

That Wonderful Composite Called Author

*Authorship in East Asian Literatures from the
Beginnings to the Seventeenth Century*

Edited by

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The Compiler as the Narrator: Awareness of Authorship, Authorial Presence and Author Figurations in Japanese Imperial Anthologies, with a Special Focus on the *Kokin wakashū*

Simone Müller

Introduction

In the 1960s, French poststructuralist Roland Barthes proclaimed, under the banner of “intertextuality,”¹ the death of the author.² The author was downgraded to a megaphone for the speech of others and to a “compiler” of citations. In more recent studies, following the emergence of new media, the basically collective character of text production has been stressed, thus challenging the term “author” from a new perspective.³ Both objections against the conception of the author question the possibility for individual and subjective originality in the creative process of text production.

Barthes’ definition of the author as a “compiler of citations” certainly has its point. Classical Japanese poetry, for instance, is characterised by numerous allusions to pre-texts (hypotexts) constituting a dense net of intertextual relations. However, as Matías Martínez demonstrates in his article “Autorschaft und Intertextualität” (“Authorship and Intertextuality,” 1999), the quality and relevance of a work of art, which constitute crucial topics in discussions on authorship, do not depend primarily on the presence or absence of pre-texts,

1 See Matías Martínez, “Autorschaft und Intertextualität,” in: *Rückkehr des Autors. Zur Erneuerung eines umstrittenen Begriffs*, edited by Fotis Jannidis, Gerhard Lauer, Matías Martínez and Simone Winko, Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur 71, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999: 465–479.

2 See Roland Barthes, “La mort de l’auteur,” in: Roland Barthes, *Œuvres complètes II: 1966–1973*, edited by Éric Marty, nouvelle édition, Paris: Seuil, 2004: 491–495, and Julia Kristeva, “Le mot, le dialogue et le roman,” in: *Sêmeiōtikê: recherches pour une sémanalyse*, Collection Points 96, Paris: Seuil, 1978: 82–112.

3 See Martha Woodmansee, “On the Author Effect. Recovering Collectivity,” in: *The Construction of Authorship: Textual Appropriation in Law and Literature*, edited by Martha Woodmansee and Peter Jaszi, Durham, NC, London: Duke University Press, 1994: 15–28.

nor, in my view, on the number of text producers, but rather on the specific selection and arrangement of text material.⁴ I wish to argue in the following that, depending on the manner of selection and arrangement of pre-texts, even the production of a compilation in collective editorship can become an artistic act of creation which fulfils authorial functions. I would like to demonstrate this based on the example of Japanese imperial anthologies. I will use Fotis Jannidis' model of authorial figurations, thus making a contribution to the ongoing discourse on authorship.⁵ Moreover, I will also apply some parameters elaborated in the introduction of this volume by Steineck/Schwermann, notably their operational model of authorial presence.

First, I will define five authorial figurations using Jannidis' model. In the main section, I will demonstrate how in classical Japanese poetry an increasing awareness of authorship emerged, how compilers of imperial anthologies operated in the creative process of their compilation, and why the compilers of imperial anthologies basically fulfil such functions in the sense of Jannidis. As a case study, I will focus on the *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集 (*Collection of Old and New Poems*, 920), the first anthology published by imperial decree in the tenth century.

1 Fotis Jannidis' Author Figurations

The answer to the question of at what point a compiler fulfils authorial functions depends essentially on the definition of the term "author." Fotis Jannidis, who pleads for the usefulness of the conception of the author in historicising literary interpretations, defines five authorial "functions" or "figurations" in the process of text production and interpretation⁶ in his article "Der nützliche Autor. Möglichkeiten eines Begriffs zwischen Text und historischem Kontext" ("The Useful Author—Possibilities of a Concept between Text and Historical Context," 1999):

4 See Martínez, "Autorschaft und Intertextualität."

5 See Fotis Jannidis, "Der nützliche Autor. Möglichkeiten eines Begriffs zwischen Text und historischem Kontext," in: *Rückkehr des Autors. Zur Erneuerung eines umstrittenen Begriffs*, edited by Fotis Jannidis, Gerhard Lauer, Matías Martínez, Simone Winko, Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur 71. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999: 353–389.

6 For these terms, see the introduction to this volume, 8–9.

Figuration of Selection (Attribution of the Selected Text Elements)

The author chooses text elements such as words, rhetorical figures, plot units, constellations of fictional characters or text units from an available text stock. The selection does not derive from an infinite space of possibilities, but is limited by time-bound semantics.

Figuration of Arrangement (Attribution of the Identifiable Order of Text Elements)

The author puts the selected text elements in a sequence. The possibilities for arrangement essentially depend on the selection. The arrangement is subdivided into an “order type” (for instance *tanka*, anthology) and the “alignment” of the text elements.

Figuration of Insight (Attribution of the Insight Being Expressed in the Text)

By means of the arrangement and the resulting meaning of the text the author refers to his insight into a higher truth. The expressed insight must coincide—at least in part—with the knowledge of the reader.

Figuration of Innovation (Attribution of the Innovative Achievement of the Text)

The author selects elements from various texts and arranges them into a new work of art. The figuration of innovation allows for the localisation of a text in a historical model organised by the difference between “old” against “new” and is thus linked to the knowledge of the recipient.

Figuration of Meaning (Attribution of the Text’s Meaning)

By his selection and arrangement, the author gives the text a new meaning. The creation of meaning by the author stands in a communicative relationship with the recipient as well.

The attribution of a text’s meaning to its author has long been criticised harshly under the catchword of “the intentional fallacy.”⁷ The declarations of the death of the author by Roland Barthes⁸ and other poststructuralists, as well as the reception theories of Hans Robert Jauss⁹ and Wolfgang Iser¹⁰ aim

7 See William K. Wimsatt, *The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry*, Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1954: 3–18.

8 Barthes, “La mort de l’auteur.”

9 See Hans Robert Jauss, *Literaturgeschichte als Provokation der Literaturwissenschaft*, Konstanzer Universitätsreden 3, second edition, Konstanz: Universitätsverlag, 1969 (first edition 1967).

10 See Wolfgang Iser, *Die Appellstruktur der Texte: Unbestimmtheit als Wirkungsbedingung literarischer Prosa*, Konstanzer Universitätsreden 28, Konstanz: Universitätsverlag, 1971.

in large part at this point as well. The meaning of a text, the critics assert, is not the achievement of the author, but inherent to the text, a product of discourses, pretexts, and the constitution of the reader.

The authorial intention is certainly restricted by historical, social, and speech-act factors, in other words by the “horizon,” which may be defined as a system of expectations and probabilities. When seeking an “objective interpretation” (in the sense of Eric D. Hirsch),¹¹ it does not seem reasonable, however, to entirely discard all authorial intention. In the case of classical Japanese anthologies, the attribution of meaning by the author, and in some cases by the compiler as well, can be essential for an adequate textual interpretation.

The arguments formulated above show that the figurations of “meaning,” “insight,” and “innovation” each relate cause and effect to the figurations of “selection” and “arrangement,” being the actual acts of text production: they essentially result from the selection and arrangement of text elements. Moreover, they are linked to the text reception.

A “compiler” in the classical meaning of the term usually merely fulfils the figurations of “selection” and “arrangement,” whereby he deals with larger text units. The arrangement of the selected texts may in some cases be innovative, but they usually do not constitute a new meaning or insight. Applied to Jannidis’ model, the “compiler figurations” may be illustrated as follows:

TABLE 3.1 *Application of compiler figurations to Jannidis’ model of author figurations*

author figurations (Jannidis)	fulfilled	potentially fulfilled	not fulfilled	reason
figuration of selection	x			collection and selection of text elements
figuration of arrangement	x			arrangement of the selected text elements
figuration of insight			x	arrangement of the selected text elements does not give the composition a new insight

11 See Eric D. Hirsch, “Objective Interpretation,” in: Eric D. Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978: 209–244.

TABLE 3.1 (cont.)

author figurations (Jannidis)	fulfilled	potentially fulfilled	not fulfilled	reason
figuration of innovation		x		potentially innovative arrange- ment of the selected text elements
figuration of meaning			x	arrangement of the selected text elements does not give the composition a new meaning

The question of whether a compiler fulfils authorial figurations, therefore, depends in considerable measure on the question of whether he, through his specific selection and arrangement, fulfils the functions of “meaning,” “insight,” and “innovation.” In the following, I would like to demonstrate such a coalescence of the functions of “compiler” and “author” based on the example of Japanese imperial anthologies. Before focusing on the compiler’s figurations in Japanese anthologies, I would first like to examine the awareness of authorship in Japanese poetry in general.

2 Awareness of Authorship in Classical Japanese Poetry

With reference to the theme of “authorship,” classical Japanese poetry exhibits two specific characteristics: a growing authorial consciousness in general and a successively growing importance and creative role of compilers. These two features are strongly related to the social role that court poetry played: publicly held poetry competitions known as *utaawase* 歌合, as well as anthologies compiled by imperial command, the so-called *chokusen wakashū* 勅撰和歌集, provided a public stage on which poets could show their cultivation and gain social prestige.

In classical Japanese poetry, an increasingly strong awareness of authorship emerges, beginning in the time of the oldest extant anthology, the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (*Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*) from the late eighth century. This manifests itself, among other things, in a steady decrease in anonymous poems. Of the 4,516 poems of the *Man'yōshū*, the majority are anonymous, whereas in the *Kokin Wakashū* 古今和歌集, the first *waka* anthology published by imperial decree in the tenth century, just under half of the poems are by unknown

authors. In the following collections there is a further marked reduction in the number of anonymous poems. A comparison between the *Kokinshū* and the *Shinkokin wakashū* 新古今和歌集 (*New Collection of Old and New Poems*, c. 1205), the eighth imperial anthology from the thirteenth century, powerfully illustrates this tendency:

TABLE 3.2 *Percentage of anonymous poems in the Kokinshū*

<i>Kokinshū</i>	total	anonymous	percentage of anonymous poems
Season poetry	342	123	36 per cent
Love poetry	360	182	50.5 per cent
Total	1,100	463	42 per cent

Source: *Kokin wakashū* 1989

TABLE 3.3 *Percentage of anonymous poems in the Shinkokinshū*

<i>Shinkokinshū</i>	total	anonymous	percentage of anonymous poems
Season poetry	706	17	2.4 per cent
Love poetry	446	49	11 per cent
Total	1,978	105	5.3 per cent

Source: *Shinkokin wakashū* 1992

The *Kokinshū* contains a total of 42 per cent anonymous poems, whereas in the *Shinkokinshū* there are only 5.3 per cent. Despite this large percentage difference, there are similarities in the comparative statistics, as the majority of the anonymous works are love poems.

