunzei and other court poets of that lineage.³⁶ By fusing these waka values of the Tendai inspired classical tradition with the humbler subject matter and diction of haikai under Zen influence, Bashō was able to elevate the new verse form into the mainstream of the Japanese poetic tradition.

It should be borne in mind that what we now call haiku were

essentially hokku, or the initial verse of a haikai sequence of thirty-six stanzas known collectively as a kasen. The importance of the hokku for setting the tone of the linked sequences led to the practise of composing them separately; they were always at least potentially related to the haikai sequence. The term haiku itself originates only much later with Masaoka Shiki (1869-1902).³⁷ This shift in emphasis from the linkages to the hokku involved a movement from cultural, literary associations to a deeper penetration of the "thing" itself. As an image impresses itself more deeply into the heart-mind, the interrelationship of the self with the non-self, indeed their essential identity, is more immediately felt. The universality of such an experience is underscored by Ezra Pound's statement on the matter:

[An image] is that which presents an intellectual and emotional complex in an instant of time . . . It is the presentation of such a 'complex' instantaneously which gives that sense of sudden liberation; that sense of freedom from time limits and space limits, that sense of sudden growth which we experience in the presence of the greatest works of art.³⁸

In Zen terms this "sudden liberation" is called satori. Satori is the immediate and conscious awakening from a state of profound contemplative concentration known as sammai (sammādhī). Sammai is unity; satori is the realization of that unity.

Poetically, haiku parallels this breakthrough from sammai into satori. It is to be understood from the perspective of the Buddha-mind. From such a perspective not much is said, because much is understood; the haiku does not seek to be profound, because everything is already profound. A haiku by Shiki may reveal this point:

Ushi tsunde
wataru kobune ya
yū shigure.³⁹

Carrying a bull,
 a small boat crosses the river
 through the evening rain.

We might see the bull as our inherent Buddha-nature and the small boat as the body crossing "the river of life," but this is to conceptualize too much. The poem goes deeper than symbolism. There is something that moves us about the power of the bull, aloof and passive, out of his natural element on the over-crowded frail boat filled with humans and their puzzling ways, the whole scene perceived through the misty frame of the evening rain. There is a communion between us and the bull, a sense of "ah, I know how he feels." At that moment, we share in the Zen realization that: "One thing is all things, All things are one thing."⁴⁰

Haiku is inspired by an immediate resonance between an intuition within the poet and an evocative image. Through the importance of the season-word (kigo) which calls forth a complex of sensual associations for the scene of the poem, every haiku unites physical and psychological elements. Two poems by Bashō, one predominantly subjective and the other more objective reveal the reciprocity of this process:

Aki fukaki
tonari wa nani o
suru hito zo.⁴¹

Autumn deepens -
 my neighbour, I wonder,
 how is he doing?

The increasing cold of autumn, the concern for firewood or coal, the changing from summer to winter clothes - all of these are implied by the phrase aki fukaki, and Bashō meets the essence of this by concern for his neighbour. A more solitary poem, one that Bashō wrote on one of his

frequent and long travels though the countryside, shows an encounter with nature:

Ume ga ka ni
notto hi no deru
yama ji kana.⁴²

Through the scent of plum blossoms
the sun suddenly appears -
here on this mountain path.

The season is late winter or early spring. In the mountains there is probably snow still on the ground. Exerting himself in the cold air of the mountain path, Bashō is suddenly aroused from his concentration by the scent of the blossoms and the warmth of the sun. The two sensations experienced unexpectedly within the effort of his traveling strike the poet with a heart-felt but unexplainable significance. In both haiku we are given a context and an experience, and like two poles of a battery, the poetry in a sudden flash, jumps between them. D. T. Suzuki says of this exchange:

These images are not figurative representations made use of by the poetic mind, but they directly point to original intuitions, indeed, they are intuitions themselves. When the latter are attained, the images become transparent and are immediate expressions of the experience.⁴³

Poetic contrivance must not come between the poet and his experience; what Kenneth Yasuda calls the "haiku moment" necessitates a complete immersion in makoto as devotion to a totality of the aesthetic experience which transcends both subject and object.⁴⁴ It is a state which:

. . . shows the thing as it exists at one and the same time outside and inside the mind, perfectly subjective, outelves undivided from the object, the object in its original unity with ourselves.⁴⁵

The full achievement of this moment is a rare thing, and Bashō's standards for the true haiku reveal that it is only seldomly realized. The master is quoted by a disciple as having said:

He who creates three to five haiku poems during a lifetime is a haiku poet. He who attains to ten is a master.⁴⁶

The long evolution of waka into haiku is a seamless fabric of literary achievement, but haiku differs from waka in this respect. While waka tends to make explicit the relationship between human emotion and the aesthetic scene, the very brevity and lack of intellectualization in haiku beats a shorter path between the intuition and its evocative image. The descriptive and associational qualities of waka lend themselves to the experience of kan, "contemplation", whereas haiku circumvents the filters of the mind where extended literary associations linger: the practise of self-conscious allusion to poetic tradition is not an essential part of haiku. Bashō himself, while honouring the past, declared that haiku has no predecessors, and urged his disciples to seek within their own experience for the well-springs of inspiration.⁴⁷

