
The Princeton
Companion to
Classical
Japanese
Literature

BY Earl Miner, Hiroko Odagiri,
AND Robert E. Morrell

The Princeton Companion to Classical Japanese Literature

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AND Robert E. Morrell

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*For
our fellow students of Japanese literature*

NOTICE TO READERS

Few users of this companion will have need to read it all, from preface to index. It is important to read the headnote of any part consulted (for explanation of the contents and the conventions used) before using any section of it.

The location of information can be determined either by running through the table of contents for categories, or by using the index for those authors and titles mentioned in Parts One, Three, and Six.

Cross-References:

*An asterisk before a name or title indicates that it is entered in Part Three. An asterisk within Part Three signals that the name or title so designated is entered elsewhere in Part Three.

italics Italicized words, other than titles, will be found in Part Four, Literary Terms.

Dates: all are to be taken as A.D. unless otherwise noted. When the ages of authors are mentioned, these approximate the Western system of counting years lived; that is, one year is deducted from the Japanese calculations.

NOTICE TO FIRST REPRINTING

Along with our own inspection, the attention given to this *Companion* by reviewers and a private communication or two have enabled us to enter some corrections. Most are specified in the "Corrigenda" on p. viii. A few have required setting new pages. The most serious for users of the *Companion* should be stated here: the index includes the terms *in Part Four* as well as the matters in Parts One, Three, and Six. We shall appreciate notice of other errors in hopes of correcting them in another reprinting or revision.

CORRIGENDA

PAGE, LINE	FOR	READ
14, 31	I	we
17, 4 up	monogatari	<i>monogatari</i>
29, 2 up	fūryū	<i>fūryū</i>
101, 12 up	1700	1800
113, 2	agree-on	agreed-on
126, 13 up	1688	1886
127, 19	Gosakuramachi [etc]	† Gosakuramachi [etc]
209, 28	[after] <i>mono</i>	(See Part One, p. 86.)
215, 23	Part Six H	Part Six M
262, 7 up	Ca. 1364 ca.	Ca. 1364-ca.
287, 1. col., 15 up	<i>Monju</i>	<i>Monjū</i>
300, 4	feeling (2)	feeling. (2)
302, 24	Poetry	Poetry
329, 9 up	Kan-u	Kan'u
359, 2. col., 15	<i>transpose first three and last two characters</i>	
474, 10 and 11 up [521], 3	philosophical Confucianism	philosophical Confucianism

NOTE ON THE INDEX PROPER

Morrell did not see proof of his index copy. On every page there are dropped italics, errors in capitalizing, and misspelling: but especially the first. Correction would require entire resetting and costs in the thousands of dollars. Unfortunately, the dropped italics are highly important, given our method, since they designate words and phrases that appear in one or more parts of the four indexed (One, Three, Four, and Six). Since the page numbers following each index entry lead to the place(s) where such terms appear, however, our system suffers more than does the reader's utility. We offer apologies on behalf of ourselves and Princeton University Press for any uncertainty or inconvenience involved. Other corrections that we have been able to enter are not noticed here.

Preface

Because we mean this *Companion* to be useful, we start with the practical. There is no counterpart to this work, as far as we know, for Japanese or any other literature. It will, therefore, have to be examined carefully to be used to best advantage. The most profitable way to proceed, we believe, is to examine the notice printed opposite the table of contents, then to look at the contents, and then to proceed directly to what is needed; or to use the index, if that covers what is sought. In using any part, it will be useful to consult the opening page or pages of that part. Readers new to Japanese literature, and readers not new but with the necessary leisure, will find that in the history offered in Part One there is information not repeated in other parts. That brief history also provides a conceptual and historical grid for the information in subsequent parts.

That information is provided in considerable variety, consisting of things that we ourselves feel we need to know, to remember, and to have available. In the process, we have used narrative, charts, series, figures, maps, or pictures—in short, whatever seemed most useful and economical of space.

