

The Poetry of Dialogue: *Kanshi*, Haiku and Media in Meiji Japan, 1870-1900

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
2012

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation examines the influence of ‘poetic sociality’ during Japan’s Meiji period (1867-1912). ‘Poetic sociality’ denotes a range of practices within poetic composition that depend upon social interaction among individuals, most importantly the tendency to practice poetry as a group activity, pedagogical practices such as mutual critique and the master-disciple relationship, and the exchange among individual poets of textually linked forms of verse. Under the influence of modern European notions of literature, during the late Meiji period both prose fiction and the idea of literature as originating in the subjectivity of the individual assumed hegemonic status. Although often noted as a major characteristic of pre-modern poetry, poetic sociality continued to be enormously influential in the literary and social activities of 19th century Japanese intellectuals despite the rise of prose fiction during late Meiji, and was fundamental to the way in which poetry was written, discussed and circulated. One reason for this was the growth of a mass-circulation print media from early Meiji onward, which provided new venues for the publication of poetry and enabled the

expression of poetic sociality across distance and outside of face-to-face gatherings. With poetic exchange increasingly taking place through newspapers and literary journals, poetic sociality acquired a new and openly political aspect. Poetic exchanges among journalists and readers served in many cases as vehicles for discussion of political topics such as governmental corruption, international relations and environmental disasters, an aspect of Meiji-era poetry that has received comparatively little attention.

The dissertation focuses on three main areas: poetic forms that depend on interaction among multiple poets, especially ‘rhyme-matching (*wain*)’ poetry in literary Chinese (*kanshi*), the social structures (such as poetic societies) that made such poetry possible, and the mediation of poetic sociality through modern print culture. The first half of the dissertation focuses on *kanshi*’s importance as a medium for public exchange on social and political topics. Chapter One covers rhyme-matching exchanges among Japanese and Qing Chinese poets throughout the 19th century, as seen through exchange of letters and through newspapers such as the *Chôya shinbun*. The chapter shows *kanshi* sociality enabling a transnational discourse that gave expression both to notions of shared cultural bonds between Japan and China and to ideas of poetic and cultural nationalism. The second chapter examines rhyme-matching sequences among poet and journalist Masaoka Shiki (1867-1902) and his friends, as well as a marathon exchange among *kanshi* poets Kokubu Seigai (1857-1944) and Mori Kainan (1863-1911) in the pages of the conservative newspaper *Nippon* that illustrates

rhyme-matching's role in creating shared social spaces within the newspaper world of 1890s Japan. The second half of the dissertation focuses on the rise of the so-called "new haiku" from 1892 onwards, showing, in Chapter Three, how poets used haiku in the newspapers of the 1890s as a vehicle for exchanging views on political matters, a function not traditionally associated with the genre. The final chapter looks at the use after the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5 by Shiki and other "new haiku" groups of the notion of haiku as "commoner literature" to re-shape haiku in line with modern European ideas of literature. Centering on the influential haiku journal *Hototogisu*, these "new haiku" groups marginalized forms of textually linked poetry as a form of non-literary "play" and insisted on haiku primarily as a poetry of the individual.

In discussing the uses of poetry in the Meiji print media, the dissertation complements previous studies of serialized prose fiction to provide a new and broader view of the economics and mechanisms of Japanese literary production and consumption. The study's focus on prominent *kanshi* poets such as Mori Shuntô (1819-1889), Mori Kainan, and Kokubu Seigai sheds light on the understudied topic of the sociality of the 19th century *kanshi* world. Its discussion of the Meiji reception of Ming and Qing dynasty Chinese poetics and the importance of *kanshi* sociality in 19th-century Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations will be of interest to scholars of Chinese literature and history. More broadly, the dissertation's focus on the development and uses of print media in a non-Western context will also prove useful for

scholars of media and social history outside of East Asia.

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CONVENTIONS

Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine. Japanese scholars and authors working in the Japanese language are cited with their surname first and given name second. Authors or other historical figures who commonly used a pen name are referred to throughout by their pen name, with their birth name and dates of birth and death (where known) also given when the name first appears.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation could not have been completed without the help and support of a very large number of people. First and foremost I owe an enormous debt of thanks to Prof. Haruo Shirane, who first suggested that I might like to explore the topic of sociality in Meiji literature. Prof. Shirane has been a tireless source of encouragement, wisdom and good advice, and without his outstanding mentorship neither I nor the dissertation would have made it this far. Thanks are also due to Prof. Tomi Suzuki, whose encouragement and assistance throughout my time at Columbia was absolutely invaluable, and whose sharp and insightful critiques of my early work contributed enormously to my development as a researcher and scholar. I benefitted immeasurably from frequent talks with Profs. Paul Anderer, Wiebke Denecke, and David Lurie, who were always willing to take time to bat around ideas about this and other related projects, to talk about big-picture issues and to suggest new sources and avenues for inquiry. At Waseda, I am enormously grateful to Profs. Munakata Kazushige and Toeda Hirokazu. Prof. Munakata generously gave up his time to talk things over with me on a weekly basis, including reading and commenting on multiple Japanese-language drafts of the Waseda MA thesis that became the bedrock of the dissertation. During both of my years at Waseda, Prof. Munakata played a huge role in helping me to formulate the project, find new sources and sharpen my critical focus. Prof. Toeda Hirokazu likewise did an enormous amount to help me settle in and feel welcome at

Waseda, and his advice on matters of modern Japanese media was invaluable.

Thanks are also due to Janine Beichman, Kim Brandt, Matthew Fraleigh, Carol Gluck, Christopher Hill, Itô Kiwako, Kanai Keiko, Kikuchi Mami, Nishida Masaya, Sachie Noguchi, Machi Senjûrô, Nate Shockey, Hitomi Yoshio, Pauline Yu, and many others at Columbia and in Japan. I would also like to express my gratitude to the Japan Foundation and to Shinchôsha for their generous fellowship support that allowed me to spend close to two years in Japan doing archival research. Their support allowed me both time to write and access to otherwise unavailable sources in Japan, and the project would not have been possible without it.

Lastly, I am grateful to my family on both sides of the Atlantic, who never ceased to provide me with their love and support throughout my time at Columbia and in Japan. Back home in the UK, thanks are due to my parents Anthony and Amanda, and my brother Mike; in New York and California, to Jack, Victoria, Dan, Joan, Anita and David. And last – but most definitely not least – my wife Kate, whose patience never ceases to amaze me, and without whom I would never have made it through the final stages of the writing process.

To Kate

who waited

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Introduction

This dissertation focuses on the development of poetic sociality during Japan's Meiji 明治 era (1867-1912), and on poetry's place in periodical print media, such as newspapers and literary journals, during the same period. I argue for a new approach to reading Meiji poetry in general, especially haiku and *kanshi* 漢詩 (Sino-Japanese poetry). In addition to its role as a form of personal and political artistic expression, I analyze Meiji poetry as part of a process of social exchange among individuals and groups. This practice of social exchange is a major historical characteristic of poetry in Japan, and is not unique to the Meiji era. However, this aspect has been overlooked. During Meiji the growth of a periodical print media in the shape of literary journals and daily newspapers created a nationwide forum for the exchange of poetry across distance and even across time. The exchange of poetic sequences became a major feature of late 19th century print media, and its study sheds new light on how poets engaged with other poets and with the new venues for publication that arose during this period. The dissertation's focus on poetic genres in print media provides a new picture of

cultural and literary production, circulation and consumption during the 19th century.

A key concept in the dissertation's analysis is the notion of the "sociality" of poetry, and so a working definition is in order. The biological and zoological sciences generally use the term "sociality" to refer to the tendency in humans and animals to exhibit social behavior – that is, to gather in and act as a social group, as opposed to as lone individuals. Especially in evolutionary biology, the issue of how complex social behavior arises in many kinds of highly diverse species is a major question. This same basic understanding of the importance of sociality also extends to disciplines concerned specifically with human behavior, such as sociology and cultural and social anthropology, in which sociality plays an important role in shaping human cultures.¹

My main aim here is to explore what might be termed "poetic sociality," and its impact on Japanese literary culture in the modern era. I use the term "poetic sociality" to refer to a set of key practices within poetic composition which depend on interaction with other individuals, most importantly the tendency to practice poetry as a group activity, pedagogical practices such as mutual critique and the master-disciple relationship, and the exchange among individual poets of textually linked forms of verse. These three areas are the main sites of investigation for the dissertation. From the mid-18th century onward, a great deal of poetry

¹ For instance, anthropologist Michael Carrithers argues that understanding sociality, which he defines as "a capacity for complex social behavior," is also key to understanding culture, since "humans, in the first instance, relate to each other, not to the abstract of culture." See Michael Carrithers, *Why Humans Have Cultures: Explaining Anthropology and Social Diversity* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1992) pp. 34-5.

in both modern and pre-modern Japan was composed in the context of poetic clubs or societies, which organized activities such as regular monthly poetry sessions, fund-raising dinners, drinking sessions, or trips to famous places to compose poetry. Likewise, pedagogical practices such as reciprocal correction and critique of works by fellow poets, as well as the cultivation of a master-disciple relationship, played an important role in the social dynamics of poetic groups and were considered a major part of one's responsibilities as a poet. Lastly, I also focus on specific poems and poetic sequences that are created by exchange of verse among multiple poets, such as linked verse and "rhyme-matching (J. *wa'in*, Ch. *heyun* 和韻)," discussed below. Defined in this sense, poetic sociality is a fundamental part of poetic production, for it was almost exclusively within these contexts that poetry was written, discussed and circulated in this period. Within the context of both early modern and modern societies, the study of poetic sociality – especially the question of who can, does, or should participate in such cultural activities – affords a productive approach to issues of social class, gender and national identity.

The dissertation further argues that poetic sociality takes two main forms. The first form consists of verse composition within a face-to-face context, that is, within an immediate shared physical and social space. The historical tendency in Japanese poetry to compose in a group setting often influenced the ways in which poets composed and the verses they produced. Japanese classical poetry (*waka* 和歌) from the Heian 平安 (794-1185) period

onwards was often composed at “poetry parties (*utakai* 歌会),” at which one would compose and recite poems, or compare the work of one team of poets with that of another in a formal competition (*utaawase* 歌合) presided over by a judge. Another well-known example of face-to-face poetic sociality is the forerunner of the modern haiku, the popular linked verse form *haikai no renga* 俳諧連歌. Within the social space of the linked verse session, two or more poets would produce a sequence of verses in alternating 5-7-5 and 7-7 syllabic meter, each verse responding to the themes and imagery of those which preceded it to form a sequence of thirty-six stanzas, sometimes more. Placing a high premium on spontaneity, wit and the ability to respond rapidly to other’s poetry, the face-to-face immediacy of the linked verse session was one of its most important features and main attractions.

The second form of poetic sociality consists of the exchange of verse across temporal or spatial distance, which thereby creates a sense of community and shared cultural bonds. In contrast to the face-to-face form, here the other party or parties need not necessarily be physically present. This was the case in a number of exchanges between Chinese and Japanese poets during the early 19th century, in which neither of the poets participating in the exchange ever actually met the other. Both of these views of poetic sociality draw on the observations of Japanese scholar Ogata Tsutomu, who points out, in arguing for the importance of what he refers to as “*za no bungaku* 座の文学” or ‘literature of the parlor,’ that this ‘parlor’ of social interaction can be understood both in a face-to-face sense and as a more

abstract shared social space.² While Ogata’s analysis focuses on haiku and native Japanese forms of poetry, I draw most of my examples of this second form of poetic sociality from *kanshi*, particularly the mode of composition known as “rhyme-matching” (also “rhyme-following,” J. *jiin*, Ch. *ciyun* 次韻), which was a major feature of Meiji *kanshi* in particular. Rhyme and tonal prosody are important structural elements in poetry in literary Chinese, and, accordingly, rhyme-matching involves a poet retaining the rhyme scheme of another poet’s verse as a basic structure for his or her own responding poem. A good rhyme-matching response goes beyond simply retaining rhyme graphs to respond also to the setting, imagery and diction of the original verse. An exchange from early 1890 between two student friends of haiku poet and critic Masaoka Shiki 正岡子規 (1867-1902) demonstrates rhyme-matching in action:

寒夜思鄉

昨夜霏々雪擁扉
偶然慈母送綿衣
今年鄉里寒忒苦
常欲安親未得歸

Thinking of Home on a Cold Night [Original]

Last night endless snow flurries embraced my door.
By chance, my honored mother has sent me her cotton robe,
In our hometown this year she must be shivering with cold.
Always I wish for my parents’ repose; not yet can I return.

寒夜思鄉

独座擁爐空閉扉
欲愁難遣淚霑衣
故園此去三千里
雪白松城春未歸

Thinking of Home on a Cold Night [Response]

Alone I sit, embracing the hearth, in vain I close my door.
I will lament my hardships, shed tears to wet my robe.
My old home lies three thousand leagues from here,
White snow in Matsuyama; spring does not yet return.³

² Ogata Tsutomu, *Za no bungaku* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1973) p. 14.

³ The rhyme graphs and their English translation are highlighted for clarity. The original poem is by Kaida Hidesumi 戒田秀澄 (?-?) and the response by Kawahigashi Sen 河東銓 (1870-1947), who later became a writer for the *Yomiuri shinbun* newspaper. The poems are

Both poems are examples of the heptasyllabic quatrain form (J. *shichigon zekku*, Ch. *qiyan jueju* 七言絶句), in which the rhyme graphs occur at the end of the first, second and fourth lines. The response retains the original's rhyme graphs, and it also retains or plays on the original's setting and themes. In both poems, a robe is used to symbolize sadness and homesickness, though in rather different ways; in the first poem, the robe invokes bittersweet memories of the writer's mother and of the need for filial piety, whereas the second poem focuses only on the writer's sadness and highlights the tears falling on the sleeve, in a very conventional image of poetic grief. The heptasyllabic quatrain and its shorter variant, the pentasyllabic quatrain (J. *gogon zekku*, Ch. *wuyan jueju* 五言絶句) were generally seen as the easiest forms to master and often featured in rhyme-matching exchanges among less experienced poets, but in principle any form of *kanshi* could be used to conduct such an exchange.

In the specific example cited above, both participants were in each other's physical presence when composing, meaning that it falls under the first definition of poetic sociality. However, one important point is that rhyme-matching was based upon direct textual and lexical links among a series of poems that did not need to be composed at the same space or time. This meant that it was very often practiced across temporal or spatial distance in a way

taken from the hand-written 'magazine' *Tsuzure no nishiki* つづれの錦 ('A Patchwork Brocade'), which appears in Masaoka Chûsaborô et al., eds., *Shiki zenshû* (hereafter *SZ*) (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1975-1978) vol. 9 pp. 730 and 736.

that was rarely the case with linked verse sequences. Requiring participants to create a sequence of thirty-six verses through multiple iterations via (for instance) exchange of letter would have been impractical, and since linked verse also placed high value on spontaneity, wit, and companionship with fellow poets, composing across distance would likely have been much less interesting. Pre-modern Japanese *kanshi* poets occasionally exchanged rhyme-matching poems via letter, but its heyday came with the establishment of a periodical print media during early Meiji, as this served as a major avenue through which rhyme-matching could take place. Sequences of both Japanese and Chinese linked verse did occasionally appear in Meiji newspapers, but almost always in the shape of the completed sequence, rather than as a work in progress.

Although exchanging verse with living poets was one major aspect of rhyme-matching, crafting responses across time, to respond to works by poets who had lived hundreds or thousands of years earlier, was also common practice. In perhaps the most famous instance, the Song 宋 (960-1276) poet Su Shi 蘇軾 (J. So Shoku, 1036-1101) expressed admiration for the Six Dynasties 六朝 (222-589) poet Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (J. Tô Enmei, ?365-427) by composing rhyme-matching responses to every one of the latter's collected poems. Likewise, Shiki's *kanshi* include rhyme-matching responses to Tang 唐 (618-907) poets such as Li Bai 李白 (701-762), who died over a thousand years before Shiki was born. Examining historical rhyme-matching reveals much about poetic tastes, canon and

issues of reception, both among individual poets and among the poetic community in general.

Just as a rhyme-matching response to a historical poet expressed admiration for that poet's work, among living poets rhyme-matching expressed friendship, admiration or even rivalry. A rhyme-matching response often called for a counter-response, a further response, and so on, with the only limit on the length of the sequence being the participants' ability to sustain their interest in the poetic conversation. In this sense, rhyme-matching poetry served as a central mechanism for generating poetic discourse; any given poem was never a closed, completed text, but always stood as an invitation to other poets to respond and create a new chain of socio-poetic dialogue, even though a century or a millennium might have passed since the original poem was written. In much the same way as a present-day blog or online discussion forum derives much of its interest from comments responding to an original posting, part of the attraction of this kind of poetry for those who read and produced it lay in the interest and tension produced by this dynamic of social interaction and dialogue, of verse and response.⁴

As the above discussion of rhyme-matching suggests, one major element of poetic sociality is the composition of what might be termed "linked poetry," verses that depend on

⁴ As this analogy suggests, there are some striking parallels between late 19th century newspapers and late 20th century internet media in terms of the ways in which both facilitate textual communication across distance. These parallels are discussed in more detail in the Conclusion, but they would seem to suggest that far from being unique to Japan or East Asia, this notion of textual interaction as predicated on exchange and reciprocity is a key element in modern textual media in general.

multiple participants linking their work via lexical or thematic elements. This dissertation is primarily concerned with three main forms of “linked poetry,” specifically lexical linking, content linking, and linking by fixed topic. Lexical linking, best exemplified by rhyme-matching, refers to a direct textual and lexical link between poems, wherein a given set of lexical elements (in this case, rhyme graphs) are repeated throughout a succession of verse sequences. The responding poet was obliged to incorporate certain vocabulary and images, but at the same time a clever or unexpected twist on the previous poet’s rhyme-graphs could allow the sequence to develop in an entirely new direction.

The second form is thematic or content linking within a specific framework, as in the case of linked verse in Japanese or literary Chinese (Ch. *lianju* 連句).⁵ In contrast to the first form of poetic linking, the creation of verse sequences of this kind depended not on direct lexical links but on linking by theme or imagery; in Japanese linked verse, for instance, the repetition of the same lexical element within a given number of iterations was generally considered undesirable.⁶ The third form of linked poetry is linking by fixed topic; it was standard practice at many poetic gatherings for a fixed topic to be pre-assigned and for each poet to compose on this topic. The resulting poems did not necessarily have to share a lexical

⁵ In similar fashion to Japanese linked-verse forms, *lianju* involved multiple poets contributing a succession of couplets that were linked together by sharing a rhyme in the final graph of the first line. For an example of this composed by Japanese poets, see Chapter 2 p. 139.

⁶ For instance, both orthodox *renga* and *haikai no renga* feature a rule named *sarikirai* 去嫌, which prohibits the recurrence of similar or closely associated words within certain intervals.

link with other poets' work, though this was certainly possible; the two rhyme-matching poems featured above both came from poets composing on the fixed topic of "thinking of home on a cold night," which was assigned to all poets present at the gathering. Meiji newspapers often used fixed topics as a way to structure their poetic contests in both *kanshi* and haiku, leading to tens or even hundreds of thousands of poets sending in verses on the same set of topics.

Linked poetry is a major part of poetic sociality, but it should not be confused with poetic sociality *tout court*. Although lexically and thematically linked poetry, the first two of the three types of linked poetry mentioned above, declined in popularity from the early 20th century, the fixed topic remained popular, and other elements of poetic sociality such as the social gathering and practices of mutual critique and verse correction remain an important element in poetic practice to this day. Present-day haiku practice in Japan takes place largely around and through haiku societies (*kessha* 結社), and practices such as the *ginkô* 吟行, a group trip to a location famous for its scenery or otherwise intended to provide inspiration for composing haiku, remain extremely popular.

One major reason for the shift away from lexically and thematically linked poetry is the rise of prose fiction during the Meiji era, which promoted the view among critics and writers that the highest form of literature was one that originated in a single authorial consciousness. As is well known, Shiki himself declared that *haikai no renga* linked verse did

not qualify as literature, in part because of what he saw as a lack of formal and thematic unity from one verse to the next.⁷ Likewise, a pseudonymous correspondent in Shiki's highly influential haiku journal *Hototogisu* ホトトギス in 1897 declared that linked verse was not literature because it was “something that two or more people with different brains do (元より頭腦の同じからざる二人以上の者がものしたるもの).”⁸

A further, related criticism of lexically and thematically linked poetry arising during the Meiji period was that the restrictions and rules to which poetic exchange had to adhere were impediments to the unobstructed expression of authorial consciousness that lay at the heart of “serious” literature. These forms of linked poetry were therefore re-categorized as play or entertaining diversion which did not qualify as genuinely literary. Writing in 1897, the literary critic Sassa Seisetsu 佐々醒雪 (1872-1917) labeled linked verse as “merely a word game (唯遊戯文字)” and declared that “where not practiced for amusement, it is the province of the madman (遊戯に非ざれば狂者の業なり).”⁹ Writing somewhat later in 1917, poet and critic Ômachi Keigetsu 大町桂月 (1869-1925) likewise derided rhyme-matching as being “like a woman who wears a different set of clothes every time she steps outside taking pride in the size of her wardrobe (なほ女子が外出する毎に、かはりたる衣服着て、衣服

⁷ See Shiki's 1895 *Bashô zôdan* 芭蕉雑談 (‘Various Discussions on Bashô’), *SZ* 4:258-9.

⁸ This argument appears in a pseudonymous piece by an unknown author entitled “Omoide no mama” in *Hototogisu* vol. 1 no. 10 (October 30th, 1897) p. 9.

⁹ Sassa Seisetsu, *Renpai shôshi* (Dai Nihon Tosho, 1897) pp. 190-191.

の多きをほこらむとするが如し).”¹⁰ Historically, much writing on Chinese poetics has also disapproved of rhyme-matching and linked verse as non-serious games. Prominent Song and Qing poets such as Yuan Yu 巖羽 (c.1180-c.1235) and Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716-1797) both criticized rhyme-matching in their writings; more recently, the eminent scholar of Chinese poetry Yoshikawa Kôjirô describes rhyme-matching in his extensive study of Song dynasty poetry as a word game of a similar nature to the Western crossword puzzle.¹¹

The ludic or “game-like” element is undoubtedly an important part of linked poetry and even of social activity in general, and does much to explain its popularity. Yet focusing exclusively on the ludic elements of linked poetry can lead one to overlook its vitally important role as interpersonal and public discourse, especially during the Meiji era. There is nothing particularly playful or humorous about scholar and poet Ôtsuki Bankei’s 大槻磐溪 (1801-1878) 1876 rhyme-matching exchange with Chinese poet Ou Hunan 歐湖南 (?-?) in the *Chôya shinbun* 朝野新聞 newspaper on the topic of the 1874 Taiwan Expedition, for instance, nor was the marathon exchange on the Kegon-no-taki 華巖の瀑 waterfalls among Kokubu Seigai 国分青厓 (1857-1944), Soejima Taneomi 副島種臣 (1828-1905) and Mori Kainan 森槐南 (1863-1911) in the autumn of 1890 mere diversion; there were serious issues

¹⁰ Ômachi Keigetsu, “Kanshijin o azakeru” in *Shaikaikun* (Tokyo: Iijima Takesaburô, 1917) p. 114.

¹¹ Yoshikawa Kôjirô, Burton Watson, trans., *An Introduction to Sung Poetry* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967) p. 40. For more on Yuan Yu and Yuan Mei’s views of rhyme-matching, see chapters 1 and 2.

of prestige and influence in the Meiji *kanshi* world at stake.

Poetic sociality has a strong connection to print culture. Over the course of the 19th century as a whole, participation in poetic activities grew exponentially, which to a great extent was made possible by a flourishing print culture in Japan. Resulting also from increased opportunities for commoner education, *haikai*'s demographic base expanded substantially during the mid-18th century, and from around the end of the 18th century the same begins to be true of *kanshi* as well. Expanding beyond its previous main constituency of Confucian scholars, Buddhist monks and court nobles, other social groups such as townsmen, merchants and samurai all began to compose *kanshi* on a regular basis. One immediate social phenomenon resulting from this was the rise of the *ginsha* 吟社 or *kanshi* society, a social group which anyone who could afford the tuition and material expenses could join in order to receive instruction in *kanshi* composition and socialize with well-known poets.

The first *ginsha* that can be positively identified by name is the Gokôsha 吳江社 ('Wu River Society'), founded in 1724 (Kyôhō 享保 9) in Settsu-Ikeda 摂津池田, to the north-east of what is now Osaka City, by the Confucian scholar Tanaka Tôkô 田中桐江 (1668-1742).¹² The Kansai area, particularly Kyoto and Osaka, also played host to most of the major poetic societies over the next fifty years or so; notable examples include Ryû Sôro's

¹² The society's name apparently derives from Ikeda's longstanding reputation as a center for the production of woven garments (known as *gofuku* 吳服 or 'Wu robes'), and its proximity to the Inagawa 猪名川 river, which flows to the west of the area. This information is taken from Ikeda shiritsu rekishi minzoku shiryôkan, ed., *Ikeda bunka to Ôsaka* (Ikeda, Osaka: Ikeda shiritsu rekishi minzoku shiryôkan, 1992) pp. 19-20.

竜草廬 (1715-1792) Yûransha 幽蘭社 ('Shaded Orchid Society,' founded c.1740) and Katayama Hokkai's 片山北海 (1723-1790) Kontonsha 混沌社 ('Primeval Chaos Society'). In Edo, the most notable group was the Kôko shisha 江湖詩社 ('Everyman's Poetry Society'), founded by retired Confucian scholar Ichikawa Kansai 市川寛齋 (1749-1820). Many alumni of this last group later became stars of the early 19th century literary world, especially Kikuchi Gozan 菊池五山 (1769-1849), Ôkubo Shibutsu 大窪詩仏 (1767-1837) and Kashiwagi Jotei 柏木如亭 (1763-1819).

With the numbers of those wishing to study and practice *kanshi* steadily increasing in both rural and urban areas, prominence as a poet now brought the possibility of considerable financial reward. Wealthy merchants outside of the capital paid handsomely for instruction in *kanshi*, and a number of teachers thus took up a semi-itinerant existence. For those who elected to remain in one place, however, a vibrant and rapidly growing print culture also offered opportunities to raise one's profile and to earn some extra income. Pre-Meiji *kanshi* practice took advantage of print culture in a variety of ways, including the production of primers and instructional material, translations and anthologies of Chinese poetic texts, yearbooks ranking the country's most famous poets, and anthologies of poetry containing works by prominent Japanese poets. Within the first two categories, we can point to primers such as *Shiin jikai* 詩韻児解 ('A Children's Guide to Poetic Rhymes,' first published 1771) and *Shigo saikin* 詩語粹金 ('Gold and Jewels of Poetic Diction,' first published 1776), as

well as annotated Japanese vernacular versions of Chinese poetic texts such as Kashiwagi Jotei's 1801 *Yakuchû Renju shikaku* 訳注聯珠詩格 ('Annotated *Lianzhu shige*'), a version of the early Yuan dynasty 元 (1271-1368) poetic primer *Lianzhu shige* 聯珠詩格 ('A String of Poetic Jewels'). These texts, providing explanations of rhetorical and structural features and instruction in the mechanics of composition, played a major pedagogical role in breaking down barriers of linguistic proficiency and textual knowledge, leaving *kanshi* less and less the language of a particular elite section of society.

Yearbooks and anthologies by Japanese poets also played an important role. These Edo-era *kanshi* media were generally published fairly irregularly, often only every few years, at best once a year.¹³ Given their irregular publication, such media generally functioned as showcase for individual poets rather than platform for exchange, since a publication that came out once every few years was ill-suited to use as a form of textual communication. Without question, though, these media contributed to a growing sense of shared social identity and community among *kanshi* poets around the country. Building on this trend, the growth of literary columns in daily newspapers and literary journals from the mid-1870s onwards, such as *Eisai shinshi* 穎才新誌 ('Flowering Talent Magazine'), a weekly student journal published from 1877 to 1901, made it possible to conduct poetic dialogue through the print media and 'out in the open;' poets who had never met or heard of one another could now

¹³ Yearly publications usually came out around New Year, when debts were traditionally settled and booksellers calculated that merchants were more likely to have disposable income.

actively exchange poems in a public venue, rather than simply reading and being aware of others' work.

The growth of print media had further implications for poetic sociality. One of the most important was the exchange of verse on openly political topics, something that had a great deal to do with the increasing use of the newspaper as space for poetic exchange. For its part, *kanshi* already had a long tradition of political engagement, and it was usually featured in the more highbrow newspapers, which also devoted a great deal of coverage to political issues. This is especially true of the newspaper *Nippon* 日本 ('Japan,' published 1889-1906), which played host at one time or another to virtually all of the major figures involved in poetic 'reform' during the 1890s, including Shiki, Kokubu Seigai, and *tanka* poets Amada Guan 天田愚庵 (1854-1904) and Ochiai Naobumi 落合直文 (1861-1903). *Nippon's* editorial line was consistently antagonistic towards the Meiji government, and as a result we find poetry exchanges in *Nippon's* pages between readers and the paper's journalists that are openly satirical, covering political topics such as bureaucratic corruption, international treaties and environmental disasters. Although Kokubu Seigai's *kanshi* column *Hyôrin* 評林 ('Forest of Criticism') was probably the most consistent and vociferous source of anti-government poetry, we also see the growth in *Nippon* and other elite newspapers of *tanka* and especially haiku as political commentary, a function not traditionally associated with either genre. The result was the composition of large numbers of *kanshi*, *tanka* and haiku in which was

expressed an ardent nationalism that painted the Meiji government as traitors, and the poets themselves as the true patriots.

Poetic sociality and nationalism are not the same, however. The establishment of social bonds and a sense of community among fellow poets generated by the exchange of verse in print media should be distinguished from the kind of “imagined communities” which Benedict Anderson’s now-classic 1983 study identifies as playing a major role in the formation of national identity.¹⁴ Anderson points to the rise of print capitalism, particularly newspapers and the novel, as connecting and unifying formerly linguistically disparate groups by means of a shared written language, thereby sowing the seeds for national consciousness. By contrast, poetic sociality never entirely discarded its face-to-face aspect, which predates the rise of a large-circulation print media and continues to the present day; the communities thus envisioned were not always wholly imaginary. Where Anderson’s study focuses on the simultaneous experiences shared by millions of newspaper readers as a key element in constructing modern ideas of nation and nationalism, Meiji poetic sociality is often exclusive rather than inclusive, its practitioners seeing themselves in many cases as a cultural elite rather than actors in a national literary tradition. In other words, poetic community is not necessarily coterminous with national community, and ideas of social class also played a major role in defining the limits of poetic sociality. This is particularly true for *kanshi*;

¹⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006).

increased levels of poetic literacy notwithstanding, it still required a high level of formal education and investment of time to compose and appreciate, and thus always faced limits on potential audience. As I show in Chapter One, early Meiji *kanshi* sociality was explicitly transnational, with diplomats and expatriates from Qing China highly sought-after poetic partners. Initially, at least, participants thus stressed common bonds of shared educational background and cultural capital, rather than membership in a national community.

With the growth of readership for national newspapers and literary journals after the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5, issues of social class also came to the fore in haiku sociality, becoming a keynote in the discourse of what came to be known as the “new haiku (*shinpa haiku* 新派俳句)” during the 1890s. Far from endorsing haiku as embodiment of Japanese characteristics, haiku poet Masaoka Shiki emphatically rejected the notion that poetic community was synonymous with national identity. Despite suggestions from other critics during the early 1890s that haiku might become a “national poetry (*kokushi* 国詩),” Shiki and other highly educated reformers rejected the notion that all Japanese subjects could or should compose haiku as vulgarizing the genre and making it a form of “commoner literature (*heimin bungaku* 平民文学).” Shiki also specifically argued against the project of creating a “national literature (*kokumin bungaku* 国民文学),” suggesting that a literature that was appropriate for all citizens of a nation would be too debased to deserve the term “literature.” As such, the “new haiku” groups advocated a view of the genre in which a high level of formal education

was an important qualification for a would-be poet.

Modern scholarship on Japanese literature tends to overlook the impact of poetic sociality. One reason for this is that studies of Japanese literature aimed at Western audiences usually focus on prose fiction or drama, and so tend to approach both prose and poetic texts as the unified product of an individual consciousness. Sociality did, however, remain a key element in Japanese poetry long after the Meiji Restoration, and in the shape of the millions of amateur haiku and *tanka* poets still active in small groups all across Japan, it exerts an influence to this day. In focusing on modern poetry and its mechanisms of cultural production and consumption, the dissertation not only sheds light on a largely neglected area of modern Japanese literature, it provides a new picture of literary production as a whole.

The dissertation's concern for poetry's relationship to print media addresses another understudied area. As discussed above, poetic sociality has a strong connection to print culture; the ability to circulate written texts in large quantities is key for the socio-literary group in allowing it to expand beyond its immediate environs to recruit new members or to publicize their members' work. Almost all *kanshi* and *haikai* groups were deeply involved in print culture during the Edo period, putting out poetic anthologies and collections quite regularly, although not as frequently as the weekly- or daily-published print media of the Meiji era. By the Meiji Restoration, hundreds of thousands of people practiced poetry throughout Japan on a regular basis. *Kanshi* groups flourished in Tokyo in particular, and in

some cases *haikai* masters in metropolitan areas received over 100,000 entries to their regular *tentori* competitions.

Despite this, studies of the relationship between literary form and print media in Meiji Japan overwhelmingly focus on the impact of newspaper serialization of prose fiction, an observation that holds for both Japanese and English-language scholarship.¹⁵ Few if any studies have attempted to answer the question of how Meiji newspapers employed poetic genres, or the attendant questions of literary form, readership and political discourse.¹⁶ Most elite newspapers had a poetry column which featured both *kanshi* and *tanka*, while more populist publications often ran haiku contests featuring large cash prizes as a way of boosting readership. In both cases the social aspects of poetry, particularly its ability to promote dialogue between journalist and reader and the experience of composing on fixed topics with other, unknown readers, are key to understanding the role poetry played in the print media. As noted above, the juxtaposition of current affairs on the printed page with newspaper poetry caused poetic dialogue to take on an openly political character, with poets exchanging satirical verses criticizing the government and the activities of contemporary politicians. The use of

¹⁵ Among recent studies, for instance, Honda Yasuo's *Shinbun shôsetsu no tanjô* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1998), Maeda Ai's collection *Kindai dokusha no seiritsu* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2001), Kôno Kensuke's *Tôki toshite no bungaku: katsuji, kenshō, media* (Tokyo: Shin'yôsha, 2003), and Seki Hajime's *Shinbun shôsetsu no jidai: media, dokusha, merodorama* (Tokyo: Shin'yôsha, 2007) all approach issues of audience, media and readership during Meiji primarily from the point of view of prose fiction.

¹⁶ One notable exception is Akio Bin, whose studies *Shiki no kindai: kokkei, media, Nihongo* (Tokyo: Shin'yôsha, 1999) and *Kyoshi to Hototogisu: kindai haiku no media* (Tokyo: Hon'ami Shoten, 2006) have proven enormously useful in addressing questions of haiku media, especially smaller-scale literary journals.

poetry, particularly haiku, in public political discourse during Meiji has not been widely explored, but this was in fact one of newspaper poetry's most important functions. The majority of haiku appearing in Japan's two most widely-read newspapers during the mid-1890s, Tokyo's *Yorozu chōhō* 萬朝報 and the *Ōsaka Asahi shinbun* 大阪朝日新聞, were of a topical nature, and many other newspapers encouraged their readers to send in their own verses as a way of commenting on current events.

One of the dissertation's central figures is the journalist, poet and critic Masaoka Shiki, whose work at *Nippon* from 1892 until his death ten years later helped to redefine both haiku and *tanka*. Known mainly for his haiku, Shiki also wrote *kanshi* throughout much of his brief life. Even after he launched his movement to reform haiku, he continued to write critical pieces on Tokyo's *kanshi* world and to socialize with many of its main figures, such as Kokubu Seigai and Honda Shuchiku 本田種竹 (1862-1907), both of whom worked at *Nippon*. Shiki was also instrumental in founding the journal *Hototogisu* in 1897, which rapidly became one of the most influential literary periodicals in Japan and is still publishing to this day.

Shiki is indisputably a major figure in Meiji literature, both for his poetry and for his outlining of the concept of *shasei* 写生 or 'sketch-like' prose and poetry. Emphasizing direct, immediate personal observation as a key method in the composition of haiku, *shasei* was also later applied to prose writing and influenced a number of major prose authors, among them

Shiga Naoya 志賀直哉 (1883-1971). The main critical studies in English to date on Shiki have been Mark Morris' two articles in 1984 and 1985 analyzing Shiki, Yosa Buson and the concept of *shasei*, and Janine Beichman's valuable 1982 critical biography *Masaoka Shiki: His Life and Works*, re-published in revised form in 2002. Whereas Beichman's approach is primarily biographical, my aim here is to use Shiki's activities as a lens through which to examine larger issues of media and sociality during Meiji. This dissertation adds considerably to the volume of material on Shiki in English, and will be of interest to those studying haiku in languages other than Japanese.

The study also contributes to scholarship on Meiji *kanshi*, a topic that remains relatively understudied. In part, this is a result of a notion of "national literature," first advanced from the mid-Meiji era, which excluded most writing in literary Chinese from the canon of Japanese literature. Poets such as Mori Kainan, feted by Ômachi Keigetsu as Japan's finest ever *kanshi* poet, and Kokubu Seigai, a titanic figure in the Meiji literary world and still respected into the Shôwa 昭和 period (1926-1989), have thus received little scholarly attention to date. In English, Matthew Fraleigh has done groundbreaking work on late Edo and early Meiji *kanshi* in his 2010 study of Narushima Ryûhoku 成島柳北 (1837-1884), on which this dissertation builds in its coverage of mid- and late-Meiji *kanshi* practice. In Japan, scholars such as Saitô Mareshi have recently begun to re-examine Meiji *kanshibun* and its attendant culture; Saitô argues in his 2007 *Kanbunmyaku to kindai Nihon* that many of the

distinct practices and social structures of the Tokyo *kanshi* world, dominated from 1874 to the early 1890s by Kainan's father Mori Shuntô 森春濤 (1819-1889), remained influential long into the Meiji period and even shaped the way in which writers of prose fiction tended to work with one another.

Saitô also argues that competing views of *kanshibun* played a major role in delineating the boundaries of “literature (*bungaku* 文学)” as a modern conceptual category. Pointing to an historically persistent tension in *kanshibun* between the study of poetry and prose as a part of training for public service, as opposed to the cultivation of a private and personal self, Saitô notes the presence of large numbers of government bureaucrats among Tokyo's most prominent *kanshi* poets, as well as the fading of the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement (*Jiyû minken undô* 自由民権運動), which had used *kanshi* as a form of political protest against the government, during the 1880s. Poets who were part of the Meiji government were less likely to engage in overt criticism of their employer, and these circumstances helped to shape the modern notion of “literature (*bungaku* 文学)” and “politics (*seiji* 政治)” as distinct and opposed categories. While *kanbun* and the heavily Sinicized Japanese writing styles that derived from it remained the language of official correspondence and political discussion, and were also widely used as a medium for translation of Western texts, Saitô argues that *kanshi* in particular came to be seen as having fewer practical applications in the realm of government, and was increasingly understood as a private,

personal genre.¹⁷ My research into *kanshi*'s position within *Nippon*, *Kagetsu shinshi* and other periodicals questions whether *kanshi* was necessarily personal or private, showing that *kanshi* was a major part of writers' public persona and that exchanges with readers in the public arena of the newspaper, especially on political matters, were key to *kanshi*'s popularity. Given the extent to which *kanshi* was practiced throughout the early- to mid-Meiji period by figures involved in almost every area of public life, this strong focus on the role of *kanshi* represents a significant contribution to educational, social and political history.

The dissertation adopts a largely chronological structure, beginning in the early 19th century. Chapter One contextualizes the dissertation as whole by discussing the growth of *kanshi* throughout the 19th century, especially its role in Sino-Japanese contacts during this period. Where a number of previous studies of *kanshi* have advanced the notion of the genre's "domestication (*Nihonka* 日本化)" as a major narrative of the 19th century, the chapter points to the engagement of Japanese poets with Qing poetic texts, especially the work of Yuan Mei (J. En Bai 袁枚, 1716-1797), and to poetic exchanges between Japanese and Chinese poets before and after the 1867 Meiji Restoration to argue for poetic sociality as transnational discourse. The chapter looks first at exchanges between renowned female *kanshi* poet Ema Saikô 江馬細香 (1787-1861) and Qing trader Jiang Yunge 江芸閣 (J. Kô Unkaku, c1779-?) during the early 19th century, following this discussion with analysis of face-to-face

¹⁷ Saitô Mareshi, *Kanbunmyaku to kindai Nihon: mô hitotsu no kotoba no sekai* (Tokyo: Nihon Hôshô Shuppan Kyôkai, 2007) pp. 125-137.

written textual communication known as “brush talks (J. *hitsudan*, Ch. *bitan* 筆談)” between Japanese literati and visiting Qing 清 dynasty (1616-1912) scholars and diplomats such as He Ruzhang 何如璋 (1838-1891) and Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲 (1848-1905), as well as private figures such as teacher Ye Songshi 葉松石 (1839-1903). Moving on to document the activities and engagement with Chinese texts and visitors of Mori Shuntô 森春濤 (1819-1889), Japan’s most important *kanshi* poet of the mid-19th century, I show that Japanese poets saw themselves as participants in a shared and primarily male textual culture that transcended notions of nationality. In closing, the chapter also examines how this textual exchange was affected by the 1874 Taiwan incident, a military and diplomatic dispute between Japan and Qing China. This incident found expression in *kanshi* writing, yet also spurred something of a backlash against the influence of Qing poetics, couched largely in terms of Japanese nationalism.

Chapter Two covers the years 1884-1892, looking at Shiki’s activities after his move to Tokyo. It focuses on literary activities and social groups centering around the Tokiwakai dormitory, a mutual aid association for students from Shiki’s home province of Matsuyama. Continuing the focus on *kanshi*, I examine the growing popularity of rhyme-matching poetry, arguing that not only did the practice form and cement male homosocial relations, but that it represented a cultural matrix, an imagined space within which participants could cross geographical and temporal barriers to place themselves in dialogue with fellow poets living

and dead in Japan and China. To illustrate this process, I look first at a sequence of rhyme-matching exchanges between Shiki and novelist Natsume Sôseki and the role these exchanges played in cementing their friendship during 1889. This activity is contextualized within the larger print media by analysis of one of the most notable instances of rhyme-matching poetry during Meiji, a marathon exchange of poems on the topic of Nikkô's Kegon no taki waterfalls among Kokubu Seigai, politician Soejima Taneômi, and Shuntô's son Mori Kainan. Running in the newspaper *Nippon* between September and November of 1890, the sequence went through nineteen iterations over two months. This brought Seigai considerable acclaim and launched him to prominence as a rival to Kainan, yet it also drew complaints from readers annoyed at what they saw as the prolonged and self-indulgent nature of the exchange, suggesting that *Nippon's* reading public viewed their relationship with the newspaper's literary column less as a matter of passive consumption of work by the *kanshi* poets associated with the newspaper than as an open space in which they themselves should be able to participate.

Chapter Three focuses on the years 1892-5 and the newspaper *Nippon*, where Shiki began working after dropping out of university in 1892. As *Nippon* became a gathering point for poetic reform movements through the work of Shiki, Seigai and *tanka* poets such as Katsura Koson 桂湖村 (1868-1938) and Ochiai Naobumi, poetry assumed new prominence as a vehicle for public political discourse. Although haiku especially is often seen as ill-suited

to the expression of political ideas, the chapter argues that poetic genres in Meiji newspapers were far more politically engaged than previously thought. The emphasis on reciprocal exchange in poetic sociality lent itself particularly well to political discourse between journalists and readers, with examples of precisely this kind of interaction among Shiki's earliest efforts at newspaper haiku. I then discuss the innovations in the practice and study of haiku made by Shiki and the Shii no tomo kai group, contrasting this group with other haiku reform efforts by the novelist Ozaki Kôyô 尾崎紅葉 (1867-1903) and the lawyer and politician Kakuta Chikurei 角田竹冷 (1856-1919) at the *Yomiuri* and *Kokumin shinbun* newspapers. Finally, I close by examining how Shiki used *Shô Nippon*, a short-lived sister publication designed to skirt censorship laws on the eve of the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5, to develop his own much broader haiku community, one in which reader participation played a central role. By highlighting the role of political verse in establishing haiku in particular within the print media, the chapter historicizes and questions the modern view of haiku as centered on primarily the natural world, as well as the unstable division between haiku and its comic counterpart *senryû*.

Chapter Four continues the focus on haiku by considering the varying views of haiku sociality advanced through the activities and rhetoric of the three main 'haiku reform' groups, Shiki's *Nippon* faction, Tokyo Imperial University's 'University Group,' and Kôyô and Chikurei's Shûseikai 秋声会 ('Autumn Winds Society'). In analyzing these three groups, my

main focus is their use of the rhetoric of *haikai* as “commoner literature (*heimin bungaku*)” and the ways in which this discourse developed. Focusing on the three main areas of practices of composition, the social space of poetry and the ways in which haiku sociality was expressed through contemporary print, I show that the term “commoner literature” was used to define much of previous “commoner” *haikai* practice, especially social poetry, as a form of play rather than serious literature, and to argue for haiku as a poetry expressing the emotions of an individual poet. The “commoner literature” discourse also distinguished modern haiku from “commoner” *haikai* in terms of haiku being an elite rather than a popular genre, and a source of cultural rather than economic capital. These distinctions had a significant impact on poetic sociality and remain powerful elements shaping the practice of haiku to this day.

Lastly, the dissertation’s conclusion briefly considers the continued importance of rhyme-matching in *kanshi* groups as late as the Pacific War, and the various attempts by Shiki’s disciples to revive practices of linked poetry. Based on this, I argue that Japanese poets continued to value and experiment with practices of linked social poetry well into the 20th century, and that the notion of poetry as taking place primarily within a group setting remains influential to the present day. Although the dissertation’s primary focus is on haiku and *kanshi*, the conclusion also considers the importance of sociality for other verse forms such as *tanka*, as well as the possibility of developing a theory of prose sociality. Pointing out parallels between Meiji poetic sociality and modern-day internet-based media, the conclusion closes by

arguing that the sociality described in the dissertation is perhaps not unique to Japan, but a feature of modern textual culture.

Chapter 1

“All Men Within the Four Seas are Brothers:” Qing Poets and Poetics in 19th Century

Japan

This chapter focuses on “rhyme-matching” or “rhyme-following” (J. *wain* 和韻, *jiin* 次韻; Ch. *heyun*, *ciyun*) poetry exchanges between poets from Qing 清 (1616-1912) China and their Japanese counterparts during the 19th century. The chapter argues for rhyme-matching poetry as a major vector of textual and cultural exchange between Japanese and Chinese poets. The participants in these exchanges often did not share a common spoken language or were separated by physical distance; in this context, whether practiced across distance or within a shared physical space, *kanshi* writing and the social practices within which it was embedded acted as a matrix for textual communication. As a practice dependent on direct textual linkage, interpersonal dialogue and shared knowledge of a specific canon of literary and cultural texts, rhyme-matching poetry enabled and encouraged dialogue in a way that other literary genres could not. Such exchanges became particularly common during the Meiji era 明治 (1867-1912), thanks in large part to the growth of a periodically published print media in Japan, which allowed the showcasing of Japanese and Qing poets’ work and provided a venue within which readers could respond to it.

In my analysis below, I identify two contrasting yet often parallel views emerging among Japanese *kanshi* poets during early Meiji as a result of the opportunity to regularly interact and exchange poems with Chinese poets and greater ease of access to Chinese poetic texts. On the one hand, many scholars and *kanshi* poets saw the chance to exchange poems with their Chinese counterparts as representing a celebration of a shared literate culture common to all educated men (Ch. *tongwen* 同文, J. *dôbun*, literally “same letters”), within which an individual’s nationality was less important than his poetic ability. On the other, the shift in relations between Japan and China brought about by the Meiji Restoration’s program of modernization and the disparity in power between the two countries it revealed, highlighted by the 1874 Taiwan Expedition, caused Japanese *kanshi* poets to question the value of the Qing-influenced poetics more recently introduced to Japan, and to search for ways in which Japanese *kanshi* practice could be envisioned as superior.

This focus on *kanshi* as transnational medium of exchange during the Meiji differs in its angle of approach to previous studies, which have often taken as their main concern the question of how far *kanshi* can be viewed as a specifically Japanese form of literature. Most scholarship addressing *kanshi* practice during the 19th century does so as part of a larger narrative of the literature of the Edo period 江戸時代 (1600-1867). Although there is a substantial overlap between the most prominent poets of the late Edo and early Meiji periods, it is comparatively rare for studies to extend their coverage beyond the Meiji Restoration 明

治維新 of 1868; the end of the Edo period thus becomes the end point of the narrative of Edo literature, to be replaced by the development of modern literature from Meiji onward. Within this framework, studies of late Edo *kanshi* have generally advanced two main narratives. The first of these is the popularization (*taishûka* 大衆化) of *kanshi* and its adoption by both urban and rural merchants and commoners, as outlined in the introduction. The other main narrative is that of the “domestication” or “Japanization (*Nihonka* 日本化)” of *kanshi*. For the most part, scholars have argued that this “domestication” lies in an increased tendency towards realistic depiction (*shajitsuka* 写実化) and the depiction of the lives and customs of commoners (*fûzokuka* 風俗化), by means of which *kanshi* became a more ‘Japanese’ literary genre.¹ Ibi Takashi, for instance, points to these two elements of realistic depiction and focus on commoners as defining characteristics of *kanshi* writing during the late Edo period;² likewise, Hino Tatsuo argues that one of the results of the late 18th-century backlash against the poetics of Ogyû Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728) was that *kanshi* became assimilated as a fully “Japanese” form of poetry.³ In similar vein, Katô Shûichi suggests in his history of Japanese literature that this shift in *kanshi*’s modes of expression moved it closer to genres

¹ English-language scholarship has also generally followed this view; for instance, Burton Watson writes that “by late Tokugawa times the Japanese had succeeded in naturalizing the medium of Chinese poetry and adapting it to their particular tastes and requirements to a degree never before realized in their history.” (*Japanese Literature in Chinese* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1976) vol. 2 p. 11))

² Ibi Takashi *Edo shidan no jânarizumu: Gozandô shiwa no sekai* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2001) p. 12-13.