Thus the haiku intuition-image, while revealing, as it were, a humanity in the willow tree and our own human willow tree-nature, yet at the same time, stands before us integral within itself, an object of daily life. In this sense, it must be said that haiku, more than waka, is involved in a "return to the world." The Mahayana notion of Withdrawal and Return 出世入世 is an archetypal description of the human imagination. We see such an archetype in the Bodhisattva vow, in the figure of Christ drawn between the desert and the crowds, and in the Buddha's overcoming his last temptation to keep his revelation to himself. Such an attitude is also implied in the tradition of shikan

embraced through the waka of Shunzei and Teika. Fung Yu-Lan in his commentary on the doctrine of shikan claims that "To achieve Nirvana is the function of cessation (shi); to return to the ordinary world is that of contemplation (kan)."⁴⁸

This "returning" found its clearest expression in the strongly incarnational flavour of haiku. Perhaps too much should not be made of the Zen influence in this aspect of haiku: a sense of "return to the world" was also the flavour of the Tokugawa era that produced it. The humanism of Neo-Confucian thinking accented the reality and importance of the things of this world. At the same time, the enduring spirit of Shinto was reasserting itself from Buddhist dominance. Mt. Hiei had already been destroyed by Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), and though Buddhism had left its indelible mark on every aspect of Japanese culture, it was now in a holding action to preserve its influence. Indeed, with the emergence of haiku, the kokoro tradition in a sense can be said to have returned full circle to the innocent Shinto exuberance of primitive song in the Kojiki and the Manyōshū.

Bashō, in his last years especially, came to realize the full significance of haiku's place in this "return to the world." In his early style of sabi Bashō encouraged the poet to immerse himself in nature and thus dissolve his ego, but in his last years, he evolved a style of karumi, "lightness," in his haiku. With the ideal of karumi, Bashō was working out the final implications of the aesthetics of mushin. Kyorai (1651-1704), one of Bashō's disciples, said of "lightness" that it "derives from the depth of the body and is found naturally throughout the whole stanza."⁴⁹ Kyorai's phrasing suggests a new measure of Bashō's perception as he grapples with the kōan implicit within the concept of kokoro: "Where finally is the

essence [kokoro] to be found?" As his intuitive wisdom ripened, Bashō came to see that things, just as they are, speak eloquently for themselves, and thus, from the Buddha-perspective, the literal is already the fullest expression of the profound:

Ko no moto ni
shiru mo namasu mo
sakura kana.⁵⁰

Beneath the cherry blossoms,
 the soup, fish and vegetables
 are speckled with petals.

Through the haiku of karumi such as this, Bashō achieved the full maturity of his art. We may see in this new mode the figurative expression of his death-bed advice to his disciples to "attain a high stage of enlightenment and return to the world of common men."⁵¹

CHAPTER FIVE: KOKORO AS ECOLOGICAL INSIGHT

The kokoro tradition, as a unified and continuous lineage, comes to an end with the haikai movement in the Tokugawa era. Masaoka Shiki attempted to revive haiku during the early Meiji period but the creative dynamics of the age were not oriented toward kokoro, rather it was in the direction of morality and politics that the energy flowed.¹ Nor can Motoori Norinaga be included within the tradition. His scholarship was about, rather than experienced through, the mode of kokoro, and in the words of William Wordsworth, we murder to dissect. A novel by Natsume Soseki (1867-1916) called Kokoro deals with the sensitive friendship between a young and an older man, yet, while brilliant within its limits, the scope is already limited to a heavily psychological treatment of purely human concerns. The dominant rational humanism that begins with the Tokugawa era narrowed the universality of kokoro as an expressive spirit of metaphorical identification with all of creation. If history can be read in sound, we would hear with Ki no Tsurayuki in the Heian period, the calling of Kajika frogs and the uguisu nightingale; in the middle ages, the sound of mu would be carried in the haunting strains of the shakuhachi flute, while finally in the late Tokugawa era, we hear mainly the shamisen and the clatter of sake bottles. Ultimately this was due to a sense of a narrowing of the cosmos that restricted the human imagination; it is in the failure of Buddhism, and in the success of the nation-state. Hisamatsu Sen'ichi commenting on the loss of the "beauty of thought" (shisō-bi) in this period goes so far as to assert that:

This is due to the fact that the culture of the Recent Past was dominantly plebian, its philistine and entertaining character almost effacing the quality of thought.²

It was the intellectual leaven of thought on sentiment that had nourished the tradition of kokoro. In the Tokugawa era philosophical thought turned primarily to morality and politics. This proved, finally, to be insufficient to sustain the sense of cosmological unity upon which the tradition had been based.

The oldest Shinto values of makoto and kiyoki kokoro had affirmed that it is our capacity for purity of heart that unites man with the kami and through them to the spirit of the land. As demonstrated by Susanō o Mikoto in the Kojiki, this quality of heart was essentially an expressive impulse toward song and metaphorical response to emotion. These instincts in early Shinto remained naive within a simple anthropomorphic world-view until the advent of literacy and Chinese learning in the early eighth century. The incorporation of a system of writing transformed the group context of the oral tradition and through a process of individuation created the possibility for aesthetic distance from the creative instinct that allowed kokoro to become an articulated and conscious value. Poetry in the native language began to take written form, and owing to the pervasive impact of Chinese and a foreign Buddhist ideology, it was natural for the native language to become at first identified exclusively with the indigenous Shinto ethos. The dual language structure that resulted assured the survival of poetry in Japanese and its central value of kokoro.