We have defined “classical Japanese literature” conservatively and conventionally. The “classical” formally designates the long period from early times to the Meiji Restoration of 1867–1868. Of course there is very little information about the early times, and the belief that a literature suddenly becomes modern in a certain month is a convenient notion and no more. It is also true that we venture into modern times on occasion, but the arbitrary notion corresponds in historical period or years to what Japanese mean nowadays by “*Nihon koten bungaku*.” In the brief history (Part One), we periodize along lines advised us by Japanese comparativists. We do not, therefore, refer to those larger periods designated “*kodai*,” “*chūko*,” “*chūsei*,” and the rest. It would be convenient to be able to speak of the medieval, but where *chūsei* begins and where it ends is a matter on which no agreement has been reached.

It is yet more difficult to define “classical *Japanese literature*.” The usual Japanese expression for the italicized phrase is “*kokubungaku*” (“our national literary writings”). The term “*bungaku*” suggests the study of literature (as in the English phrase, “comparative literature”), more nearly “*Literaturwissenschaft*” than “*Dichtung*,” “imaginative writing,” “*belles-lettres*,” or what we normally

include conceptually in “Japanese literature” (although it should not be assumed that the English terms have been immune to change or are always used to designate the same things). One way to show what “classical Japanese literature” means here is to specify what we have not systematically included: writing by Japanese in Chinese; we also do not include Ainu or Ryukyuan literature.

In other words, we define “Japanese literature” as that literature written in Japanese by Japanese, which is to say, as it is conventionally considered in almost all histories of Japanese literature (*Nihon bungakushi*) and dictionaries of Japanese literature (*Nihon bungaku jiten*). Our definition of “literature” here relies on similar Japanese decisions. Those decisions are, at least, our points of departure. In fact, we also supply information about writing in Chinese by Japanese, and even about writing by Chinese in Chinese. But those matters are included only if they bear on “Japanese literature.” We also range very much farther to provide numerous kinds of historical, religious, and other information not manifestly literary.

It seems that in most cultures, poets emerge by name before other artists do. That was certainly true of Japan—throughout classical literature only *waka* required designation of one’s real “name.” But on the urging of various people (and against the advice of some others), we have included brief entries in Part Three for artists, musicians, priests, and figures (such as Fujiwara Michinaga and Minamoto Yoshitsune) important to literature in one fashion or another. The table of contents will show some of the range of what is included, and use will reveal it clearly.

Most of the *Companion* consists of lists and series quickly mastered. For that reason, and to allow the index to be brief enough for use, the index includes only what appears in Parts One, Three, and Six.

Although there is no real model for this work, there are Oxford companions for English and American literature. The nondictionary parts of some Japanese old-language dictionaries (*kogo jiten*) contain information that served as models—and sources. The *Companion* began, however, as a very different book, in which Miner was to write a series of essays on representative Japanese literary kinds. The concept was of a representative critical history. Portions of that early work survive in Part One and in fragments elsewhere, especially in Part Three. Although things had gone far enough in the original direction for Princeton University Press to offer an advance contract, it more and more came to seem that appreciative or theoretical ideas (in that guise) were less needed than a stock of information. Meanwhile, to fill the need for a history, it appeared that Donald Keene would be returning to classical literature in his volumes of literary history, and Konishi Jin’ichi was planning a five-volume history of Japanese literature that would be published in English as well as in Japanese.

While on a Guggenheim fellowship in Japan for four months in 1977–1978, Miner decided to shift to something like what this *Companion* has become. The model for Part One was the much briefer *Nihon Bungakushi* by Konishi Jin’ichi—the book by which Donald Keene long ago discovered him and made him known to many of us in the mid-fifties. It is a model in terms of range and of adjustment

between received wisdom and personal preference. The model for Part Three (major authors and works not ascribable to a given author) was harder to find. After looking through various *bungaku jiten*, Miner decided that the scope of *Shinchō Nihon Bungaku Shōjiten* was right in scale and in kinds of information supplied. We have endeavored to include every *classical* author or work given a single entry in that work, although we have added a large number that are not in it and have often not used material in it. "We" is the proper pronoun, because by that time four of the first five parts had been read by Helen C. McCullough and Hira-kawa Sukehiro—and Odagiri had joined Miner in the enterprise. We began to chafe over what was not in our model for that part, and to realize that other parts would be needed. And we felt that for a few great works longer entries were desirable.