³ Hino Tatsuo, “Kaseido no bun’un (gaisetsu)” in Ogata Tsutomu et al., eds., *Kinsei no bungaku* (Tokyo: Yûhikaku Sensho, 1977) vol. 5 p. 153.

such as diary literature (*nikki bungaku* 日記文学) and *haikai* prose (*haibun* 俳文), which were expressive of a “distinctly Japanese world-view (日本の土着世界観).”⁴

The notion of the “domestication” of *kanshi*, positing a fixed set of formal and stylistic characteristics that can be identified *a priori* as “Japanese,” owes much to the discourse of a uniquely Japanese ‘national literature (*kokubungaku* 国文学)’ first advanced in the early 1890s. Though *kanshibun* texts were largely excluded from this canon of ‘national literature,’ they nevertheless made up a substantial part of the output of a number of major literary figures across Japanese history, prompting literary scholars during the early 20th century to posit a narrative of “foreign” *kanshi* being domesticated into something authentically Japanese. Intriguingly, pre-war literary scholars often located *kanshi*’s domestication as occurring not during the Edo period, but rather during the much earlier Heian 平安 (794-1185) period.⁵ By contrast, I would like to focus on a comparatively neglected role of *kanshi*, namely its ability to function as transnational literary discourse. As I show below, this understanding of *kanshi* can be seen as running parallel to the process of “domestication” throughout the 19th century, and became even more important after trade and

⁴ Katô Shûichi, “Nihon bungaku josetsu (ge)” in *Katô Shûichi chosakushû* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1980) vol. 5 pp. 255-6.

⁵ Fujioka Sakutarô’s 1904 *Kokubungaku zenshi: Heianchô hen*, for instance, argues that the domestication occurred in the Heian (794-1185) era through the efforts of Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845-903) (see Fujioka Sakutarô, Akiyama Ken et. al. ed., *Kokubungaku zenshi: Heianchô hen*, Toyo Bunko vol. 198, (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971), p. 104). Likewise, Igarashi Chikara’s *Heianchô bungakushi* (1935-7) argues for Michizane as imparting a “Japanese character and refinement (*Nihonteki jinkaku to shûyô* 日本人の人格と修養)” to *kanshi*, thereby aiding the “development of a pure national literature (*junsui kokubungaku* 純粋国文学).” See Igarashi Chikara, *Heianchô bungakushi* (Tokyo: Tokyodô, 1935-7), vol. 1 p. 129.

diplomatic relations with the Asian continent were strengthened after the Meiji Restoration.

This focus builds on more recent scholarship questioning the binary of Japanese content versus Chinese form that the narrative of *kanshi*'s "domestication" would seem to imply. In a 2007 study, Saitô Mareshi points to *kanshibun*'s role in facilitating explicitly transnational literary and cultural dialogue during the late 19th century,⁶ while Atsuko Sakaki has criticized this implied binary as historically contingent.⁷ Likewise, in a 2009 discussion of poetry by "men of high purpose (*shishi* 志士)" during the middle years of the 19th century, Matthew Fraleigh takes issue with attempts to domesticate the *kanshi* of these "men of high purpose" by viewing their work as (for example) transposed native *tanka*. Arguing for a dualistic approach to *kanshibun*, Fraleigh points to the need to avoid "a schema based on "national literature," which might force us into choosing a single orientation or an exclusivist reading paradigm."⁸

One factor contributing to *kanshi*'s burgeoning status as a specifically transnational genre was a growth in ease of access to Chinese poetic texts and opportunities to interact with Chinese poets. This process began to gather speed from the first few years of the 19th century, although it was obviously catalyzed by the "opening" of the country after 1867. For their part,

⁶ Saitô Mareshi, *Kanbunmyaku to kindai Nihon: mô hitotsu no kotoba no sekai* (Tokyo: Nippon Hôshô Shuppan Kyôkai, 2007) pp. 15-21.

⁷ Atsuko Sakaki, *Obsessions with the Sino-Japanese Polarity in Japanese Literature* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2006) pp. 2-4.

⁸ Matthew Fraleigh, "Songs of the Righteous Spirit: "Men of High Purpose" and their Chinese Poetry in Modern Japan," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* vol. 69 no. 1 (2009) p. 171.

many Chinese poets visiting Japan understood their exchanges with Japanese poets as transnational in character; exploring the experiences of the Qing diplomat Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲 (1848-1905) in Meiji Japan, Richard John Lynn argues that Zunxian saw his interactions as reflecting a shared literary and cultural inheritance that was not necessarily linked to nationality or ethnicity.⁹ Likewise, Douglas Howland's illuminating study of 19th century Sino-Japanese relations emphasizes the importance to Qing visitors of the notion that Japan was a country with which they shared a common literate culture.¹⁰

Meiji Japanese poets were also happy to invoke the rhetoric of *dôbun*, as in a poem by *kanshi* poet and scholar Kawata Ôkô 川田甕江 (1830-1896) addressed to Qing expatriate and language teacher Ye Songshi 葉松石 (Ye Wei 葉煒, 1839-1903) around 1876:

大艦峩峩馳火輪 風濤不隔異鄉人 雖然四海皆兄弟 看到同文交最親	A great coracle brought you through peril to the land of the sun, The wind and waves no barrier for the visitor from another land. And though it is true that all men in the four seas are brothers, To read the same letters – that is the closest form of friendship. ¹¹
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Similar sentiments appear in another poem written to Songshi around the same time by

⁹ Lynn points in particular to the importance of Zunxian's term *siwen* 斯文, which he translates as "this culture of ours." See Richard John Lynn, "'This Culture of Ours' and Huang Zunxian's Literary Experiences in Japan (1877-82)," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR)* vol. 19 (December 1997) pp. 113-138.

¹⁰ Douglas Howland, *Borders of Chinese Civilization: Geography and History at Empire's End* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996) pp. 7-8.

¹¹ Ye Songshi, ed., *Fusang li chang ji* (Nanjing: Ye Shi, 1891) p. 3 recto. Line 3 alludes to *Analects* 12:5: "When the man of noble mind unfailingly conducts himself with self-respect, and is courteous and well-behaved with others, then all within the four seas are his brothers 君子敬而無失、與人恭而禮。四海之內、皆兄弟也" Text from Tôdô Akiyasu ed., trans, *Rongo Chûgoku no koten* vol. 1 (Tokyo: Gakushû Kenkyûsha, 1981 [1984 printing]), supplement p. 32.

Confucian scholar Tomita Ôha 富田鷗波 (Hisataka 久稼, 1836-1907), which concludes with the couplet “Since old, Japan and China have been countries of shared letters / Formal relations not yet deep, our affection is nevertheless profound 日支從古同文国 / 交誼未深情既深.”¹² Nor was this motif confined only to Sino-Japanese exchanges. Visiting Tokyo in 1876, special envoy of the Korean Chōsun 朝鮮 (1392-1897) dynasty Kim Ki-su 金綺秀 (1832-?) was welcomed by inclusion in a sequence of rhyme-matching poems that borrowed the same quotation from the Confucian *Analects* that “all men in the four seas are brothers,” an exchange that was published in the *Chōya shinbun* 朝野新聞 newspaper in August 1876.¹³

While this notion of shared literary culture does indeed seem to have been a powerful element in Sino-Japanese exchanges during the 19th century, two caveats are in order. The first is that the culture of *dōbun* was coded as primarily, if not exclusively, a male domain, something that is often reflected in the topics and structure of the poems. Secondly, while the emphasis on shared literary culture and friendly interaction is one major theme in these exchanges, it would be a mistake to ignore the influence of larger political factors and conclude that all such interactions were necessarily friendly. Huang Zunxian and his fellow

¹² *Fusang li chang ji* p. 14 recto.

¹³ The sequence, which was composed at a poetic gathering held at the Kaiseikō 開成校 school in Tokyo on June 14th, appears in *Chōya shinbun*, August 26th 1876 p. 3 and continues over subsequent issues. On his return to Korea, Kim compiled a report entitled *An Account of A Journey to the East (Iltong kiyu 日東記游)*, which was highly critical of Japan’s modernization. See Michael Finch, *Min Yong-hwan: A Political Biography* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2002) p. 19.

diplomats in the Qing legation had, after all, been dispatched to Japan partly in an attempt to resolve issues of disputed sovereignty over the Ryûkyûs and Taiwan, and inevitably these issues crop up in Sino-Japanese poetic exchanges, not always in the most cordial terms.

On a personal level, however, expatriate Qing poets were warmly welcomed in the early Meiji *kanshi* world. Both private citizens such as Ye Songshi and diplomats such as Zunxian were frequent guests at poetic gatherings in Tokyo; Songshi seems to have become a minor celebrity of the early Meiji *kanshi* world, and his work appears in both newspapers and literary journals of the time. One reason that Songshi and his fellow Qing poets were in demand was the rapid growth of a competitive media market in *kanshi* publications during the first two decades of the Meiji era. Many early Meiji newspapers carried regular *kanshi* columns, the best-known being journalist and poet Narushima Ryûhoku's 成島柳北 (Korehiro 惟弘, 1837-1884) column at the *Chôya shinbun*. Ryûhoku's success at the *Chôya* prompted his main rival Mori Shuntô 森春濤 (Rochoku 魯直, 1819-1889) to launch his own specialist literary journal, *Shinbunshi* 新文詩 ('New Prose and Poems,' published 1875-1884), to which Ryûhoku himself responded by launching another journal, *Kagetsu shinshi* 花月新誌 ('Moon and Flowers Magazine,' published 1877-1884). With several similar *kanshi*-focused literary journals appearing over the next couple of years, featuring work by Qing poets was an important way to distinguish one's publication from the competition, and work by Songshi, Zunxian and Ambassador He Ruzhang 何如璋 (1838-91)

appeared occasionally in both Shuntô and Ryûhoku's publications.

This rapid growth in *kanshi* media not only made it easier to read works by other poets, it also made it easier for poets to interact with one another. While Edo-era poetic anthologies were read and circulated quite widely, they were usually published on an irregular basis, generally every few years. With the coming of a periodically published print media, the opportunities to respond to other poets increased exponentially; one could read a work in a newspaper one day and have a response published a few days later, thus inviting both the original and other poets to enter into a chain of poetic discourse that stretched out across time and distance. Yet although the rise of a periodically published print media made poetic exchanges easier, poetic dialogue between Chinese and Japanese poets did take place prior to the Meiji era, and texts also circulated between the two countries fairly freely. Female poet Ema Saikô 江馬細香 (Tao 多保, 1787-1861) and her teacher Rai San'yô 頼山陽 (Noboru 襄, 1780-1832), for instance, carried on rhyme-matching sequences sporadically over more than a decade with the Qing trader and poet Jiang Yunge 江芸閣 (J. Kô Unkaku, c1779-?) through the port of Nagasaki between 1819 and 1830. Jiang also carried a copy of a collection of poems by San'yô back with him to China, apparently intending to find Chinese literati who could supply a critique, although it is unclear whether he succeeded in this aim.¹⁴

This desire for socio-poetic exchange was also allied to a voracious appetite for

¹⁴ See Cai Yi, "Nagasaki Shinkaku to Edo kanshi: shin hakken no Kô Unkaku, Chin Hyôka no shokan o megutte" *Tôhôgaku* no. 108 (July 2004), p. 75.

printed poetic material from China, particularly the works of Qing-era poets such as Yuan Mei 袁枚 (J. En Bai, 1716-1797). From the early 19th century, Chinese poetic texts began to reach Japan with far less of a delay than had previously been the case; while Ogyû Sorai's early 18th century adaptation of Ming Archaist poetics was based on texts written over one hundred years earlier, Yuan Mei's poetic treatises reached Japan through the port of Nagasaki during his own lifetime, and his work continued to be read well into the Meiji era. Among the early *kanshi* experiments of poet Masaoka Shiki 正岡子規 (Tsunenori 常規, 1867-1902), for instance, is an 1882 rhyme-matching response to Yuan Mei's poem *On the Huai River in Mid-Autumn, Facing the Moon* 淮上中秋對月, a poem to which both Narushima Ryûhoku and scholar Yoda Gakkai 依田学海 (1833-1909) also fashioned responses.¹⁵ Yet as Meiji wore on, we start to see something of a backlash against Yuan Mei and other Qing poets as unmanly and even effeminate, with the poetry of the Tang period being held up as a counter-model on account of its perceived masculine vigor.

My analysis in what follows centers both on rhyme-matching exchanges and “brush talks 筆談 (J. *hitsudan*, Ch. *bitan*)” between Japanese and Chinese poets.¹⁶ Such written and

¹⁵ Yuan Mei's poem appears in Nakajima Kazuo, ed., *Shin nijûshika shi* (Tokyo: Mori Shuntô, 1878) vol. 2 (*chû*) p. 25 verso, which may well have been where Shiki read it. Shiki's response can be found in Masaoka Chûsaburô, et. al., eds., *Shiki zenshu* (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 1975-8) vol. 8 p. 55. Narushima Ryûhoku may also have read the same collection, as among his papers is a gathering (the date of which is unclear) at which he and Yoda Gakkai composed rhyme-matching responses to the same poem. See Narushima Matasaburô, ed., *Ryûhoku ikô* (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1892) vol. 1 (*jô*) pp. 36-7.

¹⁶ “Brush talks” involved an exchange of written messages in the shared medium of literary Chinese between Chinese and Japanese writers, usually with all parties physically present.

poetic exchanges had a long and illustrious history. From 600 BCE onwards, the Yamato court sent five embassies to Sui 隋 (581-619) China, and the Heian court no fewer than fifteen missions to the Tang 唐 (618-907) court, until Sugawara no Michizane recommended an end to the practice in 894. Within Sino-Japanese relations during this time period, exchange of poetry, especially rhyme-matching, served a major function as a language of diplomacy, especially as envoys from each country did not necessarily share a common spoken language. Among the many examples are the facility in written Chinese of the legendary Buddhist monk Kūkai 空海 (774-835), and the exchanges between Sugawara no Michizane and ambassador Pei Ting 裴頌 (?-?) from the state of Bohai 渤海 between 882 and 883.¹⁷ In examining 19th century exchanges, I contextualize them within the growth of *kanshi*-focused print media and within contemporary discourses on *kanshi* poetics, especially the impact of the importation of Qing poetic texts throughout the 19th century. In so doing, my aim is to reconstruct the poetic conversations between Japanese and Chinese poets, and demonstrate the importance of poetic sociality in allowing *kanshi* to act as a specifically transnational form of textual communication.

¹⁷ Blown off course in an 801 mission to China and detained by suspicious officials in an unfamiliar city, Kūkai was apparently so skilled in written Chinese that he was able to pen a successful appeal to the officials to allow the ship to depart. Michizane, whose own uncle and grandfather had themselves travelled to China as part of Heian-era missions, exchanged poems with Pei Ting on multiple occasions; the relationship was carried on for another generation when another mission came to Japan in 908, headed by Pei Ting's son and received by Michizane's own son Atsumochi 菅原淳茂 (?-926). For more details, as well as a brief history of early Sino-Japanese diplomatic exchanges, see Christopher Keaveney, *Beyond Brushtalk: Sino-Japanese Exchange in the Interwar Period* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009) p. 6, and also Robert Borgen, *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986) pp. 250-252.

Three's a Crowd: Jiang Yunge, Rai San'yô and Ema Saikô

It is perhaps helpful here to provide a brief overview of *kanshi* poetics during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. As is widely known, Japan's dominant poetic orthodoxy in *kanshi* for approximately the first two-thirds of the 18th century was that of Ogyû Sorai's Ancient Rhetoric School (*kobunjiha* 古文辞派). Echoing the views of the Archaists of the Ming 明 dynasty (1368-1644), in particular Li Panlong 李攀龍 (1514-1570), Sorai and his disciples Dazai Shundai 太宰春台 (1680-1747) and Hattori Nankaku 服部南郭 (1683-1759) promoted a poetic orthodoxy in which the poems of the High Tang period (盛唐, roughly 713-765) were considered the pinnacle of poetic achievement, to be imitated wherever possible. Sorai's Ancient Rhetoric school promoted as its main textual model an anthology compiled by Li Panlong entitled *Selections from Tang Poetry* (唐詩選 Ch. Tang shixuan, J. Tôshisen).¹⁸ From the 1760s onwards, however, a backlash against Sorai's poetics began to paint this strict adherence to Tang models as not only narrow and artificial, but as unoriginal and verging at times on outright plagiarism. The most sustained assault came from Yamamoto

¹⁸ According to Peter Flueckiger, the *Selections* became something of a bestseller in early 18th century Japan, with Nankaku's 1724 (Kyôhō 9 享保) edited version selling so well that it was reissued in 1743, 1745 and 1753. Flueckiger discusses the use and reception of the *Selections* by the Sorai school in *Imagining Harmony: Poetry, Empathy and Community in mid-Tokugawa Confucianism and Nativism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011) pp. 97-100 and 117-118.

Hokuzan 山本北山 (1752-1812), whose 1783 treatise *Thoughts on the Composition of Poetry* (Sakushi shikô 作詩志穀) accused both Sorai and Li Panlong of poetic incompetence:

Rather than trying to become a skilled poet by plagiarizing other people's poems, one should understand that it is better by far to create one's own poems, even if they are lacking in quality. From Panlong and the "Seven Masters" onwards, including Nankaku and [Takano] Rantei (1704-1757) and the rest of them in Japan, everything has been plagiarism and imitation, and this does great harm to the way of poetry...the choice of poems in *Selections of Tang Poetry* and the like is extremely unsatisfactory. Li Panlong did not understand the way of poetry, and gathered only works that conformed to his own tastes; there is not a single work that reflects the true essence of its composer.¹⁹

人ノ詩ヲ剽襲シテ、巧ナランヨリハ、吾詩ヲ吐出シテ、拙キガ優レルト心得ベシ。于鱗七子ヨリ、本邦南郭蘭亭諸子ノ詩ハ、皆剽竊模擬ニシテ、大ニ詩道ヲ害ス。(略) 唐詩選ノ如キ、其選最モ宜シカラズ。于鱗詩道ヲ知ラズ、己レガ調ニ合モノノミヲ収テ、一モ作者ノ本色ヲ取ラズ

The importance Hokuzan placed on capturing a poet's "true essence" follows the ideas of the Ming poet Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道 (J. En Kôdô, 1568-1610), whom he cites repeatedly in the piece and whose criticism of those who "discard the true poetry within themselves and imitate and plagiarize the works of others (己ニ有スル真詩ヲ舍テ、他ノ詩ヲ剽襲模擬スル)" appears in paraphrased form within *Thoughts on the Composition of Poetry*.²⁰ In large part, this notion of "true essence" derived from Hongdao's notion of *xingling* (J. *seirei* 性靈) or 'innate spirit,' the idea that a poet should aim for emotional authenticity by tapping into his or her own inner nature. Although poets tended to interpret *xingling* in slightly different ways,

¹⁹ Yamamoto Hokuzan, "Sakushi shiko" in Nakamura Yukihiro, ed., *Kinsei bungaku ronshû Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (hereafter *NKBT*) vol. 94 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967) pp. 297-8.

²⁰ "Sakushi shikô" *NKBT* 94 p. 285.

the notion that true self-expression and emotional authenticity were key elements in poetic composition served as a useful counterargument to Sorai's insistence that one should imitate the works and stances of the poets of the High Tang.

Hokuzan later became a key member in the Kôko shisha 江湖詩社 ('Everyman's Poetic Society'), a group formed in 1787 in Edo by the Confucian scholar Ichikawa Kansai 市川寛齋 (1749-1820) after his resignation from the Shôheikô 昌平黌 shogunal academy. Formed with opposition to Sorai's poetics as one of its major aims, the Kôko shisha went on to become one of the most influential poetic societies of the early 19th century, and counted many of the future celebrities of the Edo *kanshi* world among its members, particularly Kikuchi Gozan 菊池五山 (1769-1849), Kashiwagi Jotei 柏木如亭 (1763-1819) and Ôkubo Shibutsu 大窪詩仏 (1767-1837). Initially espousing the poetics of the Song 宋 dynasty (960-1276) as an antidote to Sorai's Tang-focused orthodoxy, by the early 19th century the group had become aware that blind adherence to Song poetics could be just as problematic as adherence to those of the Tang; writing in *Gozandô shiwa* 五山堂詩話 ('Gozan's Talks on Poetry,' published 1807-1832), Kikuchi Gozan put it to Hokuzan that "we have already put faux-Tang poems to the sword. Now we have faux-Song poems. I should say that we have only succeeded in creating a new enemy (偽唐詩は已に麤にす。更に偽宋詩有り。又た一秦を生ずと謂ふべし)."²¹ The group's interest in Yuan Hongdao's notion of *xingling* poetics

²¹ Kikuchi Gozan, "Gozandô shiwa" in Ibi Takashi, Shimizu Shigeru, eds., *Nihon shishi, Gozandô shiwa SNKBT* vol. 65 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991) p. 163.

perhaps steered it towards examining more recent Qing poetry, particularly that of Yuan Mei, who had picked up Hongdao's baton to become one of China's main advocates of natural and personal expression in poetic composition.

Yuan Mei's poetic work had only reached Japan relatively recently; in 1791, a ten-volume set of his influential *Concordance Garden Poetry Talks* 隨園詩話 (Ch. Suiyuan shihua, J. Zuien shiwa) as well as his thirty-one-volume collected works *Collected Poems from the House on Granary Hill* (*Xiaocang shanfang shiji* 小倉山房詩集) became available in Nagasaki. Travelling on business to the port city in 1814, Kansai obtained a copy of Yuan's *Collected Poems*, which he edited down to six volumes and re-released two years later under the title of *Zuien shishô* 隨園詩鈔 ('Selected Poems from Concordance Garden').²² Likewise, Shibutsu drew upon Yuan Mei's *Selected Poems by My Female Disciples* 隨園女弟子詩選 (*Suiyuan nüdizi shixuan*, completed 1796), to produce his own text, "Selections from *Selected Poems by My Female Disciples* (隨園女弟子詩選選)," which was published somewhat later in 1830. Shibutsu edited the text considerably, removing the poetry of nine of the twenty-eight named female disciples and changing the order in which they appeared, but since he did not include any preface or explanation in the version he chose to publish, his intentions in doing so remain unclear.²³

²² Xiao Yanwan, "Nihon ni shôkai sareta *Zuien onna deshi shisen sen ni tsuite*," *Chûgoku bungaku ronshû* no. 31 (December 2002) p. 61.

²³ Xiao, "Nihon ni shôkai sareta *Zuien onna deshi shisen sen ni tsuite*" p. 64.

Analyzing essayist and scholar of Edo *kanshi* Nakamura Shin'ichirô's 中村真一郎 novel *Kumo no yukiki* 雲のゆき来 (1965-66), which deals in part with the reception of *Suiyuan shihua*, Atsuko Sakaki makes the case that Nakamura depicts Edo *kanshi* poets as viewing themselves not as passively influenced by Yuan Mei's poetic theories, but rather as the Qing poet's legitimate descendants; as she argues, "the national boundary was not drawn but *withdrawn* in favor of literary communality in East Asia."²⁴ Edo poets' reaction to Yuan Mei's work certainly supports this view, as his poetry was widely read and admired in the decades after it was first brought to Japan. Shibutsu apparently adopted his pen name in honor of the Qing poet,²⁵ and both Kikuchi Gozan and educator Hirose Tansô 広瀬淡総 (1782-1856) are believed to have modeled their own discourses on poetic theory, *Gozandô shiwa* and *Tansô shiwa* 淡総詩話, on Yuan Mei's *Suiyuan shihua*.²⁶ Other poets were also vocal in their admiration for the Chinese poet, such as Nakajima Sôin 中島棕隠 (1779-1855), writing in 1826:

近借倉山居士詩 性情與我似相期 筆奇原当迎涼草 讀遍自珍消夏資	Recently I borrowed a copy of old Yuan Mei's works, His personality and mine are very similar, as expected. His brush extraordinary, the fields welcome his cool writings. I read it over and over, its marvels dispelling the summer heat.
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²⁴ Sakaki, *Obsessions* p. 172. Italics in original.

²⁵ This is according to Yamamoto Hokuzan's preface to Shibutsu's collection *Shiseidô shishû* 詩聖堂詩集 (published 1810-1838). See Fujikawa Hideo, Matsushita Tadashi, Sano Masami, eds., *Shishû Nihon kanshi* (Tokyo: Kyûko Shoin, 1985) vol. 8 p. 376.

²⁶ Tansô certainly read *Suiyuan shihua*, as the library at his private academy, the Kangien, contains a full set of the treatise. See Hida Meikei, "Hirose Tansô to En Bai" *Gakurin* no. 28 (March 1998) p. 328.

縱缺名娃稱弟子 猶誇群彥辱相知 他年八十如同壽 又宴此樓飛酒卮	Even had he lacked that coterie of great beauties he called disciples, Still he could have boasted of his meetings with many great talents. His allocated span eighty years, may I have the same fortune! And celebrate here in this tower, with wine-cups flying around. ²⁷
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It was not only Yuan Mei's poetry and criticism that was well received in Japan; as Sôin's reference to female disciples suggests, the Qing poet was also well known in Japan for his efforts to promote the composition of poetry by women, something that earned him a great deal of personal criticism from his Chinese contemporaries.²⁸ This appears to have caught the imagination of a number of male *kanshi* poets in Japan and spurred them to do likewise; Kikuchi Gozan writes in *Gozandô shiwa* that "whenever I encounter a poem by a female poet, I make sure to excerpt it and circulate it widely (余閨秀の詩に逢ふ毎に、必ず抄存して流伝を広む),"²⁹ and the series as a whole contains thirty-seven *kanshi* by fifteen separate female poets. In similar vein, Shôheikô scholar Tomono Kashû 友野霞舟 (1791-1849) included a volume on female poets in his collection *Kichô shiwai* 熙朝詩薈 (1847), featuring seventy-seven poems by twenty-three female poets. Rai San'yô, one of the most admired poets of the Edo period, is known to have likened his relationship with his disciple

²⁷ Quoted in Matsushita Tadashi, "Nakajima Sôin no shiron to En Bai" *Nihon Chûgoku gakkai hô* no. 18 (October 1966) pp. 238-9.

²⁸ Among Yuan Mei's critics was Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠 (1738-1801), who attacked him as an "immoral literatus (*fluxing wenren* 不行文人) responsible for leading women astray from correct moral principles. For this debate and for a discussion of Ming and Qing women poets, see Kang-I Sun Chang, "Ming-Qing Women Poets and the Notions of "Talent" and "Morality"" in Theodore Hutters, R. Bin Wong, and Pauline Yu, eds., *Culture and State in Chinese History: Conventions, Accommodations and Critiques* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997).

²⁹ Kikuchi Gozan, "Gozandô shiwa" *SNKBT* vol. 65 p. 224.

Ema Saikô to that of Yuan Mei and his favored female disciple Jin Yi 金逸 (1770-1794), and also suggested that Saikô's work was in no way inferior to that of the poets contained in Shibutsu's version of *Selected Poems by My Female Disciples*.³⁰

It may have been admiration for Yuan Mei, and the resulting desire to act as mentor to female poets, that inspired San'yô to encourage Saikô to carry on a poetic exchange with the merchant and poet Jiang Yunge, a regular visitor to the port city of Nagasaki. Relatively little is known about Jiang; he was probably from Lin'an 臨安, the former Song capital in the Hangzhou 杭州 region of southeastern China, and may have elected to travel to Japan following the example of his more famous elder brother Jiang Jiapu 江稼圃 (J. Kô Kaho, 1744-after 1839). Jiapu was a skilled painter in the *nanga* 南画 style who turned to commerce after failure in the civil service exam, and who is known to have exchanged poetry with Ôta Nanpo 太田南畝 (1749-1823). Over the course of his thirteen visits to Nagasaki between 1814 and 1829, Yunge likewise exchanged verse with a number of Japanese *kanshi* poets aside from San'yô, among them Ichikawa Kansai, Yanagawa Seigan 梁川星巖 (1789-1858) and Tanomura Chikuden 田能村竹田 (1777-1835). San'yô found the exchange of letters sufficiently stimulating that he travelled to Nagasaki in 1818 with the intent of meeting Jiang, but unfortunately the Qing merchant's ship was severely delayed on account of bad weather, and San'yô was obliged to return home before the meeting could take place. By way of consolation, he was apparently able to converse with some female entertainers in

³⁰ Xiao, "Nihon ni shôkai sareta *Zuien onna deshi shisen sen ni tsuite*" p. 66.

Nagasaki who knew Jiang from his visits to the city's entertainment districts.³¹

San'yô and Saikô's exchanges with Jiang thus demonstrate the importance of *kanshi* as medium of exchange, even in the absence of direct social contact. Neither San'yô nor Saikô ever actually met Jiang in person, but this proved no obstacle to a cordial exchange of rhyme-matching poetry via letter. San'yô presumably mentioned Saikô in his earlier correspondence with Jiang, for in the fourth month of 1819 the Chinese poet sent a series of heptasyllabic quatrains to her via San'yô, in which he lavished praise on her poetic abilities:

能書能画総文章
有女清貞号細香
京洛風華游芸学
此生不喜作鴛鴦

Skilled in calligraphy, painting and all the polite letters,
Is the lady, pure and virtuous, whose pen name is "Faint Incense."
Graceful and poised in the capital, dallying in the literary arts,
Yet she has never known the pleasure of being paired, as mandarin
ducks.³²

"Faint incense" here is a literal translation of the graphs that make up Saikô's pen name, which was thereby woven into the poem. Both in Japan and China, mandarin ducks were believed to mate for life, and so were used as a symbol of lifelong marital happiness. Saikô was in her early thirties, well past what was considered marriageable age at the time, as Jiang probably knew from his correspondence with San'yô.

As a matter of poetic etiquette, Saikô seems to have felt obligated to send a response,

³¹ Cai Yi, "Nagasaki Shinkyaku to Edo *kanshi*" *Tôhōgaku* no. 108 (July 2004) p. 5.

³² For this and subsequent rhyme-matching poems, I have highlighted the rhyme graphs for ease of reading. The text for this and subsequent poems is taken from Makoshi Ayako, "Edo joryû shijin to raiki Shinkaku no kôryû: Ema Saikô to Kô Unkaku no shôwashî o chûshin ni" *Junshin jinbun kenkyû* no. 12 (March 2006) p. 128.

and the way she chose to do so was to match the rhymes of Jiang's verse. As in Jiang's original, Saikô's status as an unmarried woman is a major theme in these responses and in the remaining poems in the exchange. Jiang had made this into a central theme and structural element in his own poem, and Saikô was thus obligated to address it in her own work. Where Saikô had a certain degree of freedom in deciding how she might provide her own twist on the first two rhyme graphs 章 and 香, the final graph 鶩 ("female mandarin duck") provided no such leeway; its cultural associations were so specific that there was almost no way to employ it except as part of a discussion about marriage and loneliness. Replying the following year via intermediaries in Nagasaki, Saikô sent a note thanking Jiang for his poem and enclosed two responding poems of her own, the first of which is discussed here:

寒閨万里見文章 宝鴨先焚一柱香 幾日柔荑耽把翫 金針不復繡鴛鴦	In my cold bedchamber, from a thousand miles distant I read letters. Before my "duck-shape" burner burns down a single stick of incense. How many days now have my sprout-soft hands spent idly fiddling? My golden needle will no more embroider mandarin ducks. ³³
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Dense with layered imagery, visual puns and allusions, Saikô's response shows how a skilled poet could turn the theoretically daunting restrictions imposed by rhyme-matching to her advantage. The first two graphs of the first line suggest an allusion to the title of Tang poet Bai Juyi's 白居易 (772-846) *Lament of the Cold Bedchamber* 寒閨怨; both poems center

³³ Makoshi, p. 127

on the theme of abandoned women, and as a further structural parallel both poems employ sewing as metaphor for female isolation in the final line.³⁴ Bai Juyi's poem itself draws on the earlier tradition of "court-style poetry (宮體詩, Ch. *gongtishi*, J. *kyûtaishi*)" during the Chinese Liang 梁 dynasty (502-557), which often features lonely elite women waiting for their lovers.³⁵ Such poetry frequently revolved around the theme of absence or one lover's inability to see another, and Saikô's invocation of these precedents gives her response an undertone of eroticism that picks up on and responds to the question implied by the mention of mandarin ducks in the final line of Jiang's poem. Saikô is thus cast as a lonely lady waiting for word to come from Jiang, who is implicitly placed in the position of her lover.

The second line builds on this setting with a dense sequence of layered visual puns and imagery. The term *hōhō* 宝鴨 (literally, 'treasured duck') refers to a type of high-quality incense burner that was usually shaped like a duck, thus playing off the keynote image of mandarin ducks introduced in the first poem. The line as a whole suggests Saikô kneeling before an incense burner in what might otherwise be taken as an image of piety or meditation; given the context of the overall poem, however, the image of an incense stick burning its way down to nothing hints instead at a concern on Saikô's part at the passing of time, particularly

³⁴ Bai Juyi's poem is as follows: "Cold moon silent in the night, bedchamber still / Beyond the bead curtain, the shadow of a parasol tree / Autumn frost descends, her hands feel it first / Sewing by lamplight, the wick trimmed cold 寒月沈沈洞房静 / 真珠帘外梧桐影 / 秋霜欲下手先知 / 灯底裁缝剪刀冷. Text from Ding Rumeng, Nie Shimei, eds., *Bai Juyi quan ji* (Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, 1999) p. 287.

³⁵ For a discussion of the main themes and concerns of "palace-style" poetry, see Xiaofei Tian, "Illusion and Illumination: A New Poetics of Seeing in Liang Dynasty Court Literature," *HJAS* vol 65 no. 1 (June 2005).

since the second character of her own pen name can be read as “incense.”

This impression of anxiety over her unmarried status also resonates in the third line, with its invocation of “sprout-soft hands,” an image taken from the canonical Chinese poetic text *The Classic of Poetry* (Ch. Shijing, J. Shikyô 詩經). In its original context, the poem “A Splendid Woman 碩人” in the *Airs of the Wei* 衛風, this image of soft hands celebrates the beauty and grace of a woman about to be married; here, Saikô employs it to precisely the opposite end, as a symbol of frustration and loneliness.³⁶ Having introduced the image of female hands, Saikô develops this by making embroidery the central motif of her final line, with a further allusion to a famous line by Song poet Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190-1257) that “The mandarin ducks I have embroidered, I shall let you see / Yet I shall not give the golden needle to anyone 鴛鴦繡了從教看 / 莫把金針度與人.”³⁷ As the “golden needle” and embroidered mandarin ducks are usually understood as referring to artistic talent and its concrete result in the shape of the finished work, here Saikô seems to be responding to Jiang’s praise by lamenting that her artistic talent has brought her no closer to finding a life partner.

Echoing both Bai Juyi and Yuan Haowen while weaving around Jiang’s rhyme-graph,

³⁶ The line in question is 手如柔荑、膚如凝脂, which Arthur Waley renders as “Hands white as rush-down, skin like lard.” Arthur Waley, trans., *The Book of Songs: The Ancient Chinese Classic of Poetry* (New York, NY: Grove Press, 1996) pp. 48-9. Chinese text from Tôdô Akiyasu, ed., Kanô Yoshimitsu trans., *Shikyô Chûgoku no koten* 18 (Tokyo: Gakushû Kenkyûsha, 1982) suppl. p. 28.

³⁷ The citation is from the third of Yuan’s *Three Poems Discussing Poetry* 論詩三首. Text from Yao Dianzhong, Li Zhengmin, eds., *Yuan Haowen quan ji* (Taiyuan: Shanxi gu ji chu ban she, 2004) vol. 1 p. 348.

this last line is a fitting conclusion to an intricate and heavily layered poem. Yet we need to exercise caution when approaching its multilayered imagery as an authentic expression of Saikô's frustration at remaining unmarried or a desire to flirt with Jiang, not least because San'yô's letters make it clear that he gave considerable help to Saikô in composing the piece and likely made corrections to her previous drafts. The precise nature of Saikô and San'yô's relationship is a complex topic; at the very least, despite his own marriage San'yô seems to have been sexually attracted to Saikô, though whether the relationship was actually consummated is subject to debate.³⁸ Whatever the case, San'yô's supervision gives to Saikô's poem a dually addressive quality, whereby it ostensibly speaks to Jiang by incorporating and addressing his themes, yet at the same time forms part of an implicit dialogue with San'yô, who thereby functions as a silent yet ever-present partner in the exchange.

The exchange was considerably delayed after this point; the third poem in the sequence, Jiang's response, took eight years to reach Saikô in Kyoto, illustrating not only the difficulties of communication between Japan and China at the time, but also Jiang's determination to adhere to proper rules of poetic decorum and respond to Saikô's verse:

多謝瓊瑤報短章
筆痕瀟灑墨痕香
琅玕欲把黃金鑄

Many thanks for the fine jewels to answer to my short piece,
Your brush-marks elegant, your ink-marks fragrant.
Such fine writing, one wishes to take this gold and recast it -

³⁸ Atsuko Sakaki points out that the characterization of San'yô and Saikô's relationship as sexual rather than that of master and disciple owes much to a deliberately (and most likely erroneously) eroticized image of Saikô promoted by Morita Sôhei 森田草平 (1881-1949) and popular historical novelist Yoshikawa Eiji 吉川英治 (1892-1962), both of whom largely ignored primary evidence such as San'yô and Saikô's own letters. Sakaki, *Obsessions* p. 126-8.

懷袖慇懃護彩鴛

The sleeve gently and cordially protects the female mandarin duck.³⁹

The last two lines suggest that Jiang too was aware of the dual-voiced nature of the exchange, with the third line praising Saikô's skill at rhyme-matching and the fourth line paying an implicit compliment to San'yô's success as a teacher in bringing out Saikô's poetic talent. Saikô's reply, and Jiang's answer, also suggest that both had half an eye on San'yô as they were composing their verse:

[Saikô]

天涯兩度領瓊章

五彩吟箋墨有香

欲就幽窓誦來句

春池水暖浴鴛鴦

Twice now, the far-off skies have brought me fine letters,
Five-colored poetry paper, a fragrance to the ink.
I made to sit at my darkened window, waiting for the announcement
that your poem had arrived;
A spring pond, water warm; mandarin ducks bathe together.⁴⁰

[Jiang]

山陽絳帳產文鴛

意蕊心花細細香

千里新交絲不斷

天孫慣織錦雲章

San'yô's study has brought forth a female mandarin duck of letters;
With joy in my heart, the "faint fragrance" somehow still lingers.
Even over a thousand leagues, the new thread of our exchanges did
not break;
The very gods of heaven make it their custom to weave our letters
on the clouds.⁴¹

Saikô's above reply, sent in 1828 through Mizuno Bisen 水野媚川 (Shôtarô 勝太郎, ?-1846), the manager of the Tôjin-yashiki 唐人屋敷 facility set aside for Chinese visitors

³⁹ Makoshi, p. 127.

⁴⁰ Makoshi p. 126.

⁴¹ Makoshi p. 126. Note that in this and other poems in the final sequence, Jiang changes the order of the rhyme-graphs, something Japanese poets almost never did in their rhyme-matching exchanges.

in Nagasaki, expresses joy and surprise at the continued exchange, as she had had no reply for eight years after sending her own verse. In describing her wait for Jiang's reply to come and the delight when it did, Saikô's imagery contains a hint of eroticism, possibly an arch reproach at Jiang's tardiness, by likening her predicament to that of an abandoned mistress who does not know when or if she will hear from her male lover; the final line, alluding to the coming of spring and the re-uniting of mandarin ducks, serves only to confirm this impression. Jiang's final reply, sent in 1830 on the blank area of Saikô's previous letter, likewise expresses delight at the way in which the exchange across considerable distance has been maintained, but is also careful to once again pay appropriate tribute to San'yô as silent partner, weaving both his pen name and that of Saikô into the first two lines.

The exchange ended with this last poem of 1830; there is no sign that Saikô sent any further reply to Jiang, who is believed to have visited Japan at least once more during 1832. As San'yô died in the tenth month of the same year, Saikô may have felt that it would not be fitting to carry on the exchange without the encouragement and supervision of her teacher, who had played an active part in the sequence. The exchange is nonetheless significant in a number of senses; not only is it an extremely unusual example of rhyme-matching poetry exchanged between male and female poets in Japan, it also illustrates Edo-era *kanshi* poets' willingness to go to considerable lengths to correspond with their colleagues in Qing China, as attested to by the number of contemporary poets other than San'yô and Saikô who also

exchanged poetry with Jiang. Demonstrating the continued importance of transnational exchange and communication for Japanese *kanshi* poets, even during the supposedly “closed” years of the Tokugawa bakufu, this poetic dialogue could, as several Meiji-era *kanshi* poets noted later in the same century, be viewed as part of a noble tradition of Sino-Japanese poetic sociality that dated back to the earliest days of Japan.

Murder, Insurrection and Poetry Anthologies: Shuntô and 19th Century *Kanshi* Media

Given that it took eleven years, perhaps the most impressive aspect of the above exchange among Jiang, Saikô and San'yô is their determination to overcome formidable obstacles of time and space. Had the exchange occurred half a century later, however, it could have been conducted over a period of weeks or days rather than years, since the print technologies and media involved in *kanshi* production underwent a major change from the early 1830s onwards. By 1880, Japan would have a flourishing and competitive marketplace for *kanshi* publications, spearheaded in large part by Mori Shuntô. Born in 1819, the same year that the above exchange began, Shuntô was fortunate enough to come of age during an unprecedented expansion in *kanshi*'s demographics, as a result of which it became far easier for those with no connection to centers of monastic or Confucian learning to learn the genre and to make a living by practicing and teaching it. With population growth came the growth of a mercantile

class with disposable income and a desire for cultural capital. This brought opportunities for those who could teach, even – or especially – outside of the main urban areas of Kyoto, Edo and Osaka.⁴²

In addition to being in the right place at the right time, Shuntô was also an undeniably talented poet, although to the extent that he appears at all in scholarly work addressing the Meiji period, his critical reception has generally been unfavorable. A number of scholars have seen his close ties to the Meiji government and courting of the bureaucratic elite as opportunistic, if not sycophantic. Maeda Ai describes Shuntô as “officialdom’s running dog (*kanryô no sôku* 官僚の走狗),” whereas Irokawa Daikichi criticizes Shuntô for his willingness to publish “works of an inferior or vulgar quality in order to flatter government officials.”⁴³ Despite this modern critical disapproval, Shuntô was an innovative and far-sighted poet, who by his death in 1889 had risen to become probably the single most influential *kanshi* poet in the country. To some extent this position was achieved by a skill in political maneuvering that matched his poetic talent, but Shuntô also showed an intuitive

⁴² Because of the sheer number of potential teachers, competition for students was especially fierce in the larger cities. Many *kanshi* teachers elected for an itinerant lifestyle, and here too there were rewards to be had. As Ibi points out, a number of prominent 19th century *kanshi* societies appeared in economically prosperous provincial areas; the Bansei ginsha 晩晴吟社 in Nakano, a major supply depot for the *bakufu*; the Enba ginsha 烟波吟社 in Chôshi 銚子, a significant center for fishing and soy sauce brewing; the Suihei ginsha 翠屏吟社 in Kiryû 桐生, a hub of garment manufacturing; and the Kôzansha 江山社 in Fujieda in Suruga 駿河藤枝, an important post-station on the Tôkaidô highway between Edo and Kyoto. See Ibi, *Edo shidan no jânarizumu* p. 84.

⁴³ See Maeda, “Chinzan to Shuntô” p. 265-266 and Irokawa Daikichi, “Poetry in Revolutionary Thought” in Irokawa Daikichi, Marius Jansen, trans., ed., *The Culture of the Meiji Period* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985) p. 127.

grasp of the importance of controlling print media and the circulation of texts to one's standing in the Meiji *kanshi* world.

Shuntô had established a reputation as a talented poet in his home town of Ichinomiya 一の宮 in the Owari 尾張 domain (modern day Aichi 愛知県 prefecture) by the age of sixteen, after which he remained in Owari and studied at the Yûrinsha 有隣舎 academy, run by Washizu Ekisai 鷺津益齋 (?-?). There he met Ônuma Chinzan 大沼枕山 (1818-1891), who would become a major rival within the late Edo and early Meiji *kanshi* world.⁴⁴ Shuntô did not leave the Owari domain until 1850, at the comparatively late age of thirty-two, when he visited the Kansai region to study under Yanagawa Seigan in Kyoto and Shinozaki Shôchiku 篠崎小竹 (1781-1851) in Osaka. During his stay in Kyoto, Seigan introduced Shuntô to Iezato Shôtô 家里松島 (1827-1863), a contact that later proved valuable as Shuntô was attempting to launch his career as a poet and teacher.

A friend of Seigan and an active poet, Shôtô found that Kyoto was a dangerous place to be during the late 1850s. In his later career, Seigan became involved with a number of pro-imperial loyalist groups that advocated the overthrow of the *bakufu* and a return to direct imperial rule. As a result, many of Seigan's associates were detained and several executed in a crackdown known as the Great Purge of Ansei (Ansei no taigoku 安政の大獄, 1858-1859

⁴⁴ Kinoshita Hyô, "Kokubu Seigai to Meiji Taishô Shôwa no kanshikai (4)." *Shi to tomo* 321 (October 1976) pp. 38-42. Ekisai's son was Washizu Kidô 鷺津毅堂 (1825-1882), a skilled poet in his own right and the maternal grandfather of Nagai Kafû.

(Ansei 5-6).⁴⁵ Seigan had died of cholera just before the purge, although he had attracted enough suspicion during his life that unhappily his wife Yanagawa Kôran 梁川紅蘭 (1804-1879), a skilled poet in her own right, was imprisoned briefly in his stead.⁴⁶ The Ansei Purge prompted a backlash from imperial loyalists, leading to the assassination of its architect Ii Naosuke 井伊直弼 (1815-1860) and to an increasingly unstable atmosphere in Kyoto. This affected Shôtô's career in the most brutal way imaginable; in 1862, he was waylaid and murdered by imperial loyalists who apparently felt that he was insufficiently committed to their cause or possibly even a secret *bakufu* sympathizer. Shôtô's body was then displayed at Shijô-Kawara 四条河原 the following day as a warning to others.⁴⁷

Prior to his murder, Shôtô had been actively involved in the creation and circulation of a number of quatrain anthologies, and had helped Shuntô's burgeoning career by ensuring that his work was included. Starting in the late 1820s, the appearance of quatrain anthologies, collections of heptasyllabic and pentasyllabic quatrains by leading poets around the country, represented a major new trend in the *kanshi* world. These circulated widely, and for many poets outside of the main urban areas they were the main medium through which one could

⁴⁵ Among them was Rai San'yô's third son Rai Mikisaburô 頼三樹三郎 (1825-1859), who was taken to Edo and executed in 1859.

⁴⁶ Iritani Sensuke, *Kindai bungaku to shite no Meiji kanshi* (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 1989) p. 10.

⁴⁷ Other poetic acquaintances of Seigan's were also among the victims, including Ikeuchi Tôsho 池内陶所 (1814-1863), beheaded by an imperial loyalist in Amagasaki 尼崎 in the first month of 1863. Tôsho's arrest in the Ansei Purge was not enough to demonstrate his loyalty to the anti-*bakufu* cause, and like Shôtô his body was put on public display, this time at the Namba bridge in Osaka.

obtain an overview of the most important contemporary poets and their work. The decision to limit these anthologies solely to quatrains seems to have derived from a general consensus that quatrains were the easiest form for beginner poets to master, and from a desire to make the collections accessible to as broad an audience as possible. With very few exceptions, poetic primers and manuals throughout the 19th century placed pentasyllabic and heptasyllabic quatrains first on the poetic curriculum, and so the compilers of these anthologies could be reasonably certain that even inexperienced poets would be able to understand them. Some, such as Kyûshû-based educator Hirose Tansô, perceived this catering to less-experienced poets as ‘dumbing-down:’

These days no form enjoys such popularity in the three cities as the heptasyllabic quatrain. This is a strategy that nobles or the wealthy adopt in order to entice townsmen to join their poetic societies. These sort of people, who are barely at the level of being able to read the Chinese classics aloud (*sodoku*), want to become poets and for this reason they put no effort into anything other than the quatrain...one has to say that this is all very vulgar in its import.⁴⁸

當今、三都ニ於イテ流行スル體、七絶ヨリ盛ナルハナシ、是レ貴人又ハ豪富ノ、町人ヲ其社中ニ引入レンガ為メノ計策ナリ、此ノ輩纔ニ素読ヲ為シタル位ノ事ニテ、詩人トナラント欲ス、故ニ絶句ヲ外ニシテハ、カヲ用ユベキ處ナシ（略）識趣鄙陋ナリト謂フベシ。

The quatrain anthology generally followed a standard format. A table of contents in the front of the anthology would list the poets featured therein, and the work of each poet was then presented after a short introduction giving the poet’s birth name and pen name, their place of

⁴⁸ Hirose Tansô, *Tansô shiwa* in Kokubu Takatane, Ikeda Shirôjirô, eds. *Nihon shiwa sôsho*. (Tokyo: Bunkaidô Shoten, 1920-1922) vol. 4 p. 224.

birth, and the names of recent publications, if any. Later anthologies also listed how many poems by each poet the collection featured; the larger the number, the more prestige accrued to the poet.