The process of individuation inherent in the increasing complexity of the culture stimulated an awareness of the individual's interior world, and it was into this new self-consciousness that Buddhism projected itself. Buddhism, through the teachings of karma, taught that each person has an individual destiny separate from his social context and present place in the world. The effect on poetry was to seek for a deeper significance and underlying truth in the maze of

shifting emotions and appearances that moved through the heart. The crisis in society of the late Heian period quickened this process, and from the karon of that time, on through the middle ages, there is an emphasis on the cultivation of kokoro as a practise akin to Buddhist meditation. Through the aesthetics of yūgen, ushin, and finally in mushin the concept of kokoro developed its most metaphysical manifestation. With the development of mushin especially, the idea of kokoro can be said to have reached a conception comparable with the traditional Buddhist notion of Indra's Net. According to this myth the celestial palace of the god Indra is surrounded by an infinite net which hangs in the cosmos, and at each mesh of the net there is a radiant gem which reflects every other gem in the net and the reflections within every gem. Kukai used this image to discourse on how the Buddha Vairocana is intimately united to the phenomenal world, "like the endlessly interrelated meshes of Indra's Net."² The universalism of mushin, after centuries of Buddhist influence, fulfills at this stage, the definition of kokoro as "an innate capacity for feeling which is the innermost nature of all things and which binds them to each other."

The union of poetry and Buddhism, however, was always an uneasy alliance; within Buddhism there was a certain ambivalence toward poetic practise, and poetry itself shied instinctively from intellectualization and world renunciation. Even with the metaphysical tone of mushin, kokoro was primarily an aesthetic experience rather than an explicitly philosophical concept. An inner strength of the Shinto element within poetry allowed the kokoro poetic tradition to retain its distinct literary integrity and even to rival Buddhism as a way of life.

Northrop Frye, in his book, The Great Code, concurs with the theory of Giambattista Vico that there are three phases in the evolution of language. Vico's paradigm, as expressed through Frye, is a useful model

for examining the developmental stages of the kokoro tradition which have been summarized in this thesis. There are at least two reasons for submitting this study of Japanese literature to a theory of the universal development of language. The first is that, as Kato asserts, Japanese literature is one of the world's longest, continuous traditions of writing in the same language.⁴ Secondly, the relative historical isolation of its evolution recommends it as a prime case for hypotheses of language development universally. What we have called the kokoro tradition dates from 712 A.D., with the Kojiki, and earlier as oral literature, to somewhere in the eighteenth or nineteenth century, a period of at least a thousand years. Over Northrop Frye's shoulder, so to speak, we will attempt to discern a wider parallel in what has already been demonstrated as an identifiable pattern within the tradition itself.

Frye, through Vico, identifies three ages in a cycle of history, each containing and transmitted through its own type of verbal expression.⁵ The first and oldest form of language is primarily metaphorical. The emphasis of language is on a common power or energy uniting subject and object; words are concrete with no verbal abstractions: "They are solidly anchored in physical images connected with bodily processes or with specific objects."⁶ In this phase:

". . . the central conception which unifies human thought and imagination is the conception of a plurality of gods, or embodiments of the identity of personality and nature."

While words are grounded in physicality, they are metaphorically identified with a wide range of correspondences. Thus through the equation of the Greek word pneuma with the meaning of both "wind" and "spirit", the biblical sentence:

The wind bloweth where it listeth . . .
so is everyone that is born of the Spirit.

originally contained the metaphorical phase understanding of:

The wind blows where it likes . . .
that's what everyone is like who is
born of the wind.⁸

Frye explains that:

Many primitive societies have words expressing this common energy of human personality and natural environment which are untranslatable into our normal categories of thought but are very pervasive in theirs: the best known is the Melanesian word mana. The articulating of words may bring this common power into being; hence a magic develops in which verbal elements, "spell," and "charm," and the like, play a central role. A corollary of this principle is that there may be a potential magic in any use of words. Words in such a context are words of power or dynamic forces.⁹

The relevance of this to the Japanese oral tradition of norito and koto-dama is quite obvious here. The equation of kokoro with both the human body and the nature of kami corresponds well to this first phase of language.

This stage in language, however, begins to break down as verbal abstraction increases:

In this second phase language is more individualized, and words become primarily the outward expression of inner thoughts or ideas. Subject and object are becoming more consistently separated, and "reflection," with its overtones of looking into a mirror, moves into the verbal foreground.¹⁰

This development is associated with the rise of monotheism, the concept of a transcendent reality which give consistency and hierarchy to all lower orders of existence. Metaphor becomes a conscious figure of speech, while art and experience derive their meaning by an analogical reference to a conceptual standard:

The basis of expression here is moving from the metaphorical, with its sense of identity of life or power or energy between man and nature ("this is that"), to a relationship that is rather metonymic ("this is put for that").¹¹

In literature this phase is characterized by allegory "where a metaphorical narrative runs parallel with a conceptual one but defers to it." ¹²