Many additions followed. We believed that Japanese theater cannot be explained in terms of entries for works or playwrights alone, and therefore included a part on the major kinds of theater, with one or two that are not major but serve as a sample of many others that have come and gone. We felt the need for information on geography and ranks—and so the *Companion* steadily grew. Sometimes we became dissatisfied with what had been done, even after the *Companion* was accepted for publication. For those matters, we had to start out again. Or it might occur to us, for example, that for a map of the ancient provinces of Japan an additional alphabetical list would help our reader find a province more quickly than the use of simply numbered provinces permits. Then it occurred to us that readers would wish to know which provinces were designated by Sinitified -shū names. And so this information was added. Our information was derived from the sources specified in the section on "Principal Immediate Sources."

Odagiri came to Princeton for a summer of great toil, and she has spent a lot of money as well as time in mailing papers to the United States. When it began to seem that our revisions would never end, we learned that Morrell had prepared two substantial, book-length syllabi on literature and Buddhism (and other subjects). He joined the other two of us at what is sometimes called the eleventh hour—but the twelfth was a very long hour, indeed, which ran for months. Morrell's work is found in numerous places, particularly in Parts Three, Four, and Six. And he has made the index.

We have used many, many Japanese and Western works. If we could assume that Japanese scholarship and criticism would end in 1982, or that Princeton University Press would allow us a wholly reset edition every five years, we could include, in Part Three, notice of important Japanese editions and criticism along with Western translations of Japanese works. Fortunately, we cannot make either assumption and so have had to exclude the information because it would become outdated too quickly. Some surrogate information is offered instead. This decision means that we cannot be specific about our debts to major Japanese editions with their commentaries (such as the Iwanami *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* and Shōgakkan *Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshū*). Some of our literary material comes from the *shisōshū*, since the line between what is literature

and what is “thought” seems to wobble a bit. We have used many reference books, literary histories, general histories, accounts of religion, and specialized studies. We have used the dictionary *Kōjien* for certain kinds of information, along with a number of kogo jiten. We have often had recourse to standard reference books, for which we hope one example may serve: *Haikai Daijiten*, edited by Ijichi Tetsuo et al., (Meiji Shoin, 1957) for renga and haikai.

Some specific decisions have affected what information we included. We endeavored to provide some kind of date for every person entered in Part Three. Many are more heuristic than exact, and a giant “ca.” must be thought to apply, particularly to earlier figures and works.

Names and titles present such problems that complete consistency is probably impossible. Major entries of works are under authors in Part Three, unless the work is uncertain or unknown in authorship (and we have been conventional on the subject of authorship). Japanese authors are indexed by surname and then given name or pen name. The index also provides cross-references from English equivalents to the Japanese titles.

We have modernized and simplified names as far as we felt possible to do so. For pre-Edo names, we have usually dropped the medial “no” except after surnames of one or two syllables: Ki no Tsurayuki and Kamo no Chōmei, but Minamoto Sanetomo and Fujiwara Teika (adding Sadaie, of course). Such usage is in lieu of Kakinomoto no Asomi no Hitomaro (or Fitomaro if a mild version of Old Japanese is used—and lots of unfamiliar sounds and umlauts if a severer rule is applied). Some readers may have other preferences, but they should find our usage comprehensible. For sovereigns and their consorts we have used their usual regnal name without their title, except for a few women for whom a Mon’in is too customary to omit. Similarly, we omit ecclesiastical titles or supply them in parentheses. We have found no way to simplify with any accuracy some of the most cumbersome designations of people, such as certain women of great literary importance: Fujiwara Michitsuna no Haha, Sugawara Takasue no Musume, or Rokujō Saiin Baishi Shinnō no Senji. We have not presumed to supply some obvious but useless information, such as that Sei Shōnagon means Kiyowara Shōnagon, or that Murasaki Shikibu was really a Fujiwara and no doubt known at court, at first at least, as Tō Shikibu.