Most of these collections referred in their title to the era name in which they were compiled, the first example being *Quatrains by Seventeen Poets of the Bunsei Era* (Bunsei jūshichika zekku 文政十七家絶句), published in 1829 (Bunsei 12) by one Katō Kōen 加藤香園 (?-?) of the Bunsōdō 文藻堂 bookshop in the province of Aki 安芸 (modern-day Hiroshima 広島県 prefecture).⁴⁹ Divided into two sections, the collection features a preface by the Kyoto court noble Hino Sukenaru 日野助愛 (1780-1846), who was known as a patron of the literary arts.⁵⁰ Although the title page states that the collection was compiled and produced by Kōen himself in Hiroshima, the colophon lists five other booksellers and distributors in Hiroshima, Kyoto, Osaka, Nagoya and Edo, attesting to the nationwide market for *kanshi* publications. The geographic distribution of the featured poets also confirms this impression; of the seventeen, nine were Edo poets, including Ichikawa Kansai, Kikuchi Gozan, Ōkubo Shibutsu and Kashiwagi Jotei, one from Kyūshū (Tanomura Chikuden), one from the Hiroshima area (Kan Chazan 菅茶山 (1748-1827)), and the remainder, including

⁴⁹ Some editions are dated slightly earlier as Bunsei 11 (1828). Given that the book was also sold by other distributors, it is possible that they printed off additional copies for sale slightly later.

⁵⁰ Hino is known to have invited both Rai San'yō and Yanagawa Seigan to visit his home in order to compose poetry together, and had probably interacted with Kōen in similar fashion through Kyoto poetic circles.

Rai San'yô, his uncle Rai Kyôhei 頼杏坪 (1756-1834) and Yanagawa Seigan, were based in Kyoto. The poets appeared in order of their age and hence seniority; even though Kan Chazan, Ichikawa Kansai and Kashiwagi Jotei were all dead by the time the collection came out, their status was such that they apparently still merited a place of honor.⁵¹

The quatrain anthology grew in popularity over the next forty years; 1838 (Tenpô 9) saw the publication of the three-volume *Quatrains by Thirty-Six Poets of the Tenpô Era* (Tenpô sanjû rokka zekku 天保三十六家絶句), featuring nine hundred and twenty-five quatrains by thirty-six individuals. By the publication in 1848 (Kaei 1) of *Quatrains by Twenty-Five Poets of the Kaei era* (Kaei nijûgoka zekku 嘉永二十一家絶句), with nine hundred and sixty-six poems featured, there was also a clear sense of a generational shift. Although Kikuchi Gozan and Yanagawa Seigan were now given pride of place as the elder statesmen of the *kanshi* world, the collection also marked the debut of poets who would continue to be influential into the Meiji period, particularly Ônuma Chinzan and Ôtsuki Bankei 大槻磐溪 (1801-1878) of Sendai, in northern Japan.

The inclusion of a poet's verses in these nationally-circulated anthologies was highly desirable, not least for the potential business it might bring to those who set out their stalls as teachers. To this extent, Seigan's introducing Shuntô to Iezato Shôtô proved enormously helpful, since Shôtô had a hand in the editing of two more quatrain anthologies before his

⁵¹ Fujikawa Hideo, Matsushita Tadashi, Sano Masami, eds., *Shikashû Nihon kanshi* (hereafter *SKNK*) (Tokyo: Kyûko Shoin, 1983-1984) vol. 8 pp. 4-5.

unfortunate demise in 1863. The first of these, published in 1859 (Ansei 4) by the Kyoto bookseller Yômandô 擁萬堂, was *Quatrains by Thirty-Two Poets of the Ansei Era* (Ansei sanjûnika zekku 安政三十二家絶句), which contained verses from Kyoto poets selected by Iezato Shôtô, and Edo poets selected by Washizu Ekisai.⁵² Although Seigan and the recently-deceased Hirose Tansô were placed first in the collection as a mark of honor, Shuntô also did well, with an impressive showing of twenty-three featured poems.

Three years later, in another collection edited by Iezato Shôtô, “Quatrains by Twenty-Six Poets of Bunkyû (*Bunkyû nijûrokka zekku* 文久二十一家絶句),” Shuntô fared even better, with thirty-four poems, more than any other single poet apart from Ônuma Chinzan.⁵³ So prominent a position in these two major poetic anthologies raised his profile considerably, and after returning to Owari and setting himself up in the city of Nagoya Shuntô had little difficulty in attracting poetic disciples to his newly established poetic society, the Sôzôken ginsha 桑三軒吟社 (‘No. 3 Kuwana Town Poetry Society’).⁵⁴ Among his new disciples were young and ambitious men such as Niwa Kanan 丹羽花南 (1846-1878),

⁵² According to Fujikawa the collection was originally intended to include thirty-six rather than thirty-two poets, but booksellers protested that this might cause their customers to confuse the anthology with the earlier *Quatrains by Thirty-Six Poets of the Tenpô Era*. The problem was solved by including the last four poets in a separate ‘supplement.’ Ekisai’s selection of poets, which provoked a minor controversy, also indicates how important inclusion in these anthologies was for a given poet’s broader profile. As Tôyama Unjo, a member of the Gyokuchi ginsha, had spent a large part of the previous few years travelling in the provinces instead of residing in Edo, Ekisai apparently felt that he should not be included in the collection and left him out, a decision which Nagai Kafû claims caused a great deal of ill-will between the two. See *SKNK* 8:9-10.

⁵³ Ibi, “Meiji kanshi no shuppatsu” p. 6; see also *SKNK* 8:9-11.

⁵⁴ This was named after his new address in Nagoya, which was Kuwana-chô sanchôme 桑名町三丁目.

Kannami Sokuzan 神波即山 (1832-1891), Okuda Kôu 奥田香雨 (1842-1874), Nagazaka Sekitai 永坂石埭 (1845-1924), and Kafû's father Nagai Kagen 永井禾原 (1851-1913), several of whom later obtained posts in the government bureaucracy after the Meiji Restoration and encouraged Shuntô to move to the newly re-named city of Tokyo, which he duly did in 1874.

“Treasured Harmonies:” Ye Songshi and Mori Shuntô

One of the lessons that Shuntô learned from his experience with *kanshi* anthologies during the dying days of the *bakufu* was of the importance of print media in raising and maintaining one's profile as a poet. The chaos of the Meiji Restoration had a dampening effect on *kanshi* production, and left a gap in the market. Where the 1859 *Quatrains by Thirty-Two Poets of the Ansei Era* had featured work from both of the main urban centers of Edo and Kyoto, the next major quatrain anthology, *Quatrains by Ten Poets of the Keiô Era* (Keiô jûka zekku 慶応十家絶句), published in 1866 by the Edo bookseller Seiundô 青雲堂, featured only Edo-based poets and lists only booksellers in Edo as distributors, testifying to the problems in communication the conflict had caused. In his account of the Bakumatsu-Meiji *kanshi* world and the role his maternal grandfather Washizu Kidô played within it, novelist Nagai Kafû 永井荷風 (Sôkichi 壮吉, 1879-1959) expresses amazement that *Ten Poets of the Keiô Era* was

published at all given the military activity in and around Edo,⁵⁵ and the city was indeed deeply affected. Where its population had surpassed one million during the early years of the nineteenth century, the turmoil of the Restoration prompted many residents to leave the city entirely; some sources estimate that Edo's population dropped to as few as 200,000 people during this time, and it was not until the mid-1880s that the newly re-named city of Tokyo regained its former number of residents.⁵⁶

Within a few years of the Restoration, as people began to return to the capital and the new government established itself, a new group of poetic societies began to appear, in many cases led by the same figures who had been most active in the *kanshi* world before Meiji. 1870 (Meiji 3) saw Suzuki Shôtô 鱸松塘 (1823-1898) inaugurate his Shichikyoku ginsha 七曲吟社 ('Winding Road Poetry Society'), followed two years later by Matsuyama domain scholar Fujino Nankai's 藤野海南 (1826-1888) Kyûusha 旧雨社 ('Society of Old Friends') and Chinzan's Shitaya ginsha 下谷吟社 ('Shitaya Poetic Society') in 1875 (Meiji 8).⁵⁷ One year previously in 1874, Shuntô too had returned to Tokyo, encouraged by the presence of large numbers of his former students in the capital. Many of these students were finding success in branches of the government bureaucracy; Niwa Kanan and Nagai Kagen were

⁵⁵ Nagai Kafû, "Shitaya sôwa" in *Kafû zenshû* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1962-1974) vol. 15 p. 420. Quoted in *SKNK* 8:12.

⁵⁶ Akio Bin, *Shiki no kindai: kokkei, media, Nihongo* (Tokyo: Shin'yôsha, 1999) p. 119.

⁵⁷ Literally, "Old Rain Society." In classical Chinese, "old rain" is similar in pronunciation to and often used in the sense of "old friend 旧友."

appointed to positions in the Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Education respectively during 1875, and Washizu Kidô was appointed as a supreme court judge (*daishin'in gotô hanji* 大審院五等判事) the following year.⁵⁸

In the years immediately after the Restoration, the Tokyo *kanshi* world continued publishing quatrain anthologies in much the same way as it had before, with *Quatrains by Thirty-Eight Poets of the Meiji Era* (Meiji sanjûhachika zekku 明治三十八家絶句) appearing in 1869 (Meiji 2), a joint effort between the Bunseidô 文政堂 and Yômandô publishing houses, the latter of which had earlier published *Quatrains by Poets of the Ansei era*. In terms of the poets featured, there was a large degree of overlap with those who had appeared in the Keiô and Bunkyû collections, notably Ônuma Chinzan, Ono Kozan, Suzuki Shôtô and Mori Shuntô; the sense of Shuntô's increased prominence is confirmed by his having thirty-eight poems featured, this time surpassing Chinzan by one. There were, however, also some new faces, with twenty poems each by Shuntô's disciples Kannami Sokuzan and Nagazaka Sekitai, and, importantly, nineteen poems by Seigan's widow Yanagawa Kôran, making her the first female *kanshi* poet to appear in a quatrain anthology.

The practice of compiling quatrain anthologies containing an era name came to a close in 1878 (Meiji 11) with *Quatrains by Ten Poets of the Meiji Era* (Meiji jûka zekku 明治十家絶句), a collection featuring only Tokyo-based poets and notable for the debut of Narushima Ryûhoku. Just prior to this, however, Mori Shuntô had moved to enter the market

⁵⁸ Maeda, "Chinzan to Shuntô" p. 248.

for himself, by publishing *Quatrains by Tokyo's Men of Talent* (Tokyo saijin zekku 東京才人絶句) in April of 1875 (Meiji 8). Edited and produced by Shuntô, this quatrain collection featured the most poets of any to date, one hundred and sixty-six, and seems a clear statement of intent on Shuntô's part to stake out a position in the Tokyo *kanshi* marketplace. Possibly the choice to not include an era name in the title was deliberate, for the collection as a whole is clear in its intent to establish a break between previous *kanshi* practice and the new Meiji era. The collection's preface, by scholar Kawata Ôkô, noted that "Tokyo is one; and today's Tokyo is not the Tokyo of the past. Our men of talent are one; but they are not the men of talent of the past (東京一也。而今之東京。非昔之東京。才人一也。而今之才人。非昔之才人)."⁵⁹ Likewise, in explaining his criteria for selection, Shuntô explained that "the name 'Tokyo' first began to be used in the year of *boshin* [1868], and so I have only included those who have been actively composing since then. Those whose connections predate that point, I have not accepted (東京之稱。自戊辰之歲始。故戊辰以後。作者即世者亦采録焉。其係以前者。斷而不問)." Despite this stance, pride of place in the new collection went to Chinzan, who was opposed to the new regime and whose dying wish, according to Kinoshita Hyô, was to be buried in his ceremonial kimono featuring the hollyhock crest of the Tokugawa clan.⁶⁰

If *Quatrains by Tokyo's Men of Talent* followed in a tradition of poetic anthologies dating back to the 1830s, Shuntô's other main project of 1875, the launch of his *kanshi* journal

⁵⁹ *SKNK* 8:463.

⁶⁰ Kinoshita, "Kokubu Seigai to Meiji Taishô Shôwa no kanshikai (4)" p. 38.

Shinbunshi 新文詩, broke new ground. First published in June 1875, the journal's title contained a pun on the then-current term for newspaper, *shinbunshi* 新聞紙, suggesting that the publication had been conceived in response to Narushima Ryûhoku's success with his *kanshi* column in the *Chôya shinbun*. As distinct from Ryûhoku's column, however, *Shinbunshi* was a dedicated stand-alone periodical *kanshi* journal, something that was as yet without precedent. Ceasing publication in 1884 at a round one hundred issues, *Shinbunshi* was a major reason for Shuntô's rise in the Tokyo *kanshi* world, and was quickly followed by a number of similar *kanshi* journals, among them Sata Hakuhô's 佐田白茅 (1832-1907) *Meiji shibun* 明治詩文 (published 1876-1881), Hattori Bushô's 服部撫松 (1841-1908) *Tokyo shinshi* 東京新誌 (1876-1883), Okamoto Kansuke's 岡本監輔 (1839-1904) *Tôyô shinpô* 東洋新報 (1876-1878), and the popular *Kagetsu shinshi*.⁶¹

Priced at a relatively steep eight *sen*, *Shinbunshi* was ostensibly open to submissions from the general public, but in practice it featured mostly work from governmental bureaucrats.⁶² This was a natural constituency for Shuntô, as several of his former disciples were highly placed officials. Among the poets published in *Shinbunshi* are Yamagata Aritomo 山県有朋 (1838-1922), whose pen name of Gansetsu 含雪 was drawn from a line by Du Fu

⁶¹ See Miura Kanô, *Meiji no bunjin to kanbungaku* pp. 11-12 (Okayama: Miura Kanô, 1987) for a complete list of all extant *kanshi* media that appeared in Tokyo between 1875 and 1887.

⁶² Maeda Ai's study of the names appearing in *Shinbunshi* shows that almost all of them held between the fourth and sixth rank within a government ministry. Many of the poems that appeared in the journal reflected this constituency, composed on topics such as accompanying the emperor on a procession, congratulating a colleague who had just changed jobs, and on the occasion of lavish official dinners. See Maeda, "Chinzan to Shuntô" pp. 250-252.

杜甫 (712-770), and Itô Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841-1909), a keen *kanshi* poet who later hired Shuntô's son Kainan as his personal secretary.⁶³ The prominence afforded to government bureaucrats prompted Narushima Ryûhoku to grumble in *Kagetsu shinshi* that “many submissions are quite inferior and don’t deserve to be recorded. If the works of the great and the good get in regardless of quality, then change the title to “Government Poetry” or “The Corridors of Power,” or something like that, and nobody will complain (拙劣ニシテ録スルニ足ラザル文稿モ有ル様ナリ若シ貴顯ノ文ハ巧拙ヲ問ハヌトノコトナラバ其ノ題号ヲ臺閣トカ廟廊トカ為サバ誰モ異論無カラン).”⁶⁴

Perhaps the most important effect that the rise of a periodical print media had on *kanshi* writing during early Meiji, however, was that it made poetic interaction across physical distance far easier. The quatrain anthologies published from the 1830s onwards rarely included rhyme-matching poems, most likely because their irregular publication schedule made such exchanges impractical; although Jiang and Saikô were willing to wait, few poets had the patience to leave several years between each iteration of a rhyme-matching sequence. Yet with newspapers published almost every day, and publications such as *Shinbunshi* and *Kagetsu shinshi* coming out as often as every two weeks, or even every week in the case of

⁶³ Kinoshita Hyô, “Kokubu Seigai to Meiji Taishô Shôwa no kanshikai (16)” *Shi to tomo* 333 (September 1977) p. 26. Yamagata’s pen name is drawn from the third line of an untitled quatrain by Du Fu, 窗含西嶺千秋雪, translated by Burton Watson as “Framed in my window, the thousand autumn snows of the western peaks.” Burton Watson, trans., *The Selected Poems of Du Fu* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2002) p. 107.

⁶⁴ Narushima Ryûhoku, “Omou mama” *Kagetsu shinshi* no. 37 (February 26th, 1878) (reprint vol. 2 pp. 388-390).

the student publication *Eisai shinshi* 穎才新誌 (‘Flowering Talent Magazine,’ published 1877-1901), rhyme-matching became easier and thus more popular. Poets who had never met could now swap verses through the print media from opposite ends of the country.

Work by Chinese expatriate poets appeared regularly in both newspapers and literary journals. Diplomats He Ruzhang, Huang Zunxian and Zhang Sigui 張斯桂 (1816-?) all contributed to *Shinbunshi* during their stay in Japan, as did language teacher Ye Songshi, who also appears in the *Chôya shinbun* and *Kagetsu shinshi*. So that readers would not be in any doubt as to who these contributors were, their location was given as “Shin 清 (i.e., Qing)” or “Shina 支那 (i.e., China),” or the words “Visitor from China (*shinkyaku* 清客)” appeared beneath the name of the contributor. The July 1876 issue of educator and translator Nakamura Keiu’s 中村敬宇 (1832-1891) *Dôjinsha bungaku zasshi* 同人社文学雜誌 (‘Dôjinsha Literary Magazine,’ published 1876-1883), for instance, features a short piece by Wang Zhiben 王治本 (?-?, pen name Qiyuan 葵園) praising the beauty and surroundings of Yanagawa Seigan’s former home in the Tamaike 玉池 region of Tokyo.⁶⁵ In a responding comment to Wang’s piece, Keiu outlined for his readers the long and distinguished history of such Sino-Japanese exchanges, placing Wang within the tradition of the Ming scholar Zhu Shunshui 朱舜水 (1600-1682), who served Mito daimyo Tokugawa Mitsukuni 徳川光圀 (1628-1700), the poetic exchanges between Ming refugee Chen Yuanyun 陳元贊

⁶⁵ This had probably been composed at a gathering organized by Shuntô’s disciple Nagazaki Sekitai, who had taken over Seigan’s former home and ran a medical practice there.

(1587-1671) and the monk Gensei 元政 (1623-1668), and the activities of Jiang Yunge earlier in the same century.⁶⁶

Probably the most prolific Qing expatriate of early Meiji was Ye Songshi. Originally from Zhejiang 浙江 in southeastern China, Songshi taught as a language instructor at Tokyo University's forerunner, the Kaiseikô 開成校, for a little over two years, probably between 1874 and 1876.⁶⁷ In contrast to diplomats such as Huang Zunxian, Songshi held no official post, yet both Shuntô and Ryûhoku made a point of publishing his work and highlighting their friendship with the Qing poet. Featured briefly in Shuntô's 1875 *Quatrains by Tokyo's Men of Talent*, Songshi was the first non-Japanese poet to appear in any contemporary *kanshi* anthology, and became a frequent participant in Tokyo's poetic gatherings. Songshi valued the rhyme-matching exchanges in which he had participated during his stay in Japan highly enough that he fashioned them into a collection entitled *Collection of Treasured Harmonies with the Land to the East* (Fusang li chang ji, J. Fusô reishô shû 扶桑驪唱集), which he published in China in 1891.⁶⁸ If the poems contained in *Collection of Treasured Harmonies* are a reliable guide, Songshi exchanged both letters and

⁶⁶ *Dôjinsha bungaku zasshi* no. 17 (July 1876) pp. 7-8.

⁶⁷ The precise dates of Ye Songshi's stay in Japan are unclear; Songshi's own account notes that he was in Japan for a little over two years, but does not mention precisely when. From the dates of several poems he published in the *Chôya shinbun*, however, his return to China seems to have occurred during the autumn of 1876, meaning he likely arrived early in 1874.

⁶⁸ The flyleaf of the collection lists its date of publication as Guangxu 光緒 17, corresponding to 1891 (Meiji 24). "Fusang (J. Fusô)" is a term for a land across the sea to the east of China (i.e., Japan) used in the *History of the Southern Dynasties* (Nanshi 南史), a Chinese dynastic history written during the Tang dynasty by the scholar Li Yanshou 李延壽 (?-?).

rhyme-matching poetry with virtually every major poet of the Meiji period during his stay in Japan, including Shuntô, Ryûhoku, Ôtsuki Bankei, and Yoda Gakkai.

One such sequence reproduced in *Collection of Treasured Harmonies* illustrates how prominent a role rhyme-matching played in mediating social relations between Chinese and Japanese poets. The sequence is undated, but from its position in the collection seems to have been composed during August of 1876, shortly before Songshi's return to China. According to Songshi's headnote, the sequence originated in a trip to a drinking house while visiting the Kansai region, along with prominent poet Okamoto Ôseki 岡本黄石 (1822-1898), who ran the Kôjibô ginsha 翹坊吟社 ('Kôji Poetic Society') in Tokyo's Kôjimachi 翹町 and was, like Shuntô, a former pupil of Yanagawa Seigan. At the drinking house, which was apparently named *The Duck in Water* (Ôkinsui 鴨沂水), Songshi and Ôseki were joined by a number of Ôseki's friends and disciples, among them Seigan's widow Yanagawa Kôran, now in her mid-seventies. The sequence opens with Songshi, who "replies in jest to Ôseki's talk of calling for some female entertainers, using the rhyme graph 賢 (翁創招妓之說戲作以賢其議):"

来宵此地集羣賢

廿四名家設廣筵

豫辦酒肴争選韻

可無紅袖拂花牋

Night falls, here gathers a crowd of wise men.

Twenty-four people in this hall, spacious mats stretched
out,

Already appreciating food and wine, fighting to choose
rhymes,

But should we get some beauties to sweep away our poetry

paper?⁶⁹

Ôseki's reply answers in the affirmative, and also contains a pun on the name of the restaurant at which the gathering was being held:

豈圖是日遇名賢

How could I have known that this day I would meet such
great and learned men?

同社明朝為設筵

Fellows together, 'til morning we will leave out the mats.

綠酒金樽鳧水上

Swimming like wild ducks in fine drink and good wine -

倩將妙妓擘蠻箋

I would indeed like some fine beauties to tear up our poetic
paper!

Juxtaposing the pleasures of male companionship in poetry to female companionship seems to have been common practice in rhyme-matching poetry; in both cases the final line suggests that poetic writing and the presence of female entertainers are contrasting, rather than complementary pleasures. Deriving from their shared identity as men, common ground is established in the shape of a presumed desire for female companionship. In this gathering, at least, the notion of poetic gathering as place of exclusively male companionship was somewhat complicated by the presence of Yanagawa Kôran, who also chimed in on the exchange after the next three poems had taken the topic somewhat away from the motif of female entertainers:

喧傳上国降名賢

Word has it that many great men are visiting the Western provinces;

衰朽何圖與綺筵

Withered with age, I never expected to be at such a lively party.

⁶⁹ This and the subsequent poems appear in *Fusang li chang ji* (Nanjing:Ye Shi, 1891) pp. 17-18.

信有八父才八斗
興酣落墨滿雲箋

Truly, we have eight heroes with “eight gallons of poetic talent” -
In drunken excitement, I spill the ink – clouds fill my writing
paper.⁷⁰

Kôran’s imagery in her last line echoes the opening line of Song poet Su Shi’s 蘇軾 (J. So Shoku, 1036-1101) *Sixth Month, Twenty-Seventh Day, Five Quatrains While Drunk at Lake Watch Tower* 六月二十七日望湖樓醉為五絕, which features a very similar setting of convivial poetic drunkenness. Kôran alludes to this to fashion a humorous and self-deprecating closing to her poem, suggesting that in a fit of drunkenness unfitting for someone her age, she has accidentally turned over a pot of ink, producing an unexpectedly elegant result in the shape of a blot resembling dark clouds.⁷¹ Songshi’s response, which addresses Kôran directly, picks up on the allusion and provides its own twist:

久耳梁門德曜賢
肯攜藜杖蒞斯筵
黔婁有婦思矜式
乞與簪花數幅箋

Long have I heard of Mme. Yanagawa’s virtue and bright wisdom -
I rejoice that with your goosefoot staff you favor thus our gathering.
Qian Lou had a wife, and considered her an example to others;
Please, with your “flower-pinned” hair, give us many reams of
poetic writing!

Songshi’s responding poem strikes a balance between expressing respect for Kôran’s old age

⁷⁰ This line refers to a statement by the Six Dynasties poet Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (J. Sha Reiun, 385-433) that if all the world’s poetic talent could be represented in ten gallons, then Cao Zhi 曹植 (J. Sô Shoku, 192-232) possessed eight of them. From this comes the Chinese expression *gaocai ba dou* 高才八斗, meaning one possessed of great poetic talent (also rendered into Japanese as *hatto no sai* 八斗の才).

⁷¹ The first two lines of the quatrain read 黑雲翻墨未遮山 / 白雨跳珠乱入船, translated by Burton Watson as “Black clouds – spilled ink half blotting out the hills / pale rain – bouncing beads that splatter in the boat.” Victor Mair, ed., *Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996) p. 251. Chinese text from Ogawa Tamaki, ed., *So Shoku Chûgokujuin senshû nishû* vol. 5 (Tokoyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1962) p. 55-6.

and poetic skill, and picking up on the humor introduced in the last line of her previous poem. The goosefoot staff was a symbol of old age and often carried by sages or immortals, whereas Qian Lou's wife appears as one of the exemplars of female virtue in the *Biographies of Virtuous Women* (Ch. *Lie nü zhuan*, J. *Retsujoden* 列女傳).⁷² Songshi's allusion to Kôran's "flower-pinned" hair is slyly humorous; where Kôran's concluding line used an image of drunkenness taken from the poetry of Su Shi, Songshi matches her by alluding to the same poet's *Appreciating the Peonies at Jixiang Temple* 吉祥寺賞牡丹, which likewise deals with themes of old age and drunkenness:

人老簪花不自羞	Though the man is old, he feels no shame in sticking flowers in his hair;
花應羞上老人頭	The flowers must be embarrassed to be on an old man's head.
醉歸扶路人應笑	Returning drunk, helped along the road, I'm sure some people will laugh;
十裏珠簾半上鉤	For ten <i>li</i> the bead curtains are half rolled up. ⁷³

Placing Kôran implicitly in the tradition of virtuous wives who were faithful to their husband's memory in the third line, in the next Songshi locates Kôran within a very different tradition, that of famous poetic drunks, the incongruity between the two examples serving only to heighten the humor. Given the shared social setting and overlapping source of allusion

⁷² Qian Lou was an impoverished scholar of the Spring and Autumn period who rejected offers of official employment to remain in poverty and continue his studies. Though from a wealthy family, his wife expressed contentment in her lot and remained faithful to his memory even after his death.

⁷³ Text and English translation from Michael A. Fuller, *The Road to East Slope: the Development of Su Shi's Poetic Voice* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990) p. 157.

in both poems, what might in another context have seemed a slightly insulting response becomes a humorous way of answering and extending Kôran's twin themes of drunkenness and old age.

As read in the pages of Songshi's *Treasured Harmonies*, the exchange thus confines itself to those who were physically present at the gathering in Kyoto, yet the original poem also gave rise to another, separate chain of exchange that developed in a different direction. After the gathering, Songshi apparently sent copies of his poems from the evening's entertainment to his friend Nakamura Keiu for his comments, and Keiu then passed them on to Narushima Ryûhoku, who was sufficiently impressed that he featured a sequence of five of Songshi's poems in the literary column of the *Chôya shinbun* newspaper a little over two weeks later on September 2nd, 1876. Although they had not been present in Kyoto, Keiu, Ryûhoku and Bankei all added their own rhyme-matching responses to each of Songshi's poems over the course of the next week, in which capacity they were joined over the next month or so by readers from the Asakusa and Tsukiji regions of Tokyo, as well as from the cities of Kôbe and Himeji in Hyôgo prefecture:

I happened to see in your newspaper the poems by Qing visitor Ye Songshi on his stay in Kyoto. Messrs. Bankei, Keiu et al all followed the rhymes, and I too decided to imitate them.

偶閱貴社新聞紙載清客葉松石在西京詩磬敬諸老皆次其韻予亦倣顰

西人久慕葉君賢

The men of the west have long admired Mr. Ye's wisdom,

水閣為開詩酒筵
 蘆岸清風蘋渚月
 併將離恨上雲箋

And at the Water Tavern they lay out poems, wine and mats.
 On the reed-bank, clear wind; on the weed-choked levee, the moon;
 To come together is to part; that grievance is written on the
 clouds.⁷⁴

With this poem, sent in by one Mizukoshi Shigeaki 水越成章 (?-?), and subsequent rhyme-matching verses, the poets of the *Chôya shinbun* and their readers were thus able to create a second chain of poetic discourse that ran parallel to the one that had been created in the physical space of the original gathering in Kyoto. The exchange itself and the different directions in which it subsequently developed thus illustrate both how the print media could allow poets to interact with one another even across distance, and how keen Japanese poets were to enter into poetic dialogue with their Chinese counterparts.

Perfume Cases and Bamboo Branches: Shuntô's Adaptation of Qing Poetics

Ye Songshi was one of the more regular participants in such social exchanges among Japanese poets during early Meiji, but he was not the only one. In late November 1877, the arrival in Nagasaki of Qing ambassador He Ruzhang, along with a small corps of diplomatic staff, marked a new era in both diplomatic and poetic history. The dispatch of an ambassador had been planned for several years, but a number of factors, among them the Taiwan incident in 1874, delayed a projected exchange of ambassadors. The Satsuma Rebellion of 1877 also

⁷⁴ *Chôya shinbun*, September 20th 1876 p. 3. The same poem also appears in *Fusang leichang ji* p. 36 recto.

caused the dispatch to be postponed, and the legation finally arrived only a couple of months after Saigô Takamori's 西郷隆盛 (1827-1877) forces had finally been defeated in September of that year.

The legation's official duties including resolving issues over the status of the Ryûkyû islands and Taiwan, as well as doing what they could to assist the several thousand Chinese nationals already living in various cities around the country. As the Qing government had little economic or military muscle with which to support its diplomats, the legation's effectiveness was always likely to be limited, but in the sphere of cultural exchange, at least, the mission proved reasonably successful. When not occupied with official duties, several members of the Qing legation participated in the Tokyo *kanshi* world, most notably Ambassador He, Vice-Ambassador Zhang Sigui and Huang Zunxian, who held the rank of *santiguan* 参贊官, probably a translation of the English term "counselor."⁷⁵

The importance Japanese *kanshi* poets attached to the rhyme-matching sequences seems to have taken their Chinese counterparts slightly by surprise. In a 'brush-talk' from October of 1878 among former daimyo Ôkôchi Teruna 大河内輝声 (1848-1882), Huang Zunxian (using the penname Gongdu 公度) and embassy attaché Shen Wenying 沈文熒 (?-?, pen name Meishi 梅史), Ôkôchi raises the topic of rhyme-matching poetry and suggests that his Chinese guests allow him to see any written collections of their own poetry they may

⁷⁵ Satô Tamotsu, "Huang Zunxian to Nihon" in Itô Toramaru et al, eds., *Kindai bungaku ni okeru Chûgoku to Nihon* (Tokyo: Kyûko Shoin, 1986) p. 56

have, seemingly with a view to using it to start a rhyme-matching exchange. Wang Qiyuan, a friend of Ôkôchi who was working privately as an editor and translator in Tokyo, explains why this poses difficulties:

Ôkôchi: I would very much like it if you would lend me any poetic manuscripts you might have to hand from before or after your trip to the east, for I should like to copy them.

...

Qiyuan: Our poetic exchanges in many cases are not written up in manuscript.

Ôkôchi: Even if they are only poetic exchanges, it does not do to fail to write them up. I suspect that in many cases you abstain from putting your poems out into the world, and so you fear that I will show them to other people, which is why you make excuses. I shall not show them to other people, so I request that you allow me to see your manuscripts.

Zunxian: I am discomfited to say that we have absolutely no poetry with us, to say nothing of rhyme-matching exchanges.⁷⁶

桂閣 切願君蔵東来以前以後等之詩文稿則請貸焉、乃寫了而已。

(略)

黍園 應酬詩多不留稿。

桂閣 雖應酬詩不可不留稿、想君詩多所忌諱於世上、故畏弟之示之於他人、而遁辭。弟决不示外人、冀授尊稿。

公度 僕懶甚、一切皆不存、無論應酬詩也。

For the more prominent Japanese poets, fashioning a rhyme-matching exchange, or even better, regular social interaction with a Chinese poet seems to have become a badge of honor reflecting one's skill and mastery of the techniques of poetic sociality; within the *kanshi*

⁷⁶ Zheng Ziyu, Sanetô Keishû, eds, *Huang Zunxian yu Riben you ren bi tan yi gao* (Dongjing: Zaodaotian daxue Dongyang wenxue yanjiuhui [Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Tôyô bungaku kenkyûkai], 1968) p. 202.

marketplace of early Meiji, this marked one out as being the very best of the best, and was undoubtedly good for business.

Actual social contact with Chinese poets was not the only way that poets could use a connection to China to their advantage in the literary marketplace. Increased trade with China also opened up a range of possibilities for introducing new texts and ideas, as Shuntô found to his advantage. One major new trend in Meiji *kanshi* was Shuntô's introduction of so-called "perfume-case poetry (J. *kôrentai*, Ch. *xianglianti* 香奩体)," as well as his promotion of *chikushi* 竹枝 (Ch. *zhuzhi*, literally 'bamboo branches,' translated below as 'bamboo-branch ballad') poetry during early Meiji. The term "perfume-case" derived from the *Perfume Case Collection* (Ch. *Xianglianji* 香奩集), an anthology by the Tang poet Han Wo 韓偓 (844-?) of quasi-erotic poems depicting the pleasure quarters and sexual love between men and women.⁷⁷

Shuntô became strongly identified with "perfume-case" poetry as a result of his production and circulation of anthologies of previously unknown Qing poetry, which featured this style quite heavily. In addition to his work editing anthologies of contemporary Japanese poets, Shuntô also edited and published *Quatrains by Three Poets of the Qing Dynasty* (Shin *sanka zekku* 清三家絶句) in October of 1877 (Meiji 10), showcasing the work of Zhang

⁷⁷ Gôyama Rintarô lists some other common "perfume-case" themes as lamenting the death of a famously beautiful woman or a lover, expressing one's desire for a woman, describing female beauty, or portraying spring scenery and lakeside vistas. See Gôyama Rintarô, "Bakumatsu Meijiki no entai kanshi – Mori Shuntô, Kainan ippa no shifû o megutte" *WaKan hikaku bungaku* no. 37 (August 2006) p. 19.

Chuanshan 張船山 (1764-1814), Chen Wenshu 陳文述 (Chen Bicheng 陳碧城, 1771-1843) and Guo Pinjie 郭頻伽 (Guo Lin 郭麟, 1767-1831). A few poems by each of the three had previously reached Japan, but for the most part Shuntô focused on “perfume-case style” poems that had not been previously anthologized.⁷⁸ *Three Poets of the Qing Dynasty* seems to have been a success, for the following year Shuntô had a hand in financing and editing another, larger anthology entitled *Poems by Twenty-Four Poets of the Qing Dynasty* (Shin nijûshika shi 清廿四家詩).

In addition to circulating Qing texts, Shuntô composed “perfume-case” poems himself:

無題

粉愁香恨兩淒迷
手剥青苔認舊題
春色滿庭不見人
海棠枝上画眉啼

Untitled

Powdered grief, fragrant regret; both drive her to distraction.
Her hands peel back green moss, finding only old memories.
Spring colors fill the garden, but no-one is seen;
In the branches of the aronia tree, a laughingthrush sings.⁷⁹

The setting here is that of woman abandoned by her lover languishing alone in her garden, tormented in her isolation by reminders of happier times. “Spring colors” suggests both new

⁷⁸ The poetry of Zhang Chuanshan in particular was reasonably well known in Japan; in the pages of the 1848 quatrain anthology *Poets of the Kaei Era* can be found advertisements for two separate editions of Chuanshan’s collected works *Senzan shisô* (Ch. Chuanshan shicao 船山詩草) (see *SNK* 8:208-9). There is, however, little overlap between the poems that appear in *Senzan shisô* and those Shuntô selected. Arai Yôko’s survey in “Mori Shuntô *Shin sankazekku ni tsuite*” *Nishô* no. 19 (2005) pp. 258-9 provides a good overview of Qing poets appearing in 19th-century texts, and shows that the earliest known appearance of these three poets is one poem by Zhang and two by Guo in Tanomura Chikuden’s 1831 edited collection *Konsai chôshû* 今才調集.

⁷⁹ Morikawa Kenzô, ed., *Shuntô shishô* (Tokyo: Bunkaidô, 1912) vol. 7 p. 10 verso. For a *kakikudashi* version of this poem, see Ibi, “Meiji kanshi no shuppatsu” p. 12

growth in the garden and the possibility of sexual liaisons, but this possibility will remain unfulfilled because her lover no longer visits her. The final line is doubly resonant with overtones of sensuality and unfulfilled love; the aronia (*kaidô*) evokes the doomed love between the Tang emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (685-762, r. 712-756) and the Prized Consort Yuang Guifei 楊貴妃 (719-756), whose beauty Xuanzong famously likened to that of the aronia tree.⁸⁰ Similarly, the song of the laughingthrush (*gabichô* 画眉鳥) also carries painful associations, since the graphs used in the bird's name mean literally "to paint the eyebrows." As her lover has abandoned her, applying make-up and taking care of her appearance is now an exercise in futility.

The focus on the depiction of female beauty and frustrated love is also a major theme in the "bamboo-branch ballad" genre, which likewise attained wide popularity during early Meiji as a result of Shuntô's efforts. First practiced by the Tang poet Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842), the bamboo-branch ballad often focused on a city's pleasure quarters, and were frequently used as a vehicle to comment on love between men and women. Shuntô's collection *Quatrains by Tokyo's Men of Talent*, for instance, features *chikushi* depicting the pleasure quarters of the cities of Niigata 新潟 and Osaka, as well as others showing the

⁸⁰ In a popular tale widely circulated in Japan and originating in the Song dynasty Zen monk Huihong's 惠洪 (1071-1128) *Remarks Made During Nights in the Cold Study* (Lengzhai yehua 冷齋夜話) Xuanzong praises the beauty of Yuang Guifei's slightly drunken countenance at a banquet. Likening her appearance to that of a woman who had just awoken in the morning, Xuanzong announces that "the aronia tree has not yet had enough sleep! (真海棠眠未足耳)." From this derives a set phrase in modern Japanese, *kaidô nemuri imada tarazu* 海棠眠り未だ足らず, used to refer to a beautiful woman who is slightly drunk.

drinking-houses of the Sumidagawa and Fukagawa regions of Tokyo:

Bamboo-Branch Ballad of Niigata

新潟竹枝

春事匆匆夢一過

Matters of spring pass hurriedly, as if in a dream;

桃花落盡渺烟波

Peach-flowers all scattered to far-off clouds and waves.

八千八水合成海

The Eight Thousand and Eight rivers flow together to form
a sea,

不及吾儂紅淚多

Yet they do not match the flow of my lady's tears.⁸¹

The bamboo-branch ballad genre was not new to Japan; during the late 18th century, members of the Kôko shisha poetic society had experimented with using it to depict the world of commoners and townsmen, as opposed to the grand landscapes and rhetorical stances demanded by Sorai's Tang-focused poetic orthodoxy. Probably the most important of these was Ichikawa Kansai's *Songs of the Northern Quarters* (*Hokurika* 北里歌), a collection of thirty thematically linked heptasyllabic quatrains focusing on Edo's Yoshiwara licensed quarters he published under a pseudonym while still in office at the Shôheikô in 1787. The bamboo-branch ballad was also strongly associated with travel, being used by the poet to describe the customs and scenery of previously unknown places, though the customs and scenery in question were very often those of a city's pleasure quarters. Among the poems left by Jiang Yunge from his visits to Nagasaki during the early 19th century, for instance, are several bamboo-branch ballads that sing the praises of the city's female entertainers,

⁸¹ *SNK* 8:487. The poet is listed as Futono Makoto 太野誠 (?-?), from the Echigo region of Japan, roughly corresponding to present-day Niigata. Niigata was known colloquially as the city of "eight thousand and eight waters (*yachiyo mizu* 八千八水)" on account of its location at the convergence of several rivers; here the poet weaves this element of local color into an image of his lover's grief at their parting.

suggesting that the same view of the purpose and scope of the genre prevailed in China during the same time period. In fact, the new-found popularity of the bamboo-branch ballad genre in Japan during the 1870s and 1880s was mirrored by a similar phenomenon in China, particularly Shanghai, where they appeared frequently in the local newspapers and were used as a way of commenting on the cultural phenomena arising from the presence of the city's Foreign Settlement. In an interesting quirk of history, one of the most prolific exponents of the bamboo-branch ballad in contemporary Shanghai was Yuan Zuzhi 袁祖志 (1827-1902), grandson of the celebrated Yuan Mei.⁸²

To this extent, Shuntô could claim that both his “perfume-case” poetry and his enjoyment of bamboo-branch ballad poetry continued the tradition and focus of *xingling* poetics, and this was indeed how some of his contemporaries understood his activities.⁸³ In many quarters, particularly among younger poets, Shuntô's brand of poetry met with an enthusiastic reception; Nagai Kafû recalled “how fascinated I was with the beautiful form known as ‘perfume-case style’ in Chinese poetry (香奩体と称する支那詩中の美麗なる形

⁸² Catherine Vance Yeh, *Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals and Entertainment Culture, 1850-1910* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, c2006) pp. 194-200. The simultaneous resurgence of *chikushi* may be more than coincidental. Vance Yeh notes that an otherwise unknown Japanese expatriate by the name of Shibata Yoshiku (or Yoshikage) 柴田義桂 was a close friend of Yuan Zuzhi and a regular guest at his poetry gatherings, so the possibility of a direct link cannot be ruled out.

⁸³ According to Ibi, Iwatani Shôsen 岩溪裳川 (1852-1942) was of the opinion that Shuntô understood the notion of *xingling* poetics and the ideas of Yuan Mei better than any other Meiji poet. See Ibi, “Meiji kanshi no shuppatsu” p. 15.

式がいかに私の心を惑はしたであろう),”⁸⁴ and novelist and army doctor Mori Ôgai 森

鷗外 (Rintarô 林太郎, 1862-1922), in the form of the authorial persona of his later novel

Gan 雁 (‘Wild Geese,’ 1911-1913) recalls how popular this style of poetry became:

In terms of lyrical poetry Shiki’s haiku and [Yosano] Tekkan’s *tanka* had yet to be born, so everyone read materials like *Kagetsu shinshi*, which was printed on Chinese-style paper, or *Keirin isshi*, printed on plain white paper, and thought that [Mori] Kainan and [Ue] Mukô’s “perfume-case style” poems were the height of sophistication.⁸⁵

抒情詩では子規の俳句や、鉄幹の歌の生れぬ先であったから、誰でも唐紙に摺った花月新誌や白紙に摺った桂林一枝のような雑誌を読んで、槐南、夢香なんぞの香奩体の詩を最も気の利いた物だと思ふ位の事であった

As presumed experts on poetic topics, Chinese expatriates were also sought out to provide

advice on composition and style. Several high-ranking government members, among them Itô

Hirobumi, Enomoto Takeaki 榎本武揚 (1836-1908) and Army Minister Ôyama Iwao 大山

巖 (1842-1916) are known to have visited Huang Zunxian for advice on their *kanshi* at

various points during his stay.⁸⁶ This critical dialogue apparently went both ways, since

Zunxian notes in the preface to *Various Poems on Japan* (Ribenzashi 日本雑詩), a

⁸⁴ Quoted in Kinoshita, “Kokubu Seigai to Meiji Taishô Shôwa no kanshikai (7)” *Shi to tomo* no. 324 (January 1977) p. 43.

⁸⁵ Mori Ôgai, *Ôgai zenshû* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1971-1975) vol. 8 p. 494. Ue Mukô 上夢香 is the pen name of Ue Sanemichi 上眞行 (1851-1937), a musician and poet. *Keirin isshi* was a *kanshi* journal published from November of 1878 to April of 1882 by Ishii Nankyô 石井南橋 (1831-1887). Gôyama notes that Ôgai’s memories of the Tokyo *kanshidan* are perhaps a little confused here, since *Keirin isshi* was not a major venue for the publication of ‘perfume-case’ style poetry. See Gôyama “Bakumatsu Meijiki no entai kanshi” p. 18.

⁸⁶ Richard John Lynn, “Huang Zunxian and His Association with Meiji Era Japanese Literati (bunjin): The Formation of the Early Meiji Canon of *Kanshi*” *Japan Review* 15 (2003) p. 103.

collection of poems detailing his impressions on Japan published in China in 1890, that several important figures in the Meiji *kanshi* world had commented on his work and helped him make revisions.⁸⁷ Likewise, Ôkôchi was eager to find out more about both “perfume-case” and “ballad” poetry from his Chinese friends, as shown in another ‘brush talk’ with Shen Meishi:

- Ôkôchi: I wish to study ‘perfume-case’ poems. In what way should one go about this?
- Meishi: You should obtain a copy of the poems of Han Donglang (known as Han Wo) and read them. If you compose in the manner of Wang Yanhong’s 彦泓 (1593-1642) “Suspecting Rain Collection” (*Yiyuji*) then your tone will be low and vulgar.
- O: The collection of Han Donglang you refer to – about how many volumes is it?
- M: The Donglang collection has very few poems, around two volumes. This text may be purchased in Shanghai.
- O: Is the method of composition for ‘perfume-case poems’ the same as with normal quatrains and regulated verse, or is it different?
- M: The same. In my view the ‘perfume case’ should have elegant language and profound emotion, and must not cross over into obscenity – then it is at its best. This is what is called “romantic, yet not licentious.”⁸⁸ This holds for five and seven syllable regulated verse and five and seven syllable old-style poems.⁸⁹

桂閣 弟欲学香奩詩、此事甚麼作式？

⁸⁷ Cai Yi, “Kô Junken [Huang Zunxian] no shikai kakumei to Meiji bunmei kaika shinshi” *Ajia bunka kôryû kenkyû* no. 5 (February 2010) p. 158.

⁸⁸ This echoes the description of Qu Yuan’s poetry in the *Biographies of Qu Yuan and Master Jia* in Sima Qian’s *Records of the Grand Historian (Shiji)*: “The Airs of the States” [in the *Classic of Poetry*] are romantic without being licentious, the “Lesser Odes” full of righteous anger without insubordination. A work like the *Li Sao* may be said to combine the best of both of these (国風好色而不淫、小雅怨誹而不亂。若離騷者、可謂兼之矣。” Sima Qian, *Shi ji* Er shi si shi dian jiao ben vol. 8 (Beijing: Zhong hua shu ju, 1982) p. 2482.

⁸⁹ *Huang Zunxian yu Riben you ren bi tan yi gao* p. 116.

梅史 可取韓冬郎集（名偓）讀之、若王次回疑雨集則格太卑也。
 桂閣 叫做韓冬郎集歟？而其冊套之數約幾何？
 梅史 即韓冬郎集、其詩甚少、約二卷。此書上海可購。
 桂閣 香奩體作法復與尋常絕律相同而然否？
 梅史 相同。惟香奩體宜語雅情深、不可涉於淫褻、則善矣。所謂好色而不淫。
 五律七律五古七古皆有之。

Ôkôchi goes on to enquire about how best to compose “ballad” poetry, and Meishi’s response is substantially the same, advising his Japanese colleague to look to Tang models and avoid more recent work, which he rejects as vulgar.

This unease at the potential for perceived vulgarity in “perfume-case” poems was also shared by a number of older Japanese poets, whose reception of this newer style was less enthusiastic. As Ôe Keikô 大江敬香 (1857-1916) notes in his memoirs of the Meiji *kanshi* world, “those who discussed poetry tended to attack the “perfume-case style;” or they would reject it, saying that one should not compose in that style; or they would spurn it as beneath notice (世の詩を論する者動もすれば香奩体を排撃し或は作る可からすと排する或は取るに足らずと斥し).”⁹⁰ A different line of attack appeared in an anonymous article in the *Chôya shinbun* in March of 1881, in which the writer criticized “perfume-case” poetry not because it was immoral, but because the emotions expressed therein were insincere.⁹¹

Shuntô’s direct rivals were likewise unimpressed; when asked whether he too might try to follow Shuntô’s poetic style, Okamoto Ôseki replied that Shuntô’s poems did not lack interest,

⁹⁰ Ôe Keikô, “Meiji shidan hyôron” in Kanda Kiichiro ed., *Meiji kanshibunshû* Meiji bungaku zenshu vol. 62 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1983) p. 321.