The Japanese experience diverges somewhat from this phase of the model. Kūkai's enshrining of Mahavairocana as the Buddha in its absolute state has a strong flavour of monotheism, and as Hakeda points out, was a great leap in Buddhist thinking.¹³ The plurality of Bodhisattvas and Buddhas in Mahayana generally, however, mitigated against such a unified focus of sanctity as the figure of God in the Christian or Islamic systems. In fact the continuing influence of Shinto pluralism on poetry infused the kokoro tradition with a perennial sense of direct metaphorical identification with nature. This tendency was further strengthened by a basic difference of Buddhism from Christianity: whereas Buddhism, through its view of the six modes of beings in the cosmology of the rokudō hierarchy, insisted that progress from the lower to the higher was an important value,¹⁴ there was a parallel current of thought within Buddhism, one which we have seen operating throughout the kokoro tradition. It is the notion that there is a final identity and equality between "high" and "low." Enlightenment is possible at any point in the chain of being, and Buddha resides equally in every part. This logic reinforced the practise of poetry, allowing it to become a Path of Liberation (michi) on its own terms. Despite these factors, however, there is apparent in the values of yūgen and ushin a strong aesthetic projection towards a philosophical order

underlying experience; but it is not allegory, it does not "defer" to a conceptual system. Kokoro, with the emergence of mushin, comes close to being a metaphysical principle, but its strong tradition that kokoro was a mode of sensibility separate from the mind and from language itself preserved its metaphorical quality against the allegorical urge.

In this second, metonymic phase of language, according to Frye, words become detached from nature and seek instead a unified world-view through an inner consistency of logical ordering within language itself. This situation, epitomized by the European medieval view, existed finally into the sixteenth century in Europe. Francis Bacon, in England, was a great foe of this standard and compared such thinking to a spider's web woven entirely from the pure subjectivity of the spider itself, having no correspondence at all with natural reality. The movement here in the third phase of language evolution is from words to things. Language becomes primarily a description of an objective natural order:

The criterion of truth is related to the external source of the description rather than to the inner consistency of the argument.¹⁵

Reality is confirmed by sense experience in the natural world. The dominant mode of literary expression becomes description and realism, metaphor having been reduced to rhetorical flourish. Objectivity is seen to exist in the material world independent of human consciousness; subjectivity is simply false. Within Japan in the Tokugawa era, the rational humanism of Neo-Confucianist thought was moving in this direction, and the popular prose of Edo society reflected the trend. The adoption of Western learning in the Meiji era finally opened Japan to European scientific thought understood through the ascendancy of third-phase language.

As Northrop Frye notes, each phase in the evolution of language has opened new freedom while yet imposing new limits:

Descriptive language, and the development of science that has accompanied it, have helped to reveal to us a richness and variety in the objective world far beyond even the imaginations of those who lived before it. Yet there is a curious restiveness about this kind of revelation, some feeling of what Blake calls, "the same dull round, even of a universe." What is dull is not the universe but the mental operations prescribed for us in observing it.¹⁶

In this point that lies the relevance to the modern world of Japan's kokoro tradition in literature. It was a continuous lineage of first-phase language for over a thousand years. Even today, in the mechanistic frenzy of modern Japan, it exists as a residual but fragmented consciousness in the life of the culture. In its classical form the poetic tradition kept alive the realization that the world as a living thing can never be understood as separate from our perception of it; it is always within the continuum of mind and imagination, and finally it is the quality of our perception that creates the quality of the world. This understanding in such artists as Shunzei, Zeami and Bashō suggests that through a purified fusion of intuitive instincts latent within the heart one can reveal a figurative and liberating truth about life. This achievement was more than simple mysticism, for such an understanding had, simultaneously, to meet the demands of artistic expression. Their concern was to transmit that truth in a literary form that allowed it to be experienced by others. In both the Noh and their poetry, they revealed an opening through which one could "descend" into the depths of human consciousness, where in the bottom of the heart there are "feelers" like a mycelium layer of roots which extend out into all things. The aesthetics of kokoro point

consistently to a method of attaining a state of awareness where the dichotomy of subject and object have not yet arisen, and of the possibility to bring that perspective back into the world of experience and poetic form. If there is a single imperative working from Tsurayuki through the karon and into the treatises of Noh and haiku, it is that the way of kokoro is a mode of knowledge inaccessible to the articulating and dichotomizing intellect, but which can, at the same time, speak naturally to us through a poetry of metaphorical insight. Teika in this regard, in the preface to his Kindai shūka, quotes his father's advice that:

Poetry is not an art which can be learned by looking afield or hearing afar; it is something that proceeds from the heart and is understood in the self.¹⁷

Both poets declared that the karon could never teach poetry. One must penetrate into poems themselves to find the way to a oneness of self and nature. A thousand years of this poetic tradition was thus transmitted by a process akin to osmosis through the kokoro of the poem.

Throughout this tradition we are never far from the aboriginal mind. The paleolithic hunter who would fast and purify himself to be worthy that the animals would come willingly to within range of his bow, out of compassion for his need, is not so distant from the purity of heart implied by Kamo no Chōmei's description, in the Mumyōshō, of being somehow moved to tears by a mood of silence and seasonal change in the autumn dusk. With the aesthetic values of yūgen we are in a realm of a human correspondence to the synchronicity within the ecology of nature that brings bees to maturity in the summer just when the pollen necessary for the cycle of the flower is ready to be transferred by them from blossom to blossom, or the instinct by which salmon, through their sense of smell in the water, find the river where

they were born as they return to lay their eggs and die. It is the distinction of the poetry of kokoro to see that from this level there is no separation between human "will" and natural "instinct"; they are both expressions of a deeper common energy, and their difference is itself the poetry within that deeper energy.