2.1 *Awareness of Authorship in Classical Japanese Love Poetry*

In contrast to season poetry, travel poetry or elegies, love poetry belongs to the private sphere of poetry, which explains why the authors of love poems are often unknown. Many classical Japanese love poems can be classified as “exchange” poems (*sōmonka* 相聞歌; *mondōka* 問答歌), and, given the restrictive social status rules to which the court aristocracy was subjected during the Heian period (794–1185), many of those involved in love relationships did not

want this to be public knowledge. Nevertheless, from the beginning, poetry was basically a public matter, and love poetry was not an exception to the rule. The art of poetry enjoyed a high social status, and poetic flair was one of the essential conditions for social recognition.

An important manifestation of the public role of poetry were the poetry competitions known as *utaawase* 歌合, which were already taking place in the ninth century.¹² They were not only entertainments but also provided a public stage on which poets could raise their social profile as authors. The rules of the poetry contest stipulated that poems should be composed according to various topoi, a practice known by the term *daiei* 題詠, which was adopted from the Chinese poetic tradition. The prescribed topics also included themes from love poetry, for example unrequited love (*katakoï* 片恋), the dream of the beloved or the topos known as “Love on the Morning After” (*kinuginu no koi* 後朝の恋). Classical Japanese love poetry thus is a hybrid genre in which it is not always possible to tell whether the poems are merely conventional or the expression of subjective feelings, although authenticity and convention are not necessarily mutually exclusive.¹³ Nevertheless, the fact that in poetry competitions love poetry was publicly recited and attributed to individual authors vividly illustrates that, even in love poetry, an awareness of authorship was already in existence in the ninth century. There is an increasing awareness of authorship in classical Japanese love poetry on the whole as well. In the *Man'yōshū* the majority of love poems were anonymous; in the tenth-century *Kokinshū* the corresponding figure is only 50 per cent, and in the thirteenth century *Shinkokinshū* only ten per cent of the love poems are by authors whose names are not known.

2.2 *Awareness of Authorship and Conceptions of Gender in Classical Japanese Women's Poetry*

Apart from the high percentage of love poems, another notable feature of anonymous poems is the high percentage of poems by women, or of poems

12 See Judit Árokay, “Wettstreit der Gedichte—Wettstreit der Geschlechter. Frauen- und Männerrollen in höfischen *utaawase*,” in: *II. Deutschsprachiger Japanologentag in Trier 1999. Band II: Sprache, Literatur, Kunst, Populärkultur/Medien, Informationstechnik*, edited by Hilaria Gössmann and Andreas Mrugalla, Ostasien—Pazifik 14, Hamburg: LIT, 2001: 133–142, here 133.

13 See Rein Raud, “The Lover's Subject: Its Construction and Relativization in the Waka Poetry of the Heian Period,” in: *Love and Sexuality in Japanese Literature*, edited by Eiji Sekine, *Proceedings of the Midwest Association for Japanese Literary Studies* 5 (1999): 65–78, here 75.

in which the narrator is female. Determining authorial awareness in women's poems is not wholly unproblematic, however, because it is not always possible to make a clear determination as to whether a Japanese poem was written by a woman or by a man.¹⁴ Given the brevity of *tanka* poems, permitting little more than the depiction of a momentary emotional state, determination of the gender of the subject of the utterance is often impossible at the linguistic level. In season poetry the narrator is often not marked, and for the most part only a natural phenomenon is described, such as the falling of cherry blossoms or a mist-enshrouded bay. This renders it virtually impossible to determine the narrator's gender. (It should nonetheless be noted that the majority of poems known to be by women in the compilation under discussion are love poems, not nature poems.) In love poetry the identification of the subject of utterance is somewhat easier as the emotions expressed sometimes permit conclusions about the gender of the narrator, which is often, but not always, identical to the sex of the historical author.¹⁵ Indications of gender are also provided by various motifs, such as seaweed floating on water (*ukigusa* 浮き草), which symbolises the emotional instability of a woman abandoned by her lover. The topos of waiting or of yearning also suggests a female narrator, reflecting social conventions. The courtly marriage system of the Heian period was based on a duolocal marriage system, i.e. a form of "walking marriage" or "visit marriage" was practised.¹⁶ The literature portrays an arrangement in which women continued to live in their parents' home after marriage and were visited by their

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- 14 The problem of gender identification in anonymous poetry is also examined by Marion Eggert in her contribution to this volume, "Fluidity of Belonging and Creative Appropriation: Authorship and Translation in an Early Sinic Song ('Kongmudoha Ka')."
- 15 On the relation between gender and love poetry, see Kojima Naoko 小島菜温子, "Koiuta to jendâ: Narihira, Komachi, Henjō" 恋歌とジェンダー: 業平・小町・遍照, in: *Kokubungaku* 国文学 (*Koten sekai no koiuta* 古典世界の恋歌) 41.12 (October 1996): 56–62. On the issue of gender in *waka* poetry see Laurel Rasplica Rodd, "Moving and Without Strength: Is there a Woman's Voice in Waka?", in: *Across Time and Genre: Reading and Writing Women's Texts*, edited by Janice Brown and Sonja Arntzen, Edmonton: Department of East Asian Studies, University of Alberta, 2002. For a recent publication on the topic see Michel Vieillard-Baron, "Male? Female? Gender Confusion in Classical Poetry (*waka*)," in: *Cipango, French Journal of Japanese Literature* 2 (2013), <<http://cjs.revues.org/270>> (June 28, 2013).
- 16 See William H. McCullough, "Japanese Marriage Institutions in the Heian Period," in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 27 (1967): 103–167, Peter Nickerson, "The Meaning of Matrilocal: Kinship, Property and Politics in Mid-Heian," in: *Monumenta Nipponica* 48.4 (1993): 429–467, and Haruko Wakita, "Marriage and Property in Premodern Japan. From the Perspective of Women's History," in: *Journal of Japanese Studies* 10.1 (1984): 73–99.

husbands, usually at night. This is why narratological investigative methods such as study of the narrative perspective may be useful in order to determine the gender of the narrator. Verbs of waiting (*matsu* 待つ) or coming (*ku* 来) point to a poem with a female subject of utterance who is “waiting” for her beloved or who calls on him to “come” to her. Literary research has even used social relationship conventions to determine the gender of the authors of anonymous dream poems (*yume no uta* 夢の歌). Rein Raud demonstrates, for example, how walking along the dream path (*yume no kaiyōji* 夢の通路), a popular motif in dream poetry, was adapted to social conventions.¹⁷ The strict transferability of social conventions to dream poetry is a controversial issue in Japanese literary scholarship, however. It is argued that the dream in poetry is a free dimension in which social restrictions do not apply and in which love can be freely lived out.¹⁸ It, therefore, seems that in the dream poems the attempt to define the narrator’s gender in relation to visiting practices does not succeed in all cases. An analysis of the poems in which the author is known, however, confirms the tendency that in both Japanese poetry in general and dream poetry in particular the conventional visiting practices between men and women were observed.¹⁹

The problem of determining the author’s sex proves to be even more complicated. Even when the narrative perspective makes it possible to identify the gender of the narrator, this need not mean that the sex of the author is known as well. As early as in the *Man’yōshū*, and particularly in the poetry of the Heian period, we find the practice of men composing poems from the fictitious viewpoint of a lonely woman awaiting her lover.²⁰ This is a Japanese adaptation of Chinese boudoir poetry or *guiyuanshi* 閨怨詩, a genre of Chinese poetry of the late Six Dynasties era, in which the lover’s complaint is expressed from the viewpoint of a court lady awaiting her lover.²¹ The anthology compiled

17 See Raud, “The Lover’s Subject: Its Construction and Relativization in the Waka Poetry of the Heian Period,” 68.

18 See Matsuda Takeo 松田武夫, *Shinshaku Kokin wakashū* 新釈古今和歌集, 2 vols., Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō 風間書房, 1968–1975: vol. 2, 275–276.

19 See Simone Müller, *Sehnsucht nach Illusion? Klassische japanische Traumlyrik aus geschlechtsspezifischer und literaturgeschichtlicher Perspektive*, Welten Ostasiens 2, Bern: Peter Lang, 2005.

20 See Aoki Takako 青木生子, “*Man’yōshū* ni okeru dansei ni yoru onnauta” 万葉集における男性による女歌, in: *Man’yō* 万葉 168 (March 1999): 1–23.

21 See Anne M. Birrell, “The Dusty Mirror: Courtly Portraits of Woman in Southern Dynasties Love Poetry,” in: *Expressions of Self in Chinese Literature*, edited by Robert E. Hegel and Richard C. Hessney, New York: Columbia University Press, 1985: 33–69, Ronald C. Miao, “Palace-Style Poetry: The Courtly Treatment of Glamour and Love,” in: *Studies in Chinese*

by Xu Ling 徐陵 (507–583) entitled *Yutai xinyong* 玉台新詠 (*New Songs from the Jade Terrace*, 545) is regarded as representative in this respect.

Chinese boudoir poetry was adopted in Japanese poetry, where it established itself as the “poetry of waiting” (*matsu koi no uta* 待恋歌). It is a genre that is particularly prominent in the *Kokinshū*. In contrast to China, where poetry was heavily dominated by men, the topos found its way into men’s and women’s poetry in Japan.

Therefore, we need to exercise caution when investigating the sex of the author of anonymous poems. According to the theory of the philologist Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697–1769), the poetic style of the *Kokinshū* is generally regarded as plaintive and feminine (*taoyameburi*). In my view, this is attributable to the marked influence of Chinese boudoir poetry on the *Kokinshū*.²² To my knowledge there is still a tendency in Japanese *Kokinshū* research to attribute the anonymous poetry of waiting to a female authorship. For reasons that can only be outlined here, it seems likely that more anonymous poems were actually written from the fictitious perspective of a waiting woman than the academic consensus generally admits. The problem is that, as discussed above, it is often not possible to substantiate this thesis at the level of language or content, and we are left with a supposition based on speech act logic in the conventions of Heian poetry. At any event these conventions of speech act logic, which may have permitted men, and even women,²³ to compose poems from the fictitious perspective of the other sex, raise serious doubts about whether awareness of authorship was in fact less pronounced among female poets than among men. It seems at least as likely that it is the result of tendencies in literary scholarship to identify the gender of the narrator with the sex of the historic author.