⁹¹ “On the Foolishness of False Emotion (*Gijôchi* 偽情痴)” *Chôya shinbun*, March 4th 1881 p. 4.

but they were unorthodox, and in fact harmful to the way of poetry (春濤詩に妙ならずにはあらず、されど正派にあらずして魔道というべし). Word of this remark apparently got back to Shuntô, who responded frostily next time he encountered Ôseki at a poetic gathering.⁹²

On other occasions Shuntô seemingly bore this criticism with good humor. Ono Kozan's collected works, published in 1877 under Shuntô's guidance, contain the following gently mocking quatrain addressed to Shuntô:

千古香奩韓偓集 繼之次也竹枝詞 兩家以外推妍妙 一種森髯艷體詞	In the distant past there was the perfume-case style, Han Wo's works, Then we had "bamboo-branch" poems to carry on the tradition. And apart from these two, promoting lustrous beauty, This strange 'bearded fellow,' with his sensual poems! ⁹³
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The last line refers to a soubriquet Shuntô used when submitting poetry to newspapers and magazines, *senshi* 髯史 ('bearded fellow'); photographs of Shuntô from around this time show him with a long beard, and Kozan may be suggesting that Shuntô's poems, which he views as slightly effeminate, are out of keeping with his manly features.⁹⁴ Shuntô generally ignored this criticism, although he did defend himself on occasion; in response to being given the unflattering soubriquet *shima* 詩魔 ('demon of poetry'), Shuntô composed a rebuttal in

⁹² Per Yoda Gakkai's 依田学海 (1833-1909) diary, this conversation took place in June of 1880 (Meiji 13). See Yoda Gakkai, *Gakkai nichiroku* (Iwanami Shoten, 1991-3) vol. 4 pp. 269-70.

⁹³ Ono Kozan, Mori Shuntô, ed., *Kozan kinkô* (Tokyo: Mori Shuntô, 1877) p. 11.

⁹⁴ Ibi's interpretation of this poem is slightly different, that Shuntô's beard is not as full and manly as his soubriquet might lead one to expect, as a result of his years spent composing 'perfume-case' poems. Ibi, "Meiji kanshi no shuppatsu" p. 12.

the form of eight quatrains, to which he added a headnote stating that:

The nodding heads make me out to be a “demon of poetry.” In times past, Wang Yi made Yang Tieya out to be the “devil of literature,” largely because he wrote bamboo-branch ballads and “perfume-case style” works. I am one who takes pleasure in “perfume-case” works and bamboo-branch ballads, and it has been my lifelong desire to receive some day the appellations of both “demon of poetry” and “devil of literature.” And so if those worthy masters wish to accuse me of being such, then of course I shall not turn away from it.

點頭如來目予為詩魔昔王常宗以文妖目楊鐵崖蓋以有竹枝續匳等作也予亦喜香匳竹枝者他日得文妖詩魔竝稱則一生情願了矣若夫秀師呵責固所不辭也

小詩何敵大文章	How can a little poem measure up to Great Works of Literature?
吟諷聊供歡一場	My compositions are only to provide a little cheer to a gathering;
貶處瓣香褒處酒	They denounce correctness and piety, sing the praises of drink,
祇應醺徹老魔王	No question - the stink of booze hangs around this old ‘demon king.’ ⁹⁵

Shuntô’s comparison of himself to the Yuan dynasty poet and painter Yang Tieya (Yang Weizhen 楊維禎, c1296-c1370) was both humorous and provocative; Tieya was known for his dissolution, in particular his practice of drinking wine from the shoes of courtesans.⁹⁶ Far from defending himself against the accusation that he was promoting licentiousness in his works, Shuntô embraces the charge by likening himself to a model of quasi-legendary

⁹⁵ *Shuntô shishô* vol. 5 p. 9 recto. For a *kakikudashi* version of this text, see also Ibi, “Meiji kanshi no shuppatsu” p. 12. Wang Yi 王彝 (?-1374, courtesy name Changzong 常宗) was a Yuan period poet and painter who achieved fame as a very young man by attacking Yang Tieya, who was one of the most prominent poets of the day. For a brief account of Wang Yi’s argument in English, see Frederick Mote, *The Poet Kao Ch’i, 1336-1374* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1962) p. 195.

⁹⁶ Dorothy Ko notes that the practice of drinking wine from courtesan’s shoes became so closely associated with Yang Tieya that it later became known as the “Tieya obsession.” The wine was usually drunk from a cup placed inside the shoe, rather than the shoe itself. See Dorothy Ko, *Cinderella’s Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005) pp. 93-95.

debauchery. The above poem, the last of the sequence of eight, thus sees Shuntô cheerfully admitting, in tongue-in-cheek fashion, that his works lead people astray and that he himself is little more than a wine-soaked drunkard.

Underpinning much of the discourse on “perfume-case” poetry, especially that centering on Shuntô, was thus a sense that the vision of Qing poetry that he and his group were trying to promote was not only vulgar but also unmanly or effeminate. In addition to the “perfume-case style” and its visions of female beauty and heterosexual love, many of the Qing poets Shuntô was promoting, especially Yuan Mei and Chen Wenshu, were well known for their robust defense and sponsorship of female poets. There was thus a sense in which both Qing poetry and Shuntô were open to attack on the grounds that they showed an unseemly degree of preoccupation with ideas of the feminine. Kinoshita Hyô notes, for instance, that Shuntô’s friend Ono Kozan expressed his concern about the young Kainan writing “perfume-case” poetry, as he “worried about the tendency to run towards obscenity in one so young (其少年にして淫靡に流るるを恐る).”⁹⁷ This labeling of both Shuntô and Kainan as little better than poetic pornographers was largely unfair; both were versatile poets who could and did compose in many different styles other than the “perfume-case style.” Yet to a certain extent, this image has continued to define Shuntô’s poetic legacy. Kinoshita Hyô, in his personal history of the Meiji *kanshi* world written in the late 1970s, acknowledges

⁹⁷ Quoted in Kinoshita, “Kokubu Seigai to Meiji Taishô Shôwa no kanshikai (7)” p. 42.

Shuntô's desire to reinvigorate the Meiji *kanshi* world during the 1870s and 1880s, but argues that the Qing poets introduced by the Mori faction, including Yuan Mei, Guo Pinqie and Zhang Chuanshan, were both vulgar and frivolous, and that in the long run the prominence of the Mori group was damaging to Japan's *kanshi* world.⁹⁸ Kinoshita was a student and good friend of Kokubu Seigai 国分青厓 (Takatane 高胤, 1857-1944), a major rival to Shuntô's son Kainan and a strong proponent of what he saw as the masculine grandeur of Tang poetry, so there is undoubtedly a factional bias at work here, but nevertheless the persistent animus towards Shuntô even a century later is quite remarkable.

“A Great Country Giving Rise to Disharmony:” Poetic Responses to the Taiwan Incident

The perception discussed above of more recent Qing poetics as being vulgar, sensual and even effeminate was to some extent reinforced by the events of the Taiwan incident, which played out over the three years from 1871-1874. In response to Japanese demands for compensation as a result of the killing of fifty-four shipwrecked Ryûkyûan sailors by Taiwanese aboriginals in December of 1871, the Qing government first rebuffed Japan on the grounds that this was an internal affair for China, then effectively renounced sovereignty over the island by declaring that the Taiwanese aboriginals were barbarians and thus outside of the central

⁹⁸ Kinoshita Hyô, “Kokubu Seigai to Meiji Taishô Shôwa no kanshikai (13)” *Shi to tomo* 330 (July 1977) p. 46

government's jurisdiction. Backed up by advice from Western military and legal experts, Japan decided to launch a punitive expedition to Taiwan, sending three thousand troops under the leadership of Saigō Tsugumichi 西郷従道 (1843-1902) to the island in May of 1874. After a series of skirmishes in which a number of Taiwanese aboriginals were killed at the expense of around fifty Japanese casualties, the Qing government finally agreed to pay an indemnity to Japan, after which Japanese forces were withdrawn in December of the same year.

The Qing government's hesitant and largely ineffectual response to the episode demonstrated China's weakness to both Japanese and Western observers, and was a *de facto* invitation to further encroachment. In the poetic realm, many of the same poets who had been so eager to exchange rhyme-matching verses with their Chinese counterparts found themselves moved to comment critically on the whole affair. Here again, rhyme-matching poetry served as a central mechanism of poetic discourse, with Ôtsuki Bankei joining in the fray with particular vigor. One incident that drew his attention was the publication by an otherwise obscure Chinese poet named Ou Hunan 歐湖南 (?-?) of a series of poems critical of the Japanese actions in Taiwan. Bankei felt compelled to respond to these poems in the pages of the *Chôya*:⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Unfortunately, as Bankei gives no indication in his preface as to who Ou Hunan was or where his poems were published, I have not been able to locate the originals to which this sequence is responding.

Qing poet Ou Hunan's poems on Taiwan use the three rhyme graphs “艱 [“suffering”],” “灣 [“bay,” also the second graph of “Taiwan”]” and “蠻 [“barbarian”].” It is very harsh, and our countrymen have gone back and forth in matching its rhymes. I read it myself and my brush became unbearably itchy, so I composed these eight quatrains in response. I fear this is a case of “Feng Fu baring his arms,” and will not be spared the scorn of the multitude.¹⁰⁰

清人歐湖南台灣詩押艱灣蠻三字韻頗險而邦人往々有和余讀之不堪技痒遂疊作八絕句馮婦之攘臂固不免大方姍笑耳

為恤漂民暴殺艱	In pity for those shipwrecked souls, with violence and murder confronted,
編師問罪向台灣	The lieutenant-general's punitive force makes for Taiwan.
何圖大國生嫌隙	Who would have imagined a great country giving rise to disharmony?
不許南邊化外蠻	One cannot allow the southern lands to be the domain of outer barbarians.
天子本知王業艱	The Son of Heaven knows the hardships of the Kingly Way,
保民恩遍海之灣	Protecting the people, blessings spreading out as far as the ocean's inlets.
好待春風吹到日	We may now expect the day when the spring breeze will blow through -
飽聞黃鳥語綿蠻	One tires of listening to yellow orioles chatter and chirrup. ¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Bankei is saying that getting into such an argument should be beneath him as a scholar, but he will do so nevertheless, perhaps out of a desire to court popular approval. The allusion is to an anecdote from Mencius: “There was a man named Feng Fu in Jin who was skilled in catching tigers. Later he became a capable scholar. Going once out to the wild country, he found the people all in pursuit of a tiger. The tiger went to ground in a mountainous area where no one dared attack him. When they saw Feng Fu approaching, they ran and met him. Feng Fu bared his arms, and got out of his carriage. The crowd rejoiced at this, but those who were scholars laughed at him. 晉人有馮婦者。善搏虎。卒為善士。則之野。有衆逐虎。虎負嵎。莫之敢撓。望見馮婦。趨而迎之。馮婦攘臂下車。衆皆悅之。其為士者笑之。” Text from Tôdô Akiyasu, Ôshima Akira, eds., trans., *Môshi Chûgoku no koten* vol. 4 (Tokyo: Gakushû Kenkyûsha, 1983) suppl. p.93.

¹⁰¹ For reasons of space, I have excerpted only two of the eight poems. The sequence appeared first in the *Chôya shinbun*, September 29th 1874 p. 2, and was also included in a collection of *tanka* and *kanshi* entitled “Fine Sounds of Meiji (*Meiji kôonshû* 明治好音集),” published in 1875 by one Okabe Keigorô.

Bankei's reference to yellow orioles draws on the Lesser Odes of the *Classic of Poetry*, in which a tired and hungry soldier on the march hears the chirruping of orioles.¹⁰² Bankei's use of the poem here is likely drawing on the tradition of interpreting the orioles as speaking in lamentation of the suffering of the common people.¹⁰³ Within this context, the final couplet functions as an expression of indignation at the Qing government's unwillingness to take action to remedy a perceived injustice within its borders, and a strong assertion of the need for Japan to be ready to act itself.

Notably, Bankei's poem here still works essentially within a Chinese frame of textual reference; his invocation of both the *Classic of Poetry* and later commentaries on its political meaning ground his expression within a distinctly Chinese view of political governance. This was not the only poem that Bankei composed on the subject as part of a rhyme-matching sequence; in another, longer sequence in which Ye Songshi was a participant, Bankei continued to express disappointment at the Qing government, but at the same time expressed an apparent desire to assist China in implementing reforms:

¹⁰² Arthur Waley's renders the first verse of the poem in question as: "Tender and pretty are the yellow orioles / Perching on the side of the hill / The way is long / I am so tired / What will become of me? / "Let him have a drink, let him have some food / Give him a lesson, scold him / But bid that hind coach / Call to him and pick him up 綿蠻黃鳥 / 止於丘阿 / 道之雲遠 / 我勞如何 / 飲之食之 / 教之誨之 / 命彼後車 / 謂之載之" Waley, trans., *Book of Songs* p. 219; Chinese text from Tôdô and Kanô, *Shikyô* vol. 19 suppl. p. 46.

¹⁰³ For instance, Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130-1200) commentary on this poem interprets it as the orioles giving voice to the complaints of the suffering of the poorer classes: "This refers to the suffering of the poor and lowly; it is the birds to which their thoughts are entrusted, and the birds' words speak for them 此微賤勞苦而思有所託者為鳥言以自比也." See Zhu Xi, *Shi ji zhuan* Si bu cong kan vol. 3 (Shanghai: Shanghai Shu Dian, 1985) *juan* 15 p. 7-8.

征蠻議寢紫微宮
深望隣邦懷德風

On Pacifying Barbarians is dormant in the Imperial Palace –
I earnestly desire that our neighbor reflect deeply on the ways of
virtue.

聲氣相通電氣速

Voices and intentions pass back and forth with the speed of
lightning,

文明轉耀日章紅
和民無術只弘教

The light of civilization shines forth as red as the red sun.
For harmony among peoples, there is no technique but to spread the
teachings -

富国有源先勸工
最是将来可期者
青年才子氣吐虹

A country's wealth has a root; one must first encourage ability.
And those in future from whom the most will be expected
Are the young people and fine talents, full of vigor and purpose.¹⁰⁴

Bankei points to Ming military strategist Qiu Jun 丘濬 (1420-1495)'s text *On Pacifying Barbarians* (Zheng man yi 征蠻議) as an example of China's former will and military capacity to subdue the barbarians on its frontiers, drawing an implicit contrast with the ineffectual Qing government. Perhaps more importantly, here we see that the frame of textual and cultural reference is beginning to shift; Bankei's reference in line 3 to modern technologies of communication based on electricity as mode of discourse introduces a third referent in the form of the West, thereby disrupting the notion of Japan and China as sharing a common culture. Instead, Bankei's poem draws its moral authority from an advocacy of civilization in a primarily Western sense (*bunmei*), in line 4. That Japan itself is the model to be imitated is clear from the imagery in the fourth line, in which the sun-image of the Japanese flag is explicitly equated with the "shining light of civilization." Bankei holds up the

¹⁰⁴ This poem was first published in the *Chôya shinbun*, November 27th 1875 pp. 2-3. It can also be found as part of a much larger rhyme-matching sequence in Ôtsuki Bankei, Nakamura Keiu, eds., *Aikei yoshô* (Tokyo: Sangokaku 1876) p. 12 recto.

technological trappings of Western-style modernity as the only remedy for the decrepit state in which China now finds itself; in this new view, a country's success and prestige does not depend on correct governance and benevolence, but on education and reform. The balance of political and cultural power seems to have shifted away from drawing on a shared repository of literary texts and cultural assumptions, towards a worldview in which Japan has better absorbed the lessons of "civilization" and is in a position to teach and assist China.

Where Yuan Mei was widely read and admired during the first half of the 19th century among Japanese poets, the Taiwan expedition and its aftermath appears to have prompted some Japanese poets to rethink their attitude towards both China as country and towards the value of Qing poetics in general. At the same time, it also spurred them to explore areas in which Japanese *kanshi* poets were different, even superior, to their counterparts in China. One aspect held up as evidence of Japanese superiority in the aftermath of the Expedition was Japanese poets' preference for composing rhyme-matching poetry, an aspect discussed in the prefaces to a number of "harmony collections (*shôwashû* 唱和集)" published around 1874-6. The *shôwashû* was an anthology of *kanshi* consisting entirely of sequences of rhyme-matching poems, usually among two or three poets, which were published in relatively large numbers during the 19th and 20th centuries. The basic idea of a collection consisting entirely of rhyme-matching poems was neither entirely new nor unique to Japan; texts featuring exchanges between the famous poetic friends Yuan Zhen 元稹 (J.

Gen Shin, 779-831) and Bai Juyi were available in China, and a reproduction of the 17th-century poetic dialogue between Gensei and Chen Yuanyun circulated in Japan under the title *Harmonies Between the Two Gens* (Gengen shôwa 元々唱和).¹⁰⁵ During Meiji, however, most of these collections consisted of poetic sequences composed among living poets, in many cases the result of continuing rhyme-matching sequences across multiple poetic meetings spanning several months.

A number of major *kanshi* poets produced *shôwashû* during early Meiji, two notable examples being *Keiu and Bankei's Harmonious Echoes* (*Aikei yoshô* 愛敬餘唱, published 1876), featuring nearly seventy poems among Nakamura Keiu, Ôtsuki Bankei and Ye Songshi, and *Harmonies of Great Peace* (*Taihei shôwa* 太平唱和, published 1875), featuring an even one hundred poems by Bankei, Narushima Ryûhoku and several other poets. Perhaps the most striking aspect of these collections, however, is their re-envisioning of rhyme-matching as reflecting a superior level of Japanese skill in *kanshi* poetry, and a rejection of the generally negative view of the practice held by a number of Qing poets. For instance, an unsigned afterword to *Harmonious Echoes* attacks Yuan Mei on precisely these grounds:

When Yuan Mei said “I do not like to follow the rhymes of others or of ancient poets, since I believe that poetry should depict one’s nature and feelings, only that which is suited to oneself...how can I be limited to a couple of rhymes?,” he saw only half of the picture. In poetry, through adhering to restrictions one obtains fine verses and interesting diction, something that requires great pains and careful thought. If this is done, then how can one

¹⁰⁵ Possibly intending to take advantage of the new popularity of rhyme-matching poems, Gensei and Chen’s exchange was re-published in 1883 (Meiji 16) in Kyoto by Murakami Kanbei.

liken it to a poem compared “willy-nilly?” Yuan Mei said “When one forgets the rhymes, the poem will be right.” But I say, when one does *not* forget the rhymes, then the poetry will be right. Can it be right that Yuan Mei should hold sway over poetic matters even here in Japan?¹⁰⁶

袁才子「不喜疊韻、和韻...以為詩寫性情，惟吾所適...何得以一二韻約束為之」是知其一未其二也。詩自有從約束中得奇句妙語者猶之因於心衡慮而後喻何以「湊拍」為才子曰「忘韻詩之適也」余曰不忘韻亦詩之適也這裡消息才子能領乎否

Where this afterword limits itself to criticism of Yuan Mei in particular, the preface to *Harmonies of Great Peace*, by scholar Kawata Ôkô, was even more explicit in its nationalism, and in its tying of poetics to the recent conflict between Japan and China:

Rhyme-matching poems are difficult to fashion. For this reason Wang Shizhen (1634-1711), Yuan Mei and their fellows did not dare to compose them. Now Mr. Bankei has dared to do what they did not. After drinking, their exchanges stretch to several tens or even hundreds of verses. Each displays variation, and the brush never touches the same point twice. I say that their talent surpasses even the greats from other countries – how could that not be so? In recent days, after the Japanese expedition to Taiwan, the arguments of our Law Minister have been very much to the point.¹⁰⁷ Ultimately, those who wear the queue were found to

¹⁰⁶ *Aikei yoshô* p. 22 verso. I have added ellipses and quotation marks to make clear which parts are direct quotations from Yuan Mei. This afterword is responding to Yuan Mei's argument in *Suiyuan shihua* 1:6: “When I compose poetry, I never like to follow the rhyming patterns of others, or follow the rhymes of ancient poets, since I believe that poetry describes one's nature and feelings, and should only contain what fits oneself. There are hundreds or thousands of words in one rhyme category, and even if I select the rhymes myself, there are always rhymes that do not please me and which I have to change later, so how can I be limited to a couple of rhymes? Once I am limited to a couple of rhymes, I must cobble a poem together willy-nilly, and then how is it possible to express my nature and feelings? The *Zhuangzi* says “one forgets one's feet when the shoe is right;” I say, one forgets the rhymes when the poem is right.” (余作詩、雅不喜疊韻、和韻及用古人韻。以為詩寫性情、惟吾所適。一韻中有千百字、憑吾所選、尚有用定后不慊意而別改者；何得以一二韻約束為之？既約束、則不得不湊拍；既湊拍、安得有性情哉？庄子曰：「忘足履之適也。」余亦曰：忘韻、詩之適也。). English translation adapted from Schmidt, *Harmony Garden* p. 222; Chinese text from Wang Yingzhi, ed., *Yuan Mei quan ji* (Nanjing: Jiangsu gu ji chu ban she, 1993) vol. 3 p. 3.

¹⁰⁷ This is probably a reference to Ôkubo Toshimichi 大久保利通 (1830-1878), who played a major role in the military planning of the expedition and who was also instrumental in post-expedition negotiations in Beijing. As a result of these negotiations, the Qing government was persuaded to acquiesce in accepting the ‘justice’ of the expedition.

be inferior. If this is so when we compare skill in arms, I should say that when we compare our skill in the literary arts we find that we are even stronger.¹⁰⁸

次韻之詩難工。故漁洋隨園輩不敢作。今愛古先生敢其所不敢。醉餘唱酬。積至數千百首之多。而首々變化。無一複筆。稱曰才力壓海外大家。亦豈不可哉。近日征臺之後我弁理大臣論鋒甚銳。辨髮兒遂輸一籌。較武既然。異曰更較文藝。

Ôkô thus frames Yuan Mei and Wang Shizhen's apparent dislike for rhyme-matching poetry not as a matter of personal artistic preference, but as evidence of timidity. Arguing that skill in arts is linked to skill in arms, Ôkô suggests that the same boldness and resolution displayed by Japanese troops in Taiwan is directly linked to Japanese *kanshi* poets' skill in creating rhyme-matching poetry; by contrast, the ineffectiveness of the Qing government is projected back through Chinese poetic history as a hidden reason for these poets' criticism of rhyme-matching poetry. Both in terms of poetic and military ability, Ôkô notes in derogatory fashion, "those who wear the queue [i.e., the Chinese]" have thus been "found to be inferior." Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the strongly nationalistic tone of its preface, *Harmonies of Great Peace* contains no poems by Ye Songshi or any other non-Japanese poet.

Conclusion

This chapter's argument for the importance of *kanshi*'s role as a transnational literary discourse during early Meiji should not be understood as an attempt to minimize the

¹⁰⁸ Ôtsuki Bankei, Narushima Ryûhoku, eds., *Taihei shôwa* (Tokyo: Yamashiroya Seikichi, 1875) p. 1.

importance of national identity in *kanshi* poetics. As the above examples of poetic discourse on the Taiwan Expedition show, the rhetoric of *dôbun* and a shared literary culture that underpinned many of these exchanges needs to be situated within the growth of the Meiji nation-state and the impact of nationalism. For all the expressions of friendship with individual Chinese poets, the depiction of both China and more recent Qing poetics as weak and even effeminate helped to sow the seeds for later imperialist discourses that used the notion of China's weakness as justification for Japan's assumption of leadership in the interests of preserving a shared Asian cultural heritage. In part as a reaction to this, and what they saw as Japan's abandonment of their notion of civilized culture, Chinese visitors to and scholars of Japan began to abandon the notion of *dôbun/tongwen* from the early 1880s. As Howland points out, by the time of the second Qing mission to Japan in 1881 and 1882, diplomat Yao Wendong 姚文棟 (1853-1929) was quite explicit in his writings that Japan and China did *not* share a common language and culture, and highlighted rather the many linguistic differences he found.¹⁰⁹

The legacy of these cultural exchanges is complex, and providing a complete history of the notion of *dôbun* is beyond the scope of this chapter, but it is worth noting that the term recurs in the later history of Japanese imperialism in East Asia. As Joshua Fogel notes, accounts of Japanese travelers in China during the early 20th century often highlighted

¹⁰⁹ On the move away from ideas of *tongwen* among Chinese scholars, see Howland, *Borders of Chinese Civilization* pp.227-241.

common cultural bonds between Japan and China using the slogan *dôbun dôshu* 同文同種 ('same letters, same race'), which thus became a "pretext for privileging Japanese activities on the mainland from the turn of the century forward in the name of history, geographical proximity and skin color."¹¹⁰ The term *dôbun* served a similar ideological function in the shape of the Japanese-run East Asian Common Cultural College (Tôa dôbun shoin 東亜同文書院) opened in Shanghai in 1900 (Meiji 33). Graduates of this school went on to advise both the Japanese military and foreign ministry and play roles in a number of ultra-nationalist groups.¹¹¹

Yet despite its later implication in ideologies of imperialism, the notion of *dôbun* was also promoted and embraced by many Qing visitors, and the frequency of rhyme-matching exchanges in particular speaks to an understanding, mediated through a shared textual culture, between Chinese and Japanese poets as to the importance of reciprocal social bonds in literary production. Furthermore, early Meiji interactions laid the way for later exchanges; in her study of the circulation of Japanese literary texts in Taiwan, China and Korea during the first half of the 20th century, Karen Thornber points to the activities of Ye Songshi, Huang Zunxian and their fellow expatriates in Meiji Japan as opening the way for later Chinese writers to

¹¹⁰ Joshua Fogel, *The Literature of Travel in the Japanese Rediscovery of China, 1862-1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996) p. 170-172.

¹¹¹ For more on the Tôa dôbun shoin, see Douglas Reynolds, "Chinese Area Studies in Prewar China: Japan's Tôa Dôbun Shoin in Shanghai, 1900-1945" *The Journal of Asian Studies* vol. 45 no. 5 (November 1986).

engage seriously with the prose works of Japanese novelists.¹¹² At the same time, a focus on Sino-Japanese exchanges in the field of poetry provides a useful counterbalance to studies of prose fiction during Meiji, which tend to emphasize the influence of European literary thought. Lastly, regardless of the nationality of the participants, examining these exchanges highlights the importance of rhyme-matching poetry to the late 19th century *kanshi* world; it was both a way of expressing social relations such as friendship, mentorship or rivalry, and a mechanism for generating poetic discourse. Especially once the periodical print media had made it far easier for poets to present their work to a nationwide audience, each individual *kanshi* verse was never a completely closed text, but could always potentially become part of a much larger chain of poetic conversation. As in the case of Ye Songshi's poems on Kyoto, that chain could extend in multiple directions at once; a poem was at the same time personal expression and invitation.

By the early 1890s, Japan had a new generation of prominent *kanshi* poets, most notably Mori Kainan at the *Tokyo Nichinichi shinbun* 東京日日新聞 and *Kokumin shinbun* 国民新聞 newspapers, and Kokubu Seigai and Honda Shuchiku 本田種竹 (Kônosuke 幸之助, 1862-1907) at *Nippon* 日本. One significant difference between these poets and the first Meiji generation, such as Shuntô and Ryûhoku, was in their public engagement with living Qing poets; where Ryûhoku and Shuntô were happy to feature work by Ye Songshi and

¹¹² Karen Thornber, *Empire of Texts in Motion: Chinese, Korean and Taiwanese Transculturations of Japanese Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009) p. 43.

Huang Zunxian and considered it a badge of honor, Kainan and Seigai's columns rarely, if ever, featured contributions from non-Japanese poets. This second generation of Japanese *kanshi* poets preferred to engage and conduct rhyme-matching exchanges primarily with historical Chinese poets of the Tang and Song dynasties, the imagined representatives of a historical glory preferable to the reality of more recent Chinese history.

If engagement with dead Chinese poets was one aspect of 1890s poetic sociality, however, engagement with living Japanese ones was even more important. Outside of the immediate spotlight of the Tokyo *kanshi* world, less prominent practitioners of *kanshi* such as Shiki and his friend Natsume Sôseki 夏目漱石 (1867-1916) had grown up reading Shuntô and Ryûhoku's newer *kanshi* media and had thereby absorbed the lesson that rhyme-matching was an essential element in the social rituals of *kanshi* practice. To this extent, rhyme-matching poetry and similar forms of poetic dialogue come to perform a dual role within the Tokyo *kanshi* world of the early 1890s. On the one hand, as in exchanges between Shiki and Sôseki, or Shiki and his student friends, rhyme-matching and processes of mutual critique played a major role on a private level, in forming and cementing and expressing friendships among educated men. For the more publicly visible professional poets such as Seigai and Kainan in the pages of the periodical print media, rhyme-matching also served an important function, since participation in such exchanges in newspapers and magazines came to be an essential element of a poet's public profile. As *Nippon's* editor-in-chief (*henshû*

shunin 編集主任) Kojima Kazuo 古島一雄 (1865-1952) recalled, *kanshi* poets at the time held the view that “one who claimed to be a poet but who could not respond in harmony to other poets’ work was not truly a poet (苟くも詩人にしてこれに和せざれば詩人にあらず) .”¹¹³ As a result, the number of rhyme-matching exchanges a poem attracted became an index of its perceived quality and the author’s skill, as can be seen in an exchange in 1890 between Seigai and prominent politician Soejima Taneomi 副島種臣 (1828-1905) which did much to catapult Seigai into the spotlight and establish him as a rival to Kainan. These exchanges, as well as the confrontation between Kainan and Seigai in 1890, are the subject of the next chapter.

¹¹³ Kojima Kazuo, “Kokubu Seigai no koto”, *Gayû* no. 1 (May 1950) p. 13

Chapter 2

Friendship, Rivalry, and Poetic Spaces: Media, *Kanshi* Dialogue, and Poetic Sociality,

1884-1892

Introduction

This second chapter focuses on the practice of *kanshi* 漢詩 (poetry in classical Chinese) in Japan during the second decade of the Meiji period, especially the practice of ‘rhyme-matching’ or *wa’in* 和韻 (Ch. *heyun*).¹ Where the previous chapter focused on rhyme-matching as a vehicle for transnational exchange, this chapter centers on exchanges among Japanese poets, and what they reveal about the larger social context of Meiji *kanshi* practice, specifically how poets engaged with one another both on a face-to-face basis and through the pages of the print media. I would argue that in order to fully grasp Meiji *kanshi* practice, one must also discuss its role as social vector. Studying these poetic interactions, we

¹ Although the terms were used fairly loosely by Meiji *kanshi* poets, strictly speaking *wain* is a general term encompassing three specific ways of responding to another poet’s work: *jiin* 次韻 involves using the original rhyme graphs in the same order as the original, *yoin* 用韻 the same rhyme graphs but not necessarily in the order in which they originally appeared, and *iin* 依韻 the same rhyme scheme but not necessarily the same characters or the same order. Of these, *jiin* was considered the most technically demanding. Meiji poets seem to have performed *jiin* almost exclusively; I have yet to find any examples of the other two forms of response. The term *jōin* 疊韻, or ‘rhyme-redoubling’ also appears frequently in Meiji *kanshi*; this refers to the author of the original responding to the response itself, thus using the same scheme throughout all three (or more) verses. These assorted practices seem to be almost as old as poetry in Chinese itself; in Japan, Hayashi Gahō’s 林鶯峰 (1618-1680) *Honchō ichinin isshu* 本朝一人一首 (1665) notes that the practice can be observed as early as the *Kaifūsō* 懷風藻 (c.751). Kondō Moku, ed., *Chūgoku gakugei daijiten* 9th ed. (Tokyo: Ariake Shobō, 1969) p. 1441

can see *kanshi* used as a vehicle for a variety of male-male interactions, particularly friendship, rivalry and mentorship, within the circles of highly educated men who made up the Meiji *kanshi* world. To that extent, it is helpful to view rhyme-matching as one part of a larger set of practices, including linked verse, responding critiques and poetic gatherings, which taken together formed a specifically homosocial mode of literary discourse that shaped and gave expression to social relations among this elite.

Rhyme-matching and similar dialogic modes were not originally native to Japan. The practice was widespread during the Song dynasty 宋 (960-1276) in China, although by the end of this period it had attracted criticism and begun to fall out of favor. Yan Yu's 嚴羽 (c. 1180-c.1235) highly influential late Song poetic manual *Canglang shihua* 滄浪詩話 (J. *Sôrô shiwa*, '*Canglang's Discussions of Poetry*'), for instance, states that "matching rhymes is most harmful to one's poetry. When the ancients exchanged verses, they did not do so through rhyme-following (和韻最害人詩。古人酬唱不次韻)." ² As noted in the previous chapter, later Qing poets such as Yuan Mei 袁枚 (J. En Bai, 1716-1797) also expressed opposition to the practice, yet this critical disapproval apparently did nothing to diminish its popularity. In spite – or perhaps because of – the Chinese view of its merits, rhyme-matching remained a widely-used form in Japan, especially during Meiji, although again it was not without its critics in Japan. Writing a few years after the end of the Meiji period in 1917, the critic and

² Quoted in Asakura Hitoshi, "Gozan bungaku ni okeru 'wa'in' ni tsuite: Zekkai, Gidô o chûshin ni", *Kokubungakukô* 17-36 (September 2003) p. 17

kanshi poet Ômachi Keigetsu 大町桂月 (Yoshie 芳衛, 1869-1925) remarked sneeringly on rhyme-matching's apparent popularity:

Trying to make a big show of one's talent by means of rhyme-blending or rhyme-redoubling has been a harmful diversion since the days of Bai Juyi and Yuan Zhen. It is like a woman who wears a different set of clothes every time she steps outside taking pride in the size of her wardrobe.³

唱和もしくは豊韻を以て才力をほこらむとするは、元白以来の悪戯なり。なほ女子が外出する毎に、かほりたる衣服着て、衣服の多きをほこらむとするが如し。

Keigetsu's opinion notwithstanding, rhyme-matching was indisputably a major part of Meiji *kanshi*, and so in what follows I outline and argue for the importance of the following features of rhyme-matching poetry and Meiji *kanshi* composition in general. The first is the strong tendency to create and emphasize an imagined shared poetic locale. Most of the examples discussed below follow a pattern whereby the original poem describes a specific location, real or imagined, and the responding poet also imagines himself within the same location in his own response, though often with a different take. As a result, both the material textual space of the retained characters and the imagined space of the poem's venue become locations for adaption and response to one's fellow poets.

Secondly, when reading Meiji *kanshi*, especially in the print media, each verse was almost always part of a larger ongoing conversation; the set of socio-literary practices associated with *kanshi* did not end with the poem itself. A critical response (*hyô* 評) in

³ Ômachi Keigetsu, "Kanshijin o azakeru" in *Shaikaikun* (Tokyo: Iijima Takesaburô, 1917) p. 114

orthodox classical Chinese to the original verse was also an important part of *kanshi* writing, and to this extent *kanshi* columns within the Meiji print media were not only venues for the publishing of specific verses, they also represented an opportunity for other poets associated with the column to express their own views (usually laudatory). In the newspapers in particular, it was almost unheard of for a verse to appear without at least one other poet appending his commentary, and within this ritual of verse and critique we can observe a number of interesting social dynamics at play, particularly in the case of poets associated with different groups and newspapers.

The third important point to be made concerning Meiji *kanshi* dialogue is the extent to which it was actively thought of and represented as an activity to be practiced among men and which was implicated in public and private performances of masculinity. In each of the poetic sequences discussed below, we can see a subtle yet persistent concern for *kanshi*'s role in mediating male-male social relations. This takes two main, interrelated forms; the first, seen particularly between Sôseki and Shiki, is a tendency to emphasize the tension between mutually exclusive ideas of male-female love and male-male poetic relations, often through the assumption by male poets of female subject positions within poetic discourse. In other poems and commentary, one can also find the persistent desire to exclude imagery and settings understood as 'feminine' or associated with women in general, such as depictions of heterosexual romantic love or the licensed quarters, and the accompanying claim that poets

who included such elements thereby compromised their masculinity.

Shiki, like most of his contemporaries with a similar educational background, practiced rhyme-following with considerable enthusiasm after first learning of it in Matsuyama in 1882; approximately one in seven of the five hundred or so *kanshi* he wrote over the next decade were rhyme-following responses either to his friends or to older poems. Shiki's first four *kanshi* of 1890, for instance, were rhyme-matching responses to an unnamed friend at a poetic gathering, to the Tang 唐 (618-907) poet Li Bai's 李白 (701-762) *Crows Calling at Night* (Ch. *Niao yeti* 鳥夜啼) and to a verse sent to him by Uraya Unrin 浦屋雲林 (1840-1898), one of his *kanshi* teachers in Matsuyama.⁴ This diversity highlights an important point about the practice of rhyme-matching, namely that the author of the target poem did not have to be present or even necessarily alive; one could use the poems by the most famous Chinese poets of the High Tang, historical Japanese poets, or simply one's classmates or friends. To this extent, particularly for novice poets, rhyme-following could serve a definite pedagogical function, as it provided both a framework within which to compose and the chance to familiarize oneself with a larger corpus of poetry in Chinese. Among Shiki's first attempts at writing rhyme-following poetry are several responses to the poems of Rai San'yô 頼山陽 (1780-1832), whom he greatly admired. That the same mode of composition could be used equally as well to put oneself in textual dialogue with the greatest figures in poetic history as with one's immediate friends was no doubt a prime reason

⁴ *SZ* 8:154-5.

for its considerable popularity during Meiji.

As noted, the growth of newer *kanshi*-focused print media also spurred rhyme-matching's popularity; the most prestigious Tokyo poets, particularly Narushima Ryûhoku 成島柳北 (1837-1884) and Mori Shuntô 森春濤 (1819-1889) often carried such exchanges in their journals. Commenting on a sequence among Shuntô, Ôtsuki Bankei 大槻磐溪 (1801-1878), Ono Kozan 小野湖山 (1814-1910), Ônuma Chinzan and Suzuki Shôtô 鱸松塘 (1823-1898) in *Kagetsu shinshi* in March of 1877, for instance, Ryûhoku remarks: "I do not favor rhyme-matching poems. But as far as Shuntô is concerned, I could read a sequence of a hundred or a thousand iterations and never get bored (僕不喜疊韻詩。然獨於髯翁。百疊千疊亦不敢厭)。"⁵

Ryûhoku's comment on the poetry of his rival Shuntô was typical of their largely cordial relationship; rarely in their exchanges is there any sense of personal rancor between the two. This was slightly surprising, as each was widely seen as representing mutually opposed blocs within the Meiji *kanshi* world. For Shiki, and for tens of thousands of other students like him, the appeal of reading journals such as *Kagetsu shinshi* and *Shinbunshi* lay in part in the social and political intrigues associated with their authors. Shuntô and his son and later successor Mori Kainan 森槐南 (1863-1911) had used the high proportion of civil servants among *Shinbunshi*'s contributors to their advantage, parlaying their *kanshi* practice

⁵ *Kagetsu shinshi* no. 7, March 10th 1877 (Reprint: Yumani Shobô, 1984), vol. 7 pp. 150.

into access to both material success and political power; as one example, Mori *père* was not above leveraging his poetic contacts in the central government to get his son a job in the Office of Historical Research (*Shûshikan* 修史館). Although relatively low-ranked in the civil service, Kainan's poetic talents lead him to be highly favored by Meiji Japan's first Prime Minister Itô Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841-1909), and they often travelled together, including a tour of Okinawa and three other prefectures in October of 1887.⁶ According to one account, Kainan's friend and fellow poet Yatsuchi Kinzan 矢土錦山 (1849-1920) would habitually wait in attendance on Itô late into the night, to be summoned to his study when the latter had finished writing a poem so as to give his opinion and make corrections.⁷ For one faction, at least, *kanshi* practice was inextricably tied up to material wealth and political prestige.

Diametrically opposed to this faction was Narushima Ryûhoku, an avowed rival of Shuntô and Kainan widely admired for his satirical *kanshi* column in the *Chôya shinbun*.⁸ This column was later spun off to become *Kagetsu shinshi*, in part because Ryûhoku was increasingly unhappy with the Mori family's dominance of the Tokyo *kanshi* world and

⁶ Kinoshita Hyô, "Kokubu Seigai to Meiji Taishô Shôwa no kanshikai" (7), *Shi to tomo* no. 324 (January 1977) p. 42

⁷ Kinoshita Hyô, "Kokubu Seigai to Meiji Taishô Shôwa no kanshikai" (11), *Shi to tomo* no. 328 (May 1977) p. 47

⁸ For a more detailed examination of Ryûhoku's work at the *Chôya shinbun*, see Matthew Fraleigh's excellent *Kanshibun in Modernizing Japan: The Case of Narushima Ryûhoku* (Unpublished dissertation, Harvard University 2005).

wanted a separate publication from which to mount a challenge of his own.⁹ For those like Shiki, whose domains had been on the wrong side of the hostilities surrounding the Meiji Restoration and were thus treated with suspicion by the Meiji oligarchy, Ryûhoku's image as a man of integrity and courage, resulting from his *kanshi* and antagonistic stance towards the government, must have been highly attractive; his presence at the *Chôya shinbun* drew Kokubu Seigai 国分青厓 (Takatane 高胤, 1857-1944) of Sendai, another aspiring poet from a less favored domain, to work at the newspaper as a proofreader in Meiji 12 (1879), and Ryûhoku reviewed and commented on some of the younger poet's work.¹⁰

There was, therefore, ample incentive for ambitious young men to study *kanshi* regardless of their political views. *Eisai shinshi* 頴才新誌 (1877-1899), a more forum-like magazine that was widely read by students across the entire country and which encouraged readers to send in their work, became a major venue for the publication of *kanshi* from the early 1880s onwards. *Kanshi* published in *Eisai shinshi* often received rhyme-matching responses from other readers, usually along with an expression of admiration for the original work. Within this context, rhyme-following poetry was a way to demonstrate technical skill, sophisticated appreciation of the work of one's fellow poets, and the requisite mastery of

⁹ The rivalry with *Shinbunshi* is fairly clear from a pun in one of the early issues of *Kagetsu shinshi*, in which Ryûhoku entreats his readers "not to view *Kagetsu shinshi* as *Shinbunshi* (新文詩), nor as a *shinbunshi* 新聞紙 [i.e., a newspaper]". Kinoshita Hyô, "Kokubu Seigai to Meiji Taishô Shôwa no kanshikai" (7) p. 43

¹⁰ Kinoshita, "Kokubu Seigai to Meiji Taishô Shôwa no kanshikai" (3), *Shi to tomo* no. 320 (September 1976) p. 18

cultural knowledge and poetic tropes. A good rhyme-matching response was not simply a matter of form, of repeating the original rhyme scheme; it was necessary to echo and adapt the themes and imagery found in the original poem. In short, writing rhyme-following poetry, in the more public context of the print media at least, had a definite performative function; by means of such exchanges and interactions with others, *kanshi* poets were able to construct their own public persona.

This chapter uses four case studies to examine the practice and context of rhyme-following poetry in the late 1880s and early 90s in Japan. It centers first on the activities of Shiki and his fellow students in the Tokiwakai dormitory, a mutual aid society for students from Matsuyama, in 1888, specifically Shiki's *Nanakusashû* 七草集 ('Seven Grasses Collection') and the responses from his fellow students. Among those responding was the future novelist Natsume Sôseki 夏目漱石 (Kinnosuke 金之助, 1867-1916), with whom Shiki exchanged a number of poems over the course of his life, and their exchanges are the second case study. Thirdly, I look at linked verse and rhyme-following poetry by the Genshikai 言志会 ('Society for Speaking One's Intent'), made up of Shiki and his later haiku disciples Naitô Meisetsu 内藤鳴雪 (Nariyuki 素行, 1847-1926) and Takemura Kitô 竹村鍛 (1864-1901). Finally, the latter half of the chapter consists of an in-depth discussion of one of the most extensive examples of rhyme-following poetry on record, a marathon exchange of verses among Kokubu Seigai, the politician Soejima Taneomi 副島種臣

(1828-1905), Mori Kainan and others which was carried in the pages of the newspaper *Nippon* 日本 and which went through an amazing nineteen iterations during September and October of 1890.

Local Heroes: Matsuyama and the Tokiwakai

Increasingly bored with provincial life in Matsuyama and with his studies at Matsuyama Middle School, Shiki's continued agitation to be allowed to go to the capital finally paid off in June of 1883, when his uncle Katô Takusen 加藤拓川 (Tsunetada 恒忠, 1859-1923) relented in his opposition and granted the young student permission to leave Shikoku. In his *Fudemakase* 筆任せ ('Scribblings'), a collection of writings on miscellaneous topics compiled throughout his student days, Shiki described the day that he was allowed to leave Matsuyama as one of the happiest three days of his life to date.¹¹ Part of the reason for Shiki's desire to go to Tokyo was that many of his relatives and acquaintances were already there. Among them were Minami Hajime 三並良 (1864-1940), Shiki's schoolmate and first cousin once removed, and Yanagihara Kyokudô 柳原極堂 (Masayuki 正之, 1867-1957), who would return to Matsuyama as a journalist and later play a major role in the establishment of *Hototogisu* in 1897. Yet as Shiki notes in *Fudemakase*, his first call upon

¹¹ *SZ*10:46.

arrival in Tokyo was to the residence in the capital of the Hisamatsu 久松 family, the hereditary daimyo of the Matsuyama fiefdom. This was not merely a matter of formal protocol; the former daimyo was largely responsible for Shiki's presence in Tokyo, having selected him to receive a scholarship from the Tokiwakai 常磐会 ('Evergreen Society'), a mutual aid association for students from Matsuyama established by the daimyo the previous year.¹² Viewed with suspicion by the Meiji government, the fiefdom determined that its best chance to re-establish itself lay in its new generation, resolving therefore to ensure that its sons received the best education available. For most of them, this meant leaving Matsuyama and going to Tokyo.

Fudemakase records the receipt of a Tokiwakai scholarship as being another one of the three happiest moments of Shiki's life, and the moderate stipend of seven yen per month (to increase to ten if accepted to the University), along with an extra allowance for books and travel, was most welcome.¹³ So too was the support network of friends and relatives from Matsuyama, which must have made adjusting to life in Tokyo easier. At times the Matsuyama

¹² The Tokiwakai in fact survives to this day.

¹³ The Masaokas were of samurai lineage, but they were far from wealthy; Shiki's father, who died when his son was aged five, was a drunkard and the family were cared for by male relations of his mother Yae 八重 (1845-1927), particularly Takusen and Shiki's maternal grandfather Ôhara Kanzan 大原観山 (1817-1875). Takusen was in the process of carving out a career for himself as a diplomat, and was a benefactor for Shiki while in Tokyo. Shiki repeatedly wrote to Takusen to ask for more money during his student days, and indeed after; shortly before the launch of *Shô Nihon* in 1894 he asked for money to buy a new set of clothes so that he could look the part as editor. According to Akio Bin, Shiki was in such dire financial straits by 1892 that Sôseki had to buy him notebooks with which to take notes on lectures at the University. Akio Bin, *Shiki no kindai: kokkei, media, Nihongo* (Tokyo: Shin'yôsha, 1999) p.40

natives living in Tokyo show a definite clannishness, an awareness of their identity as outsiders as a result of the Restoration and the consequent need to stick together. One of the reasons stated in the petition to the Hisamatsu family in 1887 to open a dormitory for the Tokiwakai students was the desirability of bringing them together in one place, since scholarship recipients were scattered throughout Tokyo, and might by socializing with students from other domains acquire “evil habits (*akuheki* 悪癖)”¹⁴ Having the students in one place also made it easier to keep an eye on what they were doing; the Tokiwakai overseers were particularly worried that students might become involved in factional politics and thus jeopardize their future. Letters exchanged between the first two wardens Hattori Yoshinobu 服部嘉陳 (1834-1891) and Naitô Meisetsu in August 1890 show agreement that the students ought to be outwardly in favor of the current government, and note the Hisamatsu family’s desire that the students not affiliate themselves with any political party.¹⁵

Before being turned over to the Tokiwakai, the land in the Hongô 本郷 area of Tokyo on which the dormitory was built was used as a school by Tsubouchi Shôyô 坪内逍遙 (1859-1935), and Ioki Hyôtei 五百木瓢亭 (Ryôzô 良三, 1870-1937), one of Shiki’s closest friends and a fellow resident in the Tokiwakai dormitory, later expressed amusement that the

¹⁴ Shôda Kazue et al., eds., *Tokiwakai oyobi Tokiwakai kishukusha shi* (Tokyo: Tokiwakai, 1915) p. 1. As should be obvious, this was a major reason for the haiku reform movement during Meiji being made up almost entirely of Matsuyama men.

¹⁵ Letters dated 4th and 11th August 1890. See *Shiki to Tokiwakai kishukusha no nakamatachi*, p. 13.

same piece of land should have seen the birth of both Shôyô's *Shôsetsu shinzui* 小説神髓 ('The Essence of the Novel,' 1885-6) and the modern haiku.¹⁶ Approximately twenty students moved into the dormitory upon its opening on 30th November 1887. All were from Matsuyama, though not all held a Tokiwakai scholarship, and several of those who did elected not to reside there at first, including Shiki, Kyokudô and future Minister of Education and Finance Shôda Myôan 勝田明庵 (Kazue 主計, 1869-1948). The ethos was more relaxed than other student dormitories in Tokyo, especially those of the First Higher School; two older students were elected as *shakan* 舎藍, similar to a resident advisor position. These were under the supervision of the warden (*kantoku* 監督), who was responsible for the day-to-day running of the place and the disbursement of scholarship funds. Ill-health forced the first warden Hattori Yoshinobu to step down in April 1889, to be replaced two months later by Naitô Meisetsu, recently departed from the ministry of Education. Meisetsu would remain in the job for twenty years, becoming one of Shiki's most enthusiastic disciples and friends despite an age difference between them of some two decades.¹⁷ Well-liked by the students, both wardens participated in the students' literary activities, as both were accomplished *kanshi* poets, Hattori having written critiques for the nationwide journal *Eisai shinshi*.

Another notable feature of the Tokiwakai was its students' passion for baseball.

¹⁶ Ioki Hyôtei, "Yonaga no akubi", (Yawning on a Long Night, 1898-9) *SZ* bekkan 2:10. This was originally serialized in *Hototogisu* from October 1898 to April 1899.