Kokoro as an organ of this consciousness has become atrophied in the modern world, to the extent that we doubt its value. Within our own lifetime, however, a fundamental shifting of epistemological thought is occurring in science. The assumptions of Newtonian physics upon which have been based the "common sense" of our world-view are now being replaced by a model of relativity within quantum physics through which we must learn once again to see matter as a form of energy in interdependent continuum with human consciousness. In the words of Northrop Frye:

The thought suggests itself that we may have completed a gigantic cycle of language from Homer's time, where the word evokes the thing, to our own day, where the thing evokes the word, and are now about to go around the cycle again, as we seem now to be confronted once again with an energy common to subject and object which can be expressed verbally only through some form of metaphor.¹⁸

The necessity of art, and of poetry especially, to give sensuous and imaginative meaning to this new prospect in human knowledge underscores the importance of the example which the kokoro tradition has given us. Without such understanding, modern artists, in the phrase of William Thompson, can be no more than "interior decorators of Plato's cave."¹⁹

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

A. The Concept of Kokoro

¹ Shuichi Kato, A History of Japanese Literature (Tokyo, New York: Kodansha International, 1979), p. 1.

² Makoto Ueda, Literary and Art Theories in Japan (Cleveland: The Press of Western Reserve University, 1967), p. 1.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Carlyle, Okey, Wicksteed, trans., The Divine Comedy by Dante Alighieri (New York: Random House, 1932), p. xii.

⁵ Donald Keene, Japanese Literature (New York: Grove Press, 1955), p. 71.

⁶ Ueda, Literary and Art Theories in Japan, p. 2.

⁷ John Fairbank, et al., East Asia: Tradition and Transformation (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1973), p. 145.

⁸ Keene, Japanese Literature, p. 14.

⁹ Robert Brower and Earl Miner, Japanese Court Poetry (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961), p. 225.

B. The Japanese Indigenous World-View: The Gods Have Heart

¹⁰ Kato, A History of Japanese Literature, p. 20.

¹¹ Tsunetsugu Muraoka, Studies in Shinto Thought, trans., Delmer Brown (Tokyo: Ministry of Education, Japan, 1964), p. 55.

- ¹² Kato, A History of Japanese Literature, p. 20.
- ¹³ John Fairbank, et al., East Asia, p. 52.
- ¹⁴ Floyd H. Ross, Shinto: The Way of Japan (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), p. 56.
- ¹⁵ Muraoka, Studies in Shinto Thought, p. 2.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., p. 115.
- ¹⁷ Kato, A History of Japanese Literature, p. 22.

C. Present Approach and Its Specific Purpose

¹⁸ See William Lafleur, The Karma of Words (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983) for a valuable contribution to an understanding of the Buddhist influence in classical Japanese literature. Lafleur's book, however, seems sometimes to go too far in projecting a comprehensive Buddhist interpretation onto specific literary works.

¹⁹ William LaFleur has criticized the research of both Clifton Royston "The Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei (1114-1204)", (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1974), p. 386., and R. Brower, E. Miner, Japanese Court Poetry, p. 295., for treating the Tendai shikan influence on yūgen as a form of quasi-Platonism. This controversy underscores the hazard of neglecting a proper understanding of the religious influences upon the development of the concept of kokoro in Japanese literature.

²⁰ Nicholas Teele, "Rules for Poetic Elegance: Fujiwara Kintō's Shinsen zuinō and Waka kuhon," Monumenta Nipponica 31, 2, (Summer, 1976), p. 151.

²¹ Archibald MacLeish, "Arts Poetica," American Poetry, ed. Karl Shapiro (New York; Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1960), p. 188.

CHAPTER TWO: THE ORAL TRADITION AND THE MANYOSHU

A. The Historical Setting

¹ Fairband, et al., East Asia, p. 330,

² Ibid., p. 334

³ Donald Philippi, trans. Kojiki (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1968), p. 334.

B. Oral Magic and Prayer Literature

⁴ Philippi, Kojiki, p. 15

⁵ Ibid., p. 12

⁶ Ibid., p. 13

⁷ Asao Ogihara, ed., Kojiki, in Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 1, (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1973), p p. 228

⁸ Philippi, Kojiki, p. 251.

⁹ Ibid., p. 252.

¹⁰ An Outline of Shinto Teachings by the Shinto Committee for the IXth International Congress for the History of Religions, (Tokyo: Kokugakuin University, 1958), p. 68.

¹¹ Jean Herbert, Shinto: At the Fountain-Head of Japan, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1967), p. 60.

¹² Ibid., p. 71

¹³ Sen'ichi Hisamatsu, ed., Japanese Literature: A Historical Outline, trans. Edward Putzar (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1973), p. 8.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Hisamatsu, ed., Japanese Literature, p. 11.

¹⁸ R. Brower, E. Miner, Japanese Court Poetry, p. 86.

¹⁹ Northrop Frye, The Great Code: The Bible as Literature (Toronto: Academic Press Canada, 1981), p. 25.

C. The Influence of Chinese Writing

²⁰ Philippi, ed., Kojiki, p. 91.

²¹ Ibid., p. 90.

²² Rimpei Maruyama, ed., Teihon kojiki (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1969), p. 141.

²³ Philippi, ed., Kojiki, p. 91.

²⁴ Aso Ogiyama, ed., Kojiki, in Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 1, (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1973), p. 90.

²⁵ Philippi, ed., Kojiki, p. 91.

²⁶ Brower, Miner, Japanese Court Poetry, p. 58. See also Philippi, Kojiki, p. 141.