Poetry and Poetics, vol. 1, edited by Ronald C. Miao, San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1987: 1–42, and David T. Roy, “The Theme of the Neglected Wife in the Poetry of Ts’ao Chih,” in: *Journal of Asian Studies* 19.1 (November 1959): 25–31.

22 See Konishi Jin’ichi 小西甚一, “Kokinshūteki hyōgen no seiritsu 古今集的表现の成立,” in: *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集, edited by Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō kankōkai 日本文学研究資料刊行会, Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō sōsho 日本文学研究資料叢書, Tōkyō: Yūseidō 有精堂, 1976: 151–178, and Konishi Jin’ichi, “The Genesis of the *Kokinshū* Style,” translated by Helen McCullough, in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 38.1 (June 1978): 61–170.

23 On men’s poetry written by women see Gotō Shōko 後藤祥子, “Joryū ni yoru otoko uta—Shikishi naishinnō e no shiten” 女流による男歌—式子内親王歌への一視点, in: *Heian bungaku ronshū* 平安文学論集, edited by Sekine Yoshiko hakase shōga-kai 関根慶子博士頌賀会. Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō 風間書房, 1992.

In his study on gender confusion in classical Japanese poetry, Michel Vieillard Baron arrives at the following conclusion, with which I will close this section:

[...] *waka* poetic genre is intrinsically sexually ambivalent, even in the case of love poems. [...] the vast majority of *waka* contain no internal elements to suggest the gender of the piece. [...] While in some cases the situation described (waiting, for example, which places the poem in a female register) enables the gender of the poem to be determined—albeit independently of the author’s biological sex—in most cases it is external information (the name of the poet and the headnotes explaining the context in which the poem was composed) that enable us to identify the sex of the *waka*’s author and the gender of the narrator [...]. The fundamental role of these external elements in determining our reading and interpretation of *waka* is thus clear; without them, the question of sexual identification would often remain open.²⁴

2.3 *Author Figurations in Classical Japanese Poetry*

I would now like to refer to a final problem regarding author awareness or the author figuration in writers of classical Japanese poetry.²⁵ The topics and rhetorical techniques of classical Japanese poetry were strongly conventionalised. There is also a long tradition of deliberate allusions to former—famous—poems. This tradition presumably has to do with the Confucian concept of seeking out the ideal in the past. In Japan, as also in China, this concept developed into an aesthetic ideal that does not strive for innovation but instead refers to literary predecessors. Innovative variation within tradition was regarded as beautiful and touching.

The quality of a text depended on the artist’s skill in alluding to predecessors, thus providing his poem with a new dimension through the simultaneous activation of two texts and proving his literacy at the same time. This aesthetic ideal is closely linked to the relationship between author and reader. An allusion or a conventionalised phraseology has to rely on the audience’s competence to recognise it as such. Therefore, poetic composition required a profound knowledge of classical texts not only on the part of the artist but also

24 Vieillard-Baron, “Male? Female? Gender Confusion in Classical Poetry (*waka*),” <http://cjs.revues.org/270> (June 28, 2013).

25 The following section is largely based on Müller, *Sehnsucht nach Illusion? Klassische japanische Traumlyrik aus geschlechtsspezifischer und literaturgeschichtlicher Perspektive*, 32–33.

on that of the recipient. Such an interaction between the author and audience was only possible if both sides commanded comparable degrees of literacy. Aristocratic society in Japan was constituted by a small group of courtiers, who were both the producers and the recipients of poetry. They shared the same education and the same code of literary expression. They formed—to use a term from ethno-linguistics—so-called small groups. Thus, classical Japanese poetry constitutes a diachronic and synchronic reticule of intertextual references in a constant dialectic dialogue. In the words of Roland Barthes, it forms “un chambre d’échos.”²⁶ Thus, its authors might well be called “compilers of pre-texts.” To continue my argumentation in the preface, however, this does not automatically mean that the production of a classical Japanese poem does not constitute an innovative and meaning-generating act of creation. The quality of a text depended on the artist’s skill to use conventionalised vocabulary, phraseology, imagery and metaphors adequately, weaving them together into a new poem without being stereotypical. Thus innovation in classical Japanese verse does not mean creation of a new diction or imagery but rather the original use of the traditionally sanctioned framework, which then creates an innovative piece of art. The peak of this principle in Japanese poetry was the thirteenth century with the postulate of Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家 (1162–1241) that beautiful art relies on old language but brings forward a new feeling.²⁷

Fotis Jannidis’ author figurations can, therefore, be applied to the creation process of a classical Japanese poem as follows: the author of classical Japanese poems freely selects elements from a stock of existing poems, motifs and topoi within a given literary convention (= figuration of selection)—in Stephen Greenblatt’s terminology he or she chooses from the supply of typical forms existing in a given period and re-shapes them to form a new poem (= figuration of arrangement) by integrating into the poem an insight (= figuration of insight, for example into the transitory nature of being) and thus adding new aspects (= figuration of innovation).²⁸ It is also the author who gives the work its ultimate meaning (= figuration of meaning). Although the reconstruction of inter-textual connections and speech act conventions is useful when attempting to understand the meaning of a poem, in most cases variables remain that ultimately can be understood only through knowledge of the author’s

26 Roland Barthes, *Oeuvres complètes III*, Paris: Seuil, 1993: 151.

27 See Oscar Benl, *Die Entwicklung der japanischen Poetik bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*, Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde 56, Hamburg: Cram, de Guyter & Co, 1951: 73.

28 Stephen Greenblatt, “Towards a Poetics of Culture,” in: *The New Historicism*, edited by H. Aram Veesser, London: Routledge, 1989: 1–14. See also Jannidis, “Der nützliche Autor. Möglichkeiten eines Begriffs zwischen Text und historischem Kontext,” 374.

intention.²⁹ In summary, we can conclude that following strict conventions by no means excludes authorial creativity. The work is created by an individual who may be conditioned by certain conventions and socio-political context but who within this conditioning retains scope for selection, shaping, insight, innovation and the attribution of meaning.

3 The Compilation of Imperial Anthologies, Exemplified by the *Kokinshū*: Operations and Structure

Besides the growing authorial awareness of individually created poems, Japanese classical poetry is also characterised by a growing importance of its compilers. The anthologies published at the behest of the emperor (*chokusen wakashū*) are particularly interesting objects of study because not only the authors but also the compilers were assigned an important authorial role.

From the beginning of Japanese literature, compilers appear to have enjoyed a high social status. As early as the *Man'yōshū*, the name at least of the main compiler, Ōtomo no Yakamochi 大伴家持 (718?–785), is known. The order to compile an anthology of poems brought with it considerable prestige. This applies in particular to anthologies published at the behest of the emperor.

The first *waka* anthology compiled under imperial command was the *Kokinshū*: In 905, Emperor Daigo 醍醐天皇 (885–930) commanded four poetically outstanding courtiers to collect and edit their own poems and those of others with the aim to create an independent Japanese poetry. Political incidents were the reason in the background of this undertaking: With the looming decline of the Tang Dynasty at the end of the ninth century, accompanied by endeavours of the emperor to consolidate his power, there was an increasing desire for liberation from the cultural dominance of China and to develop an autonomous poetic tradition.

The four courtiers, the so-called *senja* 撰者 (“collectors”), who will in what follows be called “compilers,” created a categorically arranged anthology with 20 volumes and 1,111 poems, written by 150 poets known by name and numerous anonymous poets, and with a Japanese and a Chinese preface. The structure and style of this first imperial anthology would become the basic model and aesthetic ideal of 20 further imperial anthologies up to the fifteenth century.

To be chosen by the emperor was a great honour for compilers that represented official public recognition both as poets and as scholars of poetry.

²⁹ See Hirsch, “Objective Interpretation.”

The honour was only given to courtiers who had already gained a high reputation as poets. The name and rank of the compilers were stated in the anthologies' prefaces. This applies as well to the author of the preface as such, Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (872–945). The imperial order was, therefore, related to literary and social prestige.

The compilers in turn also exerted influence on the prestige of the authors selected by them by the choice of poems to be included in the anthology. A poet received special recognition if his or her poem was published at the beginning of an anthology or of one of its volumes.

Compilers could also position themselves as authors by including numerous poems of their own in anthologies. The *Man'yōshū*, for example, contains over 400 poems—about ten per cent of the total in the entire anthology—by Ōtomo no Yakamochi. The *Kokinshū* contains 101 poems by the main compiler Ki no Tsurayuki, which also corresponds to about ten per cent of the total. In second, third and fourth places in terms of the total of poems included we find the three other compilers of the *Kokinshū*: Ōshikōchi no Mitsune 凡河内躬恒 (895?–925?) with 58 poems, the second most frequent contributor. He is followed by Ki no Tomonori 紀友則 (c. 850–c. 905) with 45 poems and Mibu no Tadamine 壬生忠岑 (c. 925–c. 950) with 35. The only poets who are represented almost as frequently are the priest Sosei Hōshi 素性法師 (late ninth to tenth century) with 36 poems and the famous poet Ariwara no Narihira 有原業平 (825–880) with 30 poems. Both were members of the so-called “six poetry immortals” (*rokkasen* 六歌仙), a group of ninth century poets who decisively influenced the *Kokinshū*-style.³⁰ They are singled out for special mention in the preface to the *Kokinshū*, where their work is also analysed in poetological terms.

The publication of imperial anthologies thus represented an opportunity for Japanese compilers to present themselves as poets. But their role did not end there. Firstly, the compilers also wrote prefaces (*jo* 序) to their publications, which in some instances became celebrated. The Kana preface (*kanajo* 仮名序) to the *Kokinshū* written by its main compiler, Ki no Tsurayuki, occupies an important place in Japanese literary history and is considered an independent piece of art. In his preface, Tsurayuki identifies the essence of Japanese poetry and establishes standards for Japanese versification. The preface to the *Kokinshū* is, therefore, regarded as the first Japanese poetics. Secondly, compilers often wrote their own prefaces (*kotobagaki* 詞書) to the poems they select, commenting for example on the circumstances in which individual poems were composed. In some cases the contents of these introductory comments

30 See Konishi, “Kokinshūteki hyōgen no seiritsu” and “The Genesis of the *Kokinshū* Style.”

seem to be highly arbitrary, and it can be assumed that in these prefaces the compilers strongly influenced the recipients' approach to the reading of their own and others' poems or attributed to the poems a nuance of meaning not intended by the authors. As Alexander Beecroft has shown in his article in this volume, "Authorship in the *Canon of Songs (Shi Jing)*," the interfering of compilers has its precedents in Chinese poetry.³¹ To cite one example from the *Kokinshū*, the following poem by Ki no Tsurayuki is introduced as follows:

After a good deal of time had passed, he stopped again at a house where he had been accustomed to spending the night whenever he made a pilgrimage to Hatsuse. The owner said to him, "As you see, there is a perfectly good place to spend the night here." He broke off a blossoming branch from a plum tree nearby and composed this poem.