¹⁷ Meisetsu was born in Edo, not Matsuyama, but this was as a result of his father's work for the Matsuyama daimyo in the capital, and Meisetsu still regarded Matsuyama as his home. See Naitô Meisetsu, *Meisetsu jijoden* (Tokyo: Iwanami Bunko, 2002) p. 300

Newly imported by American missionaries, the game proved as much of a social vector as any literary activity. It was through teaching and playing baseball while back home for the summer vacation in Matsuyama that Shiki first met Kawahigashi Hekigotô 河東碧梧桐 (Heigôrô 兼五郎, 1873-1937) and Takahama Kyoshi 高浜虚子 (Kiyoshi 清, 1874-1959), the two men who later became his most prominent disciples. *Fudemakase* records multiple instances of Shiki and his fellow students staging impromptu games in Ueno Park, along with lists of who played in which position; Shiki himself seems to have been a fairly competent left-handed pitcher and catcher, skilled enough to find a place in some of the sports clubs that were beginning to spring up around Tokyo.¹⁸ Though in later years his degenerative illness would render him unable to stand, let alone swing a bat, these days served to cement the association in Japanese cultural memory among Shiki, Matsuyama and baseball, as well as haiku and baseball.¹⁹

¹⁸ The 1930 Asahi Shinbun's *Yakyû nenkan*, at least, has Shiki and his friend Iwaoka Hosaku 岩岡保作 (?-?) on the rosters of the baseball team run by the Ministry of Education's school of Engineering (*kôgakubu* 工学部). See Kanda Junji, *Shiki to bêsubôru* (Tokyo: Bêsubôru Magajinsha, 1992) p. 49

¹⁹ The election of Shiki to the Japanese baseball Hall of Fame in 2002 illustrates the continued strength of this association, as does the naming of Matsuyama's municipal baseball stadium after Botchan, the protagonist of Sôseki's famous 1906 comic novel (published in *Hototogisu*). Shiki did not, however, as his disciple Kawahigashi Hekigotô erroneously asserted in his *Shiki no kaisô* (Tokyo: Chûsekisha, 1998) invent the term *yakyû* 野球 as a translation for the term *bêsubôru*; that honor falls to one Chûman Kanae 中馬庚 (?-?), though Shiki did use the term *yakyû* as a way of punning on his given name Noboru (the characters 野球 being read as "no" and "bôru" respectively. For a cultural analogue, one might note that the Irish-born playwright Samuel Beckett (1906-1989) is the only man to have both won a Nobel Prize for Literature and played cricket at the first-class level.

Nanakusashû and the Oroku Affair

If baseball was one major passion for Shiki and his friends at the Tokiwakai, literary composition was another. *Fudemakase* details how Shiki read the work of Takizawa Bakin 滝沢馬琴 (1767-1848) as well as Chinese vernacular fiction such as *The Water Margin* (水滸伝, J. *Suikoden*, Ch. *Shui hui zhuan*) in Matsuyama; once in Tokyo, he read the latest European-influenced experiments in prose fiction with enthusiasm, noting that his tastes inclined towards “works such as Bakin to begin with, Tsubouchi Shôyô’s style in the middle, and now incline towards Aeba Kôson 饗庭皇村 (Yosaburô 与三郎, 1855-1922) (はじめは馬琴の如く中頃春の舎流となり今は饗庭に傾きゐるなりけり).”²⁰ The academic workload required at the University’s Preparatory School acted as a check on any literary ambitions, however, until the summer vacation of 1888. That year, Shiki remained in the capital rather than return to Matsuyama, taking lodgings along with Minami Hajime and Shiki’s other cousin Fujino Kohaku 藤野古白 (Kiyomu 潔, 1871-1895) in Mukôjima 向島 on the banks of the Sumida river.²¹ Kohaku’s father covered the rent for the summer so that the three students could get some academic work done in relative peace and quiet, but in a

²⁰ “Shôsetsu no shikô”, *SZ* 10:85 (written 1889).

²¹ Kohaku would tragically commit suicide in 1895 by shooting himself with a pistol at the age of only twenty-four. Shiki learned of Kohaku’s death just as he was preparing to go to the front as a correspondent on the Sino-Japanese war, and his death clearly had a deep impact. Memories of Kohaku remained with Shiki right up until the end of his life; aware that he himself could not have long to live, he noted in the last letter he sent Sôseki, (overseas in London at the time) that he had, probably under the influence of morphine, written in his diary that “Kohaku is calling me (*Kohaku iwaku kitare to* 古白曰来れ)”. Letter dated November 6th, 1901.

foreshadowing of the end of his academic career four years later, Shiki spent most of his time composing poetry and writing in various prose genres; the result was a collection entitled *Nanakusashû*.

Made up of seven sections, each bearing the name of a different autumn grass and consisting of a different genre,²² *Nanakusashû* was passed around among friends and acquaintances for critique and comments from September of 1888 until October 1889, with Shiki making some substantial revisions about half-way through the process in May 1889. It seems reasonable to conclude that the process of critique and dialogue itself was perhaps more important than the works themselves, as Shiki appended nearly fifty blank pages to the version he circulated so that readers could add their comments.²³ The first critique of *Nanakusashû*, signed “Man of the Way who Laughs at Heaven (Shôten Dôshi 笑天道士),”²⁴ was appended a mere three days after his arrival in the dormitory, and although its author Ôtani Zekû 大谷是空 (Tôjirô 藤治郎, 1867-1939) did not live in the dormitory, it is not hard to imagine Shiki requesting critique from other residents as a means of self-introduction.

²² *Nanakusashû* opens with Thoroughwort (*fujibakama* 蘭), representing *kanbun*, and Bush Clover (*hagi* 菘) for *kanshi*, followed by Maidenflower (*ominaeshi* 女郎花, *tanka*), Japanese Pampas Grass (*obana* 尾花, haiku), Morning Glory (*asagao* 葵, a Nô libretto), Kudzu (*kuzu* 葛, an essay in *kanbun kakikudashi*) and Pinks (*nadeshiko* 瞿麥, an essay in *gikobun*). Most of the Pinks chapter has unfortunately been lost.

²³ Entitled “*Nanakusashû* hihyô 七草集批評 (Criticism of *Nanakusashû*)” in Japanese and “*Criticisms on Nanakusashû*” in English, this section features a number of comments of varying lengths, styles and degrees of seriousness from several of Shiki’s friends and teachers; the manuscript also bears in-text corrections from Kawahigashi Seikei 河東静溪 (1829-1894), Hekigotô’s father and Shiki’s instructor in *kanshi* in Matsuyama.

²⁴ Zekû was a good friend of Shiki and a fellow student at the Preparatory School.

Ôtani's comment consisted of a series of puns praising the collection's generic variety:

I have nô knowledge of Nô. So I read this section backwards and forwards but there's still nô way I can really appraise it; I'm just amazed, there's really nô genre you won't turn your hand to. My own lack of ability causes me nô end of shame. Haha!²⁵

予未知能。故此巻読去読来而不能評只驚君之博能。深慚予之不能。呵々。

Another important element in the context to *Nanakusashû* is what appears to have been an abortive love affair between Shiki and a sixteen-year-old girl by the name of Oroku お六. Oroku apparently worked at the *sakura mochi* store on the first floor of the students' lodgings and cooked and cleaned for them.²⁶ What exactly happened is not recorded, but apparently Minami and Kohaku were sufficiently displeased with Shiki's conduct that they moved out of their shared lodgings while he was away in Shizuoka.²⁷ Shiki seems to have compiled *Nanakusashû* in part as a way of addressing this friction; several of his sections make full use

²⁵ *SZ*9:266.

²⁶ *Sakura mochi* are a form of pounded rice cake flavored with cherries.

²⁷ Shiki's love life is one of the minor unsolved mysteries of Meiji literary history. Not only did he never marry, he seems to have never formed any romantic attachment of any kind. Obviously, being bedridden and in constant pain for most of the last seven years of his already short life would have made romance or marriage impossible, but even so the almost complete absence of any relationship is somewhat surprising. Even Oroku's status is somewhat unclear, owing much to Kyoshi's fictionalization of the episode in his 1915 novel *Kaki futatsu* 柿二つ; both Hekigotô and Samukawa Sokotsu 寒川鼠骨 (1874-1954) were of the opinion that Oroku (who may have been called Oriku) and Shiki had not been romantically involved (see Saitô Junji, "Shiki no koi saikô", *Ronkyû* (*Nishô Gakusha*) no. 7 (November 1983) p. 20), though it is worth pointing out that neither of them knew Shiki particularly well at that point in time, and judging by *Nanakusashû* certainly something was going on. Akitsu Ei in "Shiki to jendâ" (*Kokubungaku kaishaku to kyôzai no kenkyû* no. 49 vol. 4 (March 2004)) cites some other rumors, including a possible liaison with a tea-house girl in Meguro, consorting with tea-house girls while editing *Shô Nippon* in 1894 and boasting, according to Itô Sachio, that while a student he had gone to the Yoshiwara every month, but never the same establishment twice. There is, however, no concrete evidence beyond such anecdotes.

of the poetic associations of the topos of Mukôjima, which was particularly associated with lost love and parting through the *Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語) and the Nô play *Sumida River* (*Sumidagawa* 隅田川).²⁸ Shiki's 'Morning Glory' Nô libretto, for instance, is a 'dream (*mugen* 夢幻)' play that adapts the original's motif of a mother searching for her lost child into the figure of a young student who has left his lover, who worked in a *sakura mochi* shop, and gone overseas to study. Returning to the banks of the Sumida river to search for her, he finds that she is long dead and the woman he thought was a bystander is in fact her lingering ghost. Likewise, in the 'Maidenflower' section's *tanka*, Shiki refers to his sadness at an "ugly rumor (*yokaranu uwasa* よからぬ噂)," and in another poem explicitly alludes to Ariwara no Narihira's famous 'capital bird' poem:²⁹

On Seeing a *Miyakodori*, for No Particular Reason I Thought of Things Past
Miyakodori o mite wa nan to naku mukashi no koto no omoiiterareba

<i>kari no na</i>	your once-fleeting name
<i>mo makoto to narinu</i>	has now become the truth,
<i>miyakodori</i>	o 'capital bird'.
<i>iza kototowan</i>	so then, let me ask you
<i>sono kami no koto</i>	of all that is in the past. ³⁰

²⁸ The collection's full title, *Mukôjima nanakusashû* 無何有州七草集, also alludes in its orthography to Zhuangzi's 莊子 *Wu he you zhi xiang* 無何有之鄉, a mythical place of free and easy leisure.

²⁹ In the *Ise monogatari*, Ariwara no Narihira 在原業平 (825-880), who is travelling far from the capital in Kyoto and pining for his lover, famously addresses the *miyako-dori* 都鳥 or 'capital bird': "If you are true to your name, I would ask you, 'capital bird'; is the one I love alive or dead? 名にしおはば いざ言問はむ都鳥 我がおもふ人は ありやなしやと". The poem also appears in the *Kokin wakashû* 古今和歌集. One of the bridges over the Sumida river, the Kototoi-bashi 言問橋 ('Asking Bridge'), was named after the poem.

³⁰ SZ9:218

かりの名もまこととなりぬ都鳥いさ言問わんそのかみのこと

Most of the references to the Oroku affair in *Nanakusashû* are thus fairly oblique, apart from one section, entitled ‘Cut Thatches’ (*karukaya* 刈萱), in which Shiki robustly defended his conduct against certain unspecified allegations:

I hear the Chinese saying goes “do not straighten your headgear beneath a peach tree, nor put on shoes in a field of melons.” And there is the lotus, which Chinese call the Gentleman of Flowers, for though it grows out of filth it is not stained by the muddy waters...But as for even the lotus, they say that at one time a certain monk bore resentment towards the flower because he mistook dew on its leaves for jewels. Of course, there was no way the lotus could have aimed to deceive anyone. It was simply the twisted heart of he who beheld it.³¹

からくににの諺にも李下の冠瓜田の履といふことを聞きにき。されば蓮葉は泥の中よりいつれとも濁りに染まねは唐人ハ花の君子と説き（略）その蓮すら葉の上の白露を何かハ玉とあざむくとてある法師ハ恨ミにき 固よりははちすに人を欺く心あるべきやうもなし 皆見る人のひが心のミ

Readers’ comments on this section were universally negative; one remarked that Shiki was unwise to air the matter in public, and would do better to bear the slurs in silence after the example of Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (845-903). Another noted that Shiki’s course of action was only likely to draw further attention to the matter.³² Bowing to the views of his

³¹ *SZ*9:284. The quotation is from the Han dynasty poem *The Gentleman’s Conduct* (*Junzi xing* 君子行): “The gentleman prevents trouble before it arises; he is not despised or suspected. He does not tie his shoes in a field of melons, nor does he adjust his headgear below a peach tree (君子防未然 不處嫌疑間 瓜田不納履 李下不正冠)”. The latter two actions could look like an attempt to steal the fruits in question.

³² These comments were signed under the pen names Eiin Bokushi 栄陰牧師 and Aki no Ô 秋の王 respectively. As with several of the pen-names used to append comments on *Nanakusashû*, it is not known who they were. *SZ*9:269-70 and 270-271.

commentators, Shiki duly removed the ‘Cut Thatches’ section around the beginning of May 1889.

By May 1889, however, *Nanakusashû*’s structure was among the least of Shiki’s worries. Early in May he had coughed up blood for the first time in the Tokiwakai dormitory, signaling the onset of the tuberculosis that would eventually kill him. Although this episode prompted Shiki’s ironic, almost defiant adoption of his best-known pen name,³³ we can also see in *Nanakusashû* a contrasting despondency prompted by this reminder of his mortality:

Since birth I have been of weak constitution, and since a particularly unpleasant bout of illness last spring, I have had no reason to suppose that it will clear up. Man’s allotted span is fifty years, they say, but it has to be doubtful that I will make it that far. At times when my spirits are low, it has occurred to me to wonder if I might take my leave of this world tomorrow. Sad indeed is he who rejoices each day simply that he has made it through alive.

我生まれてより躰弱く殊に去年の暮よりいたくやミ煩らひしよりいついゆへうも
おもほへす 人生五十といへども五十年までいきのびんことはいと覚束なし 余
り心よからぬ時杯ハあすにも此世を去るかと思ふ事もあり たたけふも無事に過
ぎたりとて日毎に喜びみる身こそかなしけれ

<i>asagao ya</i>	the morning-glories -
<i>hiura ni nokoru</i>	a single flower yet
<i>hana hitotsu</i>	remains in the shade. ³⁴
朝顔や日うらに残る花一ツ	

Earlier in the month, on May 5th, one Natsume Kinnosuke used the pen name *Sôseki* for the first time to add his own appreciative comments to *Nanakusashû*, along with a *kanshi*

³³ The graphs Shiki used to write his pen name (子規) can also be read as *hototogisu*, a bird which was said to cough up blood to feed its young.

³⁴ *SZ*9:240

sequence of nine heptasyllabic quatrains (*shichigon zekku* 七言絶句) of his own.³⁵ The last two of these were humorous references to the Oroku affair and to Shiki's depiction, responding to and adapting the topographical references that Shiki had woven into his collection:

京客多情都鳥謡	A lovelorn traveler in the city, capital-bird's cry.
美人有淚滿又潮	A beauty – her tears flow and swell the tide.
香體艷骨兩黃壤	Fragrant joints and lustrous bones both in yellow earth,
片月長高双枕橋	Crescent moon lies next to Pillow Bridge, long and high. ³⁶

Sôseki's response retains the topographical references Shiki had introduced, with the first line alluding to his *tanka* and the third to the framework of his *nô* play. Overlaying these onto Shiki's relationship with Oroku, Sôseki playfully suggests Oroku's lament at Shiki's absence, then closes the poem with a suggestive double entendre by referring to Makurabashi ('Pillow Bridge'), another of the bridges over the Sumida River close to Mukôjima. Sôseki's use of the character *naraberu* 双 allows the line to be read two ways, the one as referring to the name of the bridge and the other as 'placing pillows side by side (*makura o naraberu* 双枕)'; suggesting sexual relations between Shiki and Oroku. Sôseki's final quatrain of the sequence retains the same themes:

長命寺中鬻餅家	At Chômyô-ji, a <i>mochi</i> -seller's home;
---------	--

³⁵ Shiki himself used the pen name Sôseki at least once before its better-known bearer adopted it; see *Fudemakase* "Gagô", *SZ* 10:319.

³⁶ *SZ* 9:276.

当炉少女美如花	By the hearth, a young girl, a flower in bloom.
芳姿一段可憐処	Her beautiful features all the more moving,
別後思君紅淚加	Parting over, she thinks of you, tears come. ³⁷

The tone playful rather than consolatory, Sôseki retains *Nanakusashû*'s overall floral motifs to indulge in a spot of teasing of his friend, both by referring to Oroku as a flower and by his use of the term *kôru* 紅涙, which can mean both literally 'dew on a plant' and figuratively 'the tears of a beautiful woman' by extension. We might note that nowhere in either poem is there any suggestion that Shiki and Oroku's parting is anything other than permanent. In fact, Sôseki's playful tone within each poem is predicated on a dual structure of female absence and male presence, as Sôseki is there while Oroku is not. In its visual presentation, Sôseki's last poem has an almost cinematic quality to it, showing the house, Oroku within it and then her features, yet the closing line disrupts this progression by acting as a reminder that this view of Oroku is only accessible through the mediation of Sôseki's authorial gaze. The insertion of the second-person pronoun 君 necessarily highlights not only the relationship between author and reader, but also the implied presence of Sôseki's authorial persona. Taken together within the context of the male poetic dialogue surrounding *Nanakusashû*, both poems can thus be read as a symbolic foreclosing of possibility of female companionship and emphasis of the importance of poetic dialogue among men.

³⁷ SZ9:276. Chômyôji was a temple adjacent to Shiki's lodgings in Mukôjima.

Friendship and Rhyme-Following: Poetic Exchanges between Shiki and Sôseki

Although Shiki and Sôseki were classmates at the Yobimon and had attended a few *rakugo* performances together, it seems to have been Sôseki's reading of *Nanakusashû* that provided the impetus for a deepening of his friendship with Shiki. It was also a source of inspiration for Sôseki to seriously experiment with *kanshibun* genres; unlike Shiki, Mori Ôgai 森鷗外 (1862-1922), Tayama Katai 田山花袋 (1871-1930) and a number of his later literary contemporaries, he had not undergone a formal program of reading the Chinese classics or composing *kanshi* from a young age, and did not seriously study literary Chinese until he attended Mishima Chûshû's 三島中洲 (1830-1919) Nishô gakusha 二松学舎 academy in Tokyo during his mid-teens.³⁸

The immediate result of Sôseki's reading of *Nanakusashû* was *Bokusetsuroku* 木屑録 ('An Account of Some Wood Shavings'), a *kanshibun* travelogue he composed in the ten or so days after he had returned from a trip to Shizuoka and Chiba during September with four of his school friends. Shiki was back in Matsuyama during the summer of 1889, so Sôseki had to wait until his return to Tokyo in order to show him the manuscript and requested his critique on September 15th. The critique, provided a month later on October 13th, was highly laudatory, expressing surprise and delight at Sôseki's skill in *kanshi*. As Shiki remarked, "I had thought that those who were skilled in Western letters were weak in those of

³⁸ Now a university renowned for its strength in the study of Sino-Japanese and Chinese literatures and cultures, Nishô gakusha is still in existence.

the East, and that you would surely not know the ways of Chinese and Japanese letters. But now that I see your poetry and prose, I have come to know your Heaven-given talent (余、以為えらく、西に長ぜる者は、概ね東に短なれば、吾が兄も亦当に和漢の学を知らざるべし、と。而るに今此の詩文を見るに及んでは、則ち吾が兄の天稟の才を知れり).³⁹

Bokusetsuroku, which seems to have been written exclusively for Shiki's eyes, includes several examples of rhyme-following sequences conducted via letters the two exchanged over the summer. In these cordial exchanges we see evidence of the deepening friendship between the two men, but they are also of considerable interest from the point of view of literary history. One of the more distinctive features of Sôseki's *kanshi* practice as a whole is that he does not seem to have been interested in the social aspects of *kanshi* in the same way as many of his contemporaries. He did not associate with the 'professional' *kanshi* poets or join any of the major *kanshi* groups, and although his extant *kanshi* have been well-received by later generations of critics, few of his verses circulated during his lifetime, for Sôseki seemingly had little interest in his work being published.⁴⁰ As this might suggest, there are very few rhyme-following poems among Sôseki's *kanshi* verses; so far as can be

³⁹ *Sôseki zenshû* (hereafter *SoZ*) (Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo 1993-2004) vol. 18 p. 568

⁴⁰ This may have been because Sôseki's career trajectory in Matsuyama and Kumamoto, then in England up until the end of 1902, meant that he was fairly far removed from the Tokyo *kanshidan*. This should not be taken to mean that Sôseki was entirely apathetic about the Tokyo-based poets, however; as Watanabe Katsumi notes, he wrote to Shiki from Kumamoto on November 15th, 1896 to ask Shiki if he would pass some work on to Shiki's colleague Honda Shuchiku at *Nippon* for review and comment. See Watanabe Katsumi, *Masaoka Shiki no kenkyû – kanshi to shûhen no hitobito* (Matsuyama: Aoba Tosho, 1980) p. 60.

determined, Shiki is one of only a handful of poets with whom Sôseki practiced rhyme-matching. Of these, Shiki is the only one with whom he exchanged more than one verse, a fact which demonstrates both the depth of their friendship and the highly social nature of rhyme-following poetry.⁴¹

Among the rhyme-following poems reproduced in *Bokusetsuroku* is the following exchange:

In my lodgings, I received a letter from Shiki. In the letter, he refers to me as ‘husband’ and himself as ‘wife’. I laughed out loud: “So Shiki’s humor has come to this!” Straight away I composed this poem in reply:

客舎得正岡瀬祭之書。書中戲呼余曰郎君、自称妾。余失笑曰瀬祭諧謔、一何至此也。
輒作詩酬之曰、

鹹氣射顔顔欲黄	Sea breeze strikes my face, turning it yellow.
醜容对鏡易悲傷	An ugly mug, I look in the mirror, sure to feel low.
馬齡今日廿三歳	I am all of twenty-three years on this day,
始被佳人呼我郎	And this, the first time a beauty has called me her beau! ⁴²

Considered together with Sôseki’s *kanshi* teasing Shiki about his relationship with Oroku, Shiki’s gendered recasting of their relationship as male-female, husband and wife, is particularly suggestive; in contrast to Sôseki’s earlier poem, here the gendering of the

⁴¹ A partial exception to this is Ikebe Sanzan 池辺三山 (1864-1912), who was something of a mentor and confidante to Sôseki at the *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, and who in 1910 produced a *jiin* piece based on one of Sôseki’s *kanshi* that had appeared as part of the latter’s *Omoidasu koto nado* 思い出すことなど, which was being serialized in the *Asahi* at the time. The poem to which Sanzan was responding seems to have been addressed to him anyway, composed on the occasion of his calling to visit Sôseki during illness. Sôseki did not initiate the exchange or reply to Sanzan’s verse in kind.

⁴² *SoZ* 18:527.

relationship means that from a modern perspective the poem undeniably has a hint of playful homoeroticism to it. Shiki responded in verse shortly after, following Sôseki's rhyme scheme:

羨君房海醉鵝黃	I envy you at the Chiba coast, drunk on sun of purest yellow;
鹹水醫痾若藥傷	Salt water, like a tonic, would cure what lays me low.
黃卷青編時讀罷	Yellow scrolls, blue books, sometimes I break from my studies,
清風明月伴漁郎	There with the fisherman, a clear moon, pure winds blow. ⁴³

Shiki's answering poem does not adopt the gendered imagery of Sôseki's original; given the final rhyme graph of the last line, 郎 ('young man'), it would probably have been relatively easy to include a reference to himself, but instead Shiki opts for an image of a fisherman. Shiki's response is a good example of the importance in rhyme-following poetry of real and imagined physical space in acting as shared ground to coordinate the poetic exchange. In this example, although several hundred miles away and recuperating from his illness in Matsuyama, Shiki is able to fashion an imaginary Chiba coast in which he can be together with his friend, whom he likens to a carefree fisherman, and express his envy at Sôseki's freedom to drink in the sunshine and enjoy the sea. It did not matter that Shiki had never been to the Chiba coast and thus could not accurately describe it, since even where the physical space in question existed as an actual location, the details of the scenery and surroundings were less important than the creation of an imaginary shared poetic space.

Bokusetsuroku contains a number of further exchanges between Shiki and Sôseki, and they would continue to swap poems sporadically over the next eight years or so. The last

⁴³ SoZ 18:530

documented exchange between the two occurred at the beginning of 1897; invalidated and unable to see Sôseki off as he returned to Kumamoto, Shiki sent a farewell poem, to which Sôseki later sent his own rhyme-following response. After this, the two would never again enter into a rhyme-matching exchange, though the reasons for this are unclear. Possibly they did not have the time; Shiki more or less gave up writing *kanshi* from 1896 or so onwards as a result of his increasing journalistic workload, and Sôseki for his part was increasingly busy with his teaching duties in Kumamoto. It is also possible that Sôseki's marriage to Nakane Kyôko 中根鏡子 (1878-1963) in June of 1896 changed the dynamics of their relationship, especially given the tendency shown above to cast relationship in male-female terms and to use *kanshi* to tease each other about their relationships with women; with Sôseki now married, this markedly homosocial mode of discourse may have lost much of its appeal.⁴⁴

“A cup of wine, a verse or two”: Literary Activities at the Tokiwakai Dormitory

Shiki and Sôseki are one of the better-known literary friendships in Meiji Japan, but most of Shiki's activities over the next few years took place at Tokiwakai dormitory. Although the

⁴⁴ For other examples of this tendency from July 1891, see Saitô Junji, “Natsume Sôseki to Masaoka Shiki (2): jûin no shi o chûshin ni”, *Gunma Joshi Tanki Daigaku kiyô* no. 10 (January 1983). Saitô also makes the argument in a separate article (“Sôseki kanshi no “bijin” kô”, *Gunjo kokubun* no. 11 (March 1983) that a Sôseki *kanshi* referring to a ‘bijin’, interpreted by Etô Jun as referring to Sôseki's feelings for his brother's wife, should actually be understood as referring to Shiki, which seems entirely plausible in the light of the exchanges above.

dormitory would host many prominent members of what would later become the movement to reform haiku, the Tokiwakai was less receptive to the value of literary practice than one might suppose. Ioki Hyôtei recalls in his “Yonaga no akubi 夜長のあくび (‘Yawning on a Long Night’, 1898-9)” that both he and Ninomi Hifû 新海非風 (Masayuki正行, 1870-1901), who was Shiki’s roommate at the dormitory, were scolded by their teachers for wasting their time in literary activities, particularly as both had ambitions toward a military career.⁴⁵ The first resident advisor of the dormitory, Tsukuda Kazumasa 佃一豫 (1867-1926), discouraged literary activity as fit only for ‘layabouts (*dôrakumono* 道楽者)’, and worried that Hifû and Hyôtei would distract other residents from their studies.⁴⁶ Such disapproval did nothing to stop either of them, and together with Shiki they spent a great deal of time discussing contemporary literary developments. While dining in a sushi shop on their way back from snow viewing in Mukôjima at the end of 1889, the three decided to create a group named the

⁴⁵ See Hyôtei, *Yonaga no akubi* p. 11. Hifû is one of those figures who in a sense ‘slipped through the cracks’ of the Meiji literary scene. According to Hyôtei’s account, Hifû was one of Shiki’s closest friends in his early days at the dormitory, and the three of them were virtually inseparable during the first year or so of Shiki’s stay. In Shiki and Hyôtei’s judgment, Hifû developed more rapidly as a haiku poet and generally produced the most impressive verse of the three. Yet through a combination of chronic ill-health and dissolution in the licensed quarters, Hifû had all but disappeared from the literary scene by the mid 1890s, and his name is not among those present at the haiku gathering held in 1895 to see Shiki off on his journey to cover the Sino-Japanese war for *Nihon*. Hifû’s death in 1901 made him one of the very few fellow students from this period whom Shiki himself would outlive. Hifû also appears to have been the model for Takahama Kyoshi’s 1909 novel *Haikaishi* 俳諧師 (A Haikai Master).

⁴⁶ This attitude seems to have persisted for some time; in an exchange of letters around the end of October 1906 between Shôda Kazue and the then warden Naitô Meisetsu, the former questioned the presence of magazines such as *Shinshôsetsu* and *Hototogisu* in the Tokiwakai library as undesirable. Meisetsu replied that *Shinshôsetsu* might be problematic, but he saw no particular problem with *Hototogisu*. See *Shiki to Tokiwakai kishukusha no nakamatachi: dainijûshichikai tokubetsu kikakuten* (Matsuyama: Matsuyama Shiritsu Shiki Kinen Hakubutsukan, 1993) p.17

Momijikai 紅葉会 (‘Autumn Leaf Association’). Finding interest from other residents in the dormitory, the Momijikai soon became a reality.⁴⁷

All of the Momijikai’s members were residents in the Tokiwakai dormitory; Shiki, Hyôtei and Hifû, as well as the brothers Takemura Kitô and Kawahigashi Sen河東銓 (1870-1947),⁴⁸ Kaida Hidesumi 戒田秀澄 (?-?), Saeki Denzô 佐伯伝蔵 (1870-?) and Itô Yasushi 伊藤泰 (?-?); Kohaku was no longer living in the dormitory but still participated on an irregular basis. The Momijikai’s work was recorded and circulated in the form of a hand-written magazine entitled *Tsuzure no nishiki* つづれの錦 (‘A Patchwork Brocade’), a title that emphasized its formation by contributions from multiple parties.⁴⁹ *Tsuzure no nishiki* was produced on an irregular basis, often covering several months’ worth of material at one go, and as the name suggests, there is little or no coherent structure with the magazine essentially a jumble of *kanshi*, *shintaiishi*,⁵⁰ haiku and *tanka* grouped together by author.

⁴⁷ Hyôtei, p. 13.

⁴⁸ Sen was the middle Kawahigashi brother between Kitô and Hekigotô, and would later become a reporter for the *Yomiuri* newspaper.

⁴⁹ Aside from *Tsuzure no nishiki*, several other ‘publications’ emerged from the Tokiwakai dormitory, such as the *Tokiwakai zasshi* (Tokiwakai Magazine), produced monthly among the students, which carried political debates and offered prizes for *shôsetsu* to be featured in the magazine, with Meisetsu judging the contributions. A collection of *kanshi* and *kanbun* was also produced, entitled *Masagoshû* 真砂集 (Masago Collection) after the part of Hongô in which the dormitory was located. Both this and any extant copies of the *Tokiwakai zasshi* have unfortunately since been lost. The only part of the *Tokiwakai zasshi* that survives is an essay by Shiki from 1889 entitled “Shiika no kigen oyobi hensenshi 詩歌の起源及び変遷” (On the Origin and Development of Poetry), which is reproduced in vol. 9 of *Shiki zenshû*.

⁵⁰ *Shintaiishi* 新体詩 or “new-style poetry” was a form of poetry conceived in early Meiji that drew heavily on Western verse both in terms of form and content. It was first popularized by Toyama Masakazu 外山正一 (1848-1900), Inoue Tetsujirô 井上哲次郎 (1855-1944) and Yatabe Ryôkichi 矢田部良吉 (1851-1899) in their 1882 *Shintaishishô* 新体詩抄.

From the fourth issue onwards, *Tsuzure no nishiki* also began to include visual arts, pairing hand-drawn illustrations with poems and featuring two *e-awase* 絵合わせ, wherein topics such as ‘lilies’ ‘fans and the Sumida River’ and so on were assigned and members produced their own visual interpretation. The first of these *e-awase* was described as a ‘*furoku* 付録’ or supplement, using much the same language as the large-scale print media.

Although the first issue contained work from February to October of 1890, much of the content was made up of material produced to commemorate the inaugural meeting of the Momijikai on February 12th, 1890, at two o’clock in the afternoon; as befitted the season, among the set topics for the afternoon’s composition were ‘snow’, ‘snowmen’, ‘thinking of home on a cold night’, ‘*sakura mochi*’ and so forth. Even though *Nanakushashû* was over two years old by this point, the opportunity presented by the topic of ‘*sakura mochi*’ was too good to pass up for Saeki Denzô, writing under the pen name of Ahô 蛙泡 (comments by other readers are reproduced in triangular brackets):

On seeing the charms of the girl at the Mukôjima *sakura-mochi* shop, Oroku:

向島桜もち屋のむすめお六の愛^{ママ}嬌を見て

<i>urimono ni</i>	to the things she sells
<i>hana o soekeri</i>	she adds a flower as well -
<i>sakuramochi</i>	<i>sakura mochi!</i>

売ものに花を添えけりさくらもち

<*urimono no/hin o otosu ya/sakura mochi* (that which is sold/now become vulgar, perhaps?/*sakura mochi*) – Hifû>

売物の品を落とすやさくら餅

<Indeed! Oroku makes the flowers bloom, our friend gives them their fragrance. One could not wish for more from a *sakura mochi*; you can tell how happy Oroku must be! – Nukari>⁵¹

実ありお六ニよりて花を咲き兄によりて香を含す さくらもちの本望お六の喜ぶ
可知

One of the more striking features of *Tsuzure no nishiki*, however, is that almost every one of the *kanshi* therein is linked via rhyme-matching to another poem in the collection.⁵² Almost all of these pairings were based on the rhyme schemes of poems appearing earlier in the collection by other members of the Momijikai; a twenty-two line heptasyllabic verse by Hyôtei celebrating the inauguration of the Momijikai, for instance, was followed by Kawahigashi Sen and then by Shiki, as can be seen in the first couplet of each poem:

初會偶成 狂体

**Coming Together for Our First Meeting – In the
“Crazy Style”**

今日紅葉初會時
所謂以類集于茲

First meeting of the Momijikai, today’s the day,
What you’d call ‘birds of a feather’ gathered here.⁵³

紅葉會初會次若隱居君韻

**First Meeting of the Momijikai, Following Hyôtei’s
Rhyme**

十二日午後二時
舎中同志會於茲

Two p.m. the hour, the twelfth the day,
Throughout the dorm, men of similar intent gather here.⁵⁴

⁵¹ SZ9:733-734.

⁵² The other exceptions are poem on the New Year by Kawahigashi Sen, which is marked “kagai” 課外 (“outside the lines”) and another on the topic of ‘snowmen’. See SZ9:737.

⁵³ SZ9:731-732. This was Hyôtei’s original.

⁵⁴ SZ 9:737-8. This was Sen’s response.

紅葉会第一會若隱居君韻
白雪飛尽梅開時

猫与杓子皆会茲

Momijikai Meeting No. 1, Following Hyôtei's Rhyme

Flurries of white snow, the plum blooms, on such a
day,

The world and his wife, everyone's gathered here.⁵⁵

As Hyôtei notes, this humorous and inventive writing was more “crazy-style Chinese poetry (*kyôshi* 狂詩)” than orthodox *kanshi*, deriving much of its humor from wordplay and incongruities that would not have been acceptable given a stricter and more austere view of the purpose and rules of Chinese as literary language. Shiki's second line, for instance, transposes a Japanese idiom (*neko mo shakushi mo* 猫も杓子も, “the world and his wife”)⁵⁶ with no equivalent in Chinese, and another line from Kawahigashi Sen's rhyme-matching response to Hyôtei, 椒侠客即為苦思, glosses the first graph as ‘*kidoru* (‘be pretentious’), a visual pun on the graph's radicals *ki* 木 and *toru* 取, another usage that would make little sense in strict literary Chinese.

Although participating readily in the humorous exchanges, Kawahigashi Sen also showed a desire, as was perhaps befitting for the middle son of Shiki's *kanshi* teacher, to take the group's practice to a more serious level. As one of the session's poetic topics was ‘a snowy day (*yuki no hi* 雪の日)’, Sen composed a verse using the rhyme-scheme of the second of the Northern Song poet Su Shi's 蘇軾 (J. So Shoku, 1036-1101) *Two Verses*

Written on the Wall of the Northern Terrace After Snowfall:

⁵⁵ SZ9:753. This was Shiki's response.

⁵⁶ Literally, “both cats and wooden rice-spoons,” an idiom meaning “absolutely everyone.”

雪後北臺壁二首

Two Verses Written on the Wall of the Northern Terrace After Snowfall

城頭初日始翻鴉
陌上晴泥已沒車
凍合玉樓寒起粟
光搖銀海眩生花
遺蝗入地應千尺
宿麥連雲有幾家
老病自嗟詩力退
空吟冰柱憶劉叉

Around the city, first light; crows begin to spread their wings
On the roads between the fields, new mud sucks in carriages.
Ice touches both shoulders, the chill makes one shiver.
Light moves one's eyes, sparkling flowers blind me.
Left locusts burrow down in the earth, must be a thousand feet.⁵⁷
Wheat so tall it joins with the clouds; enough for several homes.
—Old and sickly, I pity myself; my poetic powers are leaving me.
Vainly I recite “Icicles”, my thoughts of Liu Cha.⁵⁸

Sen's response, echoing Su Shi's rhymes in the first, second, fourth, sixth and eighth lines was as follows:

雪日 用東坡翁韻 二月十二日紅葉會初會席上課題

A Snowy Day – Using Su Dongpo's Rhyme Scheme – Feb 12th, Session topic at the First Momijikai Meeting

同雲漠々寂林鴉
途上復無客走車
太似風前敷柳絮
却疑月下對梨花
偏添高興騷人宅
先祝豐年野老家
隨處光景看愈好
獨侵寒氣立途叉

The same clouds for miles and miles, crows in lonely trees,
No other traveler's carriage runs along this road.
It is just as if the wind lays willow buds as it blows,
Or perhaps I see pear-flowers in the light of the moon?⁵⁹
My only desire to draw near to happy, bustling houses,
Far off, celebrations for a good harvest at the village elder's home.
Everywhere the scenery looks ever more beautiful;
Alone, as I stand at the crossroads, the cold assails me.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ These insects were likely to damage crops, so the cold driving them away is thus a sign that there will be a good harvest of wheat this year.

⁵⁸ Text from Iwatate Noriyoshi, Kubo Tenzui, Shaku Seitan, eds., *So Tôba zenshishû* (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentâ, 1978) vol. 2 p. 310. Liu Cha 劉叉 (dates of birth and death unknown) was a Tang poet, among whose most famous works was a poem on icicles (*Bing zhu* 冰柱).

⁵⁹ Both are white flowers that bloom in spring, hence a poetic metaphor for snow.

⁶⁰ SZ9:737

In Sen's retention of the snowy setting of Su Shi's poem, the agricultural setting of the snowbound village again becomes a common point of poetic reference outside of time and geographic space in much the same way as Shiki's earlier poem imagined the Chiba coastline. Though the imagined physical setting is the same as Su Shi's, Sen's viewpoint is the opposite; where the original poem views the scene through the persona of a scholar-recluse surveying the crops in his village early in the morning, Sen positions himself as an outsider in his own poem, a traveler striving to cross the great distances to his home village on a cold winter's night. Su Shi surveys the crops to be harvested with satisfaction; Sen's traveler must use his imagination to picture the celebrations for a harvest that has already taken place. The snowbound village is thus doubly imaginary; the traveler's loneliness in the cold winter night and his wish for physical warmth and human contact cause him to lose himself in thoughts of spring and human warmth for the middle two couplets of the poem, seeing first not wind-blown snowdrifts but the flowers of spring, then picturing himself at journey's end among friends celebrating the bountiful harvest predicted in Su Shi's poem. As the poem concludes, the traveler's thoughts return to his present location and the distance he has yet to travel.

Sen's choice of Su Shi as a base for his poem was interesting in itself, since the Song poet was one of the most prolific practitioners of rhyme-matching in Chinese literary history. Probably the majority of Su Shi's works were composed as rhyme-matching poems, the most

famous instance his composition of responses to every verse in the collected works of the Six Dynasties poet Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (J. Tô Enmei, 365-427).⁶¹ When Shiki then composed his own rhyme-matching response to Sen, himself in poetic dialogue with Su Shi, who had in turn been in dialogue with Tao Yuanming, the chain of rhyme-matching thereby created extended back over fifteen hundred years. Looking at *Tsuzure no nishiki*, we therefore see that rhyme-matching served two purposes simultaneously, often depending on precisely with whom one entered into dialogue; on the one hand, a social, semi-humorous activity to be practiced with one's friends and in which adherence to the rules of orthodox literary Chinese was less important than cordial humor, on the other a more serious exercise of placing oneself in contact with the texts of the great poets of the past. By doing so, poets located themselves within a conceptual space constructed from a poetic tradition far greater in scope than the immediate social gathering.

Meisetsu and the Genshikai

As the activities of another of the Tokiwakai's groups, the Genshikai 言志会 ('Society for Telling One's Intent') demonstrate, the poems that served as inspiration for rhyme-matching were not necessarily ancient or taken from the canon of poetry by Chinese authors. Deriving

⁶¹ Wada Hidenobu notes in "Renku kara jiiin e" (*Ajia yugaku* no. 95 (Jan 2007) p. 144) that Dongpo's brother Su Zhe 蘇轍 and disciple Zhang Buzhi 張補之 in turn produced their own rhyme-matching versions of these poems as well.

its name from the well-known exposition of the purpose of poetry found in the Greater Preface to the canonical Chinese Classic of Poetry (*Shijing* 詩經, J. *shikyô*),⁶² the Genshikai was closer to an informal tutorial group than the Momijikai, being made up of just Shiki, Kawahigashi Kitô and the Tokiwakai dormitory warden Naitô Meisetsu. The dynamic of this group seems to have been more serious and scholarly than the anarchic Momijikai, since Meisetsu was almost twenty years older than both Kitô and Shiki, in a position of ostensible authority over them and – most importantly – a far more experienced *kanshi* poet. Meisetsu thus took the lead in much of their activities, which consisted of rhyme-matching composition, *haikai no renga* 俳諧の連歌 linked verse and *maeku-zuke* 前句付け verse capping,⁶³ and even occasional instances of linked verse in literary Chinese (Ch. *lianju* 連句):

三人連句忙		The three of us busy with linked poetry,	
菓子盆殆空	(子規)	The tray of candies almost empty.	(Shiki)
手爐火猶強		The fire in the hand-braziers is still strong,	
折骨有何益	(鳴雪)	What would we gain by exerting ourselves?	(Meisetsu)
此辺止為良	(鍛)	I think we should stop around here...	(Kitô) ⁶⁴

According to Meisetsu, the three practiced linked verse in Chinese as a game when strolling

⁶² 詩言志, “Poetry is about telling one’s intent”.

⁶³ *Maeku-zuke* 前句付け involved responding to an assigned topic in 7-7 meter with a 5-7-5 verse of one’s own.

⁶⁴ *SZ*bekkan 2:500. This an excerpt from the end of a longer sequence. The rhyme graph is the last of the first line in each case, so the rhymes are 忙, 強 and 良.

around the neighborhood together, managing as many as sixty or seventy iterations on occasion. The Genshikai thus specialized almost exclusively in social modes of poetry, involving response and adaptation to other texts and members of the group.

By Meisetsu's account, the Genshikai met nine times between November 1889 and March 1891.⁶⁵ In their first session on November 7th, 1889, he selected a poem from the *Neiseikaku shû* 寧静閣集 (c.1848), a collection by the late Bakumatsu and early Meiji Confucian scholar Ôtsuki Bankei 大槻磐溪 (1801-1878). Bankei was a fairly extraordinary character; from a long line of distinguished scholars, he had studied at the Sendai fiefdom's domain school, the Yôkendô 養賢堂, and become an early advocate of the opening of Japan, studying ballistics and cannon technology in a perhaps somewhat unconventional interpretation of the Confucian ethic of "arts and arms (*bunbu* 文武)", and writing *kanshi* verses on the French Emperor Napoleon; he was also a close friend of Narushima Ryûhoku. Bankei's stance on opening Japan had been ahead of its time and drawn considerable criticism, and perhaps Meisetsu, who had grown increasingly unhappy at and eventually resigned from his job at the Ministry of Education, saw something of himself in the figure of Bankei as dissatisfied scholar.

The poem Meisetsu selected from the *Neiseikakushû* was, appropriately enough, a cordial, social verse Bankei had offered to a friend by the name of Hiraizumi while visiting

⁶⁵ Naitô Meisetsu, "Genshishû", *SZ* bekkan 2:494-509. Originally published in *Hototogisu* vol. 9 no. 1 (October 10th, 1905) as "Rôbaikyô zatsuwa (yon) 老梅居雜話(四)"

him in Sendai:

至日苟美堂集賦呈平泉翁

On the Shortest Day of the Year – Poems from the Kobidô to Mr. Hiraizumi

一室團欒情話真	A pleasant, cozy room to gather, conversation and emotions true and sincere,
主翁溫藉最甚親	Our host warm and generous, as kindly as could be.
學源河洛發精蘊	Learning began with the River Chart and Luo Writing, developed to the deepest profundities; ⁶⁶
道翼程朱歸大醇	The Way gave wing to Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi, brought them back to the Great Purity. ⁶⁷
紅日纔融僊府雪	The red sun can barely melt the snow on the hermit's home;
寒梅已動泮宮春	Winter plum already blooming, spring at the Hall of Learning.
舉觴恰好逢南至	Raising a glass, a good way to welcome the shortest day!
兄弟何曾少一人	My brothers, I would not have you be one man more nor less. ⁶⁸

It is not hard to see why Meisetsu chose this poem as the basis for the evening, depicting as it does a convivial gathering of fellow scholars reflecting on the ancient mysteries of scholarship and, by honoring Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi, the proud independence of their

⁶⁶ The River Chart 河圖 (Ch. *hetu*, J. *kato*) was a magical chart presented to sage-rulers by a mystical creature that arose out of the Yellow River. Likewise, the Luo (River) Writing 洛書 (Ch. *luoshu*, J. *rakusho*) was a talisman of similar nature that arose out of the waters of the Luo river. Often paired together, the appearance of these writings usually marked the arrival of a great sage, as they revealed the patterns of Heaven and allowed the recipient to restore the world to its proper order. As such, the two texts play a prominent role in the Chinese mythology of writing, and hence scholarship. See Mark Lewis, *The Flood Myths of Early China* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2006) p. 118.

⁶⁷ Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107) developed Neo-Confucianism into an organized philosophical school along with his brother Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085), and was known for his stern morality and refusal to accept public office. His thought was later developed by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), whose philosophy became enormously influential both in China and in Edo Japan; Zhu Xi also declined to accept office.

⁶⁸ Text from Fujikawa Hideo et al., eds., *Shishû Nihon kanshi* (Tokyo: Kyûko Shoin, 1989) vol. 17 p. 69. As can be seen above, the rhymes are lines one, two, four, six and eight.

profession. Meisetsu produced two rhyme-matching responses to Bankei's poem, the first of which was as follows:

十一月七日夜與竹村正岡二子共賦。用寧靜閣集中詩韻

Composing on the Night of Nov. 7th with Takemura and Masaoka. Using the Rhyme Scheme from a Poem in the *Neiseikaku shû*

江湖何處養天真
 性癖由來少所親
 時與青衿品新句
 不追紅袖醉芳醇
 一觴一詠永今夕
 不暖不寒方小春
 初月半痕照叢菊
 個中況味可吾人

Where in the world can one foster one's true nature?
 I have quirks; that is because I have few close friends.
 At times, I meet with students and appraise their new verses,
 We do not chase the red sleeve, we get drunk on fragrant wines.
 A cup of wine, a verse or two, that is how we spin out the night;
 Not warm, yet not cold, a temperate autumn this will be.
 The new moon, half-lingering, shines on batches of
 chrysanthemums,
 And so within the bounds of this gathering, it will be just us
 fellows.⁶⁹

In the same way as Sen's earlier response to Su Shi's poem, Meisetsu's two opening lines serve both to establish the imagined setting, in this case a convivial gathering of scholars, and to highlight how Meisetsu re-interprets the scene. Meisetsu's somewhat melancholy opening couplet initially seems out of keeping with Bankei's original verse, but as the poem develops we see that the opening lines serve as a rhetorical question framing the rest of the poem, which thereby becomes an answer to the question of how Meisetsu might overcome this loneliness. The possible remedies are cast in oppositional terms; rather than seeking comfort in the company of women, he prefers instead to drink and compose poetry with male friends, although his distinguishing himself from his fellows suggest that he remains conscious that

⁶⁹ SZbekkan 2:494

they are not his equal. The parallelism of ‘blue hood (i.e., male students)’ and ‘red sleeve (i.e., female entertainers)’ serves both a structural and a rhetorical function; at the same time as re-emphasizing the specifically male fellowship as one of the pleasures of the evening, the oppositional pairing also suggests a fundamental incompatibility between female companionship and male socio-literary relations.

Meisetsu’s “A cup of wine, a verse or two” in the fifth line also echoes Wang Xizhi’s 王羲之 (?307-?365) *Preface on Poems Composed at the Orchid Pavilion* 蘭亭集序 (*Lanting jixu*, *J. Ranteishû jo*), thereby adding a number of additional layers of meaning to the poem. It serves first to point out the ancient precedents and timeless nature of their poetic gathering, linking Xizhi’s fourth-century poetic gathering both with the present and also with the gathering that forms the subject matter for Bankei’s poem. At the same time, the main theme of the *Preface*, that of youth, age and the passing of time, suggests Meisetsu’s awareness of the difference in age and status between him and the two students. The effect is a subtle, almost contradictory view of the passing of time; Meisetsu circumscribes the poetic gathering as standing apart from time and the changes it brings, yet cannot quite relinquish his own consciousness of standing apart from his fellow poets in terms of age and outlook on life.