- 27 Maruyama, ed., Teihon kojiki, pp. 155, 414, 513.
- 28 Ibid., p. 141.
- 29 Ibid., p. 364.
- 30 Ibid., p. 155.
- 31 Philippi, ed., Kojiki, p. 106.
- 32 Maruyama, ed., Teihon kojiki, p. 414.
- 33 Philippi, ed., Kojiki, p. 311.
- 34 Maruyama, ed., Teihon kojiki, p. 364.
- 35 Philippi, ed., Kojiki, p. 274.
- 36 I owe this information to Dr. K. Takashima, Asian Studies Department, University of British Columbia.
- 37 Philippi, ed., Kojiki, p. 43.
- 38 Kato, A History of Japanese Literature, p. 34.
- 39 Fairbank, et al., East Asia, p. 335.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 T.S. Eliot, "The Social Function of Poetry", Poetry: Theory and Practice, ed. Laurence Perrine, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World Inc. 1962), p. 133.
- 42 Hilda Katō, "The Mumyōshō of Kamo no Chōmei", Monumenta Nipponica 23, (1968), p. 331.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Ibid., p. 331.
- 45 Kato, A History of Japanese History, p. 37.

D. The Manyōshū

- 46 Roy Miller, Japanese Language (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 33-34.
- 47 Maruyama, ed., Teihon kojiki, p. 414.
- 48 Noriyuki Kojima, ed., Manyōshū 1, in Nihon koten bungaku zenshū 2, (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1972), p. 136. See also Manyōshū 2, vol. 3, p. 432.
- 49 Philippi, ed., Kojiki, p. 420.
- 50 Ogiwara, ed., Kojiki, p. 235.
- 51 Philippi, ed., Kojiki, p. 264.
- 52 Kojima, ed., Manyōshū 2, p. 65.
- 53 Ian Levy, trans., The Ten Thousand Leaves, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 357.
- 54 Maruyama, ed., Teihon kojiki, p. 417.
- 55 Haku Itō, Manyōshū no inochi, (Tokyo: Hanawa Shoten, 1983), pp. 61-62.
- 56 Haruhiko Kindaichi, ed., Shin meikai kogo jiten (Tokyo: Sanseido, 1972), p. 198.
- 57 Akiyasu Tōdō, ed., Gakuen kanwa jiten (Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1978), p. 456.
- 58 Takagi, ed., Manyōshū, in Nihon koten bungaku taikei 6, p. 449.
- 59 See for example Nihon koten bungaku taikei 7, no. 4248, p. 369.

⁶⁰ Takagi, ed., Manyōshū, in the Nihon koten bungaku taikei 4, no. 144, p. 86.

⁶¹ Ibid, no. 266, p. 154.

⁶² Itō, Manyōshū no inochi, pp. 61-62.

⁶³ Ibid.

E. An Overview

⁶⁴ Fairbank, et al., East Asia, p. 338.

⁶⁵ See William Lafleur's The Karma of Words, chapter 2, for a discussion of the impact of the teachings of karma and Buddhist cosmology on the Japanese consciousness in the ninth century.

CHAPTER THREE: BUDDHISM AND THE CULTURE OF THE COURT

A. The Problem of Poetry in Buddhist Terms.

¹ Hyoe Murakami, ed., Great Historical Figures of Japan (Tokyo: Japan Culture Institute, 1978), p. 39.

² Herbert E. Plutschow, "Is Poetry a Sin?", Oriens Extremus 25, 2 (1978), p. 208.

B. Kūkai and Esoteric Buddhism

³ William T. de Bary, ed., Sources of Japanese Traditions (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 139.

⁴ Ibid, p. 137.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ See Teele's "Rules for Poetic Elegance", pp. 146-153.

⁷ Shuichi Kato's A History of Japanese Literature seems to consistently take such an attitude; see, for example, p. 245 on the dismissal of any important Buddhist influence on Fujiwara Teika.

⁸ Lafleur, The Karma of Words, p. 16-17.

⁹ Yoshito S. Hakeda, Kūkai, Major Works (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), p. 7.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 151.

¹¹ Junjiro Takakusu, The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1947), p. 141.

¹² de Bary, ed., Sources of Japanese Tradition, p. 137.

¹³ Ibid., p. 139.

¹⁴ Hakeda, Kūkai, Major Works, p. 6.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ William Lafleur, "Saigyō and the Buddhist Value of Nature", History of Religions 13, 2 (November 1973), p. 94.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 99.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 98.

¹⁹ Hakeda, Kūkai, Major Works, p. 63.

²⁰ Katō, "The Mumyōshō of Kamo no Chōmei", p. 330.

²¹ Plutschow, "Is Poetry a Sin?", Oriens Extremus, p. 216.

²² Ibid., p. 216.

²³ Hakeda, Kūkai, Major Works, p. 8.

²⁴ Plutschow, "Is Poetry a Sin?", p. 216.

²⁵ Hakeda, Kūkai Major Works, p. 7.

²⁶ Ibid.

C. The Historical Setting

²⁷ Hakeda, Kūkai, Major Works, p. 79.

D. The Kokinshū

²⁸ Ezra Pound, Literary Essays of Ezra Pound, ed. T.S. Eliot, (New York: New Directions, 1968), p. 200.

²⁹ Tsuneya Okumura, ed., Kokinwakashū, in Shinchō nihon koten shūsei (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1978), no. 747, p. 257. Translation mine.

³⁰ Brower, Miner, Japanese Court Poetry, p. 30.

³¹ Okumura, ed., Kokinwakashū, p. 11. Translation mine.

³² Ueda, Literary and Art Theories in Japan, p. 19.