Since detailed information about our handling of titles is given at the beginning of Part Three, little need be said here. But titles, too, we normalized or chose one of a number of possible versions. We give *Tosa Nikki* and *Genji Monogatari*, as everybody does, rather than the more correct *Tosa no Niki* and *Genji no Monogatari*. Specialists often prefer one term or title to another in more common usage: *Eika Taigai* rather than *Eiga Taigai*, *gosan* rather than *gozan*, *Utsuho Monogatari* rather than *Utsubo Monogatari*, and so on. Because it is difficult to distinguish between the pedantic and the clearly correct on the one hand, and between what is familiar and of most use to readers on the other, it is difficult to be consistent. Once a work has been mentioned, abbreviation of the title is feasible. But we have found no way to shorten titles for their entry version or on first mention, even when it means giving *Sakura Hime Zenden Akebono no Sōshi*.

Although it is by no means always simple to determine what is a discrete word in Japanese, our general practice will be clear. It is only necessary to say how we have endeavored to treat titles that end in “shū,” “ki,” “den,” “shō,” and so on. It is our general practice to join such Sinified units to the preceding substantive if that is Sinified, and to separate it if the preceding element is either read in Japanese fashion or is a person’s name: *Man’yōshū* and *Nansō Satomi Hakkenden*, but *Tsurayuki Shū* and *Kenrei Mon’in Ukyō no Daibu Shū*.

Certain features of our editorial style require special note. Much the most important is that we have decided not to italicize or quote a word in a language other than English unless that word would be so distinguished if English. There is a very important reason for this apart from the cosmetics of the page, itself no mean thing:

in the *Companion* proper, an italicized word—other than a title—is to be found in Part Four, our list of terms.

For example, if a work is said to be a *rekishi monogatari*, the italics (which are used only in the first instance in a section or entry) designate a term defined in Part Four. Another important and related matter:

a title or name with an initial asterisk is entered in Part Three.

It will also be clear that we use a version of the Hepburn system for romanizing Japanese.

We depart from one contemporary usage in respect to titles. It has grown common to adopt librarians’ usage for titles—that is, to capitalize only the first word of a title and any subsequent proper noun: *Nansō Satomi hakkenden*, *Uji shūi monogatari*, and so on. We have, however, capitalized all words in titles except particles. In non-library situations few follow librarians’ usage for Japanese works when they name Western works. Two of us work in other literatures beside Japanese, and simply do not follow librarians’ usage to give, for example, *A midsummer night’s dream* or *The decline and fall of the Roman empire*. We have found no rational reason to treat Japanese titles as less worthy of capitals. If one were to argue from the lack of capitals in Japanese then one would have to present Japanese words without breaks between them.

We have tried where possible to give translations of titles, and in particular to use titles supplied by a translator. Now that two excellent translations are called *The Tale of Genji*, we are more or less stuck with “tale” for “monogatari,” and we have sought no improvement. Sometimes a work has not been translated, but the meaning of its title is either obvious or can be established. Many titles, however—they multiply heavily in Edo times—are so difficult that only someone who translates or criticizes a work in detail has a right to choose from various possibilities. In those cases we offer no translation.

Although we do not offer information about translations of individual works, there are a number of reference works in English to guide the reader. First, there is a bibliography by Yasuhiro Yoshizaki (as the author is named on the title page) *Studies in Japanese Literature and Language* (Nichigai Associates, 1979).

This is comprehensive chiefly for works in English. Publications by the Japan P.E.N. Club have ranged farther by including translations and studies in other European tongues as well as English, and information on modern as well as classical Japanese literature: see, as a basis, *Japanese Literature in European Languages* (1961). From 1958 to 1971 the club also published a bulletin, *The P.E.N. News*, which reappeared in 1976 as *Japanese Literature Today*. This publication also offers essays on contemporary literary works, accounts of scholarly or critical studies that have made a stir in Japan, and occasional translations of modern poems.