Kitô responded with his own take:

十一月初七日與南塘先生正岡子規共賦 用磐溪集中詩韻

Composing on Nov. 7th with Mr. Naitô and Masaoka Shiki, using rhymes from a poem in Bankei’s collection.

笑談握手吐天真
 是主是賓情自親
 詞海君先鉤麗藻

Laughing and talking, we join hands and blurt out our true nature,
 Here the master, here the honored guest, feelings naturally close.
 In an ocean of words, you first fished for the flowers of
 eloquence.⁷⁰

道源誰克酌芳醇

The Masters of the Way, which of them could tipple on fragrant
 wines?

窓間老竹月移影

Through the window, old bamboo: the moon moves its shadow

瓶裏狂花坐讓春
 當此良宵會佳友
 且欣共作太平人

On the wine-bottle unseasonable flowers; now spring is our setting!
 On this fine night, then, we meet with good friends,
 And rejoice that together we are men of righteousness.⁷¹

Closer in tone to Bankei's original poem, Kitô provides a response to Meisetsu's verse as well, retaining the same vocabulary Meisetsu had chosen in the first and fourth lines of his response. In so doing, Kitô positions himself as responding to Meisetsu's rhetorical question with a cordial answer that the place to develop one's true nature is among friends, a motif that also echoes Bankei's opening line; Kitô's second line likewise serves as a denial of Meisetsu's assertion as to his lack of friends. Moving on to honor Meisetsu's greater experience in the art of *kanshi*, Kitô then links the present situation back to Bankei's poem by questioning whether even Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi (the 'Masters of the Way') could have experienced such a gathering as this. In positioning himself both in dialogue with Meisetsu and with Bankei, Kitô's poem brings the sequence of dialogue full circle.

⁷⁰ Literally, "the seaweed of eloquence." Kitô's here is paying tribute to Meisetsu's greater experience as a *kanshi* poet.

⁷¹ *SZ*bekkan 2:495

Rhyme-following, Rivalry and the Public Sphere: Seigai's Poems on the Kegon Falls

Thus far, this chapter has focused on rhyme-following poems as expressive of social relations among men in a face-to-face context. Rhyme-following poems do, however, also appear with a high degree of frequency within the more public setting of the print media. One of the most vibrant venues for *kanshi* within the newspaper world was the conservative daily *Nippon*, which from 1890 instituted a literary column entitled *Bun'en* 文苑 ('Garden of Letters'). This column quickly became a major gathering-point for Tokyo's *kanshi* poets, in large part because of Seigai's presence. Seigai's mainstay was writing political commentary through the *kanshi* in his column *Hyôrin* 評林 ('Forest of Criticism'), but until 1892 or so he also participated in the running of the *Bun'en*, and his work was one of *Nippon*'s main attractions, along with the fiery political editorials of editor Kuga Katsunan 陸羯南 (Minoru 実, 1857-1907).

Since Shiki would join *Nippon* a couple of years later at the end of 1892 as a result of Katsunan's acquaintance with Katô Takusen, looking at *Nippon*'s poetic activities and the figures associated with the newspaper provides some useful context within which to situate the later growth of the haiku reform movement. Seigai was one of the first staff members with whom Shiki interacted before he joined the newspaper, providing a favorable critique and suggestions for revisions to a series of *kanshi* on the Kiso 木曾 region which Shiki sent in to *Nippon* in the summer of 1892, and Seigai selected several of the poems in this sequence for

publication in the *Bun'en*, appending his own appraisal. After Shiki joined *Nippon* at the end of 1892, the two became friends; a little over a year later on July 2nd, 1893, Shiki records in his diary that Seigai visited him at his home and they went out drinking together in the Hongô area of Tokyo.⁷² Seigai's initial warmth was amply repaid in Shiki's later writings; Shiki named Seigai as one of the three most important *kanshi* poets in Tokyo, along with Honda Shuchiku and Mori Kainan, in a series of articles entitled simply "Bungaku ('Literature') in Miyake Setsurei's 三宅雪嶺 (1860-1945) magazine *Nihonjin* 日本人 during 1896.⁷³

The other side of Shiki's admiration for Seigai, however, was a less favorable view of Kainan. Although Shiki did acknowledge Kainan's talent in his "Bungaku", he also described him later in the same series as a "lesser man (*shôjin* 小人)," "an idly scribbling rhymer who does not understand poetic beauty (全く詩美を解せず、徒に文字を連ぬる平仄屋に過ぎざるなり)."⁷⁴ This sense that admiration for Seigai and Kainan were mutually exclusive reflected a divide among the poets and followers who made up the Tokyo *kanshidan*. In part, this divide was a matter of political loyalty; for *Nippon*'s readers in particular, Kainan's close ties to Itô Hirobumi in particular were difficult to accept given the newspaper's stance of antagonism toward the Meiji government. In another series of articles in *Nippon* in 1896

⁷² *SZ* 14:347.

⁷³ *SZ* 14:147. *Nihonjin* was quite similar to *Nippon* in outlook and editorial stance, and the two actually merged to become *Nippon oyobi Nihonjin* in 1906.

⁷⁴ *SZ* 14:192.

entitled “Shôra gyokueki 松蘿玉液 (‘Vine on the Pines, Drops of Dew’), Shiki listed “co-opting ministers and wealthy men in the manner of a male geisha (*hokanteki ni daijin chôja o torikomu* 幫間的に大臣長者を取り込む)” as one of the glaring faults of contemporary *kanshi* poets.⁷⁵ Few of *Nippon*’s readers would have had much doubt as to who Shiki was talking about.

More subtly, however, there was also a sense in contemporary discourse on the relative merits of Kainan and Seigai, particularly among the latter’s supporters, that Kainan’s work was not as manly as that of Seigai, perhaps even slightly effeminate. As noted in the previous chapter, Kainan’s father Shuntô was known for his ‘lustrous (*entai* 艶体)’ works depicting famous female beauties or love between men and women.⁷⁶ Early on in his career Kainan had shown a predilection towards such poems, provoking sufficient concern among his father’s colleagues that they warned him not to get carried away with the topic.⁷⁷ When Shiki characterized Kainan in 1896 as being primarily concerned with “human emotion and human affairs (*ninjô jinji* 人情人事)”, it was probably this reputation that he had in mind;⁷⁸ his phrasing also somewhat recalled Tsubouchi Shôyô’s influential assertion in his 1885-6 *Essence of the Novel* that the proper subject for the modern novel should be *ninjô setai* 人情

⁷⁵ *SZ* 11:9.

⁷⁶ Gôyama Rintarô, “Kanshi ni okeru Meijichô – Mori Kainan to Kokubu Seigai”, *Bungaku* no. 9 vol. 4 (July 2008) p. 85

⁷⁷ Kinoshita, “Kokubu Seigai to Meiji Taishô Shôwa kanshikai” (7), p.42.

⁷⁸ *SZ* 11:13.

世帯 ('human emotions and worldly conditions'), often understood as referring to heterosexual love. This discomfort with the notion of depicting women and relations between the sexes appears to have been one of the reasons that *Nippon* stood alone among Japan's major newspapers in refusing to carry serialized fiction. Despite the potential advantages in attracting readers, until its eventual demise in 1906 *Nippon* maintained that serialized prose fiction was vulgar and immoral. In what sense prose fiction was immoral, and what kind of view *Nippon* had of what the average novelist tended to write about, can be seen in one image among a series of caricatures depicting things of which the newspaper did not approve, published on New Year's Day, 1891. Alongside images of corrupt politicians as frogs, there is also a depiction of a man labeled as a 'novelist (*shōsetsuka* 小説家)' dozing at a writing desk, his thoughts apparent in the large graphs above his head which read "Beautiful Naked Women! (*rabijin* 裸美人)."⁷⁹

This disdainful view of prose fiction as immoral and concerned mainly with sex implicitly contrasted with the poetic genres of *tanka* and *kanshi*, which the newspaper did allow in its pages. With the exception of the "perfume-case" and ballad styles that had recently become popular, on the whole *kanshi* rarely dealt with male-female love. By contrast, love was historically a major theme in *tanka*, although the genre dealt with it in a highly oblique manner and through a rich set of resonant and elegant classical vocabulary. Yet

⁷⁹ *Nippon*, January 1st 1890 p. 1. See Fig. 4, p. 317.

several of the contemporary poets associated with *Nippon* nevertheless viewed *tanka* as a ‘weak’ and ‘feminine’ genre; both Shiki and the *tanka* poet Yosano Tekkan 与謝野鉄幹 (1873-1935) would embrace efforts in the mid-1890s to create a more masculine *tanka*, Shiki by the approving presentation of martial imagery in the poems of Minamoto no Sanetomo 源実朝 (1192-1219) and Tekkan by his famous ‘sword-and-tiger’ style, both of which sought to recover a bolder and more overtly masculine tone from amid the perceived ‘weakness’ and ‘femininity’ of *tanka* poetry.⁸⁰

This understanding of *kanshi* in particular as implicitly more masculine than prose genres, and thus a fitting genre for social interaction among men, is important for appreciating the significance of a marathon sequence of rhyme-following poems that *Nippon* carried during September and October of 1890. Extending to nineteen iterations over the two months, this exchange is possibly the longest of its kind to appear in any Meiji newspaper. Based on a series of poems on the Kegon-no-taki 華嚴の瀧 falls near the town of Nikkô 日光 in modern-day Tochigi Prefecture 栃木県, the exchange did much to raise Seigai’s standing among Tokyo *kanshi* poets and mark him out as a potential rival to Kainan. Space does not allow for the reproduction and analysis of all nineteen poems and their accompanying

⁸⁰ The Asakasha 浅香社 *tanka* group, of which Tekkan was a member, was also directly affiliated with *Nippon* and published its work in their pages under the direction of Ochiai Naobumi 落合直文 (1861-1903). Seigai’s wife Misako 操子 (or Ayako) was also a member of this same group, so a direct connection is definitely plausible. See Katsura Taizô 桂泰蔵, “Shinkô Meiji kadanshi no kôshô: Negishi tankakai tanjôzen no keii” in Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyôkai, ed., *Kaikoku hyakunen kinen Meiji bunkashi ronshû* (Tokyo: Kengensha, 1952) p. 238.

commentary, but it is nevertheless possible to get some idea of the overall exchange by looking at some of the key actors and their poems.

The poem that served as the template for the entire exchange had its origins in the summer of 1890, during which Kainan, Seigai, Kinzan and Iwaya Kobai 巖谷古梅 (Ichiroku 一六, 1834-1905) had taken a trip to the Nikkô area to escape the heat. While in Nikkô, they were invited to a poetic gathering hosted by the court noble Sanjô Sanetomi 三条実美 (1837-1901). A keen *kanshi* poet who signed himself Ridô 梨堂, Sanetomi was a major supporter of Shuntô and Kainan's poetic activities, and had served in the very highest position of government, Grand Minister of State (*daijô daijin* 太政大臣) until 1885. Sanetomi owned a villa near Nikkô to which he invited the travelling poets for refreshments and composition, and perhaps because Sanetomi had not met him before, Seigai was apparently seated as guest of honor and offered drink by his host, while Kainan was relegated to the lowest seat on the occasion.⁸¹ During their stay, the group visited the Kegon Falls near Chûzenji Lake 中禪寺湖, which provided the occasion for the group to compose verse on their surroundings. Kainan himself did not take part in the trip to the Falls, as he had to return to Tokyo.

A number of the poems composed at the poetic gathering in Nikkô found their way into *Nippon's* literary column from the beginning of September. The first poem in the extended rhyme-matching sequence, a verse by Seigai on the Kegon Falls, appeared on 9th

⁸¹ Kinoshita, "Kokubu Seigai to Meiji Taishô Shôwa kanshikai" (9), *Shi to tomo* no. 326 (March 1977) p. 19.

September 1890. As the date was the ‘Double Ninth’ in the Chinese literary tradition, an auspicious occasion to climb mountains and drink chrysanthemum wine, Seigai’s topic of ascending high into the mountains was entirely appropriate. The first thing that strikes the reader is that at forty lines Seigai’s poem is not only considerably longer than the poems examined so far, but also vastly more sophisticated in the breadth and complexity of its allusions and imagery:

風雨觀華嚴瀑歌

A Song of Kegon Falls Amid the Storm

黑髮之山高入空	Black-capped mountains thrust high into the sky,	1
百靈呵護青龍嶽	Spirits clamor as they watch over towering blue peaks. ⁸²	
絕頂	滙碧三萬頃 peak, swirls of green span thirty thousand <i>qing</i> ; ⁸³	
溢為巨瀑專其雄	The runoff forms a vast waterfall, there is only its magnificence.	
遠望匹練掛林末	Far off, it is as white silk blanketing tree-tips;	5
近疑河漢橫蒼穹	Close up, is this the Milky Way across the great blue sky?	
一落為霰再落霧	One drop falls as hail, another falls as mist -	
霧飛霰迸林生風	The mist flies, the hail spatters as the wind arises from the woods.	
三落而下不見水	Another drop falls, down into unseen waters.	
俯觀一白雲濛濛	I look up and see a white cloud, drizzly and indistinct -	10
驪珠翻倒百千斛	A cascade of dragon’s pearls, a million bushels. ⁸⁴	

⁸² Seigai’s choice of rhyme graphs at the end of this second line (龍嶽 Ch. *longzong*, J. *rôsô*) echoes the second verse in the opening couplet of the third section of Sima Xiangru’s 司馬相如 (BCE 179-117) *Rhapsody on the Imperial Gardens* (上林賦 Ch. *Shang lin fu*, J. *Jôrin fu*), which deals with the mountainous areas of the Imperial park: “And then the lofty mountains spire on high/ Arching aloft, tall and towering 於是乎崇山矗矗 龍嶽崔巍”. Text and English translation from David R. Knechtges, “Fu Poetry: An Ancient-Style Rhapsody” in Zhong-qi Cai, ed., *How to Read Chinese Poetry* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2008) p. 63.

⁸³ A *qing* 頃 was a unit of measurement equal to the width of a rice field. One *qing* was equivalent to one hundred mu 畝, a measurement of area that in Japan was very roughly 1.8 square meters.

⁸⁴ A ‘dragon pearl’ 驪珠 (Ch. *lizhu*, J. *rishu*) was a mythical jewel that hung below the chin of a dragon in legends and artistic depictions, and which was for obvious reasons exceptionally rare and prized. Seigai’s imagining of Kegon-no-taki as a cascade of dragon pearls both praises the beauty of the falls and foreshadows the mystical and fantastic elements to be

老精夜哭鯨人宮
 我来正遇熱如燬
 火雲聳兀奇峰重
 隆隆之雷起岳頂
 颯然飛雨吹萬松
 紫光殲潭閃眉睫
 一聲霹靂双耳聾
 泉聲風聲不可別
 林木訇磕濤崩洶
 莫是雷雨助真主
 虎豹犀象争奔衝
 不然大風撼赤壁
 龍蛇駭逸摧鱗鱗
 粉紜鬪亂不可亂

An aged spirit, lamenting by night in the mermen's palace.
 Coming here, I encounter heat like a furnace,
 Summer clouds, sheer cliffs, redoubled peaks in strange shapes.
 Crashing thunder springs up around the highest peak, 15
 A stiff breeze sends rain blowing through myriad pines.
 Purple lightning's halo flashes in the depths before my eyes,
 A single word of crashing thunder, and I am deaf in both ears,
 No longer able to distinguish the roar of spring-water and wind.
 In the trees of the wood, a great crash, wave smashing into wave.²⁰
 Is this not the lightning and rain that aided the true ruler?⁸⁵
 Tigers, leopards, rhinos, elephants, clashing and colliding?
 Or else it is the great gale that shook Red Cliff -⁸⁶
 Those heroes charged down and smashed the enemy fleet,
 Amid the turmoil and tumult of battle, they seemed disordered, yet
 were in perfect order,⁸⁷ 25

found later in his poem.

⁸⁵ "True ruler 真主" echoes a reference to Liu Xiu 劉秀 (6 BCE-67 CE, r. 25-57 CE) in Book Fifteen of the *Book of Later Han* (*Hou Han shu* 後漢書, J. *Gokanjo*), The Story of Wang Chang (*Wang Chang zhuan* 王常傳). In this account Wang Chang, one of the victorious generals at the Battle of Kunyang 昆陽, states that: "Now Liu has risen up again, and is thus the true ruler" 劉氏復興、即真主也 (Fan Ye, *Hou Han shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1995) vol. 1 p. 579). The Battle of Kunyang took place in June and July of 23 CE between the forces of the short-lived Xin 新朝 dynasty under Wang Mang 王莽 (45 BCE-23 CE) and rebels aiming to restore the Han dynasty, which Wang had overthrown. After a surprise attack from Han forces led by Liu Xiu had routed the numerically superior Xin forces at Kunyang, a flash flood then drowned several thousand men in the retreating Xin army and thereby ended their effectiveness as a fighting force. The battle spelled the end for the detested Xin dynasty and the restoration of the Han dynasty under Liu Xiu, who became Emperor Guangwu 光武 of the Later Han.

⁸⁶ The Battle of Red Cliff took place in late 208 to early 209 CE between the forces of the northern warlord Cao Cao 曹操 (155-220, J. *Sô Sô*) and the allied southern warlords Sun Quan 孫權 (182-252, J. *Son Kan*) and Liu Bei 劉備 (161-223, J. *Ryû Bi*), in which Cao Cao's vastly larger naval force was destroyed by the use of fireships. The Chinese historical epic *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* 三國演義 (Ch. *Sanguo yanyi*, J. *Sangoku engi*) depicts this battle in partly fictionalized terms, including the use of magic by Liu Bei's advisor Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 in order to summon up favorable winds for the fire-ships. It is most likely this account that Seigai is drawing on here.

⁸⁷ This and the following line are drawn almost verbatim from the section on "Forces (兵勢 Ch. *bingshi*, J. *heisei*)" in Sun Zi's 孫氏 ('Sun Tzu', dates of birth and death unknown; J. *Son Shi*) famous *Art of War* 孫子兵法 (Ch. *Sunzi bingfa*, J. *Sonshi heihô*): "In the tumult and uproar the battle seems chaotic, but there is no disorder 紛紛紜紜 鬥亂 而不可亂也", and "In battle there are only the normal and extraordinary forces, but their combinations are limitless; none can comprehend them all. For these two forces are mutually reproductive;

奇正百出交相攻 飛廉鞭叱天馬走 馮夷擊鼓聲鏗鏗 陰晴倏忽幾變幻 風雲奇譎誰能窮 乃知精靈逞狡獪 戲與詞客爭神工 須臾雨歇夕陽出 一條飲澗垂彩虹 層巖蘿薜露痕濕 殘霞掩映紛青紅 晚投湖樓獨呼酒 驚魄未定神恟恟 青蓮千歲不可起 詩成欲舞潭中龍	Direct and indirect forces striking at one another, a hundred interlocking interactions. The wind god whips and spurs his heavenly horse to a gallop, The river god strikes his drum, the beat resounding bom, bom, Sun and shadow pass in an instant – how quickly they change! Wind and clouds are most mysterious; who can fathom them? 30 For well I know mountain spirits and their tricks; They play with the poet, for they rival him in spiritual power. I wait for the sheets of rain to stop and the evening sun to emerge, A thin valley stream trickles down in the colors of the rainbow. Layered crags, tangled vines, slick with traces of dew, 35 A veil of lingering mist shows motes of blue and red. Tonight in my lakeside tower, I will call for wine and drink alone, My affrighted spirit not yet settled down, my heart filled with fear. For a thousand years, no one has been able to raise up Li Bai; My poem complete, I will dance with the dragon in the depths. ⁸⁸ 40
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To an extent, Seigai's writing about the Kegon Falls was in itself a subtle act of one-upmanship with regard to Kainan; as noted, Kainan had not actually been to see the falls as part of the gathering at Sanetomi's villa, and Seigai did not miss an opportunity to remind him of this in his critique to a poem by Kainan in *Nippon* on August 28th, 1890:

Seigai says: A poem composed on seeing waterfalls has been a difficult proposition since days of old. They are few and far between, and we have hardly heard of any since the days of Li Bai. Indeed, he who lacks vigor and talent cannot depict the aspect of the torrential, gushing waters. Kainan here has fashioned his depiction from his imagination...yet there is not a single aspect in which it does not come close to the truth. We can speak of a magical

their interaction as that of interlocked rings. Who can determine where one ends and the other begins? 戰勢不過奇正 奇正之變 不可勝窮之也 奇正相生 如環之無端 孰能窮之”。Text from Li Ling, ed., *Sunzi yi zhu* (Beijing Shi: Zhonghua shu ju, 2007) pp. 34-35. English translation from Sun Tzu, Samuel B. Griffith, trans., *The Art of War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971) p. 92.

⁸⁸ *Nippon*, September 9th 1890 p. 1. As will become apparent in the responses, the rhyme graphs are at the end of the first, second and subsequent even-numbered lines.

brush.⁸⁹

青厓曰。觀瀑詩。古來所難。李青蓮以後。寥寥寡聞。蓋寫其奔放渾盪之狀。非才雄者不能。自想像中描出。(略)莫一不逼真。可謂仙筆。

Seigai's closing reference to Li Bai in his poem makes his choice of model explicit, if it were not already clear from the poem itself; his use of scale and perspective draws heavily on the Tang poet's otherworldly depictions of the majesty of China's great mountain spaces. Seigai's poem presents the reader with an unimaginably vast landscape of sky, mountain and water which serves as a stage not only for the awesome power of nature but for a succession of mystical and celestial beings including dragons, mermen and the gods of wind and thunder. A brief excerpt from the first of Li's *Six Poems on Wandering on Mt. Tai* 游太山六首 (Ch. *You Taishan liu shou*) shows the similarities of theme and imagery:

六龍過万壑	a six-dragon sun crossing ten thousand
澗谷隨蕘廻	ravines, valley streams meandering away,
馬跡繞碧峰	I leave horse tracks winding through
于今滿青苔	emerald peaks all green moss by now,
飛流灑絕劔	water bathing cliffs in spray, cascades
水急松聲哀	headlong in flight. Among wailing pines,
北眺嶒嶂奇	I gaze north at wild headwalls, tilting
傾崖向東摧	rock crumbling away east, and over
洞門閉石扇	stone gates standing closed, lightning
地底興雲雷	storms rise from the bottom of earth. ⁹⁰

In echoing Li Bai's mountain poems, Seigai's poem also effaces the real-world geographical

⁸⁹ *Nippon*, August 28th 1890 p. 1

⁹⁰ Text from Zhan Furui et al., *Li Bai shi quan yi* (Shijiazhuang Shi : Hebei ren min chu ban she, 1997) p. 719. English translation from David Hinton, *The Selected Poems of Li Po* (New York, NY: New Directions Publishing, 1996) p. 36

and topographical differences between the mountains. For Seigai, Kegon Falls is not simply a physical location, it also becomes a imagined poetic space onto which can be overlaid other historical poetic mountains such as Mt. Lu and Mt. Tai. Despite its greater length and technical sophistication, like many of the poems discussed in this chapter Seigai's work also revolves around the creation of a common imagined space, in this case the mountains, by means of which poetic communion can transcend limitations of both time and space. This practice of creating multilayered poetic spaces also finds expression in the blending of a storm in the mountains with the great storms of the Battle of Red Cliff and the Battle of Kunyang, casting the poet and reader not only as viewing the falls, but as spectators at some of the great battles of Chinese history. One has the sense that this martial imagery, especially when allied to the invocation of wild animals and direct quotation from Sun Tzu's *Art of War* in the middle ten lines, is the result of Seigai aiming for an impression not only of vigor and robustness, but of an almost exaggerated degree of hyper-masculinity.

Five days later, Seigai's Kegon Falls poem received a rhyme-following response sent into the newspaper from the statesman Soejima Taneomi 副島種臣 (1828-1905). Signing himself "Ichiichi Gakunin 一一學人" in place of his more usual pen name of Sôkai 蒼海, Soejima had been reading the Nikkô poems in *Nippon* since the end of August, and this was the second time that he had sent in a rhyme-following response over the previous couple of weeks. At sixty-three, Soejima was thirty-five years Seigai's senior and a former Imperial

Advisor (*sûmitsu komon* 枢密顧問), so for Seigai's poem to impress Soejima sufficiently to prompt him to write a rhyme-following response was a considerable honor, particularly considering that they had never met before.

Soejima's response appeared on *Nippon's* front page on September 14th, 1890:

寄国分青崖用其華嚴瀑布歌原韻

For Kokubu Seigai, Using the Original Rhyme of his Song on Kegon Falls

謫仙一去千年空	Since the Banished Immortal, a thousand empty years ; ⁹¹	1
予嘗西遊但見廬山秀出高巖嵒	He once travelled west, saw Mt. Lu gloriously soaring, high and craggy;	
飛流直下三千尺	“Straight down three thousand feet the flying torrent runs”, he wrote. ⁹²	
氣勢直與詞鋒雄	Vigorous and direct, his words bold and heroic.	
後人往往羨李侯	Later men often envied Master Li,	5
無復氣象回旋穹	Not twice did such storms swirl across the sky.	
青崖居士胡為者	Now why should it be that Master Seigai	
欲與白也爭英風	Should strive to match Li Bai in poetic majesty?	
今誦華嚴瀑布歌	For now he sings a song of the Kegon Falls,	
陸離文情晴兼濛	His talent dazzling with bright light and dark shadow.	10
二荒山折一湖明	Mt. Futara slopes down to a clear lake, ⁹³	
鷗鷺鳧鷖其所宮	Crows, gulls, kites and hawks make it their palace.	
剩余湍奔趨懸崖	The remains of rapids charge to the cliff's edge,	
勢作一川始沓重	The surge forms a river, bubbling up in many layers.	
爭下競降又萬丈	Fighting to descend, striving to fall, ten thousand feet,	15
流沫霏霏暗碧松	Spray kicking up, mist and fog, darkening green pines.	
直是人間叵到處	This is indeed a place no human can reach.	

⁹¹ “Banished Immortal” (J. *Takusen*, Ch. *Zhexian*) was a sobriquet commonly applied to Li Bai.

⁹² This is a verbatim quote of the third line of the second of Li Bai's *Two Poems on Viewing a Waterfall at Mt. Lu* 望廬山瀑布. Note that Soejima also uses it as the third line in his poem. See *Li Bai quan shi yi*, p. 783.

⁹³ Mt. Futara is one of the mountains near the main shogunal mausoleum complex in Nikkô. Its shrine, Futarasan jinja, traces its founding back to 767 CE.

愕厥洪響魑魅魍 百怪異獸豈度得	A sudden crashing boom leaves tree spirits deafened; All manner of strange spirits and wild beasts are here, without number,	
江海未得齋崩洶 猩猩幾年曾自逃 雄鯨巨鱔誰來衡	The great rivers not yet stilled, the waves crash down. How many years now since the mountain gibbons fled? ⁹⁴ Heroic whales, mighty crocodiles, who will come to confront them? ⁹⁵	20
馮夷河伯猶患住 蜃蜃何緣見閣幢	The river gods still suffer yet. Fishermen and river monsters, why should they see palaces or warships?	
還是小禽紛紛日中下 應教夫子吟情比興多端在琢攻	I return home, small birds fluttering as the day fades. We must teach gentlemen the art of composition, of metaphor and affect, as they busy themselves in striving for excellence, ⁹⁶	25
不爾焉得作斯雄 鬱奇偉璀璨之文字	If not, how can they produce the bold and deep, the strange and brilliant, words as bright as jewels?	
禰生慘搗空鼙鼙 我老近來多漫興 九秋清灑思無窮	The air resounds with the savage beat of Mi Heng's drum. ⁹⁷ Of late in my old age I have much to amuse me, The span of autumn broad and clear, thoughts free to roam;	30

⁹⁴ Gibbons were widely used in Chinese poetry to symbolize loneliness and isolation while travelling in the mountains. Here, their absence is a result of the far more fantastical creatures to be found in the mountains.

⁹⁵ “Whales and crocodiles” was a standard expression suggesting a variety of real and fantastical sea-monsters. Du Fu, *An Excursion on Meibei Lake (Meibei xing 漢陂行)*: “How can we be sure of the absence of whales and alligators/ Should the wicked wind and waves really work their worst? 鼉作鯨吞不復知 惡風白浪何嗟及” Text from Mori Kainan, Matsuoka Hideaki, ed., *To shi kôgi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1993) vol. 4 p. 91. English translation from William Hung, *Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952) p. 53

⁹⁶ 比 (J. *hi*, Ch. *bi*) and 興 (J. *kyô*, Ch. *xing*) are two of the “six principles” of poetic expression outlined in the Greater Preface to the *Classic of Poetry*. Stephen Owen in *An Anthology of Chinese Literature* (p. 66) translates them as “comparison” and “affective image” respectively.

⁹⁷ This refers to an episode in the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms (San guo zhi yan yi)* involving Mi Heng 禰衡 (J. Nei Shô, 173 - 200 C.E.), a scholar of the Latter Han Dynasty. Commanded to serve Cao Cao, Mi Heng repeatedly insulted him in public; to shame Mi, Cao Cao commanded him to play the drum at a royal banquet. Mi Heng agreed and performed beautifully, but stripped himself stark naked while drumming and continued to insult Cao Cao, berating him as a usurper and unjust ruler. Cao Cao eventually had Mi executed. For an English translation of this episode, see Luo Guanzhong, attrib., Moss Roberts, trans., *Three kingdoms: a historical novel* (Berkeley, CA : University of California Press, 1994) pp. 181-2.

往往摘菲試小詩	Here and there I weed my garden, compose a few small poems,	
豈向君曹夸奇工	But how, alas, could I boast to you fellows of my skill?	
憶念青年稍足論	Well I recall what it was like to be young, if it is worth discussion,	
常將意氣掃長虹	Always striving for a spirit to sweep away the long rainbow,	
驅獅掣牛不曾厭	Never unwilling to drive away lions and hold back bulls,	35
腔血猶有余分紅	Still more than enough red in the body's blood!	
以為君句今驚人	And I say that is why your verses now astonish people.	
衰年膽悸多畏胸	In my declining years, courage often fails, fear fills my heart, ⁹⁸	
借問天下若君有幾人	And so I ask: how many like you are there in the realm,	
是皆文中虎與人中龍	Tigers of letters and dragons among men? ⁹⁹	40

Soejima's highly laudatory response picks up the motif with which Seigai ended his poem, namely the invocation of Li Bai and his mountain poems. Although Soejima follows the formal demands of rhyme-following in retaining Seigai's graphs, he demonstrates considerable skill and imagination in using them as it were from different angles, re-casting their meaning and ensuring that his response demonstrates variation while remaining close to the original. Line 1, for instance, retains Seigai's 空 (*sora*, 'sky'), but plays on another of the graph's possible meanings, *munashii* ('empty, in vain') to compliment Seigai by suggesting that no poet since Li Bai has handled the topic of mountains with such skill. In what should by now be a familiar trope, in lines 10 to 24 Soejima locates himself within the imagined physical space of the Nikkô mountains and Kegon Falls, echoing both Seigai's depiction of the force of the waterfall and of the mystical spirits and monsters that dwell among the peaks and in the turbulent waters (line 17, "This is indeed a place no human can reach"). From line

⁹⁸ Strictly speaking, the rhyme graph for this line should be 恟 rather than 胸. This is probably Soejima's mistake rather than a misprint, since he repeats the same graph in the second of his responses to Seigai.

⁹⁹ *Nippon*, September 14th 1890 p. 1

25, however, Soejima's poem takes a different turn to Seigai's original, leaving the mountain setting for a meditation on the purpose and value of *kanshi*. Soejima draws on the *Great Preface* to emphasize the value of literary study for the gentleman in lines 26 and 27, but then juxtaposes this view in the following line with an invocation of Mi Heng's drumming from the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. By linking Mi Heng's open defiance of Cao Cao's political authority to the Great Preface's broader statement of the purpose of poetry, these three lines can be read as valorizing the figure of the scholar-poet who is not afraid to speak the truth to those in power, and thus as a strong endorsement of Seigai's emphasis on *kanshi* as a medium for political criticism. Throughout lines 29 to 40, Soejima expresses both approval and envy for the 28-year old Seigai's youth, suggesting in the closing lines that Seigai is the kind of figure Soejima would wish to take up his own mantle now he himself is comparatively advanced in years.

It is important to recall when discussing *kanshi* in Meiji newspapers that individual verses were almost never published as stand-alone pieces; in virtually all cases, comment and critique from at least one other poet associated with the column in question would be published alongside the poem. The inclusion of responding comments from other poets gives each literary column the flavor of a literary salon, adding an additional layer of poetic dialogue beyond the text of the poem itself and emphasizing how *kanshi* practice was implicated within a world of social reciprocity. In this instance, Seigai himself was the author

of the second of two critiques appearing alongside Soejima's verse on September 14th, the other by his ostensible rival Kainan:

The language of this entire verse is bold and heroic. Each section is elegantly restrained in the manner of the Ancients, and the Count wields a brush both wonderful and whimsical. It is shot through in all directions with mystical power. It has Li Bai's lack of concern for the vulgar affairs of this world; insofar as it also combines Du Fu's subdued solemnity with the soaring quality of Han Yu's work, Master Ouyang's work "Mt. Lu, Soaring High"¹⁰⁰ must be considered inferior, to say nothing of works by Ming and Qing poets. We lesser mortals were resting in our self-contentment; how could we have known that there were such sounds to be found in the world? "With a great crash, tree-spirits are left deafened" – Soejima speaks the truth. Kokubu is of the same view. We have spent much time reading and reflecting on the poem!

Mori Kainan, September 11th 1890

通篇句語渾雄。格局蒼古。而用筆奇恣。神氣縱橫全湧。以青蓮飄逸。而兼杜之沈鬱韓之崛奇者。歐陽公廬山高一篇。猶在此下。況明清諸家織響乎。我輩雕蟲沾沾自喜。寧復知世有黃鐘大呂之音耶。愕厥洪響魑魅聾。公不我欺也。與國分同觀。相顧瞠焉者久之。

庚寅九月十一日 後學 大來 拜識

This opens with a great, thundering, smashing roar, as if it were a waterfall falling down ten thousand feet and tumbling over onto steep rocks. The rough and churning rush of waters renders one blind and fills one with fear. The middle stretch rises and falls; where it speaks of towering peaks and lofty crags, it seems as if it does indeed wish to compete with Mt. Lu to see who can soar the higher. The section from "In my old age" onwards is strange phantasms and uncertain reveries; it is all very striking. What Kainan refers to as "the soaring quality of Han Yu's work" is without a doubt to be found here. The latter part of the poem draws to a close with a brush that is grand, lofty, heroic and robust. The poem fairly flies; it has the force and vigor of a live dragon and a forceful tiger.¹⁰¹

Kokubu Seigai, September 1890

起手大声喝破。如萬丈飛瀑。倒下絕壁。滔莽渾盪。使人目眩膽悸。中幅一起一伏。

¹⁰⁰ This refers to the Song poet 歐陽修 Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072), among whose most famous poems was *The Grandeur of Mt. Lu* (*Lushan gao* 廬山高).

¹⁰¹ *Nippon*, September 14th p. 1

其巖崑峯嶺之處。直欲與廬山爭高峻。我老已下。變幻惘惚。不可方物。槐南所謂韓之崛奇。實存乎此。末段以雄偉勁健之筆收結。通篇飛動。有生龍活虎之勢。

庚寅九月 高胤 拜批

As the laudatory tone of these two comments suggests, responding critiques within the pages of the public venues of the daily newspaper and literary journal were almost always complimentary; if commentators discerned any flaws in their fellow poets' work, they generally refrained from pointing them out. Seeing his rival Seigai honored thus by Soejima, one suspects that Kainan's expression of appreciation for Soejima's poem was not only a matter of paying due respect to such a distinguished figure, but also a way of making sure that he did not entirely yield the spotlight. As it happened, after Soejima's first response to Seigai's poem, *Nippon's* pages saw no further interaction among the three poets until a little over two weeks later on September 29th, when Soejima produced a second rhyme-following response to Seigai's original, quoted in excerpt here:

又用青崖華巖布韻有寄

Again Using Seigai's Kegon Falls Rhyme, Presented to Him

秋風浩蕩披懷空
吟興乍臻肩聳崑
誰令我輩至有此
青崖居士文騷雄
久在朝市不望山
是日嗟嘆高碧穹

Great broad autumn winds sweep across a nostalgic sky;
Poetic inspiration strikes as I reach the shoulder of towering peaks.
Who is it that has brought us all here?
It is Master Seigai, acclaimed hero of letters.
Long at court, I never gazed out at the mountains;
This day, I gasp in amazement at the great blue sky.¹⁰²

Again, Kainan and Seigai were the two poets providing the requisite critical response, but on

¹⁰² *Nippon*, September 29th 1890, p. 1

this occasion there was a noticeable change in Seigai's tone. Kainan once again stated his admiration for Soejima's work in glowing terms:

It is just like what the *Sikong biaosheng wenji* calls “standing with Heaven and Earth, and becoming one with the gods.” The distinguished Count's spirit knows no limits; it winds up to the heavens and runs to the ends of the earth...I can only think to bow down low out of admiration.¹⁰³

正司空表聖所謂天地與立。神化攸同者。老伯氣魄磅礴蟠乎天而極乎地（略）唯五体投地思而已

Possibly emboldened by the compliment of Soejima writing him not one but two rhyme-following poems, Seigai showed rather less generosity of spirit in closing his own comments with a swipe at Kainan:

Those men in the world who paint their faces and put on powder, and enjoy writing poems about whores – can they read this poem without dying of shame?¹⁰⁴

世之鬚眉男子。而塗脂伝粉。喜作女郎詩者。讀此能無慚死耶

In context, especially when set next to Kainan's comments, the insult was unmistakable. Seigai's comment is revealing here in terms of his understanding of the significance of the poetic exchange among himself, Kainan and Soejima. For Seigai, Kainan's proclivity for writing about women and male-female relationships in his poetry was clear evidence of his effeminacy, and thus sufficient basis to question whether he was a legitimate participant in

¹⁰³ *Nippon*, date as above. The *Sikong biaosheng wenji* 司空表聖文集 (J. *Shikû hyôsei bunshû*) was a guide to style and literary study for poets composed by Sikong Tu 司空圖 (837-908).

¹⁰⁴ *Nippon*, date as above.

what he saw as a bold, vigorous and heroic exchange between men. Being insufficiently masculine, Seigai suggests, Kainan must be put to shame by the hyper-masculine martial imagery and grand scale of both Seigai and Soejima's mountain poems. In other words, only real men could participate in this *kanshi* exchange; real men did not spend their time writing about women; thus Kainan was neither a real man nor worthy to participate in the masculine sphere of rhyme-following poetry.

It is probably to Kainan's credit that he did not immediately fire back at Seigai in retaliation for this apparent breach of poetic etiquette and public slur on his character. Instead, he continued to comment in favorable terms on Seigai and Soejima's continuation of their poetic exchange through *Nippon's* pages on the 2nd, 5th and 6th of October. Lines 11 to 15 of Seigai's poem on October 6th give the impression that he may well have been trying to goad Kainan, scorning contemporary poets as follows:

鬚眉乃學冶艷態	Men they may be, yet their learning is effeminate,
弗異粉黛媚六宮	No different from a painted beauty flirting in the harem. ¹⁰⁵
小言詹詹漫自喜	Worthless chattering, yet they themselves rejoice,
釘餽只見故紙重	Fine foods they view as so many reams of paper. ¹⁰⁶

If this was in fact Seigai's aim, he was successful, since Kainan published a rhyme-following

¹⁰⁵ This phrasing echoes lines 7 and 8 of Bai Juyi's 白居易 (772-846) *Song of Everlasting Sorrow* (長恨歌 Ch. *Chang hen ge*, J. *Chôgonka*), which describe Yang Guifei's 楊貴妃 beauty: "When she turned around with smiling glance, she exuded every charm/ in the harem all who wore powder and paint of beauty then seemed barren 迴眸一笑百媚生 六宮粉黛無顏色". Text from Xie Siwei, ed., *Bai Juyi shi ji jiao zhu* (Beijing Shi : Zhonghua shu ju, 2006) vol. 2 p. 943, translation from Owen p. 442.

¹⁰⁶ *Nippon*, October 6th 1890 p. 1

response of his own the following day. So far as is known, this was the only time the two participated in this kind of *kanshi* exchange:¹⁰⁷

贈青厓居士用其華嚴瀑詩原韻 有序

Presented to Master Seigai, Using the Original Rhyme of his Poem on Kegon Falls. With Preface.¹⁰⁸

放眼天下名山空	I cast my eyes to the sky over the realm's great peaks,	1
胸中五嶽高崿崿	The Five Famous Mountains soaring majestically in my heart. ¹⁰⁹	
即今海內作長句	Of late in the land they have been writing lengthy verses,	
意氣獨讓青厓雄	And why should my spirit be any less courageous than Seigai?	
神光奕奕暘出谷	Divine light floods forth from sunrise in the valleys,	5
元精耿耿星麗穹	The Force of the Universe sparkles in the star-resplendent sky. ¹¹⁰	
鬚髯戟張骨卓立	Full of manly vigor I stretch out and stand firm,	
吸噓廣莫閭闔風	My breathing in and out is the North and West winds.	
嘗登芙蓉峰絕頂	Once, I climbed to the very peak of Mt. Fuji,	
蒼茫獨立青濛濛	In the endless blue, murky green, I stand alone.	10
出日入月割夜半	The sun rises, moon sets, breaking the night in half.	
洞冥燭見方諸宮	Dark caves; where my lamp shines, they are all palaces;	
神僊幽怪之所宅	Incorporeal spirits, dark marvels, this is where they dwell.	

¹⁰⁷ Kinoshita Hyô, who knew Seigai personally and who edited a posthumous collection of his poems, states that Kainan and Seigai were aware that their poetic tastes did not match and generally tried to avoid one another (see Kinoshita, "Kokubu Seigai to Meiji Taishô Shôwa kanshikai" (7) p. 41). Somewhat later, during June of 1895, a sequence of linked *kanshi* verse featuring both Seigai and Kainan did appear in *Nippon's Bun'en*, showing that they were not completely opposed to spending time in the other's company. Intentionally or not, the two were kept as far apart as possible in the actual linked verse sequence, with Kainan at the very beginning and Seigai providing the last verse. See *Nippon* June 21st, 1895, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ For reasons of space I have omitted the preface, as well as some interlinear comments by Yatsuchi Kinzan.

¹⁰⁹ These are five mountains in China strongly associated with Daoism and arranged along the five cardinal directions of Chinese geomancy. They are Mt. Heng 恒山 ('North', in modern day Shanxi), Mt. Heng 衡山 ('South', in Hunan), Mt. Tai 泰山 ('East', in Shandong), Mt. Hua 華山 ('West', also in Shanxi), and Mt. Song 嵩山 ('Center', in Henan).

¹¹⁰ Kainan echoes lines 7 and 8 of Li He's 李賀 (J. Ri Ga, 790-816) *Passing by High Eaves* 高軒過: "Heavenly bodies line up in their hearts/And the Great Force of the Universe shines through them 二十八宿羅心胸 元精耿耿貫当中". Text from Zhen Huile, ed., *Li He shixuan zhu* (Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, 1994) p. 110

兜羅錦雲旋萬重
 一風拂之忽無跡
 但聽稷稷鳴群松
 歸來大悟變化理
 詩成使人三日聾
 匊匊鞞鞞夜轟雷
 破壁風雨來洶洶
 鬪醜池迸鐵骨出

天狗巖裂蟾窟衝
 家人震懾君大笑
 憶昨破浪乘鱗鱗
 鯨吞鼉作潮逆立
 蒲帆十裂飄毋攻
 當時檣樓嘯自若
 矧今此屋聞闐鞞
 杜陵突兀思廣廈
 丈夫豈復辭固窮
 山巔海角盡詰料

敢誇一篇觀瀑工

Like sandalwood brocade, clouds whirl in myriad layers,
 One breath of wind sweeps them away, now not a trace, 15
 I hear only the song of clustered pines sighing in the breeze.
 Returning home, I fully grasp the law of impermanence.
 My poem complete, I am rendered deaf for three days;
 A great crash of resounding thunder reverberates in the night,
 Smashing down the walls, the storm comes flooding in. 20
 “Wind-bleached Skull” lake surges, “Iron-bones” plum tree
 stands forth,
 “Tengu Rock” crumbles, crashing into “Frog Cave”¹¹¹
 People in their homes tremble in fear at the lord’s great laugh,
 Recalling the past destruction of wave-riding warships.
 Great whales, alligators and rip-currents, 25
 Reed sails torn to pieces, they drift and their attack falters.
 At that time the man in the crow’s nest whistled unconcernedly,
 All the more then in this room do I now hear pounding drums.
 Du Fu’s soaring thoughts ran to spacious shelter,¹¹²
 So how can a strong man turn away from difficulty?¹¹³ 30
 The highest peaks, the furthest reaches of the ocean, all beyond any
 man’s capacity to grasp,
 Dare I take pride in one verse, crafted on seeing the falls?

¹¹¹ From the preface and subsequent mentions in the poems and their critiques, it seems that these were all features within the grounds and garden of Sanetomi’s villa.

¹¹² Lines 28 and 29 echo the closing of Du Fu’s *How My Thatch Roof Was Blown Away by Autumn Winds* 茅屋為秋風所破歌: “Where can I get a broad shelter a thousand, ten thousand spans wide/Huge roof that all the world’s poor people can share with smiling faces?/Wind and rain won’t budge it, solid as a mountain/Ah-ah, when I can see that roof soaring before my eyes/My one hut blown away, my freezing to death – none of that will matter! 安得廣廈千萬間大庇天下寒士俱歡顏 風雨不動安如山 嗚呼何時眼前突兀見此屋 吾廬獨破受凍死亦足. Text from *To shi kôgi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1993) vol. 4 p. 210. English translation from Burton Watson, *The Selected Poems of Du Fu* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2002) p. 97.

¹¹³ Kainan is probably drawing on the closing lines of the ninth of Du Fu’s *Nine Poems on Sallying Forth* 前出塞九首: “The Great Man’s ambition soars to the Four Directions/ How can he turn away from difficulty? 丈夫四方志 安可辭固窮” (*To shi kôgi* vol 3 pp 77-8). Du Fu in turn alludes to *Analecets* 15:1: “Zi Lu, appearing aggrieved, said “Does the noble person also suffer such poverty?” The Master said, “The noble person indeed suffers poverty, but when it afflicts the small man he is swept away.” 子路愠見曰「君子亦有窮乎」子曰「君子固窮、小人窮斯濫矣」”. Text from Huang Shisan, Zhang Nie, Han Lan, eds., *Lun yu hou an* (Nanjing Shi : Feng huang chu ban she, 2008) p. 430. English translation from Wm. Theodore DeBary, Irene Bloom et al., *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999-) vol. 1 p. 59.

華巖百丈吾來觀 想像陰壑騰霽虹 欲將冥搜試刻劃	Kegon Falls a hundred feet high, I have come to see it, Imagining shaded valleys and soaring rainbows, Desiring to close my eyes in contemplation, to try to carve out 35 words.
吟苦幾剔秋燈紅 賦君平生得意事 硬語一任兒曹恟 只恐朗吟欲飛去 為君點破無睛龍	Struggling to compose, my much-trimmed autumn lamp glows red, Normally, writing a poem to you comes easily, But my bold words are as children's trembling. My only fear is that on reading my poem you will fly away, Since for you I unveil pictures of sightless dragons. ¹¹⁴ 40

As line 4 suggests, Kainan picks up the gauntlet that Seigai had thrown down; depending on how one interprets the rhyme graph 雄, one could also translate this line as something along the lines of “Why should I be any less of a man than Seigai?” From this point onward, Kainan’s imagery follows and responds to that used by Seigai and Soejima to an almost exaggerated extent; in lines 7 and 8, he rejects Seigai’s attack upon his masculinity by asserting his “manly vigor (鬚髯戟, literally ‘hair and beard standing forth like pikes’)” and that his very breath is as the mighty winds. Kainan then adapts Seigai and Soejima’s motif of the mountain storm by blending it with Du Fu’s poetry, imagining himself in the same position as the Tang poet seeing his house damaged by autumn winds. Invoking both Du Fu’s concern even in personal difficulty for his fellow man and the passage from the *Analecets* upon which Du Fu himself draws, Kainan here sets up a doubly resonant assertion of his own courage and steadfastness when faced with difficulty. The ‘difficulty’ here likely refers to

¹¹⁴ Commissioned by the Emperor, the painter Zhang Sengyao 張僧繇 (?-?) of the Southern and Northern Dynasties Period (420-589) painted four dragons without eyes. When asked why he had done so, he painted in the eyes on two of the four, which promptly flew away. The modern Chinese expression *Hua long dian jing* 画龍点睛 (literally, ‘to paint in the dragon’s eyes’, or to add the finishing touches) derives from this story.

Seigai's attacks, in which capacity the invocation both of Du Fu as moral exemplar and of the *Analecets* thus works as a rebuttal, casting Kainan as a model of steadfast and humane righteousness in the Confucian mold rather than the inconstant patron of courtesans suggested by Seigai's commentary and poems. There is also an implicit rebuke for Seigai in line 32, a suggestion that perhaps the Tôhoku-born poet was getting a little carried away as a result of the attention his initial poem had garnered.