人はいさ
心もしらず
ふるさとは
花ぞ昔の
香ににほひける
(Ki no Tsurayuki, *KKs* 1:42)³²

I know but little
of what is in someone's heart,
yet at the old place
the fragrance of the blossoms
is the scent of bygone days.

By describing the scent of the plum blossoms the author evokes nostalgia of the past, thus expressing insight into the ephemerality of being. In the *Kokinshū* the term *hana* 花 usually refers to cherry and not to plum blossoms.³³ The reader obtains the specific meaning of the term firstly by the information given in the introduction and secondly by the arrangement of the poem between two works that verbally refer to plum blossoms (*ume no hana* 梅の花, *KKs* 1:41 and *KKs* 1:43). Without this contextual knowledge provided by the compilers, given that we know the date of its creation, we would read the poem as one referring to cherry blossoms. Thus the compilers crucially affect the "meaning," i.e. the

31 See Alexander Beecroft, "Authorship in the *Canon of Songs (Shi Jing)*," in this volume.

32 The *Kokinshū* poems in this paper are cited from the *SNKBT* edition (*Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集, annotated by Kojima Noriyuki 小島憲之 and Arai Eizō 新井栄蔵, edited by Satake Akihiro 佐竹昭広 et al., *SNKBT* 新日本古典文学大系 5, Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1989), the English translations are from McCullough (*Kokin wakashū: The First Imperial Anthology of Japanese Poetry, with Tosa Nikki and Shinsen Waka*, translated and annotated by Helen Craig McCullough, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).

33 See Haruo Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012: 35.

reading of the poem. In the example given above, the author of the introduction is presumably identical with the author of the poem. But we might infer that this technique is also applied in poems that are not written by the compilers themselves. To give another example, in the *Komachi shū* 小町集 (1958), an anthology probably compiled in the middle of the Heian period containing poems by Ono no Komachi, a dream poem is included (KKs 13:656; *Komachi shū* 14) in which the subject of utterance complains that the beloved fears the eyes of the world even when walking the dream path and does not visit even in a dream. The preface to the poem says “when she thought with longing of a man of high rank” (*yamu goto naki hito no shinobitamau ni*). This preface, probably added later by the publishers, led to the assumption that Ono no Komachi had an unhappy and forbidden love for Emperor Ninmyō 仁明天皇 (r. 833–850), and the poem was read in this sense.³⁴ As various studies have suggested, this is an example of a legend created around Ono no Komachi, as there is no historical evidence of a love relationship with Emperor Ninmyō.³⁵

The interventions of the compilers in the production process of the *Kokinshū* are, therefore, manifold. A compiler acted as:

- a collector and selector of poems (= compiler)
- an arranger of the selected poems (= compiler)
- a writer of introductory commentaries (*kotobagaki*) on the poems (= commentator)
- a writer of poems included in the anthology (= author)
- a writer of prefaces (*jo*) to the anthology (= author).

With reference to Bonaventura’s classical model of “authorial modes” as presented in the introduction of this volume, Ki no Tsurayuki and his collaborators acted as compilers (*compilatores*) of the anthology (someone who collates various received textual materials), as commentators (*commentatores*) of individual poems (someone who collates received textual materials and self-composed texts, while treating the received material as primary and his/her own composition as secondary), and as authors (*auctores*) of the preface and of poems (someone who combines received textual materials and self-composed texts, while treating the received material as secondary). Moreover, by

34 See Felice Renee Fischer, *Ono no Komachi: A Ninth Century Poetess of Heian Japan*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972: 24.

35 See Katagiri Yōichi 片桐洋一, *Ono no Komachi tsuiseki: ‘Komachishū’ ni yoru Komachi setsuwa no kenkyū* 小野小町追跡: ‘小町集’による小町説話の研究, second edition, Tōkyō: Kasama Shoin 笠間書院, 1993.

writing prefaces and including their own poems, they already exhibit qualities of modern publishers.

In the following, I would like to argue that the peculiarity of the compilers of the *Kokinshū* lies not only in their manifold involvement in the production process of the anthology, but also in the circumstance that they, in their specific function as compilers—that is to say, in their achievement of selection and arrangement—basically fulfil authorial figurations in Jannidis' definition. These result from the anthology's specific structure and composition.

3.1 Categorical Structure of the *Kokinshū*

Imperial anthologies are characterised by a complex structure. The compilers of the *Kokinshū* set the standards that were almost universally adopted by the compilers of the imperial anthologies that followed. Arai Eizō defines the structural elements of the *Kokinshū* in terms of three principles: a “classificatory,” a “contrastive” and a “temporal” arrangement.³⁶ Another structuring principle, that of “association,” can be added to these three elements.³⁷ Firstly, the thematic arrangement (*budate* 部立) of the poems creates a carefully thought-out composition, which, according to Arai, is based on the first level (*ichiji burui* 一次部類) on the principle of contrast.³⁸ The *Kokinshū* is categorically arranged into twenty volumes:

TABLE 3.4 *Categorical structure of the Kokinshū*

volume	subject		number of poems
Vol. 1	Seasons: Spring 1	春歌上	68
Vol. 2	Seasons: Spring 2	春歌下	66 (134)
Vol. 3	Seasons: Summer	夏歌	34
Vol. 4	Seasons: Autumn 1	秋歌上	80

36 See Arai Eizō 新井栄蔵, “*Kokinshū* no kōzō 古今集の構造,” in: *Kokinshū* 古今集, edited by Ueno Osamu et al., *Waka bungaku kōza* 和歌文学講座 4, Tōkyō: Benseisha 勉誠社, 1994: 51–68, here 56.

37 See Konishi Jin'ichi 小西甚一, “Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in Anthologies and Sequences of Japanese Court Poetry, AD 900–1350,” translated by Robert Brower and Earl Miner, in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 21 (1958): 67–123.

38 Arai, “*Kokinshū* no kōzō,” 58–59.

volume	subject		number of poems
Vol. 5	Seasons: Autumn 2	秋歌下	65 (145)
Vol. 6	Seasons: Winter	冬歌	29 (Nature: 342)
Vol. 7	Felicitations	賀歌	22
Vol. 8	Parting	離別歌	41
Vol. 9	Travel	羈旅歌	16
Vol. 10	Names of Things	物名	47
Vol. 11	Love 1	恋歌一	83
Vol. 12	Love 2	恋歌二	64
Vol. 13	Love 3	恋歌三	61
Vol. 14	Love 4	恋歌四	70
Vol. 15	Love 5	恋歌五	82 (Love: 360)
Vol. 16	Laments	哀傷歌	34
Vol. 17	Miscellaneous 1	雑歌上	70
Vol. 18	Miscellaneous 2	雑歌下	68 (Misc.: 138)
Vol. 19	Miscellaneous Forms	雑体	68
Vol. 20	Folk Music, Office Songs	神遊の歌、 東歌	32

The largest space is occupied by nature poetry and love poetry, nature poetry being placed at the beginning of the anthology and thus taking pride of place.³⁹ Within the genre of nature poetry, spring poems and autumn poems enjoy the highest status, as we see from the fact that each of these seasons is given a volume to itself, whereas summer and winter are together assigned a single volume. The aesthetic rivalry between spring and autumn is a thread running through the entire history of Japanese literature. Already in the *Man'yōshū*, the woman poet Nukata no Ōgimi 額田王 (c. 630–c. end of seventh century) stages a contest between the two seasons, in which autumn as the more

39 See Yamaji Heishirō 山路平四郎, “*Kokin wakashū no budate ni tsuite*” 古今和歌集の部立に就いて, in: *Kokin wakashū* 古今和歌集, edited by Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō kankōkai 日本文学研究資料刊行会, Tōkyō: Yūseidō 有精堂, 1976: 65–73, here 65. On the role of the four seasons in Japanese culture see Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*.

refined season emerges as the winner (MYS, vol. 1, 16).⁴⁰ A common feature of both seasons is that they symbolise a feeling of transitoriness, underscoring the importance of melancholy in the Japanese history of ideas. As Haruo Shirane points out, “the focus of poems about cherry blossoms is not so much on the flowers at their peak as on the anticipation of the cherry blossoms and the regret at their scattering.”⁴¹ However, in Japan we are not dealing with the brooding and brilliant melancholy depicted in Albrecht Dürer’s drawing “Melencolia” but with an aesthetic melancholy whose gloom is based on the recognition that all being is transitory and, therefore, all terrestrial manifestations of beauty are transitory. The correlative of this feeling is found in the aesthetic-philosophical term *mono no aware* 物の哀れ. The melancholy feeling of transitoriness is an intellectual coordinate running throughout Japanese literary history.

Transitoriness is also the central topos of love poetry, which also occupies a special position with five volumes in the *Kokinshū*. The transitions between the genres are nonetheless often fluid, as love is implicit in the seasonal poems and the seasons and nature are the primary expression of love, thus human feelings are often depicted by means of a natural phenomenon.⁴² Here too what is celebrated is not the fulfilment of love but the suffering and the transitoriness of love.

3.2 *Arrangement of Poems According to the Structural Principle of Progression*

The recognition that life is a permanent process goes hand-in-hand with this awareness of transitoriness. This view is reflected not only in the highest status that is accorded to the expression of transitoriness in Japanese poetry and in the great importance attached to nature and love poetry but also in the arrangement of the poems. A striking feature of imperial anthologies from the *Kokinshū* onwards is the arrangement of individual poems according to the principles of progression, association and contrast. Together they form an arrangement structure on the second level (*niji burui* 二次部類).⁴³

40 The references to the *Man'yōshū* in this paper are to the following edition: *Man'yōshū* 万葉集, edited and annotated by Takagi Ichinosuke 高木市之助 et al., 4 vols., SNKBT 日本古典文学大系 4–7, Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1957–1962.