Further information will be found in the annual bibliography of the *Journal of Asian Studies*. That is important for also including books, articles, and translations in fields other than literature. It and other journals devoted to Japanese or Asian matters also offer translations, essays, and reviews (often with invaluable information about major Japanese sources).

There is an especially useful chronology of Japanese literature in *Kokubungaku*, 22 (February 1977). This proceeds in great detail, giving as it were a chapter for each decade in a quasi-narrative form, thereby including information that cannot be presented by the chart used in Part Two and similar schematic devices.

EVERY book is certain to be wrong about some major matters, erroneous in some detail, and somehow inconsistent in presentation. A book as long, as detailed, and as varied as this one is especially susceptible to those faults. We hope that our sins are not as numerous as the sands of Egypt, and that the virtues and utility of the *Companion* will be thought much to outweigh any faults.

The three of us have sought to provide the information we have often sought and have never located in a single place or at all. To the very end we have wished to obtain and present some information we could not find. Sometimes we have disagreed about what to include, how much to say on a given topic, or whether this rather than that was the case. But we have always worked out an accommodation, and the result is that we have done together what none of us could have done alone. It is conceivable that a reprint may be called for. If so, we would benefit by notice of errors. That notice may be sent to Miner at Princeton, although this preface, like the work itself, should be thought of as having three homes: from west to east, Kamakura, St. Louis, and (as this is written), Washington, D.C.

E. M.

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
 Washington
 May 1982

Acknowledgments

For a work of this length with three principals, it is all but impossible to give adequate acknowledgment, and any attempt is not likely to be brief. Toward the end of this *Companion*, we specify our “Principal Immediate Sources.” There is considerable common ground between books there and people here.

As mentioned in the preface, an earlier version of parts of what is included here were read by Hirakawa Sukehiro of the University of Tokyo and Helen C. McCullough of the University of California, Berkeley. We are grateful for their corrections and advice. Konishi Jin’ichi has offered advice on numerous details, some small but bothersome, others large. Among the large, he has contributed crucial advice and information about what to include and what to ignore; about the first section of Part One; about Chinese matters; as also about monogatari, and so on. Much of the section on *nō* in Part Five was essentially rewritten by him, and he very kindly made a special visit from Washington to Princeton to check and correct Parts Three and Four in galley proof. Otherwise, Miner’s debts go back so far that adequate acknowledgment is infeasible.

Morrell wishes to express his thanks to his wife, Sachiko Morrell, Librarian at the East Asian Library, Washington University, St. Louis, and to the library for purchase of necessary reference books. Odagiri and Miner wish to express their gratitude to Morrell’s colleague, J. T. Rimer, who suggested Morrell’s joining in this enterprise.

In addition to our debts to various Japanese publishers with whom she negotiated permissions for the use of figures in Part Ten, Odagiri wishes to thank Professor Nakano Mitsutoshi of Kyushu University, who did so much to arrange permissions for various illustrations. Professor Oka Masahiko of the Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan also kindly offered such assistance. She is also grateful to Professors Tsuchida Masao and Ishida Yuriko of Sophia University for raising a number of important issues about an earlier version of the discussion of *nō* in Part Five. At Odagiri’s request, Professor Arashi Yoshindo, now at the Ministry of Education, kindly read through all of Part Nine, making many helpful corrections.

She and Miner also wish to express deep gratitude to Professors Hirakawa

Sukehiro and Satō Seizaburō of the University of Tokyo, for assistance in obtaining a grant for her to do a summer's work on this *Companion* in Princeton.