³³ Katō, "The Mumyōshō of Kamo no Chōmei", p. 334.

E. Kokoro in the Early Karon and Genji monogatari.

³⁴ Katō, "The Mumyōshō of Kamo no Chōmei", p. 334.

³⁵ Sen'ichi Hisamatsu, "The Characteristics of Beauty in the Japanese Middle Ages", Acta Asiatica 8, (1965), p. 44.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Teele, "Rules for Poetic Elegance", p. 160. Translation mine.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Fujiko Manaka, Kokubungaku ni sesshu sareta Bukkyō (Tokyo: Bun-ichi Shuppan, 1972), pp. 145, 167-72.

- 40 Teele, "Rules for Poetic Elegance", p. 152.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Brower, Miner, Japanese Court Poetry, p. 215.
- 43 Ivan Morris, The World of the Shining Prince (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1964), p. 310.
- 44 Ueda, Literary and Art Theories in Japan, p. 33.
- 45 Ibid., p. 30. I have used Ueda's translations from Genji monogatari rather than Seidensticker's simply because Ueda's translations fit better stylistically with my argument.
- 46 Ibid., p. 32.
- 47 Ibid., p. 33.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Brower, Miner, Japanese Court Poetry, p. 256.

F. Shunzei's Yūgen and the Shinkokinshū

- 50 Sen'ichi Hisamatsu, "Fujiwara Shunzei and Literary Theories of the Middle Ages", Acta Asiatica 1, (1960), p. 37.
- 51 Brower, Miner, Japanese Court Poetry, p. 265.
- 52 Jin'ichi Konishi, "Shunzei no yūgen-fū to shikan", Bungaku 20, (1952), p. 12.
- 53 Katō, "The Mumyōshō of Kamo no Chōmei", p. 409.
- 54 Ibid., p. 408.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Brower, Miner, Japanese Court Poetry, p. 266. Translation mine.

- 57 Konishi, "Shunzei no yūgen-fū to shikan", p. 13.
- 58 Brower, Miner, Japanese Court Poetry, p. 270.
- 59 Ibid., p. 23.
- 60 Ibid., p. 261.
- 61 Jun Kubota, ed., Shinkokinwakashū, in Shinchō nihon koten shūsei (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1979), no. 363, p. 133. Translation mine.
- 62 Konishi, "Shunzei no yūgen-fū to shikan", p. 16.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Lafleur, The Karma of Words, p. 100.
- 67 Fung Yu-lan, A History of Chinese Philosophy 2, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), p. 360. This attribution is problematic as Fung Yu-lan himself notes. In any case Chih-i (538-597) followed Hui-ssū to become the third patriarch of the T'ien-tai sect and it was his text the Mo-ho-chih-kuan (Makashikan) that so influenced both Shunzei's and Teika's poetic theory.
- 68 Ibid., p. 375.
- 69 Ibid., p. 377.
- 70 Ibid., p. 375.
- 71 Ibid., p. 378.
- 72 Robert M. Gimello, "Mysticism and Meditation", Mysticism and Philosophical Analysis, ed., Steven Katz, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 181.

- ⁷³ Jeffrey Hopkins, Meditation on Emptiness (London: Wisdom Publications, 1983). See Chapter 8, Calm Abiding, p. 67.
- ⁷⁴ Gimello, "Mysticism and Meditation", p. 193.
- ⁷⁵ William Wordsworth, "Preface to the Lyrical Ballads", Poetry: Theory and Practise, ed., Laurene Perrine, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World Inc., 1962), p. 42.
- ⁷⁶ See Manaka, Kokubungaku ni sesshu sareta Bukkyō, p. 23 and Lafleur, The Karma of Words, p. 89.
- ⁷⁷ William Blake, "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell", Blake: Complete Writings, ed., Geoffrey Keynes, (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 151.
- ⁷⁸ The following categorizations of Kokoro are summarized from Konishi's "Shunzei no yūgen-fū to shikan".
- ⁷⁹ Brower, Miner, Japanese Court Poetry, p. 267.
- ⁸⁰ Jun Kubota, ed., Skinkokinwakashū, no. 238, p. 95. Translation mine.
- ⁸¹ Brower, Miner, Japanese Court Poetry, p. 268.
- ⁸² Yasunari Kawabata, Japan, the Beautiful and Myself, trans. Edward Seidensticker, (Tokyo: Kondansha International, 1969), p. 42.
- ⁸³ Kubota, ed., Skinkokinwakashū, no. 362, p. 133, Translation mine.
- ⁸⁴ Shigeo Gotō, ed., Sankashū, in Shinchō nihon koten shūsei (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1982), no. 76, p. 28. Translation mine.
- ⁸⁵ Lafleur, "Saigyō and the Buddhist Value of Nature", Part II, History of Religions 3, (February, 1974), p. 229.

G. Teika's Ushintei

⁸⁶ Nicholas Teele, "Religion in Classical Japanese Poetry".
The Japan Christian Quarterly (Fall, 1975), p. 207.

⁸⁷ Robert Brower, Earl Miner, trans., Superior Poems of Our Time, by Fujiwara Teika, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967), p. 16.

⁸⁸ Hisamatsu, "The Characteristics of Beauty in the Japanese Middle Ages", p. 48.

⁸⁹ Hisamatsu, "Fujiwara Shunzei and Literary Theories of the Middle Ages", p. 39.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 40.