41 See Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 47.

42 Ibid., 26.

43 See Arai, “*Kokinshū* no kōzō,” 58.

The principle of “progression” is pronounced in nature and love poetry. As the above table indicates, the 342 season poems are arranged in such a way that as a whole they depict the course of a calendar year, from the first hint of spring to the final fading of winter.⁴⁴ The 360 love poems as a whole describe the process of a courtly love affair, from the first burgeoning of love to the painful final separation, like the blossoming of plants in spring and their fading in autumn.⁴⁵ In this manner, love is equated to a seasonal cycle, or, as Thomas LaMarre puts it, “natural generative patterns supply the patterns for human emotions.”⁴⁶ As LaMarre has shown, the twenty scrolls of the anthology as a whole seem to follow a pattern of progression as well, by delineating two cycles of emergence and disappearance emerging from and dissolving into one another, one cycle dominated by seasons, the other by love. The two cycles form “symmetrical pairings, the most evident being the pairings of the seasons and love.”⁴⁷ Thus spring (scrolls 1 and 2) is paired with the first and second scrolls of love (scrolls 11 and 12), summer (scroll 3) with the third scroll of love (scroll 13), autumn (scrolls 4 and 5) with the fourth and the fifth scrolls of love (scrolls 14 and 15), and winter (scroll 6) with scroll 16, which is dedicated to poems on the topic of grief.⁴⁸ Moreover, the individual poems are linked by certain motifs and rhetorical techniques, and in the hands of the compilers they form a work of art of exquisite refinement. In the following the principles of progression are presented in the study of the love poems in the *Kokinshū*.⁴⁹

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- 44 On the arrangement of the season poems in the *Kokinshū* see Arai Eizō 新井栄蔵, “*Kokin wakashū shiki no bu no kōzō ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu—tairitsuteki no tachiba kara*” 古今和歌集四季の部についての一考察—対立的機構の立場から, in: *Kokin wakashū 古今和歌集*, edited by Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō kankōkai 日本文学研究資料刊行会. Tōkyō: Yūseidō 有精堂, 1976: 92–117.
- 45 On the arrangement of love poetry in the *Kokinshū* compare Taita Mizuho 太田水穂, “*Kokinshū no koiuta*” 古今集の恋歌, in: *Kokin wakashū 古今和歌集*, edited by Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō kankōkai 日本文学研究資料刊行会, Nihon bungaku kenkyū shiryō sōsho 日本文学研究資料叢書, Tōkyō: Yūseidō 有精堂, 1976: 118–132.
- 46 Thomas LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan. An Archeology of Sensation and Inscription*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000: 177.
- 47 LaMarre, *Uncovering Heian Japan*, 181–182.
- 48 On the parallels between the structure of the seasonal books and the love books see also Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons*, 47.
- 49 In his excellent study entitled “Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in Anthologies and Sequences of Japanese Court Poetry, AD 900–1350,” Konishi Jin’ichi analysed the structural principles of association and progression, particularly with regard to the *Shinkokinshū*. To my knowledge the most detailed study of the arrangement of the *Kokinshū* poems is that of Matsuda Takeo, a meticulous 700-page treatment of the principles of progression and association. Matsuda Takeo 松田武夫, *Kokinshū no kōzō ni*

In their arrangement, the love poems as a whole depict the following sequence of events:

Volume 11: love's dawn (love from hearsay, love from seeing)

Volume 11/12: love as longing (secret love, love in a dream, unrequited love, disclosure of love, desire for a meeting)

Volume 13: fulfilment of love (morning after love, secret love)

Volume 13/14: farewell to love (emergence of rumour, mourning the loss of love, waiting in vain)

Volume 15: love's end (pain, grief, insight into transitoriness)

The linearisation of the poems allow various sequences of events, this is to say “parallel stories.” On the basis of a selection of “ideal-typical” poems from the five volumes of love poetry, I would like to exemplify the course of a courtly love story created by the compilers as having the following sequence of events: (1) love from hearsay, (2) desire for a meeting, (3) morning after love, (4) waiting in vain, (5) insight into transitoriness.

Love's Dawn (Love from Hearsay)

The *Kokinshū's* love poems start with works in which a usually male narrator shows interest in a woman whom he knows only by hearsay. It is the feeling of the first burgeoning of love:

をとにのみ
きくの白露
よるはおきて
昼は思ひに
あへずけぬべし

Though I but know you
through others,
love has made me
like chrysanthemum dew,
rising by night and by day
fading into nothingness.

(Sosei Hōshi, KKS 11: 470)

kansuru kenkyū 古今集の構造に関する研究, second edition, Tōkyō: Kazama Shobō 風間書房, 1980.

Love as Longing (Desire for a Meeting)

In the beginning the man hides his feelings. His longing grows over time, however, and his wish for a first meeting becomes more and more urgent:

命やは	What then is this life
何ぞは露の	men consider so precious?
あだものを	I would gladly trade
逢ふにし換へば	something as transient as dew
おしからなくに	For a meeting with my love.

(Ki no Tomonori, KKS 12: 615)

Fulfilment of Love (Morning after Love)

Eventually a meeting of the two lovers occurs and the longing of love is intensified. Similar to the seasonal poems, where the section of summer, the season of ripeness, is the smallest in terms of quantity of poems, the love poems include only a small number of texts describing fulfilment of love. Instead of extolling the fulfilment of the love meeting, the emphasis is on the painful separation in the morning after and the expression of loss. The following is a “morning-after” poem (*kinuginu no uta*), in which a man expresses his pain of separation from the beloved:

明けぬとて	I set out for home,
帰る道には	“Now that day begins to break,”
こきたれて	and as I journey
雨も涙も	raindrops and tears together
ふりそほちつゝ	descend to dampen my robes.

(Fujiwara Toshiyuki, KKS 13: 639)

Farewell to Love (Waiting in Vain)

With time, rumours arise at court, or the lover’s emotions cool. The meetings between the lovers become less frequent and the woman spends her days melancholically waiting and bitterly weeping:

来ぬ人を	What is the nature of the autumn
松ゆふぐれの	wind’s blowing
秋風は	that it brings such grief
いかに吹けばか	when in the dusk I await
わびしかるらむ	someone who fails to appear?

(Anon, KKS 15: 777)

Love's End (Insight into Transitoriness)

The relationship ends in deep resignation and pondering on the inevitable transitoriness of all being:

思ふとも	What am I to do
かれなむ	with someone who would leave me
人をいかゞせむ	despite my deep love?
飽かずちりぬる	I must simply think of you
花とこそ見め	as flowers that scatter too soon.
(Sosei Hōshi, kks 15: 799)	

The *Kokinshū* poems were deliberately arranged in this fashion by the compilers in order to portray the burgeoning and the fading of love, a process which parallels the budding of plants in the spring and their withering in autumn. Thanks to this intervention by the compilers, the love poems of the *Kokinshū* display similarities as a genre to the *uta monogatari* 歌物語, i.e. a poetic narrative.

3.3 *Arrangement of the Poems According to the Structural Principles of Association and Difference*

The arrangements of poems in the *Kokinshū* is determined not only by “progression;” they conform as well to the principles of “association” and not least of “difference.” Individual poems are associatively linked by specific words and themes. Season poems begin with the motif of “snow” and are successively replaced by further motifs such as the “nightingale,” “plum blossoms” and “cherry blossoms.” Love poems start with the topic of “hearsay,” gradually replaced by “secret love” and “love in a dream.” This associative sequence is sometimes interrupted by single, thematically unrelated poems to generate “difference” as a means of maintaining tension. Another technique was the incorporation of qualitatively inferior poems to accentuate more successful oeuvres.⁵⁰ Moreover, semantically related words are isotopically associated. By means of this thematic and isotopical association, individual poems are closely connected, displaying a “progression” on a second level, that of motif.

Here again it becomes clear as to how meticulously the compilers of the *Kokinshū* must have pondered the arrangement of the individual poems. This

50 See Konishi Jin'ichi 小西甚一, “Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in Anthologies and Sequences of Japanese Court Poetry, AD 900–1350,” 78.

is illustrated by the analysis of the following sequence of poems from the category “love poems:”

山ざくら
霞の間より
ほのかにも
見てし人こそ
恋しかりけれ
(Ki no Tsurayuki, KKS II: 479)

I yearn for someone
glimpsed for a fleeting instant,
as through broken haze
we perceive the *dim* outline
of the wild mountain cherry.

たよりにも
あらぬ思ひの
あやしきは
心を人に
つくるなりけり
(Fujiwara no Motokata, KKS II: 480)

These feelings of mine
cannot be called *messengers*.
How astonishing
that they should have *delivered*
a heart to my beloved!

初雁の
はつかに声を
きゝしより
中空にのみ
物を思ふ哉
(Ōshikōchi no Mitsune, KKS II: 481)

Since *hearing* your voice
Faintly as we *hear* the *cries*
Of the first *wild geese*,
I gaze into *space*, my mind
Filled with idle fantasies.

逢ふことは
雲居はるかに
なる神の
をとにきゝつゝ
恋ひわたる哉
(Ki no Tsurayuki, KKS II: 482)

I *go on* loving,
my chances of a meeting
remote as the *sky*
where men hear
the thunder god
as I *hear* and *hear* of you.

In all four poems, a love is described in its initial stage. The protagonist has hardly even seen the beloved, there is no love relationship and the beloved woman knows nothing of the feelings of the male subject of utterance. The second poem by Ariwara no Motokata forms a contrast to this. However, the poem stands in an associative relation to the third work by Ōshikōchi no Mitsune because of the common topos of “transfer” or “communication.”⁵¹

51 See Matsuda, *Kokinshū no kōzō ni kansuru kenkyū*: 36.

In the second poem this is expressed by the messenger (*tayori*), while in the third poem it is conveyed by the first wild geese (*hatsukari* 初雁), a metaphor for news. The second poem is also associated with the fourth poem through the verb *tsuku*, which can mean both “to adhere” and “to arrive,” and the verb *wataru*, which can mean “to cross,” “to connect” or “to continue.” In the meaning of “to connect” the term forms as it were a transition to the following poem KKS II: 483, which is not quoted here and in which the verb *kakeru* (“to hang up, to be connected with”) and the noun *tama no o* 玉の緒 (“thread of life”) occur, i.e. words associated with the notion of connection. The use of all these terms of connection and transfer suggest the gradual progression of the love relationship, in which a connection with the love object is sought. Further associative words can be identified: Poems three and four are linked associatively by the nouns *koe* 声 (“voice”) and *oto* をと (“sound”), while the first, third and fourth poems are linked by the verbs *miru* 見る (“to see”) and *kiku* きく (“to hear”).⁵² Finally, the third and fourth poems are connected by the nouns *nakazora* 中空 (“sky/space”) and *kumoi* 雲居 (“clouds/sky”) and by the emphatic final particle *kana* 哉.