Miner's record of debts resembles Homer's catalogue of the ships. In addition to individuals mentioned earlier, and to others mentioned later in other connections, there are: Robert H. Brower, with whom he has worked on waka over the years; Ian Hideo Levy on matters concerning the *Man'yōshū*; Richard Bowring, Norma Field, Andrew Pekarik, and Amanda Stinchecum for discussion of works by Murasaki Shikibu; Carol Hochstedler, Richard Kanda, Kenneth Richard, and Thomas C. Rohlich for information about monogatari after the *Genji Monogatari*; Yamashita Hiroaki for lengthy discussion of the *Heike Monogatari* and other gunki monogatari; Barbara Ruch and Susan Matisoff for assistance with popular prototypes of later fiction and drama; Sumie Jones and Alan Woodhull for help on Edo prose narrative; Barbara Thornbury for aid on kabuki; Laurel J. Rodd for assistance on Buddhism; William Malm for designating important musicians; Yoshiaki Shimizu and Christine Kanda for advice about art and artists; and Sumie Jones again for help on Edo thought.

Professor Nakanishi Susumu has assisted in many ways, including those of friendship, on a range of issues from early literature to zuihitsu and collections up to Yokoi Yayū. Professor Haruko Iwasaki helped on arms and armor.

There are others whose help is of long-standing nature. James T. Araki, Howard Hibbett, Donald Keene, E. G. Seidensticker, Makoto Ueda, and Kenneth Yasuda have given invaluable assistance over many years; besides Konishi, William Peterson, Andrew Plaks, and F. W. Mote have given assistance on Chinese matters. With Masao Miyoshi, Miner codirected two National Endowment for the Humanities Institutes, at Princeton in 1979 and at Berkeley in 1981; Miyoshi's presence and liveliness are extraordinary, so that to him and the forty seminar members Miner owes stimulation and much freshly learned.

Miner's typist, Helen Wright, has shown extraordinary patience and dedication in typing some 1,400 pages of manuscript, and it is a pity that the last additional typing and retyping by Miner himself will not assist the printer so well.

Thousands of Chinese and Japanese characters have had to be written into the manuscript. The bulk of this was done by Ojima Reiko, Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, and Sachiko Morrell, with other work of this kind by the three of us, chiefly Odagiri.

The maps were drawn by Marcia Hart.

There are also various institutions that have offered assistance, whether directly or indirectly related to this book. The Japan Foundation's assistance to Odagiri, and the help of the Library at Washington University, St. Louis, may be mentioned again, along with that of the National Endowment for the Humanities. The Social Science Research Council has made two grants available for brief conferences in Princeton and Washington. These brought fruitful contact with people mentioned thus far, as well as with Eleanor Kerkham and Mark Morris in the former instance, and with Ronald Morse, David Plath, and J. T. Rimer in the latter. The Japan-U. S. Friendship Commission has funded another conference including, besides Professors Jones, Konishi, Nakanishi, and Ueda,

Professors Araki Hiroyuki, Susan Matisoff, Mezaki Tokue, and Noguchi Takehiko. These intensive, week-long meetings have been unusually informative and productive. The John Simon Guggenheim Foundation gave Miner a fellowship in 1977–1978, during which much of the work for this book was done; the advantage of free time being scarce as it is, this was most beneficial. That fellowship was assisted by Princeton's generous leave policy, and by a fellowship at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in 1981–1982, where this book was substantially completed. It would be difficult to imagine a more stimulating atmosphere among people from so many, mostly nonliterary, disciplines—with the novel questions that such contact brings, especially in an environment in which the posing of questions seems to be the chief business of the mind.

Versions of Part One, A, "The Development of a Systematic Poetics," were published as "Toward a New Conception of Classical Japanese Poetics" in *Studies on Japanese Culture*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Japan P. E. N. Club, 1973), 1, 99–113; and as "Nihon no Kōten Shigaku" in *Hikaku Bungaku Kenkyū*, no. 36 (1979), pp. 77–97; and elements of the findings appear also in "On the Genesis and Development of Literary Systems," *Critical Inquiry*, 5 (1979), 339–53, 553–68. We are grateful for permission from the Japan P. E. N. Club, the editors of *Hikaku Bungaku Kenkyū*, and the editors of *Critical Inquiry* to use, in adapted form, material that appeared otherwise under their aegis.