⁹¹ Konishi, "Shunzei no yūgen-fū to shikan", p. 20.

⁹² Teele, "Religion in Classical Japanese Poetry", p. 207.

⁹³ Robert Brower, trans., Fujiwara Teika's Hundred-Poem Sequence of The Shoji Era, 1200 (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1978), poem 39, p. 65. Translation mine.

⁹⁴ Royston, "The Poetics and Poetry Criticism of Fujiwara Shunzei (1114-4204)", p. 172.

CHAPTER FOUR: ZEN, NOH, AND HAIKU

A. The Historical Setting

¹ de Bary, ed. Sources, p. 181.

² Fairbank, et al., East Asia, p. 381.

B. The New Aesthetics of Mushin

³ Hisamatsu, "Characteristics of Beauty in the Japanese Middle Ages", p. 43.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Shindai Sekiguchi, Tendai shikan no kenkyū (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1969).

⁶ John Blofeld, trans., The Zen Teaching of Huang-Po (New York: Grove Press, 1958), p. 35.

C. Mushin in Noh Drama

⁷ Fairbank, et al., East Asia, p. 39.

⁸ Lafleur, The Karma of Words, p. 120.

⁹ de Bary, ed., Sources, p. 285.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ de Bary, ed., Sources, p. 286.

¹² Ibid., p. 287.

¹³ Eizo Kon, ed., Bashō kushū in Shinchō nihon koten shūsei (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1982), no. 919, p. 313. Translation mine.

¹⁴ de Bary, ed., Sources, p. 297.

¹⁵ Ueda, Literary and Art Theories in Japan, p. 71.

¹⁶ Kon, ed., Bashō kushū, no. 522, p. 189. Translation mine.

¹⁷ de Bary, ed., Sources, p. 286.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ueda, Literary and Art Theories in Japan, p. 67.

²⁰ de Bary, ed., Sources, p. 287.

²¹ Donald H. Shively, "Buddhahood for the Nonsentient: A Theme in Nō Plays", Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 20, (1957), p. 139.

²² Ibid.

²³ Japanese Classics Translation Committee of the Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, The Noh Drama (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1955), p. 128.

²⁴ Shively, "Buddhahood for the Nonsentient: A Theme in Nō Plays", p. 143.

²⁵ "shinnyo", "jissō", Japanese English Buddhist Dictionary (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1979), pp. 284, 140.

²⁶ Shively "Buddhahood for the Nonsentient: A Theme in Nō Plays", p. 147.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 148.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 149.

²⁹ de Bary, ed., Sources, p. 296.

D. Bashō and the Haikai Movement

³⁰ Brower, Miner, Japanese Court Poetry, p. 420.

³¹ Earl Miner, Japanese Linked Poetry (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 89.

³² Kato, A History of Japanese Literature, p. 22.

³³ Brower, Miner, Japanese Court Poetry, p. 262.

³⁴ Kon, ed., Bashō kushū, no. 598, p. 215. Translation mine.

- 35 Ibid., no. 409, p. 147. Translation mine.
- 36 Makoto Ueda, Matsuo Bashō (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1970), p. 161.
- 37 Miner, Japanese Linked Poetry, p. 4.
- 38 Ezra Pound, Literary Essays of Ezra Pound, p. 4.
- 39 Robert H. Blyth, Haiku, Eastern Culture 1, (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1971), p. 165. Translation mine.
- 40 Robert H. Blyth, Zen and Zen Classics 1, (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1960), p. 97.
- 41 Kon, ed., Bashō kushū, no. 921, p. 314. Translation mine.
- 42 Ibid., no. 841, p. 291. Translation mine.
- 43 Daisetsu T. Suzuki, Zen and Japanese Culture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959), p. 240.
- 44 Kenneth Yasuda, The Japanese Haiku (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1957), p. 24.
- 45 Blyth, Haiku, Eastern Culture 1, p. 271.
- 46 Yasuda, The Japanese Haiku, p. 25.
- 47 de Bary, ed., Sources, p. 466.
- 48 Fung Yu-Lan, A History of Chinese Philosophy 2, p. 377.
- 49 Miner, Japanese Linked Poetry, p. 20.
- 50 Kon, ed., Bashō kushū, no. 615, p. 221. Translation mine.
- 51 Miner, Japanese Linked Poetry, p. 113.

CHAPTER FIVE: KOKORO AS ECOLOGICAL INSIGHT

- ¹ de Bary, ed. Sources, p. 299.
- ² Hisamatsu, "The Characteristics of Beauty in the Japanese Middle Ages", p. 53.
- ³ Hakeda, Kūkai: Major Works, p. 265.
- ⁴ Kato, A History of Japanese Literary, p. 9.
- ⁵ Frye, The Great Code, p. 4.
- ⁶ Ibid., p. 6.
- ⁷ Ibid., p. 9.
- ⁸ Ibid., p. 6.
- ⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰ Frye, The Great Code, p. 7.
- ¹¹ Ibid.
- ¹² Frye, The Great Code, p. 24.
- ¹³ Hakeda, Kūkai: Major Works, p. 82.
- ¹⁴ Lafleur, The Karma of Words, p. 119.
- ¹⁵ Frye, The Great Code, p. 13.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., p. 15.
- ¹⁷ Brower, Miner, trans., Superior Poems of Our Times, p. 43.
- ¹⁸ Frye, The Great Code, p. 15.
- ¹⁹ William Thompson, The Time Falling Bodies Take to Light (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), p. 248.

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