“Associations” and “pivot words” (*paronomasia*), the so-called *engo* 縁語 and *kakekotoba* 掛詞, are specific rhetorical devices of the *Kokinshū*. The remarkable virtuosity of the compilers becomes apparent by the fact that they revive these techniques by means of the specific associative linkage of individual poems on the meta-level of the anthology’s composition, thus providing these techniques with the principle of “progression.”

In conclusion, it can be stated here that the arrangement of poems by means of the principles of “progression,” “association,” and “difference” on a “second level” is highly innovative, and to my knowledge has no antecedent in Chinese poetry. It is true that, as Alexander Beecroft has shown for the *Shi Jing* in his article in this volume, the composition of Chinese anthologies and even of their commentaries may have a narrative structure. For example, the poems of the “Airs of the States,” the first section of the *Shi Jing*, are ordered and discussed in the Mao interpretation embodied in the Mao preface geographically and chronologically to encode a narrative of the rise and the fall of the Zhou dynasty. Drawing on principles of Ruist ethics and political philosophy, these poems thus create individualised “scenes of authorship” along the lines of a Confucian narrative of historical decline, designed as a moral and political lesson for future readers.⁵³ Yet, to my knowledge, Chinese poetry

52 Ibid.: 436–437.

53 See Alexander Beecroft, “Authorship in the *Canon of Songs (Shi Jing)*,” in this volume.

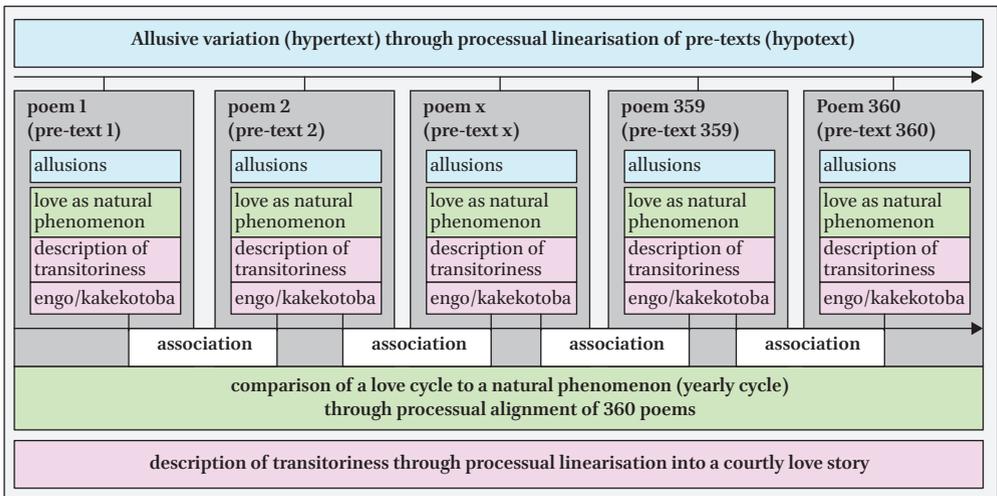
provides no precedent of poems arranged to form a seasonal cycle, much less a love narrative.

The composition of the *Kokinshū*'s love poetry basically constitutes a processual transposition of the poetic principles of the *Kokinshū* style to the meta-level of the anthology. These poetic principles are partially formulated in Ki no Tsurayuki's preface to the anthology. The following transmissions can be formulated:

- Transmission of pre-texts (hypotext) to the meta-level of the anthology (hypertext)
- Transmission of a love cycle to a natural phenomenon (seasonal cycle) by processual alignment of 360 poems
- Transmission of transitoriness by processual linearisation into a courtly love story
- Transmission of “associations” (*engo*) and “pivot words” (*kakekotoba*)

The transmission of poetic devices to the meta-level of the anthology's composition can be graphically illustrated as follows:

TABLE 3.5 *Processual transmission of poetic devices to the meta-level of the anthology*



4 Analysis: Authorial Presence, Narratological Implications, and Author Figurations of the Compilers of the *Kokinshū*

4.1 *Authorial Presence of the Compilers of the Kokinshū*

I would now like to enlarge the perspective to an encompassing investigation of the authorial role of the compilers of the *Kokinshū*, by applying some of the parameters of authorial functions and figurations elaborated by Steineck and Schwermann in the introduction to this volume. Hence, I will focus on the implications of the poetic traditions and the socio-historical background of authorial subjectivity. I will mention paratextual devices for the conceptualisation of authorship by focussing on the preface of the *Kokinshū*. Lastly, I will explicate the narratological implications of the specific arrangement of the *Kokinshū* by linking them to author figurations framed by Jannidis.

The *Kokinshū* as a whole is clearly embedded in its historical, cultural, and political context and does not constitute a unitary creation developed by its compilers. It exposes poetic references to the Chinese poetic tradition, especially to the so-called *yibang* 倚傍 style (oblique style) which is typical for the court poetry of the Southern Liang Dynasty (502–557). Poetic models were the famous *Wenxuan* 文選 (*Selections of Refined Literature*, 520) as well as the less known *Yutai xinyong* 玉臺新詠 (*New Songs from a Jade Terrace*, 545), an anthology consisting of so-called Palace Style poetry (*gongtishi* 宮體詩), with most of the poems being love poems written in the *yibang* style. The imitation of Chinese poetry becomes evident in the inclusion of a preface as well as of prefaces to the individual poems. Chinese borrowings are also reflected in the poems' rhetoric, such as a subdued, elegant and graceful tone, an indirect and blurred diction, an intellectual approach to the world by means of ratiocination, self-reflection and contemplation manifested in musings on the relationship between cause and effect, the usage of logic and the emphasis on wit. Chinese influences are also indicated in a notably subjective approach to the phenomenal world, a lamenting tone as well as the usage of rhetorical techniques such as "personification" (*gijinhō* 擬人法), "allegories" (*mitate* 見たて), "pivot words" and "associations." Thus, the *Kokinshū* style clearly reveals an assimilation of the Chinese *yibang* style to the Japanese *waka*.⁵⁴ This predominance of Chinese influence in the Japanese *waka* of the *Kokinshū* not only restricted the individual creativity of the authors, but affected the selection process of the compilers as well.

54 See Konishi, "The Genesis of the *Kokinshū* Style."

At the same time, however, the *Kokinshū* poems as well as the compilation as such reflect a search for an authentic Japanese form of poetry composition. In the formation process of a specific “Japanese” poetry that distinguishes itself from the Chinese model and elevates Japanese *waka* to the aesthetic level of the Chinese *shi*, the compilers of the *Kokinshū*, notably Ki no Tsurayuki, played a leading role. This shift away from the Chinese model was caused by the decline of the Tang Dynasty (618–907), among other factors, which prompted a return to native ideals: After 150 years of exclusive poetry writing in Chinese, later termed as the “the dark age of the national style” (*kokufū ankoku jidai* 国風暗黒時代), Japanese poets longed for an authentic lyrical expression in their own language.

These transformations are shown in the compilers’ individual poems as well as in their selection and composition of the *Kokinshū*, forming a highly interesting cross-relation. On the level of the poems, apart from the usage of Japanese language for poetry composition, the shift is apparent in a blurring of the boundary lines between the natural world and human experience and in a strong tendency to treat the subject of nature and men in terms of the passing of time.⁵⁵ The modifications of the compilers become evident in the selection process. On the one hand, they exclusively selected poems written in Japanese; on the other hand, they chose poems which corresponded to the poetic aesthetics formulated by Ki no Tsurayuki in his preface. Moreover, as shown hereinabove, these shifts crystallise in the highly thematic structure of the *Kokinshū* as a whole as well as in the unique and witty arrangement of the poems alongside the principles of progression (passing of time), association (wit), and contrast, even composing narrative units, something not to be found in Chinese anthologies in this form. By freely arranging selected poems into a narrative and topically associating them, thus giving them unity, the compilers exhibited authorial “responsibility” for their composition, which according to Simone Winko constitutes one of the main authorial functions.⁵⁶ All these interventions resulted in the creation by the compilers of another authorial function, namely “difference,” especially in contrast to Chinese anthologies, but also in contrast to the *Man’yōshū*.

The most distinctive manifestation of authorial presence and responsibility can be found in the paratext of the *Kokinshū*. The compilers’ authorial presence is displayed in the prefaces to the individual poems, where they specify the author’s names in more than 50 per cent of the poems and explain their

55 Konishi, “The Genesis of the *Kokinshū* Style,” 64.

56 Winko, “Autor-Funktionen. Zur argumentativen Verwendung von Autorkonzepten in der gegenwärtigen literaturwissenschaftlichen Interpretationspraxis,” 344.

topic or mention the circumstances of their composition, thus contributing decisively to the understanding of the *Kokinshū* poems. The most distinctive manifestation of authorial presence, however, is in the preface in which Ki no Tsurayuki formulated the first poetics of Japanese literary history. In his famous preface Tsurayuki gave poetry an important psychological, social and aesthetic function and established one of the central characteristics of classical Japanese poetry, namely the tendency to treat the subject of man's transitoriness by the description of natural phenomena. He does so by defining the nature of poetry as the expression of the human heart (*kokoro*) through the description of natural phenomena by the means of words (*kotoba*). Tsurayuki not only took responsibility for the evaluation of poetry by these means, but also set the aesthetic basis of poetry composition for many future generations by selecting poems according to this method. In addition, Tsurayuki clearly marked authorial presence by personally judging several poems, past and present, in his preface.

Further paratextual evidences of authorial presence in the preface are explicit markers such as the naming of the compilers and the date of Daigo-Tennō's order to compile the anthology:

On the eighteenth day of the *Fourth Month of Engi 5* (905) he commanded *Ki no Tomonori*, Senior Secretary of the Ministry of Private Affairs, *Ki no Tsurayuki*, Chief of the Documents Division, *Ōshikōchi no Mitsune*, Former Junior Clerk of Kai Province and *Mibu no Tadamine*, functionary in the Headquarters of the Palace Guards, Right Division, to present to him old poems not included in the *Man'yōshū* as well as *our own*. He let us *choose*⁵⁷ poems on [...]. These collected poems *will last* as long as the waters flowing at the foot of the mountains; they are numerous as the grains of sand on the shore. *There will be* no complaints that they are like the shallows of the Asuka River; *they will give pleasure* until the pebbles grow into boulders (*Kokinshū* 1984: 46–47; Jap.: *Kokin wakashū* 1989: 16–17).