Finally, the Department of East Asian Studies at Princeton has given steady support in people's time, in xeroxing facilities, and in office space. Odagiri and Miner wish to express thanks to the department, including its chairman, Marion J. Levy Jr., to Marius B. Jansen, and to the departmental secretariat, Janice Gibson, Ruth Paine, and Hue Su. The staff of the Gest Library and the Marquand Art Library have also assisted generously. The Princeton Research Committee has given financial support to this book over several years, and we are very grateful for that.

These are many people and institutions. But this is a long book, and a difficult one to do, much less to do rightly. What assistance, intellectual and material, can do, assistance has done. In expressing our gratitude, we hope that the book will have a value to others comparable to that of the assistance we have received.

To any we have forgotten, to any we have misused in any way, we extend our apologies as well as our thanks.

Contents

Preface	xiii
Acknowledgments	xix
PART ONE. A Brief Literary History	3
A. The Development of a Systematic Poetics	3
B. Yamato, Nara, Heian Literature (645–1186)	17
C. Kamakura, Nambokuchō, Muromachi, and Azuchi-Momoyama Literature (1186–1603)	43
D. The Edo Period (1603–1868)	63
PART TWO. Chronologies	113
A. Periods	113
B. Regnal and Era Names	114
C. Annals of Works and Events	128
PART THREE. Major Authors and Works	139
PART FOUR. Literary Terms	265
PART FIVE. Theaters	307
A. Nō	307
B. Kyōgen	316
C. Mibu Kyōgen and Kōwakamai	320
D. Jōruri	322
E. Kabuki	325
PART SIX. Collections, Kinds, Criticism; Buddhism and Confucianism; Dictionaries	341
A. Waka	341
B. Mythical and Dynastic Histories	344
C. Diaries and Travel Accounts	344
D. Monogatari and Setsuwa	346
E. Zuihitsu	347
F. Renga and Haikai Collections	348
G. Nō	350

H. Kyōgen	357
I. Jōruri and Kabuki	360
J. Kyōka	360
K. Senryū, Maekuzuke, and Tsukeku	361
L. Works in Chinese	362
M. Criticism	364
N. Buddhist Sects	368
O. Sutras, Collections, and Commentaries	376
P. Confucian and Other Philosophical Classics	393
Q. Dictionaries	397
PART SEVEN. Time, Directions, Related Symbolism, and Annual Celebrations	399
A. Zodiac and Element Signs	399
B. Hours of the Day, Directions	399
C. Months	402
D. Points, Zodiac Signs, Elements, Colors, and Seasons	404
E. Seasons, Natural Emblems, Times of the Day, Directions	405
F. Buddhist Associations, Correspondences	406
G. Calendar and Years	407
H. Annual Observances	407
PART EIGHT. Geography, Maps, Poetic Place Names	415
A. General Description	415
B. The Old Provinces in Early Times	418
C. The Old Provinces from the Heian Period to the Edo Period	420
D. Early Meiji Subdivisions of Mutsu and Dewa Provinces	423
E. District Divisions in Classical Times	423
F. Hokkaidō	425
G. The Southwestern Islands	426
H. Sinified – Shū Names for Provinces	426
I. Modern Prefectures	428
J. Principal Mountains, Rivers, Bays, Straits	430
K. Poetic Place Names	433
PART NINE. Ranks, Offices, and Certain Incumbents	443
A. Ranks, Offices, and Titles of the Court	443
B. Regents and Chancellors	460
C. Cloistered Sovereigns	467
D. The Kamakura Bakufu, Shoguns, and Regents	469
E. The Muromachi Bakufu and Ashikaga Shoguns	471
F. Anarchy, Potentates: From the Azuchi-Momoyama Period to the Edo Bakufu; Shoguns	473
PART TEN. Architecture; Clothing, Armor, and Arms; Illustrated Popular Books and Other Genre Representations	479
A. The Heian Palace (Figures 10-1–10-14)	480
B. Shindenzukuri, Architecture of the Palaces of Heian and Kamakura High Nobility (Figures 10-15–10-22)	490