The two appended critiques on Kainan's poem were from his friend Yatsuchi Kinzan, who was glowingly enthusiastic, and from Seigai, who tempered his criticism to acknowledge Kainan's skill:

Seigai says: Broad and clear in voice, dazzling in its light and colors, like wind and rain tearing down a wall. Crashing, resounding thunder in the night, roof and pillars all shake. Kainan has never seen the Kasuga manor; he closes his eyes and contemplates, then composes. He has been able to fashion a true depiction. His accounts of "Bleached Skull [Lake]", "Tengu [Rock]", "Moonfrog [Cave]" and "Iron bones [Plum-tree]" are all superior. All come out beautifully on the paper. A brush fit for gods and spirits, indeed! The two lines that refer to "divine light" and "power of the universe", these are not ones that I would have been able to come up with. That is how I assess this poem; I do not know whether or not Kainan would agree.

In his youth, Kainan was fond of writing poems depicting relations between the sexes. In his middle years, his spirit has grown strong and he has greatly altered the path he is treading. He goes in and out of Han, Wei and the Six Dynasties; he moves up and down through Tang, Song, Ming and Qing. These various styles are not lacking in quality, and by drawing all of them together it has come to pass that people call him a master. But expectations can color what one sees; in the eyes of those of lesser intellect he is presumed to be a wordsmith of the order of Dong Lang.¹¹⁵ I find this deeply regrettable on Kainan's

¹¹⁵ Dong Lang 冬郎 was the juvenile name of the Tang poet Han Wo 韓偓 (844-?). Known for his erotic poetry, a collection entitled *Xianglianji* 香奩集 ('Perfume Case Collection')

account. I would be remiss were I not to say something about this here. Those who doubt the truth of what I say, pray go back and read it out once more, and try to grasp what Kainan has written here.

青厓曰。音吐洪朗。光彩陸離。如風雨破壁。雷雷震夜。匍匐鞞鞞。屋柱皆動。槐南未見春日山莊冥搜刻劃。能寫其真。令天狗鬪體蝮鐵骨諸勝。跳出於紙上。何等神筆。何等鬼筆。神光元精二句。非青厓所當。將移評此作。不知槐南首肯乎否。○槐南幼時。喜香奩。中年發憤大改前轍。出入漢魏六朝。上下唐宋明清。諸體莫不善。蔚然稱為大家。而先入為主。昧者猶目以作綺語之冬郎。吾深為槐南悲之。不得不一言及此也。若謂余言不真。請試把茲篇。反覆朗誦。

Seigai's mention of Han Wo still seems like a back-handed compliment rather than a whole-hearted endorsement, but the critique was more conciliatory than what he had previously written; quite possibly, as Kinoshita suggests, Seigai realized that he had gone a little far in his public questioning of Kainan's masculinity.¹¹⁶

If Seigai's comments conveyed a sense that he personally had become carried away, this was perhaps in keeping with the somewhat excessive nature of the entire sequence, since the *kanshi* exchange actually gained in momentum from this point onwards. Further responses by Seigai and Soejima, as well as Kinzan, Iwaya Kobai and a poet signing himself Kōungai 高雲外 ('Beyond High Clouds') appeared during October on the 8th, 10th to 13th, 15th to 17th, 19th and 22nd days of the month, with the exchange finally drawing to a close on the 25th, for a total of nineteen poems over a period of just under six weeks.

One thing that seems to have slipped the mind of the poets involved in this extended

circulated independently of his more 'serious' work.

¹¹⁶ Kinoshita, "Kokubu Seigai to Meiji Taishō Shōwa no kanshikai (10)" *Shi to tomo* no. 327 (April 1977) p. 40

dialogue was that *Nippon's* literary column had readers beyond those involved in the immediate exchange. Judging by their responses to this prolonged exchange, *Nippon's* readers were not impressed with the activities of the newspaper's poets. One annoyed reader complained as follows:

An Admonition to *Nippon's* Writers Anonymous, Negishi, Hongô

I have read the sequence of various *kanshi* responses on Kegon Falls featured in *Nippon's Bun'en* of late. They are obscure, self-indulgent, indigestible and pompous – what interest can this sort of thing possibly hold? In general, Japanese writing poems in Chinese are simply stringing a bunch of exotic and extravagant characters together, and have none of the style and interest of poems by Chinese poets. And as for the 'critiques', they just end up repeating the same monotonous terms the whole way through. They're as long as bales of Indian silk coming in through Nagasaki and dangling in the air. It's enough to make people nauseous. *Nippon's* writers ought to bear this in mind.¹¹⁷

◎『日本』記者に忠告す 本郷根岸 非無名氏

『日本』文苑近来載する所の（華巖瀑唱和諸作）詩を見るに詰屈にして贅牙艱澁にして生硬、果して何の趣味かある総して日本人の詩は只管贅牙の文字を並べ立つるのみにて支那人の如き風趣あることなし且評語の如きも萬篇一律的の語句を繰返し其長きこと長崎古禪の連綿として半空より舞ひ下るが如し人をして嘔吐を催さしむ記者諸君少しく注意して可なり

Printed alongside this was one last rhyme-following response to the poem Seigai had published exactly two months previously. Perhaps in sympathy with the criticism voiced above that the *kanshi* exchange was obscure and difficult for readers to understand, the poem was pointedly glossed with the *kunten* markings that had been conspicuously absent from the earlier exchanges, making it possible for the poem to be read as Japanese. In this response, the

¹¹⁷ *Nippon*, November 9th 1890 p. 1

pseudonymous authors of the poem adopted a humorous take on the motifs of soaring mountains and mystical spirits that had been a mainstay throughout:

彫龍畫虎惑萬重	Carving dragons, painting tigers, delusion upon delusion.
月明芝艸若有靈	If there <i>are</i> spirits in the bright moon and luxuriant grass,
叱咤喝雲松	They'll voice their grievance to the clouds and pines:
請君唱和暫可已	“Knock it off with the rhyme-matching for a bit, will you?” ¹¹⁸

Although made with obvious humor in this case, there was nevertheless a serious point to these complaints. The *kanshi* magazines that had thrived in Tokyo during early Meiji under the direction of Mori Shuntô and others had been more or less the exclusive property of those who were running them, and had been read and produced by a relatively small number of people with the necessary training and background to appreciate *kanshi*. The small readership of these publications meant that they generally were not very profitable, and tended to be time consuming; Kainan had given up on running *Shinbunshi*, for instance, after getting his job in the government bureaucracy because he no longer had time to devote to the magazine. Yet as we can see in the exchanges above, the basic *modus operandi* of writing *kanshi* in the print media had not really changed in response to the different format presented by the newspaper. Unlike the coterie magazine, *Nippon* covered a broad range of topics and its readers were not necessarily exclusively interested in poetry, still less in poetry that came only from a very narrow set of people. Although the nineteen-poem exchange discussed above was an extreme example, it was also symptomatic of how Seigai, Soejima and company had essentially

¹¹⁸ *Nippon*, November 9th p. 1

treated the public space of *Nippon's Bun'en* as their own private territory, recognizing little need to engage with readers or adapt their work to their tastes. The practices of rhyme-following and critique, while in theory a test of skill, too frequently ended up working as a closed loop, as if the poets were engaging in a private conversation in which readers were expected to act as passive consumers. The complaints can be read as showing a growing frustration at this mode of operation; the exchange of critiques and rhyme-following poems among a fixed cast of poets had highlighted quite effectively the relatively narrow parameters within which they were operating. The question was whether this pseudo-proprietary approach to the literary column could be sustained; facing a readership that did not necessarily buy the newspaper solely for its literary content, the column needed to a certain extent to respond to, and engage with, the literary tastes of its readers, rather than focusing exclusively on the personalities and preferences of the few individuals who were involved in running it.

Conclusion: Expanding Horizons, Expanding Readers

Above, this chapter has shown how *kanshi* poetry, especially its sub-variant of 'rhyme-following', played a major role in male-male socio-literary relations for an educated elite, and how *kanshi* could be used as a way of expressing rivalry and socio-literary prestige

within the pages of the higher-end print media. Although the chapter focuses mainly on the poetry and its associated practices, it is also important to note that much of the work in question was being published and read through the newspapers, and to consider the impact of this relatively new medium on how each poetic genre was produced and consumed, especially as Shiki himself would join *Nippon* towards the end of 1892.

Shiki's association with *Nippon* is almost always discussed in terms of its importance as a springboard for his efforts to reform *haikai* during the mid to late 1890s, but it was actually his *kanshi*, not haiku, that first opened the door for him at the newspaper. The first poems Shiki had published in *Nippon* were not haiku but rather the Kiso *kanshi* sequence Seigai reviewed, which serves as a concrete example of how skill in Chinese poetry could in certain circumstances help one to find employment. Likewise, *Nippon's* editor-in-chief, Kojima Kazuo 古島一雄 (1865-1952), recalled that he did not know very much about *haikai* at the time he interviewed Shiki for his job, but had heard that his *kanshi* were of good quality.¹¹⁹ As both Katsura Taizô and Kinoshita Hyô point out in their accounts of *Nippon's* poetic activities, Shiki's association with many of the most prominent poets of the Tokyo literary world, almost all of whom aimed to reform and re-create the genres in which they wrote, undoubtedly played a major role in inspiring him to launch his own movement to reform *haikai* a couple of years later. Although his own *kanshi* output declined fairly quickly

¹¹⁹ *SZ*bekkan 2:201

after joining *Nippon* and essentially stopped by 1896, Shiki maintained strong ties to the Tokyo *kanshi* world and took a keen interest in what was happening within it, expressing admiration in 1893 that *kanshi* appeared to be the most advanced of the three main poetic genres.¹²⁰ In this regard, Shiki was fairly typical of most mid-Meiji men of letters; whether they actively composed themselves or not, most were aware of and interested in the activities of the Tokyo *kanshidan*.

Yet despite this prominence, *kanshi* remained essentially the province of a highly educated elite, among whom it performed a number of important social as well as literary functions, and the expanding media world, especially that brought about by the Sino-Japanese war in 1894-5, posed a major challenge to *kanshi*'s status as the pre-eminent poetic genre of Meiji Japan. Within a decade or so, haiku would largely replace *kanshi* as the dominant poetic genre within the pages of Japan's print media, thanks mainly to the efforts of Shiki and his followers at *Nippon*. I would argue that Shiki's success during the mid to late 1890s in re-purposing haiku for a highly literate and educated audience, and promoting it throughout the country, had a great deal to do with his experience working in the *kanshibun* genres during his younger years. This success did not depend solely on the content of his haiku, although both Shiki and several of his disciples, including Ioki Hyôtei, were quick to acknowledge the importance of their education in Chinese poetry in particular,¹²¹ or to think about the ways in

¹²⁰ *SZ* 14:24

¹²¹ Ioki states, for instance, that he suggested that anyone who wanted to learn to compose

which one could turn one's training in *kanshibun* to producing haiku.¹²² Shiki also learned a number of important lessons from the way in which *kanshi* had hitherto interacted with the print media; he realized, quite possibly as a result of his time spent reading *Eisai shinshi*, that interaction with readers was essential, and that any new publication would need to adopt a more open forum-style approach to poetry if it were to succeed. At the same time, the lesson of *Eisai shinshi*'s longevity, based on its close relations to educational institutions throughout the country, was not lost on Shiki either; it would be equally important to tap into the pre-existing and rapidly growing social networks afforded by Japan's education system. The question of how precisely Shiki applied these lessons, and the ways in which he adapted them to a turbulent newspaper world during the mid 1890s, will be explored in the next chapter.

haiku should first read the *Collection of Tang Poetry*. *SZ* bekkān 2:19

¹²² See *Haiku to kanshi*, serialized in *Nippon* from March 22nd, 1897 to April 5th. *SZ* 4:590-603.

Chapter 3

Poetry as Political Commentary: *Nippon* and the Birth of the “New Haiku,” 1892-5

Introduction

This chapter discusses the origins of the so-called “new haiku (*shinpa haiku* 新派俳句)” within the Japanese print media from early 1892 through the Sino-Japanese war to the end of 1895. It focuses in particular on the use of poetic genres as a medium for political discourse during this period. A key argument below is that to an extent not previously realized, one of haiku’s main roles in the newspaper world of the 1890s was as a means of commenting on current events both social and political, in which capacity it also facilitated exchange and interaction between readers and journalists.¹

Historically speaking, both the larger *haikai* 俳諧 tradition and the modern haiku have been understood as centering on the depiction of nature and the four seasons, and this

¹ In this and the subsequent chapter, a note on terminology is in order. With the exception of direction quotations, I use the term *haikai* below to refer primarily to the pre-modern poetic tradition as a whole (including linked verse, *senryū*, “verse-capping (*maeku-zuke* 前句付け)” and “point-scoring (*tentori haikai* 点取俳諧),” as well as the masters who were its primary practitioners. The term “haiku,” by contrast, I define as the consciously modern form of stand-alone verse devised by Shiki and his fellow poets, primarily in contradistinction to the broader *haikai* tradition. The term “*hokku*” is also used occasionally to refer to specific verses originating in a pre-modern *haikai* context. It should be noted that the terms *haikai* and haiku were not always used consistently or clearly distinguished even by the so-called “reformers” themselves; as late as 1896, for instance, Shiki’s manual on how to compose haiku was still entitled *Haikai taiyō* 俳諧大要 (‘Essentials of *Haikai*’). The implications of the shift from *haikai* to haiku, especially those relating to social class, are touched upon in the following chapter.

understanding was indeed at the center of the new “literary haiku (文芸的俳句)” that Masaoka Shiki 正岡子規 (1867-1902) and his later disciples such as Takahama Kyoshi 高浜虚子 (Kiyoshi 清, 1874-1959) strove to promote. However, as I show below, it was in very large part as overt political commentary that haiku established itself within the Meiji newspaper world during the early 1890s. Once haiku began to appear regularly within the pages of Japan’s daily newspapers, so-called “topical haiku (*jiji haiku* 時事俳句)” made up a large percentage of the works being published.

In what follows, I define “topical haiku” as verses that make explicit reference to the current affairs of the day, particularly matters such as political intrigue or corruption, international relations, and environmental disasters. Demonstrating the widespread nature of this use of haiku, Japan’s two most widely read papers after the Sino-Japanese war, the Tokyo-based *Yorozu chōhō* 萬朝報 and the *Ōsaka Asahi shinbun* 大阪朝日新聞, featured such verses in abundance, with relatively few “literary” haiku. The *Ōsaka Asahi* ran a semi-regular column entitled “Haiku Commentary on Current Affairs (*Jiji haihyō* 時事俳評),”² and the *Yorozu* ran topical poetry in all major genres on a virtually daily basis, but neither carried a regular column for “normal” haiku until around the turn of the century.³

² The *Ōsaka Asahi’s Jiji haihyō*, which always ran on page five of the newspaper, began in mid-February 1897 and continued for at least the next couple of years. See, for instance, the *Ōsaka Asahi* for Feb 10th, 11th, 16th and 25th, 1897.

³ The *Yorozu’s* satirical poetry column, first called *Kanfū shōei* 観風小詠 (‘Little Verses on Seeing the Times’) also went through several names over time. Others include *Gensha muzai* 言者無罪 (‘Those Who Speak Are Without Blame’) and *Bunsha sokkai* 聞者足戒 (‘Those Who Hear Are Admonished’), both alluding to the explanation of poetry’s purpose in the Greater

Newspapers aiming at a more elite audience also emphasized haiku as political commentary and encouraged their readers to do likewise. In soliciting haiku from readers towards the end of 1895, the *Tokyo mainichi shinbun* 東京毎日新聞 stated that “both topical verse and normal verses are fine (時事問題にてもただの句にてもよし),” and later the same year counseled its readers that “topical compositions need not necessarily be limited to political questions; societal matters are also interesting (時事詠は必ずしも政治問題にかぎらず社会の出来事面白かるべし).⁴

The growth of topical haiku shows poetic sociality taking on a new and openly political aspect, especially in the shape of exchanges among readers and between readers and journalists. As the above example from the *Mainichi* suggests, newspapers often published and solicited topical works from their readers. Although most Meiji newspapers carried serialized prose fiction, newspaper poetry was produced and consumed in a way that was rather different and which offered a number of advantages to the newspaper. For one, the relative brevity of most poetic genres, especially haiku, meant that they were easy to compose and could be featured on the page in large numbers. The more readers sent in works to a newspaper, the more likely they were to then buy that newspaper to see whether or not their work had been published. Furthermore, as the dissertation has argued throughout, a given poetic work rarely if ever stood in isolation; within the framework of poetic sociality, a poem

Preface to the *Classic of Poetry*.

⁴ *Tokyo Mainichi shinbun*, October 29th and December 22nd 1895. In both cases the advert appears on the front page.

was both personal expression and an invitation to other poets to participate in a larger chain of discourse. Writing poems on a fixed topic was also a key practice within topical newspaper poetry. Readers of the more elite newspapers, which devoted much of their coverage to political discussions, were usually highly conscious of the political issues of the day, and proved eager to submit verse as a way of participating in contemporary debates. As a result, the boundary between reader and writer/journalist, usually fairly stable in the case of prose fiction, came to be somewhat blurred. A significant portion of a newspaper's literary column on any given day might well have been written entirely by its readers, rather than the newspaper's paid staff.

The chapter also situates the use of topical haiku within Shiki's broader project of "haiku reform" during the early to mid-1890s. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, one of Shiki's main aims was to reform *haikai* in social terms as well as literary, to steer its demographic base away from those he saw as low-class and poorly educated and towards an educated elite. For the most part, *Nippon's* readership was made up of precisely these educated men, especially students, government employees and educators. Generally speaking, readers of *Nippon* and other "big newspapers (*ôshinbun* 大新聞)" were both highly educated and politically engaged, and so haiku on topical matters were more likely to draw their attention.⁵ Having drawn readers in, Shiki then worked within the framework of topical haiku

⁵ A rough outline of the differences between 'big newspapers' and 'small newspapers' (*koshinbun* 小新聞) might run as follows: 'small' papers were physically smaller and aimed at a less educated readership, using simpler diction as well as glosses for most graphs. They

to educate his audience on topics such as *haikai* history, major poets, and poetic diction. Once Shiki and what came to be known as the *Nippon* group had managed to establish a reasonably large and stable audience from around 1895 onwards, they distanced themselves from topical haiku fairly quickly. Topical haiku were not in themselves a major aim of Shiki's overall project so much as a means to an end, but they undeniably played a major role in launching his career.

Issues of media also played a role in the growth of topical haiku. Until the early 1890s, those interested in learning about *haikai* would usually consume it via specialized journals. These had a relatively small circulation and were often short-lived. With one or two exceptions, such as the bi-monthly *Haikai meirin zasshi* 俳諧明倫雜誌 (published 1880-1912), which sold a little over two thousand copies per month and was published by “old-school” master Shunjūan (Mimori) Mikio 春秋庵 (三森) 幹雄 (1830-1910), it was rare for specialized *haikai* journals to last even ten issues. Many groups found it relatively easy to start a *haikai* journal, needing only access to a printer who was willing to take on the task, but far harder to keep it going beyond the first six months or so. The audience for any one *haikai* publication was usually not large enough to allow it to defray costs through sales alone, and few publications carried advertising. Even Mimori Mikio's relatively successful

generally focused on gossip and local news at the expense of politics, serialized various forms of prose fiction and were often illustrated. ‘Big’ papers, by contrast, often used Sino-Japanese diction or outright *kanbun* and, as this stylistic choice suggests, generally viewed their audience as being the educated and elite classes. They used few illustrations, focused primarily on political issues and were comparatively reluctant to serialize *shōsetsu*.

Meirin zasshi did not always make a profit by itself and had to be sustained by funds from his own *haikai* practice.⁶ Along with a group of like-minded poets known as the Shii no tomo kai 椎之友会 (‘Friends of the Pasania Tree’),⁷ Shiki himself tried launching a journal entitled *Haikai* 俳諧 in the spring of 1893, but the journal managed to publish only two issues before being abandoned as a failure.⁸

Having access to the pages of the daily newspapers thus proved to be one major factor in determining which groups were successful and which were not. A permanent home and a ready-made audience aside, newspaper presence also freed the group from needing to raise the funds to publish a journal themselves. Denied the audience and resources of the daily newspapers, none of the “new haiku” groups would have been able to make the impact that they did. *Hototogisu* ホトトギス would surely not have been able to sustain itself after its inauguration in 1897 had Shiki not previously had five years at *Nippon* with which to cultivate a national audience. Although their work was not focused exclusively on haiku, the

⁶ Sekine Rinkichi “Mimori Mikio hyôden (4)”, *Haiku* vol. 27 no. 7 (July 1978) p. 252.

⁷ The group’s name alludes to a famous haiku by Matsuo Bashô 松尾芭蕉 (1644-1694): *mazu tanomu / shii no ki mo ari / natsukodachi* まずたのむ椎の木もあり夏木立, translated by Haruo Shirane as “for now I will turn / to the large pasania tree - / a summer grove.” See Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory and the Poetry of Bashô* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998) p. 92.

⁸ *Haikai*’s two issues were published on March 23rd and May 4th of 1893. In both cases, three hundred copies were printed, but the journal failed to sell even that relatively small number, and although a third issue was prepared, the printer refused to take on the cost of production and so it was never printed. The journal distinguished itself from other “old-school” *haikai* journals by refusing to charge a marking fee for haiku from readers (*irebana* 入花), which may have contributed to its lack of financial success. For more details on *Haikai*, see Mori Saruo, “Shii no tomo to zasshi *Haikai*”, *Niibari* vol. 2 no. 6 (1912) and Itô Shôu, “Shii no tomo shûdan yori zasshi *Haikai* o hakkan suru made”, *Haiku kenkyû* no. 9 (September 1934).

same was true for Ozaki Kôyô 尾崎紅葉 (Tokutarô 徳太郎, 1867-1903) and the Ken'yûsha 硯友社 group. The Ken'yûsha's first literary journal (*Garakuta Bunko* 我楽多 文庫, which developed from a small-scale hand written journal (*kairan zasshi* 回覧雑誌), lasted barely a year before folding in 1889. Undaunted, the group re-branded itself as the Murasaki Poetry Society (Murasaki ginsha むらさき吟社) and put out a new journal, *Edo murasaki* 江戸むらさき, from June of 1890. When that too ceased publishing in early 1891, Kôyô, who was the *Yomiuri shinbun* 読売新聞 newspaper's in-house novelist, moved the group's activities to the pages of the newspaper by setting up a column bearing the same name as the defunct journal on February 1st, 1891.

The development of topical haiku during the early 1890s was thus in large part conditioned by this question of medium. A specialized literary journal could, if it so chose, limit its coverage solely to the literary world, but a newspaper by its nature specialized in the reporting of current events, and so it is not surprising that poetry in general and haiku in particular begin to take on an openly political character. Both of the main leaders of the so-called “new haiku movement (*shin haiku undô* 新俳句運動)” of the mid-1890s, Shiki and Kakuta Chikurei 角田竹冷 (Shinpei 真平, 1857-1920), a poet, lawyer and Dietman, initially specialized in writing topical haiku for their respective newspapers, Shiki at *Nippon* and Chikurei at the *Yomiuri shinbun*.

Scholarly attention on Shiki's use of media tends to gravitate, perhaps understandably,

towards the journal *Hototogisu*, since it became a major part of his legacy and remains Japan's oldest continuously publishing literary periodical. Even after the inauguration of *Hototogisu*, however, Shiki still considered himself primarily a newspaper journalist, and many of his most important critical pieces appeared in *Nippon* before being re-printed in *Hototogisu*.⁹ Studies of the Meiji haiku world rarely pay much attention to *Nippon* as a medium in itself, to Shiki's interaction with the other poets at the newspaper, notably *kanshi* poet Kokubu Seigai 国分青厓 (1857-1944) and *tanka* poet Amada Guan 天田愚庵 (Gorô 五郎, 1854-1904), or to the way in which Shiki and company actually used their media pulpit. In retrospect, it may seem that once someone of Shiki's abilities was able to obtain a newspaper platform, success was inevitable. Yet at the time, it was by no means clear that such was the case or even that *Nippon* was going to be able to find a use for Shiki. Other newspapers seemed to offer more promise for developing a new haiku, such as the *Kokumin shinbun* 国民新聞 and *Yomiuri shinbun*, both of which carried work by Kôyô and Chikurei. Although neither individual newspaper could match *Nippon*'s circulation, the *Yomiuri* in particular had a far more engaged audience.¹⁰ In a haiku competition held from late 1893 to

⁹ One reason for this was that *Nippon* continued to pay Shiki his regular salary even during his last years when he was bedridden and unable to work regularly. In a letter to Kawahigashi Hekigotô of July 1898, Shiki suggested (perhaps semi-humorously) that both his status as an employee of *Nippon* and his salary should be recorded on his tombstone.

¹⁰ According to Nihon Shinbun Kyôkai, ed., *Shinbun hanbai hyakunenshi* (Tokyo: Nihon Shinbun Hanbai Kyôkai, 1969) p. 205, *Nippon*'s daily circulation in 1894 was around 21,000 copies. The same source has the highest contemporary circulation as being the *Osaka Asahi Shinbun*, at around 95,000 copies per day. By contrast, the Home Ministry's statistics for the same year put the daily circulation for the *Yomiuri* and *Kokumin* at roughly 15,000 and 14,000 copies per day respectively (see *Dai Nippon teikoku Naimushô tôkei hôkoku* (Tokyo, Nihon

early 1894, for instance, the *Yomiuri* attracted well over 80,000 entries, a staggering number given that it normally only sold around 15,000 daily copies.¹¹ In terms of personal resources and influence, there was no comparison between the *Nippon* group and their rivals; Chikurei was a wealthy and well-connected lawyer and politician, and Kôyô, as a result of his literary talents, was not only well-off financially but enormously influential in the literary world as a whole. Shiki, by contrast, had only just been saved from destitution by his job at *Nippon*, and the majority of his group were students or recent University graduates with much potential but little actual accomplishment to their name. The rise of the *Nippon* group thus being by no means a foregone conclusion, it seems sensible to look more closely at what was happening in the world of newspaper poetry during the middle of the second decade of Meiji.

As the prominence of students among the haiku reform movements suggests, the appearance of new haiku groups was to a certain extent a generational matter. By the start of the second decade of Meiji a number of the more prominent Tenpô-era 天保 (1831-1845) *haikai* masters had died in quick succession, three of them, Kitsuda Shunko 橘田春湖 (1815-1886),¹² Hagiwara Otohiko 萩原乙彦 (1826-1886) and Hirota Seichi 広田精知

Tosho Sentâ, 1988-1991) vol. 10 p. 167.

¹¹ *Yomiuri Shinbun*, February 24th 1894 p. 1. The number of entrants seems to have surprised the organizers, since the newspaper had to ask its readers for patience while Chikurei and Kôyô were given additional time to read through all the entries.

¹² Kitsuda was prominent enough to have been one of the five men to hold a position among the *kyôdô shokuin* 教導職員, a group selected by the Meiji government from among *haikai* masters to educate the people and to spread correct moral teaching. Mimori Mikio was another one of the five.

(?-1886) in the same year. Yet for all that the haiku arena was now potentially opening up to new voices, the task of establishing oneself within it, to say nothing of establishing oneself as a reformer, was by no means straightforward. One of the main reasons that the *Nippon* group became so influential in spite of several potential disadvantages was not simply that it had considerable access to a media platform, but that it was far quicker and more inventive than its rivals in developing the newspaper's potential as venue for engaging with readers by means of poetic exchange. Shiki and company were usually one step ahead of Kôyô and Chikurei, who were slow to realize the potential of the newspaper to expand their reach beyond the boundaries of their own social groups. Largely by its skilful use of its media platforms, the *Nippon* group put itself in a position from where it could stake out an influential role within the literary world by the end of 1895.

***Nippon* and the Question of Newspaper Poetry**

Formalized on December 1st, 1892, Shiki's hiring at *Nippon* did not come a moment too soon.

Shiki's financial resources were stretched thin; although he received a stipend from the

Tokiwakai 常磐会 while enrolled at the University, for health reasons he decided to move out of the dormitory at the end of 1891 and take lodgings in the Hongô 本郷 area of Tokyo.

The move placed additional strain on a stipend that was adequate but not generous, and the

situation was exacerbated by his sister Ritsu's 正岡律 (1870-1941) divorce and return to her family in the spring of 1890. This raised the possibility that Shiki, as titular head of household, would have to move his family to Tokyo and find a way to support them. Under these precarious circumstances, leaving the relatively inexpensive Tokiwakai dormitory for private lodgings must have seemed ill-advised.¹³

If changing lodgings might have seemed merely indulgent, Shiki's decision in June 1892 to withdraw from the University and thereby forfeit his Tokiwakai scholarship entirely must have seemed nothing short of suicidal, especially as he was so close to graduation. It had been clear for a while that Shiki was not happy in his studies; *Nippon's* editor Kuga Katsunan 陸羯南 (Minoru 実, 1857-1907), a friend of the family and largely responsible for giving Shiki his job at *Nippon*, recalls the six months leading up to his hiring as follows:¹⁴

In the autumn of 1891 I visited Shiki in his home in Negishi. He said that he was supposed to graduate the following year, but that on account of ill health he planned to give up his studies. I didn't know what kind of health problems he was having, but though I suggested to him that he ought to stick it out and graduate, he would not be swayed from his decision.

¹³ The Tokiwakai scholarship for University students came to ten yen per month, which was not a particularly large sum; his starting salary at *Nippon* came to three times that, and Naitô Meisetsu during his days at the Ministry of Education had made ten times that (Naitô Meisetsu, *Meisetsu jijoden* (Tokyo: Iwanami Bunko, 2002) p.298). Various anecdotes suggest that Shiki was in dire financial straits even before this, borrowing money from Naitô Meisetsu and having to have Sôseki buy him notebooks with which to take notes in his University lectures. See Akio Bin, *Shiki no kindai: kokkei, media, Nihongo* (Tokyo: Shin'yôsha, 1999) p. 40

¹⁴ Katsunan had been friends with Shiki's uncle Katô Takusen 加藤拓川 (1859-1923) since their days together at the Justice Ministry Law School earlier in Meiji, from where they had both been expelled for co-ordinating riots to protest at the poor quality of the food served to the students. Shortly before the events described above, Takusen had departed for France and requested that Katsunan do what he could to take care of Shiki in his absence.

He said that of late he had begun to get into researching haiku and had found it rather interesting, so he was thinking of quitting the university and doing only that...At this time I knew absolutely nothing about haiku and wondered to what purpose he was going to do haiku research; if as a pastime for an invalid who was convalescing, well, that was a different matter, but when he said that he wanted to make a contribution to literature I wondered if he had really thought the matter through...At that time the only people putting haiku in the papers were followers of Kikakudô Eiki (1823-1904) or Kakuta Chikurei, or their ilk, and not many of them either. When I asked Shiki whether he wanted to try putting something in *Nippon*, he said that he would give me a travelogue he had already written, and then produced a travelogue interspersed with haiku, and that was Shiki's first point of entry.¹⁵

二十四年の秋予が根岸の寓を尋ねて来て来年は卒業の筈だが、病気の為に廃学する積りだと語る、ドンな病気か知らんが我慢して卒業したらどうかと勧めても、決心はなかなか動かさない、近ごろ俳句の研究にかかつて少しく面白味が付いて来たから、大学をやめて専らこれをやらふと思ふと言ひ（略）この時予は俳句の趣味などを少しも解せぬ、こんなものを研究してどうする積りか、病気保養の為とあらば格別だが、これで文学に貢献せんなどといふのは、アの男の了簡違であるまいかと、一人で心配して居つた（略）其のころ新聞紙上に十七字の句を出す者は其角堂永機の輩か左もなくば角田竹冷の徒で、それも至つて少ない方であった、どうだ何か『日本』へ出して見たらばと云つたら、かねて書いてある紀行でも出さうとのことで、それからそれと俳句まじりの紀行などは出た、これが抑も正岡子規の初陣である。

Given Shiki's straitened circumstances, Katsunan may well have viewed his hiring of Shiki to write haiku for *Nippon* as an act of charity. On the face of it, *Nippon* was not an obvious choice as a platform from which to launch a movement to reform *haikai*, since for the most part it viewed both its mission as a newspaper and its content in unapologetically elitist terms. The newspaper did not regard haiku as a particularly important or prestigious genre at the time, and did not have a regular haiku column. In common with many *ôshinbun*, it was

¹⁵ *SZ* bekkan 2:194-5. The travelogue in question was *Kakehashi no ki* かけはしの記, serialized in *Nippon* from May 27th to June 4th, 1892.

usually not illustrated and did not serialize prose fiction, preferring to focus on political issues and opinion. It also refused to provide glosses to make its heavily Sinicized copy easier for readers to understand; Katsunan once remarked that if people couldn't understand what his newspaper published without the aid of glosses, he didn't want them reading it anyway.¹⁶

Yet despite *Nippon's* reputation for concentrating on opinion and political news, it could not afford to neglect the question of literary content, since by the early 1890s commercial pressures, combined with a cooling of the 1880s fervor for factional politics, had obliged the *ôshinbun* to look to literary content, often serialized, as an important way of attracting and retaining readers. *Nippon* responded to this challenge in its own characteristic way, maintaining its refusal to carry serialized novels and favoring the genres it deemed intellectually respectable, especially *kanshibun*.¹⁷ As seen in the previous chapter, the newspaper's *Bun'en* 文苑 column featured mainly *kanshi* and *kanbun* entries in tandem with critiques and responses to those works, often from some of the day's most learned scholars and prominent *kanshi* exponents.

Nippon's unrelenting editorial focus on politics meant that much of its literary content was also related to current events. Most prominent in this respect was Katsunan's

¹⁶ See Yamamoto Taketoshi, *Kindai Nippon no shinbun dokushasô* (Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1981) p. 141.

¹⁷ The paper steadfastly maintained its opposition to serializing novels right to the end. Its readers generally seemed to support this policy, if a letter printed on July 18th, 1898 is anything to go by; it asked "What good are novels?" and criticized other newspapers for subverting public morals by publishing prose fiction.

fellow compatriot from Tôhoku, Kokubu Seigai, the newspaper's star poet. Seigai ran the popular *kanshi* column *Hyôrin* 評林, which had occupied a prominent place since the newspaper's inception in 1889 and which focused exclusively on political matters.¹⁸ In the shape of *Hyôrin*, topical *kanshi* were thus a virtual ever-present in *Nippon*'s pages, adding an additional literary dimension to the staunch anti-governmental criticism that was the newspaper's stock-in-trade. Such criticism earned the newspaper repeated ban orders (*hakkô teishi rei* 発行停止令), with Seigai's poems being the reason for the ban on at least one occasion.¹⁹ Seigai expressed his indignation at one ban imposed in early 1893:

十回多

敢徼私心逞揣摩
忠言每每觸形科
蟬蛙喧擾斯民已
蠹賊猖狂如国何
癸兌纔經四年久

As Many As Ten Times

I dare to follow my own thoughts, boldly striving for truth;
My loyal words meet with punishment each and every time.
Cicadas, frogs, their clamor vexes the people;
Verminous insects' unchecked depredations; where now for the
country?
Only four years have passed since we began to print,

¹⁸ Born in Sendai, Seigai was educated at the fiefdom's domain school, and joined *Nippon* on the paper's inauguration in 1889. Subsequent to *Nippon* folding, he continued his column in *Nippon oyobi Nipponjin*; he also formed the Seisha 星社 poetic society along with Mori Kainan and Honda Shuchiku 本田種竹, rising to an even more prominent position in the *kanshidan* after their deaths. According to Ido Reizan, Seigai remained such a dominant figure in the *kanshi* world that as late as 1929 aspiring *kanshi* poets were advised not to depend excessively on him. See "Meiji Taishô kanshishi gaikan" in *Nippon gendai shishû, gendai kanshishû* (Tokyo: Kaizôsha, 1929) vol. 37 p. 595. Quoted in Donald Keene, "Writing in Chinese" in *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1998); v.1 p. 52

¹⁹ During the seven years from its inaugural issue in 1889 to 1896, *Nippon* was issued a ban order no fewer than thirty separate times, for a combined total of two hundred and thirty days during which it was not allowed to publish. By far the harshest response came from Itô Hirobumi's cabinet, which imposed twenty-two of the thirty ban orders. See Kojima Kazuo, *Ichi rôseijika no kaisô* (Tokyo: Chûô Kôronsha, 1951) p. 27. Kojima also asserts in "Kokubu Seigai no koto" that one of Seigai's heptasyllabic verses was directly responsible for bringing down a ban order, though he does not state when or which verse might have incurred the penalty.

停刊已到十回多 縱然毀硯折毫蓋 独我丹心不可磨	And our publishing bans number already as many as ten. Willful as I am, I smash my ink-stone, break my brush-cover; Why is it that I may not state my truest thoughts? ²⁰
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Comment: In the morning we speak of the national interest, in the evening of harmony among the people. Ah! our loyal pronouncements have many times met with harsh punishment. Four years is not a long stretch of time, but already we have accumulated ten bans. I should smash my brush and ink-stone. What will happen to the country?

評云。朝說国利。夕說民和。吁我忠言。数触嚴科。四年未久。十回已多。筆硯可毀。独如国何。

Seigai had studied at the Justice Ministry Law School at the same time as Katsunan and Takusen, and as was true for virtually all graduates of that institution, he was extensively versed in the Chinese classics, studying first at the Sendai fiefdom's domain school, the Yôkendô 養賢堂, before passing the Law School's heavily Sinocentric entrance exam. Seigai was a difficult person to handle; initially responsible for both the *Bun'en* and *Hyôrin*, he devoted more and more of his time to writing topical *kanshi* rather than writing and soliciting entries for its non-topical counterpart. Eventually, despite Katsunan's objections, he stopped writing for *Bun'en* altogether, with the running of the column being handed over to fellow *kanshi* and *tanka* poet Katsura Koson 桂湖村 (1838-1938).

Seigai's stated reason for leaving the *Bun'en* was a growing sense of distaste towards several of the poets, particularly Mori Kainan and Yatsuchi Kinzan 矢土錦山 (1849-1920) with whom he had to correspond and interact in the course of running the column. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, Seigai was quite open about his dislike of Kainan on

²⁰ *Nippon*, January 16th, 1893 p. 3

both poetic and political grounds, and *Nippon's* editor-in-chief (*henshū shunin* 編集主任) Kojima Kazuo 古島一雄 (1865-1952) notes that Seigai explained to him that he was embarrassed to be associated with Kainan and Kinzan because of their close ties with the cabinet of Itô Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841-1909). When Kojima attempted to organize a meeting between Seigai and the two poets to clear the air, he concluded that Seigai was right, having formed his own impression that Kainan and Kinzan's ties to and courting of government officialdom made them little more than “a sort of high-class male *geisha* (*isshu no kôtô hôkan* 一種の高等幫間).”²¹

Despite *Hyôrin's* popularity, Katsunan was not happy about Seigai's turn towards political commentary. Rather, Katsunan wanted his employee to focus on non-political subjects, which he regarded as the true calling of a talented poet. By contrast, Kojima saw Seigai as a valuable asset in terms of attracting and entertaining readers, and tried to maximize Seigai's public profile by encouraging him to publish a collected edition of pieces that had appeared in *Hyôrin*.²² Trying to rein in his star poet, Katsunan informed Kojima that “Seigai is at fault here, but you're to blame too because you keep egging him on (青厓も悪い)

²¹ Kojima, “Kokubu Seigai no koto” p. 13. Kojima himself is a fascinating character, moving with equal ease among Japan's media, literary and political worlds for well over half a century; not content with having effectively launched Shiki's literary career in the 1890s, he was still very much alive over fifty years later during the occupation period, playing an important role as a backer to Japan's first post-war Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru.

²² Entitled *Shitôkô* 詩董狐 (‘Dong Hu Poems’), this collection was published by Meiji Shoin in 1897. Dong Hu was a grand historian of the state of Jin 晋 who was not afraid to denounce Zhao Dun 趙盾 for the murder of his king. The name of the collection suggests that, like Dong Hu, Seigai is not afraid to speak truth to power.

が君がおだてるから悪い).”²³ Katsunan’s annoyance over Seigai’s activities also comes

through in an undated letter he sent to Kojima, quoted in the latter’s autobiography:

Glancing over yesterday’s poems [in *Hyôrin*], all [Seigai] is doing is taking the language of the editorial page and setting it to rhyme, and on top of that, his language is stale in the extreme. This is not poetry, it’s prose...

I’m often being told that *Hyôrin* isn’t interesting any more, but Seigai, the heart and soul of the whole operation, is entirely unconcerned, so what can I do? This is all because you ignore my views on the matter and give him special treatment.

You know, I read yesterday’s *Hyôrin* again this morning, and it brought me out in a cold sweat. As a poet’s work goes, it is far too shallow and insipid; it has the odor of a work by some rustic bumbler from the sticks. There has to be something you can say to Seigai. Look, at least for the moment, will you just stop giving *Hyôrin* special treatment?²⁴

昨日の数首を一読するに、唯新聞上の論説の文句を拾いて、平仄韻を付したるだけ、加之孰れも陳腐極まる文句のみ。詩に非ず文なり。(略)

屢々人より評林の面白くなくなりしを忠告せられている。併し肝賢の青厓は平気で冷淡であれば致方なし。これも僕の意見を無視して優遇するからである。

何にしても昨日の評林を、今朝再び読み、背に汗したり。詩人の諷詠としては余りに浅薄にて、村学究の臭気あり。何とか今少し言い様もあるべき筈なり。何卒当分評林の優待を止めてくれ玉へ。

Kojima and Katsunan’s disagreement highlighted a recurring theme in much of *Nippon*’s

literary content; should one aim for political relevance, increased popularity and hence

stronger sales, or should one remain true to one’s artistic principles and demand as high a

level of poetic accomplishment as possible? The tension between the two views was reflected

in the structure of the paper; *Hyôrin* and *Bun’en*, whose names had apparently been

²³ Kojima, “Kokubu Seigai no koto” p. 13.

²⁴ Kojima, “Kokubu Seigai no koto” p. 15

deliberately selected to highlight the different roles they were to play,²⁵ were always kept firmly apart in terms of both their content and physical position within the newspaper, and there seems to have been an unwritten rule that no overtly topical or political literary content should appear in *Bun'en*.

This rule seems to have been applied to other genres as well, especially *tanka*, which, though greatly outnumbered by *kanshi* and *kanbun* pieces, also appeared occasionally in the *Bun'en* column. Initially unrelated to current events, the *tanka* published in *Nippon* also came to take on an overt political character, especially after Ochiai Naobumi 落合直文 (1861-1903) and several fellow *tanka* poets formed the Asakasha 浅香社 ('Light Fragrance Society') group and began to showcase their work in the newspaper's pages, as in the below example:

Naichi zakkyo

ira ôki
nageki mo shirade
onibara o
sakura no kage ni
uemu to suramu

On "Mixed Residence"

They plan, it seems, to plant
the many-thorned demon rose
heedless of our laments
in the shade
of the cherry tree.²⁶

内地雑居 いらおほきなげきも知らで鬼ばらをさくらのかげにうゑむとすらむ

Naichi zakkyo or "mixed residence" was an important issue within the ongoing debate over

²⁵ Kojima, *Ichi rôseijika no kaisô* p. 38

²⁶ *Nippon*, May 4th 1893 p.2 Part of a sequence of "twelve verses on current events (*Kin'ei jûnishû* 近詠十二首)", signed as being by the Asakasha.

reform of the unequal treaties imposed in 1858 (*jôyaku kaisei* 条約改正), a topic *Nippon* took up almost daily. Advocates of “mixed residence” proposed allowing foreigners, who had hitherto mostly been confined to extraterritorial settlements such as the port of Yokohama, to live in and move about the country without restriction, and also to purchase land. Opponents argued that lifting the restrictions would jeopardize Japan’s sovereignty and national security. The poem’s imagery, positing a menacing “demon rose” being planted in Japanese soil and threatening to compete with the native cherry tree, thus expresses the concerns of opponents of mixed residence, among whom was *Nippon*’s owner Tani Tateki 谷干城 (also Tani Kanjô, 1837-1911).²⁷

Not all of *Nippon*’s literary-based political commentary was quite so serious. In fact, at times the newspaper displayed a streak of humor out of keeping with its staid reputation. No doubt for some of its readers, this was a welcome relief from the otherwise heavy diet of editorials on domestic politics and foreign affairs. One example is a sequence from May 24th, 1892, which worked the names of twenty different plants into a series of topical puns:

<i>hito mina iu kondo no gichô wa yari</i>	<i>sugi</i>
人皆云ふ今度の議長は遣り	杉

“Everyone’s saying, this time the Speaker’s really ex-cedar-ed his authority.”

²⁷ For a brief overview in English of the main arguments and personalities on either side of the “mixed residence” debate during the 1880s and 1890s, see “The Debate on Mixed Residence in the Interior” in Eiji Oguma, David Askew, trans., *A Genealogy of ‘Japanese’ Self-Images* (Melbourne: Transpacific Press, 2002) pp. 16-30.

hitori Kaishintô kaisan no unmei o *matsu*
 獨り改進黨解散の運命を 松
 “Just the Reform party, left alone pine-ing for the dissolution.”

yonhyakuen dake de kaisan to kite wa tsuma *ran*
 四百圓丈で解散と来ては妻 蘭
 “The Diet dissolved over just 400 yen, now that’s an orchid situation!”²⁸

Even after Shiki had begun to work at *Nippon*, the newspaper continued to use haiku for the most part as either topical commentary or humorous light relief. There was no space dedicated to ‘serious’ haiku in the same way that the *kanshi* and *kanbun* published in the *Bun’en* column served as a counterbalance to Seigai’s *Hyôrin*. In fact, haiku did not begin to appear in the *Bun’en* column until March 5th, 1893, four months after Shiki had formally joined the newspaper and almost a year after he had first begun writing for it.

This attitude was not confined to *Nippon*. Other *ôshinbun* tended to use haiku in a similar way, making little distinction between haiku and *senryû*. This view of the possibilities offered by the genre was undoubtedly colored by the popularity of *senryû* in early and mid-Meiji; the *Yomiuri*, for instance, regularly featured topical *senryû* sent in by its readers, with their popularity reaching a peak in the late 1870s. A second peak came around 1890 on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the death of the originator of the genre, Karai Senryû 柄井川柳 (1718-1790), and the *Yomiuri* still solicits *senryû* from readers to this day.²⁹ In fact,

²⁸ *Nippon*, May 24th, 1892 p.2

²⁹ The change in understanding of the respective roles of haiku and *senryû* over the last century is clearly demonstrated by the *Yomiuri*’s call for “topical haiku (*jiji mondai haiku* 時

according to one estimate, by 1889 around two-thirds of all Japanese newspapers featured regular topical *senryû*, of which almost all accepted submissions from their readers.³⁰ *Nippon* was no exception, featuring *senryû* in its second ever issue. The day of *Nippon*'s inaugural issue, February 11th, 1889, also saw the assassination of Education Minister Mori Arinori 森有礼 (1847-1889), prompting an otherwise obscure poet named Nishimatsu Jirô 西松二郎 (?-?) to send in the following somewhat gloating *senryû*, published the following day:

Haitô ronsha hôchô

o waki ni sashi

yûrei ga

burei no mono ni

shite yarare

**The “no-sword” guy wears a kitchen knife –
through the chest**

our well-mannered ghost

gets got by someone

with no manners at all.³¹

魔刀論者包丁をわきにさし 有礼が無礼のものにしてやられ

Once again, Kojima seems to have been the one pushing for the introduction of topical literary content. Impressed by the above *senryû*, he apparently contacted several exponents in the capital in an unsuccessful attempt to find someone who could write the kind of

事問題俳句)” on February 12th, 1901; by contrast, the present day *Yomiuri*'s website (<http://info.yomiuri.co.jp/contact/faq/faq04.htm>, accessed November 20, 2009) invites readers to submit *jiji senryû* 時事川柳.

³⁰ Fujimori Fumio, “Jiji senryû no keifu to ruikai”, *Shinbun kenkyû* no. 358 (May 1981) p. 58

³¹ *Nippon*, February 12th 1889. The title refers to Mori's role in creating a legal prohibition on the wearing of swords by the samurai class, enacted in 1876, and puns on the *wakizashi*, a short sword traditionally worn as part of a pair by the samurai class. The first line of the *senryû* also puns on Mori's given name Arinori 有礼; the graphs can be understood as 'has manners' and read *yûrei* in the Sino-Japanese reading, which is in turn homophonous with the word *yûrei* 幽霊 (meaning 'ghost' or 'dead man').

politically-focused works he wanted.³²

Several points need to be made concerning the distinction between topical haiku and the *senryû* tradition. Without exception, the works that Shiki published in *Nippon* were, in formal terms at least, not *senryû* but haiku; they featured both seasonal and cutting words (*kigo* 季語, *kireji* 切れ字), and used classical rather than vernacular diction. Of course, the difference between haiku and *senryû* cannot be reduced to simply a matter of form, and many Meiji newspapers did not make a clear distinction between the two. *Nippon* often favored the catch-all term “17-syllable poems (*jûnanamoji* 十七文字),” and the *Yomiuri* occasionally mixed what would today be considered haiku and *senryû* together within the same column without comment.³³ That said, while the characteristic humor and pointed social criticism characteristic of *senryû* can certainly be found in a number of topical haiku, this is not always the case. Poems on topics such as the Ashio 足尾 pollution disaster, the death of pro-Japanese Korean politician Kim Okgyun 金玉均 (J. Kimu Okukyun, 1851-1894) and the sinking of the *Chishima* in 1892³⁴ were intended as serious social protest and contained no

³² Kojima, *Ichî rôseijika no kaisô* p. 47. Kojima apparently approached a writer known as Half-Face Adachi (Adachi Hangan 足立半顔) at the satirical *Marumaru Chinbun* 团团珍聞 and the *senryû* master Sakai Kuraki 坂井久良岐 (1869–1945), but found that neither of them was able to produce the kind of work he wanted. Shiki recommended his acquaintance Fujii Shiei, who was teaching in Kanazawa at the time, though problems brought about by poor communications meant that this was less than satisfactory. Kojima’s search ended in 1903 when Inoue Kenkabô 井上剣花坊 (1870-1934) joined the newspaper.