This information allows us to date the text to the beginning of the tenth century. The specific naming of the compilers in the preface gives the work a spatio-temporal fixation and allows us to substantiate references to the social or cognitive content. All this authorial information also supplies reference texts, for instance the *Tosa nikki* 土佐日記 (*The Tosa Diary*, 935), written by

57 I have slightly modified the English translation of Rodd/Henkenius to make their original rendering, "we have chosen," more precise.

Ki no Tsurayuki, as well as reference to texts the compilers responded to, such as the *Wenxuan* and the *Yutai xinyong*. The compilers also create a context, by referring to their knowledge and the ideas to which they relate.⁵⁸

The above quotation is interesting for two other reasons. First, it shows Tsurayuki's self-dissociation as the preface's author by referring to himself in the third person, even though the preface is explicitly attributed to Ki no Tsurayuki at the very end. Second, Ki no Tsurayuki personally assumes responsibility for the selection of the *Kokinshū* poems and their quality in the name of the compilers. Moreover, he already anticipates its "interpretation" by emphasising that the poems selected will last for a long time, will meet with no complaints and will give pleasure.

In his preface Tsurayuki also uses explicit markers of authorial presence such as first person pronouns. Apart from the expression "our own" (*mizukara no*) in the quotation above, there are further markers of authorial presence in the preface: Tsurayuki attempts to illustrate the lack of understanding of the ancient songs and of poetry by giving some examples: "I would like to give some examples, but I will exclude those poets of high rank and office, whom I cannot criticise lightly."⁵⁹ Here Tsurayuki clearly exhibits authorial "presence" as well as "responsibility" since he is well aware of the fact that criticising poets of high rank would not be to his advantage.

In the following, I would like to schematise authorial presence in the preface of the *Kokinshū* by applying the operational model of authorial presence developed by Steineck and Schwermann in the introduction to this volume:

TABLE 3.6 *Authorial presence in the preface of the Kokinshū*

authorial function	intratextual marker (explicit)	intratextual mark (oblique)
classification	<u>name of author:</u> Ki no Tsurayuki	X
interpretation (attribution of context)	<u>place and time of textual production:</u> Fourth Month of Engi 5 (905) (= edict for compilation)	<u>linguistic competence, cognitive horizon:</u> usage of the poetic diction of tenth century Japan, mentioning of past poets and poems

58 See also the introduction to this volume.

59 *Kokinshū* 1984: 43, Jap.: *Kokin wakashū* 13.

TABLE 3.6 (cont.)

authorial function	intratextual marker (explicit)	intratextual mark (oblique)
	<u>mentioning of personal relations:</u> Ōshikōchi no Mitsune, Ki no Tomonori, Mibu no Tadamine	<u>oblique self-references:</u> deictic phrases (“nowadays”, “in the reign of the present sovereign”); verbal aspect indicating social positioning; addressing the readership (“those who know poetry”)
origination	<u>testimonies [author reference]:</u> “I will exclude”, “we include	<u>linguistic competence, cognitive horizon:</u> ?
responsibility: authorial mode	our own poems”	<u>oblique self-reference:</u> indications of perceptive/cognitive activity in relation to text/content
origination	<u>authorial self-reference in relation to content (“I say, [author name] says”):</u> “Tsurayuki and others (= we) rejoice to be born in this era”	X
responsibility: source of innovation, insight, composition	<u>authorial self-reference + intentional phrases:</u> “we feel the ear of the world”	<u>oblique self-reference:</u> inconspicuous intentionality
responsibility: source of axiology	<u>authorial self-reference + evaluative phrases:</u> X	<u>oblique self-references:</u> evaluative and emotive perspectivation: “naturally,” “really;” “sadly” etc.
responsibility: source of knowledge	<u>explicit corrections of quoted material:</u> X	<u>explanations, commentaries, quotations:</u> explanation, commentaries and quotations of several poems and poets, past and present

4.2 *Narratological Implications and Authorial Figurations: The Compilers of the Kokinshū as “Narrators” Exemplified by the Love Poems*

Through the processual arrangement of poems the compilers of the *Kokinshū* created a sequence of events which can be analysed narratologically⁶⁰ and which contains, though in a rather abstract way, all the basic narrative units defined by William Labov in his sociolinguistic model of narrative analysis. Labov defines six structural units of a narrative: abstract; orientation; complicating action; evaluation; resolution; and coda.⁶¹ As in many fictional works of Japanese literature, the love poems of the *Kokinshū* do not contain any concrete abstract or orientation. The narrative starts with a male narrator who becomes interested in a woman by hearsay. The complication of the story sets in with the arising of rumours at court and intensifies with the fading of the man's love, leaving the woman waiting and lonely. The evaluation, resolution and coda can be found at the very end of the love poems, where the courtly love story ends and the lovers sorrowfully muse about the inevitable transitoriness of love, showing their insight into the evanescence of being.

In my view, it is this innovative linearisation of individual poems into a meaningful narrative that allows the argument that the compilers of the *Kokinshū*, in the operational act of their compilation, were not merely mechanical “aligners of pre-texts,” fulfilling only functions of “selection” and “arrangement.” By their specific selection and arrangement they also created “meaning,” “innovation” and “insight.” The narrative transformations, that is to say the artistic operations of “selection” and “arrangement” in the production process of the narrative, may be analysed as follows.

60 According to the criteria developed by Genette in his work *Discours du récit*, the “order” of the *Kokinshū* is chronological, the “duration” is scenic with implicit ellipses, the “frequency” is repetitive, and the “time of narration” is simultaneous. The “voice” is auto-diegetic, the “focalisation” is a variable internal focalisation (polymodality). The function of the narrator is one of conventionalised courting, and the narrative addressee is the Heian court and, on the second level, or the level of the poems, the love partner. See Gérard Genette, *Discours du récit*, Paris: Seuil, 2007.

61 See William Labov, “The Transformation of Experience in Narrative Syntax,” in: William Labov, *Language in the Inner City. Studies in Black English Vernacular*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972: 354–396, here 363.

4.2.1 Operations of the Compilers of the *Kokinshū*: “Selection” and “Arrangement”

Selection

From a large stock of existing text elements, in our case poems (= happenings), the compilers select 360 love poems within a given literary convention, namely tenth century Japan.⁶² The selected text elements at the structuralist level represent the happenings, i.e. “stages” of a courtly love relationship as defined above. The poems are, as common in Japanese poetry, “autodiegetic.”⁶³

By making the selection, the compilers are already performing perspectivation, as they choose both women’s and men’s perspectives. By selecting individual poems, the compilers also control the extension, shortening, and omission of the narrative elements. By including a large selection of poems expressing longing and separation, they create a narrative extension. By largely ignoring those poems which express the fulfilment of love, they produce a strong shortening effect.

Arrangement

In a second step, the compilers arrange their selection by means of chronological linearisation into a scenic, meaningful sequence.⁶⁴ They do so by arranging the poems into the aforementioned sequence of happenings of a courtly love story, ending in sorrowful separation. At this level too, the compilers intervene in perspectivation.⁶⁵ Given the mixing of poems by men and by women and the fact that some works are written from the fictitious perspective of a woman, the narrative perspective in the individual poems is constantly shifting between female and male interior perspectives. When describing the early stage of love (interest, longing), the compilers mainly choose poems written from a man’s inner perspective (narrator = male). In poems which express love fulfilment they adopt an alternating perspective, whereas in the final stage of the love relationship (pain/grief) the majority of texts adopt a female “focalisation” (narrator = female), to use Genette’s terminology.⁶⁶ As the poems are written by different authors, it can be assumed that the subject of utterance is different in each poem, although this cannot be proved given the brevity of the poems on the narrative level. In terms

62 See Wolf Schmid, *Elemente der Narratologie*, Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005.

63 An autodiegetic narrator is a special form of the homodiegetic narrator. It refers to a narrator who is also the protagonist. See Genette, *Discours du récit*, 256.

64 Schmid, *Elemente der Narratologie*, 262.

65 On the perspectivation in the love poetry of the *Kokinshū* see also Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four seasons*, 47.

66 Genette, *Discours du récit*, 194–200.

of narrative theory, the poems could be interpreted as changes of perspective between a male and a female subject of utterance, whose identities remain the same throughout. By stringing together poems which express the same emotional state (e.g. secret love; waiting for a man), from a variety of inner perspectives, they thus create a collage-effect, i.e. a “repetitive” simultaneous technique weaving different strands of consciousness in a chronological order. To use the terminology of narrative theory, this would be a “polymodal focalisation.”⁶⁷

By their selection and arrangement of poems, the compilers thus fulfil the figurations of “selection” and “arrangement.” In a next step the specific mode of selection and arrangement effects the “meaning,” “insight,” and “innovation” of the artistic product.

4.2.2 “Meaning,” “Insight” and “Innovation” as a Consequence of the Operations “Selection” and “Arrangement”

Meaning

By the selection and linearisation of poems into a narrative, that is, into a “love story,” the compilers give their compositions a new meaning. Narrative techniques such as extensions and gender-specific focalisations help to create the aesthetic ideal of a courtly love in the Heian period, in which men court women but then give their heart to another woman, while the first woman waits alone in her room and mourns. The “waiting woman” (*matsu onna* 待つ女) would soon become a topic of prose literature as well, notably of the so-called diary literature written by women (*joryū nikki bungaku* 女流日記文学), and she would eventually become an ideal of femininity per se.

By their arrangement, the compilers could also intervene in the reading of their own and others’ poems. Sometimes it seems as if the compilers, by arranging the poems in a certain way, gave them a new meaning. We find, for example, numerous poems under the stage of “love longing” that could equally well express longing for a person whose love has already grown cold (= love farewell). This would confirm that the majority of the *Kokinshū* love poems are adaptations of Chinese boudoir poetry. One example is as follows:

明けたてば
蟬のおりはへ
鳴きくらし
夜は螢の
もえこそわたれ
(Anon, KKS II: 543)

When a new day dawns,
like a wailing cicada
I spend it in tears,
and by night my smouldering heart
emulates the firefly’s glow.

67 Ibid., 141–149.

The compilers of the *Kokinshū* also seem to have allowed themselves the liberty of classifying as love poems lyrics which were originally intended as season poems. The following is an example from the fourth volume of love poems:

誰が里に	Your song, O cuckoo,
夜離れをしてか	would have me believe you sleep
郭公	only in my tree,
たゞこゝにしも	but whose might be the dwelling
寝たるこゑする	you fail to visit tonight?
(Anon, KKS 14: 710)	

The same poem is found in the *Shinsen Man'yōshū* 新選万葉集 from the ninth century, where it is classified as a summer poem, and in the *Kokin waka rokujō* 古今和歌六帖 from the tenth century, where it is collocated with a series of poems with the motif of the nightingale (*hototogisu* 郭公). According to the *kokugaku* scholar Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730–1801), this means that the poem was wrongly attributed to the love poems in the *Kokinshū*.⁶⁸

In many cases the season poems cannot be definitely distinguished from love poems because, as mentioned above, in classical Japanese love poems the feelings of the subject of utterance are often expressed only indirectly by reference to a natural phenomenon. It is not possible to judge here as to whether the author of the poem intended his work to be a nature poem or a love poem. The point to bear in mind here is simply that, as Alexander Beecroft has shown for Chinese poetry in his article in this volume,⁶⁹ by the way in which they arranged the poems the compilers could exercise a decisive influence on the manner in which the recipients read them, thus affecting their “meaning.”

Another intervention into “meaning” was caused by the incorporation of contextualising introductions to individual poems, thus intensifying the narrative character of the poems. The love poetry of the *Kokinshū* may, therefore, be regarded as a precursor to the genre of the so-called *utamonogatari*. In this context it should be stressed again that, as discussed above, the introductions written by the compilers are sometimes essential for the adequate comprehension of a poem’s meaning. Finally, by incorporating almost 20 per cent of their own poems, the compilers took also part in the constitution of meaning of their own poems.

68 Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長, “Kokinshū tōkagami” 古今集遠鏡, in: *Motoori Norinaga zenshū* 本居宣長全集, edited by Ōkubo Tadashi 大久保正, vol. 3, Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 1969: 1–294, here 192.

69 See Alexander Beecroft, “Authorship in the *Canon of Songs (Shi Jing)*,” in this volume.

Insight

By linearising 360 poems into a love story which ends in separation, thus comparing it to a seasonal circle, the compilers communicate an insight into the universal transitoriness of being. In this sense, the progressive composition of the love poetry may be read as an allegory of transience. The compilers adopt, by shortenings and extensions, an evaluative perspective⁷⁰ that, although not subjective, is conventionalised: It is not the expression of love fulfilment that is regarded as important but the pain of love (= aesthetics of despair) caused by the absence of the lover. In this way the compilers communicate an insight into the painfulness of life. Literary scholar Nomura Seiichi refers in this context to the love poetry of the *Kokinshū* as an “aesthetics of despair” (*zetsubō no bigaku* 絶望の美学).⁷¹ Moreover, by incorporating numerous poems which describe rumours at court, the compilers manifest an awareness of social conflicts. Finally, by incorporating a large number of poems on the topic of the “waiting woman”—according to the Chinese model most of them would have been written by male poets—they convey social values.

Innovation

By linearising poems into a love story with an alternating and gender-specific focalisation as well as narrative extensions and shortenings, the compilers of the *Kokinshū* created a highly innovative anthology composition without predecessors. The innovative potency of the compilers is also displayed, as discussed above, in the processual transmission of poetic devices of the *Kokinshū* style to the meta-level of the anthology.

All of the features discussed hereinabove illustrate that the compilers of the *Kokinshū* exhibited a highly subjective and autonomous approach in their composition. By the specific selection and arrangement of poems they created a meaningful, innovative and insight-conveying composition. The order type⁷² or the text genre is already predetermined by the imperial order to make the compilation, but the form and design of the anthology is largely the intentional work of the compilers. Just as an author chooses individual words from a given stock of lexical items, arranging them into sentences and eventually

70 Schmid, *Elemente der Narratologie*, 256.

71 Quoted from Shimada Ryōji 島田良二, “Rokkasen jidai” 六歌仙時代, in: *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kanshō* 国文学: 解釈と鑑賞, Tokushū: *Kokinshū no sekai* 特集: 古今集の世界 (February 1970): 42–48, here 43.

72 See Jannidis, “Der nützliche Autor. Möglichkeiten eines Begriffs zwischen Text und historischem Kontext,” 380.

into texts, the compilers of Japanese poetry anthologies operate with slightly larger units of meaning, i.e. with poems, but juggles them almost as freely as the author and combines them into a meaningful narration by writing introductions to individual poems and integrating his own poems into the collection. The compilers of the *Kokinshū* thus fulfil all of the five author figurations defined by Fotis Jannidis.⁷³

TABLE 3.7 *Author figurations of the Kokinshū's compilers applied to Jannidis' model of author figurations*

author figurations (Jannidis)	fulfilled	not fulfilled	reason
figuration of selection	X		compiler selects poems from an existing stock, expressing the structural elements of courtly love
figuration of arrangement	X		compiler arranges the selected poems into a courtly love story by the arrangement of the selected poems into a courtly love story ending in separation, compiler communicates insight into the transitoriness of being; he conveys insight into social conflicts by including a large number of poems expressing social restrictions
figuration of insight	X		by the arrangement of the selected poems into a courtly love story, compiler creates an innovative form of anthology
figuration of innovation	X		

73 The compilers of the *Kokinshū* also possess all four attributes enumerated by Simone Winko as productive functions of authorship: *origination* (writing the preface; producing prefaces to individual poems, composing their own poems for inclusion in the anthology); *selection* (selection of the poems); *organization* (organisation or arrangement of the poems); and *generation of meaning* (linearisation of the poems to form a courtly love story). Winko, "Autor-Funktionen. Zur argumentativen Verwendung von Autorkonzepten in der gegenwärtigen literaturwissenschaftlichen Interpretationspraxis," 348–349.

author figurations (Jannidis)	fulfilled	not fulfilled	reason
figuration of meaning	X		by the arrangement of the selected poems into a courtly love story, compilers endow their compositions with a new meaning; by arrangement and introductions, compilers give individual poems a specific meaning

The compilers freely “select” individual works from a stock of existing poems within a given literary convention, and they “arrange” these into a courtly love story. They convey an insight into the transitoriness and the painfulness of being by the linearisation into a love story which ends in separation as well as by the emphasis on love pain. Moreover, by selecting a large number of poems which express social restrictions, they offer insight into social conflicts. The compilers also fulfil the function of innovation by the processual alignment of the chosen text elements into a narrative. At the same time, they give the text a new meaning. Finally, by writing their own prefaces to the poems, by incorporating their own poems and, in some cases, by assigning poems that could just as well be nature poems to the category of love poetry, they play a crucial role in establishing the meaning of individual poems.

With reference to the pattern of “origination and responsibility in text production” presented by Steineck and Schwermann in the introduction to this volume, the compiler of classical anthologies deviates from this scheme, which assigns the compiler merely the originating activities of “organisation” (selection of elements/editing/compiling) and “composition” (enunciation/drafting). *Ki no Tsurayuki* and the co-compilers may also be defined as “inventors” because they assemble individual poems to form a unique narrative. The compilers are therefore involved in “organisation,” “composition” and invention (insight, knowledge) alike.

5 Conclusion

By referring to pre-texts, Roland Barthes degraded the author to a compiler. Applying Fotis Jannidis’ authorial model as well as Steineck and Schwermann’s model of authorial presence, I have shown that in specific cases compilers,

depending on the manner of selecting and arranging pre-texts, may themselves fulfil the criteria for seminal author figurations.

In my view, it is basically the “narration” created by the compilers which renders the anthology a meaningful, innovative, and insight-conveying piece of art. This entitles us to view them as creators or as “authors” and not merely as mechanical compilers of pre-texts, although they should adequately be called collective authors. In this context, however, it should be mentioned that the *Kokinshū* is mainly associated with its main compiler Ki no Tsurayuki to this day.

By their artistic intervention the compilers fulfilled the order of the emperor, who wanted them to create an autonomous Japanese poetry. At the same time, they established the structural and aesthetic foundations of classical Japanese literature for many centuries. The configurative characteristics of the *Kokinshū*, notably the principles of “progression,” “association” and “difference,” were adapted and gradually refined in the 20 imperial anthologies that followed. In the *Shinkokinshū* at the beginning of the thirteenth century, these principles attain a formal perfection. As Konishi Jin’ichi has shown, in the *Shinkokinshū* the compilers sometimes preferred poems of relatively lower aesthetic value in order to guarantee a successful association of succeeding poems.⁷⁴ This also has the contrastive effect of highlighting outstanding poems and thus focusing on certain authors. The *Gyokuyōshū* (1313–1314) and *Fūgashū* (1344–1346) in the fourteenth century are the culminations of subtlety and complexity in terms of the ways in which the principles of progression and association are applied. In the *Gyokuyōshū* the compilers sometimes combined the poems in such a way that they form pairs which allude to previous poems and at the same time pay homage to earlier poets.⁷⁵ These principles of sequence, association and contrast developed in the anthologies were later to play a key role in the emergence of Japanese chain poetry (*renga*).

An analysis of the development of the structures of imperial anthologies thus reveals a gradually emerging awareness of authorship in compilers. This awareness seems increasingly to supplant the role and the intention of the authors of the individual poems. In this respect the *Kokinshū* can be seen as the “birthplace” of the compiler as author in the lyric genre.

In this respect, the compilers of the *Kokinshū* and notably Ki no Tsurayuki might be defined as “founders of discursivity” in Foucault’s sense.⁷⁶ For this, among others, the *Kokinshū* is considered the most important Japanese

74 Konishi, “Association and Progression: Principles of Integration in Anthologies and Sequences of Japanese Court Poetry, AD 900–1350,” 73.

75 Ibid., 115–118.

76 See Michel Foucault, *Qu’est-ce qu’un auteur?: séance du 22 février 1969*, Paris: Colin, 1969.

anthology to this day. The esteem which the *Kokinshū* has continuously enjoyed essentially relies on the achievements of its compilers. Their composition is an oeuvre admired for its meaningful, innovative and insight-conveying features to this day.

Thus Ki no Tsurayuki's prophecies, formulated in his famous preface, seem fulfilled: As quoted above, Tsurayuki predicted that the anthology would last as long as the waters flowing at the foot of the mountains and that they would give pleasure until the pebbles grew into boulders.⁷⁷ In this remark, Ki no Tsurayuki contrasted his insight into the transitoriness of being, so prominent in the *Kokinshū*, against the imperishability of art, and set the stage for his own immortality.

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⁷⁷ *Kokinshū* 1989: 16–17.

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