³³ See *Yomiuri Shinbun*, July 3rd 1889 p. 2, featuring the results of a results of a *kyôku* 狂句 competition held at Ryôgoku a few days earlier.

³⁴ On November 30th, 1892, a British naval ship collided with a Japanese vessel, the *Chishima*, in Japanese waters. All of the British crew were saved, whereas seventy-four of the Japanese crew were drowned. This led to public outcry and demands for compensation to be paid from

element of humor whatsoever; to do so would have been to lessen the perceived seriousness of the subject matter and undermine the point the writer was attempting to make. In the case of the Ashio poems, which criticized the disastrous results of industrial pollution arising from a copper mine in Tochigi 栃木県 Prefecture in northern Japan, haiku's traditional associations with nature and the four seasons served if anything to strengthen the sense of injustice and anger present in the poem:

Ten Spring Verses on the Toxic Runoff at Ashio Copper Mine

足尾銅山鉍毒春十句

<i>dokutsuka ni</i>	on a mound of toxins
<i>nogitsune shishite ari</i>	a wild fox lies dead -
<i>haru no tsuki</i>	the spring moon.

毒塚に野狐死してあり春の月

<i>haru no mizu</i>	spring waters
<i>dôshû o obite</i>	take on the stink of copper -
<i>uo sumazu</i>	no fish live therein. ³⁵

春の水銅臭を帯びて魚住まず

The last verse works as both image and allegory. On the one hand, it is a stark description of the environmental damage wrought by heavy metal pollution; on the other, playing on the fact that “stink of copper (*dôshû*)” also means ‘greed’ or ‘avarice,’ it stands as an implicit reproach

the British government, in which *Nippon* played a prominent role. The case was finally settled for the sum of £ 10,000 when the Japanese government took its case to the English courts.

³⁵ Composed by “Kotake 古竹” in *Nippon*, April 21st 1897 p. 5.

of mine owner Furukawa Ichibei's 古河市兵衛 (1832-1903) ruthless pursuit of profits at the expense of the livelihood of the residents of Ashio, and the tacit encouragement of Furukawa provided by the Meiji government's growth-at-all-costs industrial policies.

Based on this, it seems clear that many writers of topical verse, including Shiki, understood what they were doing as lying within the bounds of haiku. In a column published in *Nippon's* short-lived sister publication *Shô Nippon* 小日本 ('Little Nippon,' published Feb-July 1894), Shiki explores the use of diction relating to spring, specifically the phrase *yuku haru ya* 行く春や ('Ah, the passing spring'). His three examples of how to apply this phrase are drawn from Edo master poet Yosa Buson, Shiki's own seasonal compositions, and finally a series of topical haiku using the same expression and other spring diction.³⁶

Shiki and the Framework of Political Haiku

Shiki was thus faced with a delicate balancing act during his first year at *Nippon*. On the one hand, one of his major aims was to demonstrate to his readers that there was much more to the haiku than topical commentary and humor; on the other, he was a junior employee of the newspaper and so had to do as his superiors instructed him. Shiki's first assignment at *Nippon* after his formal induction into the company on December 1st, 1892 was to compose his own topical haiku, similar to those that had previously appeared in the newspaper. As had been the

³⁶ See "Haikai hitokuchibanashi," *Shô Nippon* April 26th 1894 p. 2.

case with Seigai, the one urging him to write such work was Kojima, who recalls laying out his expectations to Shiki prior to the latter's formal hiring:

On the way home from the newspaper offices, I dragged Shiki into a certain *yakitori* shop, and in the manner of a *senpai* I explained to him what special efforts you needed to make when applying haiku to newspapers and that there was a certain sort of knack to newspaper-based literature (*shinbun bungaku*). He listened with an expression on his face that suggested he knew all this without me telling him, but he didn't say anything. I thought at the time that his expression rather said "what a pain, this one's really full of himself". A couple of months later on the two-hundred and tenth day of the year, *Nippon* found itself the subject of a ban order. As a kind of test, I asked Shiki if he could come up with anything, and almost before I had finished speaking he had grabbed his brush and written:

<i>kimigayo mo</i>	even in Thy Glorious Reign -
<i>nihyakutôka wa</i>	September storms
<i>arenikeri</i>	are just as fierce. ³⁷

...So I was delighted, as if my point had been proved by this one verse, and right away I thought that we could put haiku on current events on the page along with Seigai's *Hyôrin* column, and I asked Shiki to compose some more topical haiku.³⁸

新聞社の帰へり路に僕は君を引張つて、とある鳥屋に這込んだ、そして僕は先輩然として俳句を新聞の上に應用することに就ての工夫やら新聞文学なるものは一種の技倆を有することなどを説いた、君はそんな事は言はずとも知つて居ると云ふ様な顔付で聞いて居つたが別に何も言はなかつた、僕は其時の君の顔が何となく癩に障つてコイツ生意気な奴だと思ふて居つた、それから一月も立つて丁度其年の二百十日であつた、日本新聞は発行停止を命ぜられた、僕は多少試験の気味で君何か一句ないかと言つたら言下筆を把つて
君が代も二百十日は荒れにけり

³⁷ The 210th day of the year, corresponding to September 1st in the solar calendar, was considered particularly prone to stormy weather and thus a dangerous point during the year. In the traditional Chinese cosmological view, good government implied a realm at peace both with man and with nature; that the Meiji Emperor's reign does nothing to calm the storms suggests that there is something profoundly wrong with the way governmental power at present is being exercised.

³⁸ *SZ* bekkann 2:201-202.

(略) 併し予は此一句を得てから自分の所論が成功したかの如く嬉しかった、即ち青厓の評林と共に俳句の時事評を以て紙面を飾る事が出来ると思つたから今度は更らに時事を詠じて呉れと頼んだ。

Despite his later claim that he had almost no knowledge of haiku at this time,³⁹ Kojima's emphasis on the different nature of “newspaper-based literature” and the “special efforts” that newspaper haiku required are revealing, for they suggest that he believed that haiku within the large-scale circulation print media needed to be primarily topical in nature. In Kojima's view, newspaper haiku could not content itself with aesthetic topics such as nature and the seasons, but rather needed to take up issues and themes that related to the news stories for which the readers bought the paper in the first place.

This understanding appeared to be shared by Kakuta Chikurei at the *Yomiuri*. Chikurei had published his own topical haiku in the newspaper under various pen names incorporating the graph for ‘leisure (*hima* 閑)’ as early as 1891, though most of his works were published around the middle of 1894.⁴⁰ Further, in co-ordinating the *Yomiuri*'s annual haiku competition towards the end of 1893, Chikurei had required readers to refer to current

³⁹ In Kojima's account of his first meeting with Shiki he notes that he knew almost nothing about haiku and so had no idea whether what Shiki wrote was any good or not; he was, however, impressed by the quality of the latter's *kanshi*. See *SZ* bekkan 2:201; if another account is to be believed, when Shiki remarked during what was effectively his job interview for *Nippon* that he wanted to pursue haiku, Kojima's response was “What's that? (*Haikutte nan dai* 俳句って何だい)” *Ichi rôseijika*, p. 40.

⁴⁰ Most of Chikurei's topical haiku were published in the *Yomiuri* and *Kokumin Shinbun* over a period of roughly two months, lasting from April 4th, 1894 to June 3rd of the same year. Chikurei published these haiku under the pen names ‘Hankanjin’ 半閑人, ‘Kankanjin 閑々人’, ‘Mikanjin 未閑人’, ‘Sankanjin 三閑人’ in the *Yomiuri* and ‘Tontonbô 頓々坊’ in the *Kokumin Shinbun*.

events in their verses by specifying that the haiku submitted should also make reference to a particular theme. Haiku on the topic of “This Spring Morning (*kesa no haru* 今朝の春)”, for instance, should contain a reference to “newspapers,” whereas “Leisure (*nodoka* 長閑)” should relate in some way to “the Diet.”⁴¹ One set among the *ku-awase* published in the *Yomiuri* on March 31st, 1894, addressed the required topic of “newspapers” by pairing two haiku about *Nippon* being banned yet again.

Kojima’s request that Shiki write topical haiku as part of his duties at *Nippon* was thus not surprising either in terms of Kojima personally or of the way in which haiku tended to be used in the *ôshinbun* generally. Shiki’s first efforts appeared shortly after he was formally hired and continued sporadically for the next three and a half years. Most of the topical haiku Shiki published were his own work, such as this sequence from December 20th, 1893, addressing a series of topics entirely representative of *Nippon*’s editorial focus:

The Speaker of the House – A Fallen Star

<i>saeru yo ya</i>	a freezing night -
<i>ôboshi hitotsu</i>	a single large star
<i>nagareyuku</i>	comes falling to earth.

議長星隕 冴る夜や大星一つ流れゆく

On a Bill to Improve Behavior Among Bureaucrats

<i>shukushuku to</i>	diligently giving
<i>uma ni muchiutsu</i>	a horse a good whipping -
<i>shimoyo kana</i>	a frosty night!

⁴¹ *Yomiuri Shinbun*, December 23rd 1893 p. 3

官紀振肅上秦案 肅々と馬に鞭うつ霜夜かな

On the Chishima Incident

rikimu hodo the stronger you are
nao hanekaesu the better you can fight it off-
arare kana a hailstorm!

千島艦事件 りきむ程猶はね返す霰かな

On Forcing Treaty Reform

hatsuyuki ya first snowfall -
kutsu monnai e boots shall not pass
iru bekarazu through the gate.⁴²

条約鷹行案 初雪や靴門内へ入るべからず

On the Suspension of the Diet

kogarashi no bitter winter winds
tôka bakari wa for ten days or so
yasumikeri giving it a rest.⁴³

停會 凧の十日許りは休みけり

The first of these verses puns on the surname of Speaker of the House (*gichô* 議長) Hoshi Tôru 星亨 (1850-1901), who at the time was facing a no-confidence motion. Revolving around Hoshi's surname also being the Japanese word for "star," the verse likens the speaker's fall to that of a shooting star falling to earth. The implicit contrast between the celestial image of the shooting star and the earthly machinations of party politics, a juxtaposition Shiki used in other satirical poetry, adds an extra note of irony to the poem.

⁴² Boots being Westerner's footwear (rather than *geta*, etc).

⁴³ All of the above are reproduced in *SZ* 12:47.

While working within this framework of topically-focused haiku, Shiki also displayed great ingenuity in introducing his readers to the history and main figures within the *haikai* tradition. One way in which he combined these two objectives was to re-frame Edo *hokku* with no particular political meaning within a modern context, with amusing results:

A Frog's Travels⁴⁴

Born in a watery ditch and going out to visit the muddy fields, not very elegant, but could it be because he fears that if he is in clear, pure water everyone will be able to see him? Tsurayuki⁴⁵ listed him along with the warbler and counted him among the great *waka* poets, so the way of *waka* viewed him as a master for ages eternal. Seen by Bashô jumping into a pond, he showed everyone the *sabi* of haiku; one would think that this would be an unparalleled honor, but since he sits from morning to night croaking in his old well everyone laughs at him on account of the narrowness of his world – what shabby treatment! He may not be that bright, but he's feted for his valor in the 'frog wars.'⁴⁶ And not only that but he unintentionally acquires all kinds of nicknames; Hibiya is famous as a place to hear his recitals, and when he comes out at Tamagawa in Ide he is surely guilty of the sin of loquaciousness.⁴⁷ Of course, the point of these 'frog wars' is after all to gain possession of the rice field:

ta ichi mai
moteba haru zo to
naku kawazu

a frog croaking -
"if I can get just one paddy field
then it'll be my spring!"
– Katori

And then one fights an election:

iku suberi

up he goes, down he slides

⁴⁴ *SZ* 12:27-28. Published March 1st and 2nd, 1893.

⁴⁵ Ki no Tsurayuki 紀貫之 (c.868-c.945), Heian poet and author of the preface to the *Kokin wakashû* 古今和歌集 (c.905), the first of the *waka* collections compiled by Imperial command.

⁴⁶ Refers to the gathering of frogs in the spring mating season. Shiki is likening political rallies at which politicians give speeches to a noisy assembly of frogs.

⁴⁷ Located near Kyoto, and famous in *waka* poetry as a spot where croaking frogs often gathered.

それに勝てば天下の豪傑となり

蛙子や利口になるとやかましき 溪花⁵⁰

いざ開會といふ時先を争ふての上京となり

飛顔に分別見えぬ蛙かな 鳥酔⁵¹

一思案出来て飛び込む蛙かな 鶏山⁵²

Throughout the early 1890s, *Nippon* consistently likened corrupt politicians to frogs; an illustration from the newspaper's New Year's Day 1890 edition depicted a frog in formal robes in front of a table piled high with promissory notes and land deeds, the caption reading "Bribery (*wairo* 賄賂)."⁵³ In keeping with this general theme, the above piece goes on to feature the frog taking bribes and getting involved in all sorts of shady political dealings. Shiki concluded it the following day with "The Frog's Defeat (*Kaeru no haiboku* 蛙の敗北)", in which the unfortunate amphibian is called to account for his financial improprieties and obliged to beg for forgiveness.

Just as the above sequence introduced Edo-era *hokku* under the guise of modern commentary, Shiki's own topical haiku sometimes worked on two levels simultaneously. For

⁴⁹ Mukai Kyorai 向井去来 (1651-1704)

⁵⁰ I have been unable to identify this poet.

⁵¹ Shirai Chôsui 白井鳥酔 (1700-1769)

⁵² Yoshizawa Keizan 吉沢鶏山 (1709-1777)

⁵³ *Nippon*, January 1st 1890 (supplement). See Fig. 3, p. 316.

instance, as Okano Chijû pointed out, the haiku that Shiki supposedly came up with on the spot in response to *Nippon*'s banning in September 1892 – *kimigayo mo nihyakutôka wa arenikeri* – was rather more sophisticated than it initially appeared. On the surface it was a response to the injustice of the government's decision to issue *Nippon* with a ban order, and could be appreciated as such by everyone who read it. At the same time, for those who were more conversant with the traditions and history of *haikai*, it was also an unmistakable reference to a poem by the Edo poet Ôshima Ryôta 大島蓼太 (1718-1787):

<i>kimigayo ya</i>	Thy Glorious Reign!
<i>nihyakutôka mo</i>	September storms
<i>monowasure</i>	completely forgotten. ⁵⁴

君が代や二百十日も物忘れ

While Shiki's effort gained an added dimension when read in dialogue with Ryôta's poem, it was not necessary for the casual reader to be familiar with the earlier verse in order to fully appreciate what the poem was saying. As time went on, however, Shiki began to integrate such allusions more fully into the structure of some of his topical poems; a later example from Shiki's time as editor of *Shô Nippon* demonstrates this tendency in more obvious fashion:

On the Dissolution of the Diet

<i>natsukusa ya</i>	the summer grass –
<i>giin monzen</i>	the Diet gate, out in front,
<i>hito mo nashi</i>	there's no-one there. ⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Quoted in Chijû, *Haikai fûbunki* pp. 30-31.

⁵⁵ *Shô Nippon*, June 4th p.2 Bashô's *hokku*, featured in *The Narrow Road to the North (Oku no*

衆議院解散

夏草や議院門前人もなし

The first line has little obvious connection to the rest of the scene; it serves only to immediately frame the poem within the historical and poetic context of one of Bashô's best-known *hokku*. The allusion would likely have been missed by few of Shiki's readers, and in fact the poem is reduced to a rather bland statement of fact if one reads it without factoring in its effect. The juxtaposition of Bashô's reaction on viewing the deserted ruins of the once-powerful northern branch of the Fujiwara family puts an ironic and effective accent on the present-day contemplation of the deserted Diet building, suggesting that its residents may yet find themselves relegated to a forgotten niche in history.

Though amusing, Meiji topical and satirical haiku and *senryû* were frequently one-dimensional, offering little depth beyond the obvious point they were making. By contrast, the impressive knowledge of *haikai* that Shiki brought to this arena made many of his works more sophisticated and multi-dimensional than what had been previously seen in Meiji newspapers. They could also work on different levels simultaneously, appealing both to the casual reader and to the aficionado.

One further significant element within Shiki's early work at *Nippon* is the extent to

hosomichi 奥の細道) is *natsukusa ya tsuwamonodomo ga yume no ato* 夏草や兵どもが夢の跡 (“The summer grass – all that’s left, of ancient warriors’ dreams.”) It is worth pointing out in passing that Shiki may well have been the first person to try translating Bashô into English; Shiki’s own translation and commentary on the above verse was “The summer grasses! A trace of the soldiers’ dreams’. This was composed when he looked at the barren state of an ancient battle field [sic]”. See “Baseo as a Poet”, composed in mid-1892 as part of an English assignment at the University (SZ 4:16-22).

which political poetry played a part within exchanges among readers. As in the case of the extended rhyme-matching exchanges discussed in the previous chapter, newspaper poetry often functioned as an ongoing chain of discourse among journalists and readers, and similar exchanges can be found on topical matters, as in the following example from late 1892. A series of eight satirical *kanshi* on the sights in Hibiya, a popular location for politicians to gather and make speeches, were apparently sent in by a reader and published on November 28th.⁵⁶ Signed by the pseudonymous Aishû Rôjin 愛秋老人 (‘Old Man of Autumn Sorrow’), the poems were accompanied by a preface and a response in the form of a sequence of haiku using the same set of titles, both almost certainly by Shiki. The following day, November 29th, another reader sent in a sequence of eight *kyôka* also using the same titles, thus continuing the poetic sequence.

As Shiki noted in his preface, the sequence alluded to the Eight Famous Views of Xiao and Xiang 瀟湘八景 (J. *Shôshô hakkei*, Ch. *Xiaoxiang bajing*). This was a group of famous sights in the vicinity of the Xiao and Xiang rivers in southeastern China, such as “Night Rain on the Xiao and Xiang (瀟湘夜雨)” and “Autumn Moon over Dong Ting Lake (洞庭秋月).” First codified in Song China, this group of eight views also became popular as an inspiration for poetry and painting in Japan from the fifteenth century onwards.⁵⁷ Similar

⁵⁶ The Kôdansha *Shiki zenshû* erroneously dates this sequence as being published on November 18th and Shiki’s response on December 2nd, whereas both actually appeared as part of the same article on the 28th.

⁵⁷ In their classical order, the “Eight Sights” are “Clearing Storm over a Mountain Village (山

catalogues of eight views were also devised for picturesque locations around Japan, most notably the scenery of Lake Biwa 琵琶湖 in Ômi 近江 (present-day Shiga 滋賀県 Prefecture). The iteration published in *Nippon* applies the key motifs such as “night rain” and “autumn moon” to those parts of contemporary Tokyo renowned less for their natural scenery than for their popularity as gathering places for politicians:

日比谷八景

The Eight Famous Views of Hibiya

With the great battles between the realm’s two political parties, things have gotten rather noisy these days, but even so there are some people who don’t seem to mind. The below work came in purporting to describe the Eight Views of Hibiya. Far away there are the Eight Famous Views around China’s Xiao and Xiang, nearer to home are the Eight Famous Views of Ômi. What was old is now become new. An interesting twist, so we have printed it below.⁵⁸

朝野両黨の大合戦と世の中何となく噪かしきに去りとは氣樂な人もあるものよ、日比谷の八景なりとて左の一篇舞ひ来る、遠くは瀟湘の八景近くは近江の八景古きも化して新となす其用意の面白ければ左に揚く

赤坂夜雨

Night Rain in Akasaka

山王祠畔小繁華
幾処紅桜残柳斜
秋雨蕭蕭燭甚剪
夜深猶駐議員車

A lively little gathering at the bank by Hie Shrine,
Here, there, scarlet *sakura*, a neglected willow drooping.
Dank autumn drizzle, the lamp-wicks trimmed low;
Late grows the hour, and the Dietman’s carriage is still there.⁵⁹

市晴嵐),” “Sunset over a Fishing Village (魚村夕照),” “Sails Returning from Distant Shores (遠浦帰帆),” “Night Rain on the Xiao and Xiang Lakes (瀟湘夜雨),” “Evening Bell of a Temple in the Mist (煙寺晚鐘),” “Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting (洞庭秋月),” “Descending Geese at a Sandbar (平沙落雁)” and “Evening Snow on a River (江天暮雪).” The Eight Views became enormously popular during the Muromachi period as a subject both for painting and poetry. For an overview of the influence of the Eight Views on Japanese painting and poetry, see Haruo Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons: Nature, Literature and the Arts* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2012) pp. 81-87.

⁵⁸ It is unclear who Aishû Rôjin was; since Shiki probably wrote the preface, it is possible that it was one of his acquaintances.

⁵⁹ San’nô 山王 is an alternate name for Hie jinja 日枝神社, located in present-day Nagata-chô in central Tokyo.

新橋秋月

民選其名実宦遊

新橋楽事属渠侍

定知政費竟難減

明月美人同一楼

Autumn Moon at Shinbashi

The people chose them, and rightly they're called public
em-*play*-ees,⁶⁰

Joining their fellows to indulge in Shinbashi's delights.

For surely you know, after all, public money can never run out.

A bright moon and a beautiful girl, right there in the same room.⁶¹

Shiki's haiku response was as follows:

Akasaka yosame**Night Rain in Akasaka**

Deep inside the drinking house a sad and lonely beauty; with the *shamisen* she sounds half-asleep, her mood is ever gloomy, she has no vigor about her thumb wrestling and so the host very often loses. She faces not towards Shinbashi but rather to Akasaka. Most likely this is because of the person for whom vast sums of money are as small change..⁶²

樓酒奥深くして美人寂寥たり、三絃聲ねぼけて調子常に沈みて拇戦勢弱く主人多くは負く。新橋に向はずして赤坂に向ふ。恐らくはこれ八百金猶剰餘を生ぜしむるの人か。

horoyoi no

just a little tipsy

hauta namaru ya

her song dull and leaden –

*sayo shigure*in the night, autumn showers.⁶³

ほろ酔の端唄なまるや小夜時雨

Shinbashi shûgetsu**Autumn moon at Shinbashi**

⁶⁰ *Kan'yû* 宦遊 denotes leaving one's home in the provinces to take up an official position, but the graph *yû* 遊 can also be understood to mean 'play', especially in the sense of drinking and/or visiting the licensed quarters.

⁶¹ *Nippon*, November 28th 1892, and *SZ* 12:598. As the title suggests, the full sequence and subsequent responses consist of eight verses each.

⁶² That is, the Dietman, in whom the female entertainer has no interest whatsoever.

⁶³ *Namaru* could also be understood as meaning that she lapses into the accent of her provincial home, as her mask of performance slips to reveal a poignant reminder of her past life and simpler times.

Green wines and red lanterns, all the drinking-houses are like this. Those drinking like cows and eating like horses within them – are they officials? Commoners? Samurai? Farmers? With his three-foot beard matted with drool, no dignity whatsoever, ranting away making a speech such that none can get a word in edgeways, a voice scolds him for his boorishness. The only thing interesting here is the interior of his entirely worthless separate world.

緑酒紅燈樓々皆然り。此間に牛飲馬食する者官か民か士か農か。三尺の鬚空しく涎にとぢられて些の威厳なく懸河の辯論一聲野暮と叱られて一文の價無き別世界の中こそ尤面白けれ。

tsuki to sake wine, and the moon.
teki mo mikata mo neither enemy nor ally
nakarikeri do they possess.⁶⁴

月と酒敵も味方もなかりけり

In all eight of his haiku responses, Shiki retains the setting and topic of Aishû Rôjin's original poems. In Shiki's response to "Night Rain in Akasaka", the point of view moves from outside to inside, from observing the exterior of the drinking-house and hinting obliquely at the Dietman's dissolution to observing the innermost part of the establishment and the figure of an unhappy courtesan, the other party in the politician's nocturnal activities. The poem thus places the Dietman in the position of unwanted guest, largely ignored by a courtesan who is entirely uninterested in him and doing little more than going through the motions in her efforts to entertain him. Intentionally or not, this setting and twist thus echo the motif in early Meiji political fiction (*seiji shôsetsu* 政治小説) of different figures, each identified with political factions, vying for the hand of the same female entertainer.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ *SZ* 12:15-17

⁶⁵ Most notably in Toda Kindô's 戸田新堂 (1850-1890) 1880 political novel *Jôkai haran* 情海波

The response to the “Autumn moon at Shinbashi” poem likewise follows directly on from the last line of Aishû Rôjin’s *kanshi*; where we have left the poem with the politician enjoying a pairing of the moon and an attractive courtesan, here Shiki suggests the classically congenial blend of the moon and *sake* as an alternative. The shift implicitly contrasts the image of the scholar-recluse enjoying the simple pleasures with the extravagance of the politician; it also forms an oppositional pairing of the elegance and simplicity of the celestial pairing of *sake* and the moon versus the earthly Machiavellian scheming and alliances inherent in party political activities. The preface heaps scorn on the figure of the politician in a variety of ways; while the narrator claims not to be able to tell the drinkers apart from any other class of citizen, itself a dig at the pride of the political classes, the beard (a fashionable accessory for politicians of the time) and the tendency to indulge in longwinded speeches leave the reader in no doubt as to the intended object of mockery.

The following day, a reader by the name of Aoyama Hatsuten 青山栞天士 took the same set of titles from the Eight Famous Sights and adapted them in a series of *kyôka*:

<i>Akasaka yosame</i>	Night Rain in Akasaka
<i>okane kara</i>	“before you play,
<i>saki ni nedarare</i>	you have to pay”, she insisted,
<i>nurekanete</i>	so he failed to get wet,
<i>furare furareshi</i>	got rained on <i>and</i> brushed off -
<i>akagaeru kana</i>	ah, the red-backed frog!

瀾 (“Stormy Seas of Passion”), which features a geisha named Miss Rights of the Pioneer House (Sakigakeya Oken 先駆屋お権) trying to choose between two suitors named “People of Japan” (Wakokuya Minji 和国屋民次) and “Correct Letters of National Government” (Kokufu Masabumi 国府正文).

赤坂夜雨 お金かららさききにねだられぬれかねてふられふられし赤蛙かな

***Shinbashi shûgetsu* Autumn moon at Shinbashi**

kawazu naku frogs croaking,
atarashi hashi wa the hour grows late
sayofukete at the new bridge.
hisoka ni noboru the moon at Shinbashi
Shinbashi no tsuki shiftily sneaks into the sky.⁶⁶

新橋秋月 かはつ鳴くアタラシ新橋はさよふけてひそかにのぼりシン新橋の月

Where the courtesan in Shiki's poem is merely indifferent, in Aoyama's response she is outright hostile, placing the Dietman in the humiliating position of being asked to pay up front for her services and being unable or unwilling to do so.⁶⁷ *Nurekanete* ('fail to get wet'), a fairly obvious sexual reference, is ironically juxtaposed with the following line's double play on *furare*, meaning both 'to be rejected' and 'to get rained on.' Despite the bawdy twist it adopts, Aoyama's response is not entirely devoid of subtlety; the first two lines contain a play on the poetic epithet (*utamakura* 歌枕) Karasaki 唐崎, a promontory on the shores of Lake Biwa which, when seen amid the evening rain, was also famous as one of the Eight Views of Ômi. Aoyama's response to Shiki and Aishû Rôjin's Shinbashi poem combines elements of both previous works; the reveling politicians are recast as frogs croaking out their distinctive song once night falls. Where Shiki's poem suggests the moon as innocent and apart from

⁶⁶ *Nippon*, November 29th 1892. See also *SZ* 12:599. Emphasis and glosses in original.

⁶⁷ Requesting payment up front was not usual practice in the licensed quarter and would likely have been understood as an obvious insult.

earthly scheming, the closing lines of Aishû Rôjin's poem invert this, having the moon rise shiftily (*hisoka ni*); perhaps, having spent so long in the company of so many untrustworthy characters, even the moon is now engaging in unethical activities and trying to avoid scrutiny.

This was not the only example of topical poetry playing a part in an exchange conducted through *Nippon*'s pages; a couple of weeks after the above sequence concluded, Shiki published a piece on December 18th entitled *Dôbutsu awase* 動物合せ ('A Selection of Animals'), a *ku-awase* pairing verse featuring several types of animals, many of whom were intended to stand in for famous political figures. In the following day's paper, the 19th, Aoyama again responded with a piece of his own entitled *Shin dôbutsu no bunrui* 新動物の分類 ('A New Classification System for Animals'), a *shintaiishi* featuring another set of animals.⁶⁸ On the same day, Shiki himself had also published a sequence of ten satirical haiku playing on the key phrases in an account of various political happenings that had appeared in the paper the previous day. Initially at least, it would appear that the notion of poetic dialogue was still highly influential as Shiki attempted to grapple with the problem of how best to produce content within the new format of the newspaper.

Poetic Exchange as Response to Censorship: Shiki at *Shô Nippon*

⁶⁸ See *SZ* 12:21-22 and 599-600.

By the spring and early summer of 1893, Kojima seems to have recognized that Shiki could be of more use to the newspaper writing literary criticism and non-topical verses. Accordingly, Kojima granted Shiki his own column, noting that “I’ll give you twenty lines of column space. Put your friends’ haiku in there. You’ll have ‘extraterritoriality (*chigai hôken*)’, I won’t interfere (二十行與えるから、自分の仲間の俳句を載せろ、そこは治外法権で俺は干渉しない).”⁶⁹ Much of the work that Shiki featured in his new column was drawn from meetings of the *Shii no tomo kai*, a group made up of his student friends and a group of older professionals who had read and been impressed by Shiki’s first major critical work, *Dassai shooku haiwa* 獺祭書屋俳話 (Talks on Haiku from the Otter’s Den, serialized in *Nippon* from June 26th to October 20th of 1892). Wanting to get in touch with the author of the column, the group’s leader Itô Shôu 伊藤松宇 (1859-1943) asked his friend Takatsu Kuwasaburô 高津鋏三郎 (1864-1922), a professor at Tokyo Imperial University and one of the authors of the highly influential *Nihon bungakushi* 日本文学史 (A Literary History of Japan, 1890), to provide an introduction, as Shiki was a former student. After exchanging haiku and critiques with Shôu, Shiki was soon invited to join the group, and he in turn invited a number of his student friends. From the beginning of 1893 onwards, the group thus featured a mix of younger students or recent graduates and older professionals, and although it would later split more or less along those lines, during 1893 and 1894 much of Shiki’s work on composing and

⁶⁹ Kojima, *Ichî rô seijika* p.41

researching haiku took place within the bounds of this group.⁷⁰ When haiku appeared in the *Bun'en* column for the first time on March 5th, 1893, four of the eight verses featured were by the students and four by the original, somewhat older members of the Shii no tomo kai.⁷¹ From this point onwards more and more new pen-names began to crop up beneath the haiku appearing in *Nippon's* pages, as the Shii no tomo kai attracted new members from among friends, colleagues and acquaintances of the existing participants. Thirty-three new names appeared in the roughly nine months from early March to the end of 1893, indicating the success the Shii no tomo kai was having in attracting new members to attend its sessions, although the majority of the haiku published in the newspaper were still penned by the original ten or so members.

Seemingly emboldened by this, Shiki continued to expound his rapidly developing views on *haikai*, *tanka*, *shintaiishi*, prose fiction and theater in his *Bunkai yattsu atari* 文界八つ当り (“Lashing Out at the Literary World”, serialized March 22nd to May 24th). Over the course of this piece Shiki found fault with almost every aspect of contemporary literary production, bemoaning the effect that a proliferation of short-lived newspapers and literary

⁷⁰ Of the five original members of the Shii no tomo kai, Mori Saruo 森猿男 (1861-1923) worked for the Yokohama post office, Shôu for the Yokohama branch of Daiichi bank, Ishii Tokuchû 石井得中(?-?) was a stockbroker, Ishiyama Keizan 石山桂山 (?-?) an official at the ministry of communications and Katayama Tôu 片山桃雨 (?-?) a supervisor at the First Higher school dormitory, later taking up a post at the Bank of Japan. See Murayama Kokyô, *Meiji haidanshi* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1978) p. 94.

⁷¹ The four students whose work was featured were Shiki, Naitô Meisetsu, Shôda Myôan 勝田明庵 (Kazue 主計, 1869-1948) and Nishihara Goshû 西原島五洲 (Takeo 武雄, 1866-?), with the other four verses being contributed by Shôu, Tôu, Keizan and Tokuchû.

journals was having on the quality of literary output and pointing out the flaws in the literary curricula at Tokyo senmon gakkô 東京専門学校 (later Waseda University) and at the college of letters at Tokyo Imperial University. From the autumn of the same year, Shiki moderated his tone somewhat in discussing the relative merits of spring and autumn in poetry, in a piece entitled “Spring Colors, Autumn Light” (Shunshoku shûkô 春色秋光, serialized 9th to 28th October).

While Shiki was beginning to spread his wings in the field of literary criticism, however, his newspaper pulpit found itself subjected to a heavier-than-usual barrage of ban orders from the Meiji government. Although Katsunan and his editorial staff took pride in being the targets of such governmental ire,⁷² ban orders were damaging to revenue from both sales and advertising, and by the end of 1893 it had become clear that *Nippon* needed to take action to ensure its economic survival. The first strategy *Nippon* tried in order to circumvent government censorship was to create a ‘stand-in’ publication (*migawari* 身代わり), which could be published as a substitute for the main newspaper whenever it was banned. A common strategy at the time, *Nippon* had tried this previously with a publication entitled *Dai Nippon* 大日本 (‘Great *Nippon*’), which first appeared on the 23rd November 1891. Registered to the same parent company as *Nippon*, *Dai Nippon* mostly (though not always)

⁷² Katsunan apparently displayed the ban notices on the walls of the *Nippon* offices as if they were badges of honor. See Ozaki Takeshirô, “Meiji no shinbunjin - Kuga Katsunan”, *Shûkan jiji* (October 5th 1968) p. 49. Quoted in Barbara Teeters, “Press Freedom and the 26th Century Affair in Meiji Japan”, *Modern Asian Studies* vol. 6 no. 3 (1972) p. 340.

appeared when its parent newspaper was subject to a ban order. The *Dai Nippon* strategy proved unsuccessful, however; the Meiji government was not fooled by the substitute publication, and despite *Nippon*'s protests that the two were entirely separate, *Dai Nippon* was itself banned on several occasions. In its September 10th, 1892 edition, not coincidentally around the time that Shiki was composing his earlier haiku on the 210th day of the year, the substitute paper lamented that “whenever *Nippon* is banned, *Dai Nippon* also follows a day later (『日本』は停止せられ一日を超へて『大日本』も亦停止せらる).”⁷³

Nippon's response was to modify the ‘stand-in’ strategy and try again. The new paper, entitled *Shô Nippon*, would be registered as a separate company with a separate address (in fact the second floor of a local *soba* noodle shop), and would publish six days a week, later rising to seven, regardless of whether *Nippon* was subject to a ban order. Katsunan appointed Shiki as editor-in-chief, though not without reservations. For one, he was not convinced that Shiki was ready for the responsibility, though Kojima felt that Shiki's literary talents would prove useful, and as he also pointed out, they had no-one else on staff who was really suited for the job.⁷⁴ In terms of content, Katsunan and his editorial staff, especially Kojima, took the decision to break with the parent paper and develop *Shô Nippon* along the lines of a ‘small newspaper,’ featuring illustrations, glosses for its articles, serialized fiction and columns

⁷³ *Dai Nippon* no. 12 (September 10th, 1892), p.1. Quoted in Asaoka Kunio, *Kaisetsu: “Shô Nippon” to Masaoka Shiki* (Tokyo: Ôzorasha, 1994) p. 13

⁷⁴ See *SZ* bekkan 2:212 and Kojima, *Ichi rôseijika* p. 42

carrying social news and gossip. The paper strove nevertheless to maintain the highbrow tone of its parent publication, noting on the front page of the inaugural issue that *Shô Nippon* had been created as a “family-oriented (*kateimuki* 家庭向き)” publication. The reason given for this approach was that “seventy to eighty per cent of the content of contemporary *koshinbun* consists of salacious relations between men and women, and is not fit to be read in any respectable home or by a parent to a child (其七八分は淫奔なる男女のなからひにして、道ある人の家内にて親子團欒の席には讀む可からぬ事のみ多し).” In contrast, it declared, *Shô Nippon* would focus on moral education (*fûkyô* 風教).⁷⁵ Although the assertion of the dubious nature of many other contemporary *koshinbun* was echoed by *Kyôdiku hôchi* 教育報知 (‘Education News’) and other contemporary publications which noted *Shô Nippon*’s appearance and aims with approval, by 1894 the rhetoric of serious *ôshinbun* and frivolous *koshinbun* was already rather out of date.⁷⁶ While it had never been easy to distinguish the one from the other, starting from the late 1880s a new model of newspaper had arisen, one that was far more aggressive in its marketing and use of new technologies and which incorporated both serious and populist elements; this new wave was spearheaded by the *Osaka Asahi shinbun* and *Yorozu chôhō*. Especially after the entry into the Tokyo market

⁷⁵ *Shô Nippon*, February 11th 1894, p.1 The rhetoric may also have been partly strategic: Kojima recalls that the *Nippon* staff had believed that the Meiji government would be less likely to ban a *koshinbun*, a calculation that in the event proved to be entirely mistaken. See *SZ* bekkkan 2:211

⁷⁶ Tsuchiya Reiko argues in her study *Taishûshi no genryû: Meijiki koshinbun no genryû* (Kyoto: Sekaishisôsha, 2002) that to all intents and purposes the distinction between *ôshinbun* and *koshinbun* had become redundant by the mid Meiji 20s.

of the *Tokyo Asahi shinbun* in the summer of 1888, many *ôshinbun* had realized that they too needed to incorporate content with a more popular appeal to retain their market share; some newspapers had deliberately set out to come up with a model that combined elements of both *ôshinbun* and *koshinbun*, such as the *Tokyo Chûshinbun* 東京中新聞 (literally, the ‘Tokyo Middle Newspaper’).⁷⁷ *Nippon* remained a standout, still focusing primarily on opinion and analysis rather than news reporting.

Within this context, then, *Shô Nippon* began publishing on February 11th, 1894, five years to the day after its parent publication’s inaugural issue. Probably wanting to avoid the sort of unwelcome governmental attention that had caused it to be created in the first place, *Shô Nippon* did not at first carry editorials or overtly political content, though it did carry national and international news stories. It also boasted a range of literary genres, especially serialized *shôsetsu*, haiku, *tanka*, and *kyôka*, as well as reviews of *rakugo* and kabuki theatre performances, and illustrations by painter Nakamura Fusetsu 中村不折 (Sakutarô 鉾太郎, 1866-1943). Fusetsu was recruited by Kojima, whose wide circle of social contacts came in useful in finding staff for the newspaper. Asked by Kojima to recommend someone to help with illustrations, artist Asai Chû 浅井忠 (1856-1907) suggested the then-unknown Fusetsu,

⁷⁷ This name was adopted in 1889 by what began in 1883 as the *E-iri Chôya Shinbun*; Emi Suiin states that the name *Chûshinbun* was deliberately intended to stake a claim for the middle ground between the *ôshinbun* and *koshinbun*. However, as the word *naka* 中 was also used as slang for the Tokyo’s brothel district, the paper’s title could also be construed as “Licensed Quarters Newspaper.” Perhaps because of this, it was renamed as the *Tokyo Chûô Shinbun* a little over a year later. Emi Suiin, *Jiko chûshin Meiji bundanshi* (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentâ, 1982) p. 115

of whom he noted that “he doesn’t listen to a word anybody says, but there’s no doubt he’s a genius. We have no idea what to do with him, so perhaps you can make something of him (人のいうことを聞かない、しかし天才はたしかに天才だ、われわれの仲間では手におえない男だが、君の方なら使いこなせると思う).”⁷⁸ Shiki struck up an immediate friendship with Fusetsu, whose ideas were influential in Shiki’s later formulation of the sketch-from-life concept (*shasei* 写生) in haiku and prose.

Shô Nippon did not, however, feature either *kanshi* or *kanbun*. No explanation was given for this, but most likely social as well as commercial factors were behind the decision. Political *kanshi*, of the sort Seigai was so famous for, would have been potentially problematic in a newspaper that was expressly trying to avoid being banned, and in any case it seems doubtful that Seigai would have agreed to the switch. As for non-political *kanshi*, to a considerable extent the *Bun’en* had come to be operated by Honda Shuchiku and a relatively small group of participants, who would have doubled their workload if they had agreed to work for *Shô Nippon*; as it transpired, both *Hyôrin* and the *Bun’en* column carried on operating as usual in *Nippon*’s pages while the new publication was up and running. As *Shô Nippon* had been created in part to provide an alternative source of revenue for its parent publication, it also made more sense to concentrate on genres with broader popular appeal, namely *shôsetsu* and haiku.

⁷⁸ Kojima, *Ichî rôseijika* p. 42

Haiku, *tanka* and theatre reviews could be handled in-house, but *Nippon* did not have any *shôsetsu* exponents on staff, and so had to ‘out-source’ their production. The newspaper solicited work from readers, offering “appropriate compensation (*sôtô na hôshû* 相当な報酬),”⁷⁹ but Shiki also approached Saitô Ryokuu 斎藤録雨 (Masaru 賢, 1867-1904), who had studied under the *gesaku* master Kanagaki Robun 仮名垣魯文 (1829-1894) and was well respected for his satirical work, as well as Emi Suiin of the Ken’yûsha, one of the most prominent groups in the *shôsetsu* world. Ryokuu’s work, a historical piece entitled *Yumiyagami* 弓矢神 (“The God of Archery”), was serialized in twenty-five installments from February 12th, and Suiin’s piece *Kabuto no hoshikage* 兜の星影 (“Starlight Glinting on a Helmet”) likewise ran in thirty-five installments from March 17th until May 5th.⁸⁰ Ryokuu’s disciple Kosugi Tengai 小杉天外 (Tamezô 為蔵, 1865-1952) under the pen name of Murô Gyoshi 撫浪漁史, serialized one of his pieces during June, and Shiki’s friend Kohaku also took the opportunity to run a short piece during March. Shiki himself, however, was *Shô Nippon*’s most prolific exponent of the *shôsetsu*, serializing a manuscript he had written two years earlier, *Tsuki no miyako* 月の都 (“The City in the Moon”) in the inaugural issue. Shiki also serialized two further prose works, *Ichinichi monogatari* 一日物語 (“A Tale of a Single

⁷⁹ Soliciting work from readers, even for financial compensation, apparently proved fruitless; virtually all of the *shôsetsu* that appeared in *Shô Nippon* were either by Shiki’s friends or were the result of direct requests by Shiki to specific figures within the literary world.

⁸⁰ Oddly, both Ryokuu and Suiin published their stories anonymously. It is not clear exactly why, but in Suiin’s case at least it may have been because of his Ken’yûsha connections; though he never put anything explicit in print, anecdotal evidence from a few years after *Shô Nippon*’s run suggests that Kôyô, for one, harbored a personal dislike for Shiki and his group, though it is not clear what this stemmed from or when it began.

Day”) and *Tôsei imo kagami* 当世妹鏡 (“The Character of a Woman of Our Times”), the last of which he was obliged to hurriedly conclude when word came that *Shô Nippon* would be closing down on July 15th, 1894. Technically speaking, Shiki thereby achieved his ambition of becoming a professional novelist, although probably not in the sense he might have imagined when he had taken the manuscript of *Tsuki no miyako* to be reviewed by prominent novelist Kôda Rohan 幸田露伴 (Shigeyuki 成行, 1867-1947) two years earlier.

Shô Nippon’s most vibrant genre, though, was its haiku. Reflecting the personal tastes of its editor-in-chief, *Shô Nippon* featured a daily selection of haiku from the same names that had appeared in *Nippon* throughout much of 1893. It also proved effective not only as a platform for Shiki to expound his ideas on haiku, but also in opening up a space for interaction with readers around the country. *Shô Nippon*’s most effective tool in doing this was its haiku competition, featured from the very first issue, in which it solicited haiku from its readers, to be judged and selected by Shiki and his cohorts. In itself, this was not necessarily a new idea, as Kôyô and Chikurei had begun a similar project at the *Yomiuri* a few months earlier to considerable success.⁸¹ One significant difference, however, was frequency; the *Yomiuri*’s competition was held only once per year, whereas *Shô Nippon* ran its competition every month. In contrast to *shôsetsu*, no financial incentive was offered, although the winners of each month’s competition would receive a month’s free subscription to the

⁸¹ See the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, December 23rd 1893 p. 3 and subsequent issues; the results were published in early March the following year, after *Shô Nippon* had begun publishing. As noted earlier, this first competition received over 80,000 entries.

newspaper. Very quickly, the rhythms of the haiku competition came to play a major role in *Shô Nippon's* pages.

Held every month, with the deadline on the 25th and the winners published during the opening days of the following month, the haiku competition proved enormously successful, garnering participation from all around the country in rapidly increasing numbers. In the five months during which it was in existence, *Shô Nippon's* haiku competition featured poems from around one thousand six hundred and fifty separate pen names, the numbers of participants increasing exponentially as the competition went on.⁸² Exact circulation figures for *Shô Nippon* are not recorded, but given the relatively small circulations of the time, clearly a large proportion of the paper's readers were sending in their work, even if the numbers remained small in absolute terms compared to other contemporary competitions.⁸³ The majority of entries came from locations in Tokyo, but there were also strong showings from Kyoto, Nagano, Matsuyama and even as far away as Aomori and Okinawa.⁸⁴ Several of those

⁸² This estimate is based on the index of individual pen names featured in *Shô Nippon's* haiku competition in Asaoka Kunio, *Kaisetsu Shô Nihon to Masaoka Shiki* (Tokyo: Ôzorasha, 1994).

⁸³ The first contest, concluded in March, featured 145 poems, rising to 202 in April, which then more than tripled to 629 in May and from there almost doubled to 1,145 in June. July showed a drop in participation with 784, probably partly explained by the fact that the paper closed down mid-way through that month and concluded its haiku competition early (figures provided in Asaoka, p.32). Multiple entries from one person were allowed and sometimes printed, though at no stage could participants submit more than five verses, and it was very rare for more than three lines from any individual to appear. It is not clear why the Home Ministry and the Police Department's statistics for newspaper circulation during 1894 do not record any circulation figures for *Shô Nippon*, but even if we hazard a guess that the paper's daily circulation was, say, roughly half its parent publication at around 10,000 copies daily, this still represents an impressive degree of reader participation, especially considering that the numbers quoted above reflect only the poems that were accepted for publication.

⁸⁴ See, for example, the results from the 1st May 1894, which feature poems by Tekisui 滴翠

featured in the collection would in fact go on to play active roles in their own provincial haiku groups under the umbrella of *Hototogisu* from 1897 onward.⁸⁵ Shiki also began to provide his critique of the best three poems from each month's competition from June 30th onward, and had Fusetsu provide an illustration for each of the three which he felt best captured the poem's qualities, a move that foreshadowed the development of *shasei*.

Shô Nippon's parent publication was quick to note the response from its readers, as from the end of March 1894 it began to run a similar competition in its own pages, soliciting readers' entries in *kanshi* and *tanka*.⁸⁶ At first providing no guidelines for its readers beyond the number of verses they should send in and the season on which to compose, the competition rapidly evolved, especially on the *kanshi* side; the second iteration in August of the same year gave the competition a name, *Kokai shikan* 湖海詩観 ("A Look at People's Poetry") and provided a list of twenty-five assigned topics on which to compose, as well as the prosody and meter to be used for each one. Announced on the 7th August, the competition was very likely spurred by Japan's declaration of war on China five days previously, for among the topics on which to compose were some with more than a hint of nationalism to them. Among the suggested topics were "Mt. Fuji (富士山)," which could be in any form, and

from Okinawa and Nika (or Nikô) 二香 from Aomori. Tekisui's subsequent entries have his location as Iyo (i.e., Matsuyama) so this location was likely temporary.

⁸⁵ See Wada Shigeki, "*Shô Nippon*" *sôsho* "*Haiku futabashû*": *kenkyû to sakuin* (Matsuyama: Ehime Daigaku hôbungakubu kokugo kokubungaku kenkyûkai, 1974) p.10.

⁸⁶ See *Nippon*, March 31st 1894 p.1

“The Japanese Sword (日本刀)”, in the form of a heptasyllabic old-style poem (Ch. *gushi*, J. *koshi* 古詩), as well as more explicitly bellicose topics such as “Following the Army (従軍行)” as a heptasyllabic quatrain, and “On Reading the Declaration of War (拝読宣戰大詔).”⁸⁷

Returning to *Shô Nippon*'s haiku contest, we can outline several reasons for its success. The first was a very deliberate policy in *Shô Nippon* generally of targeting the student and educator demographic; the newspaper featured a regular column entitled *Chihô gakuji han* 地方学事班 (‘Local Educational News’),⁸⁸ which carried not only news items but also local gossip, details of scholarships available, teaching vacancies and dates and places of entrance exams, all of which served to attract student readers. Shiki's later disciple and successor Kawahigashi Hekigotô 河東碧梧桐 (Heigorô 秉五郎, 1873-1937) recalled that Shiki sent him five hundred copies of *Shô Nippon* out of the blue while he was studying at Third Higher School in Kyoto; unsure of what to do with so many copies, he left them in the student lounge for his fellow students, which was probably exactly what Shiki had envisioned.⁸⁹ From an economic point of view it made sense for *Shô Nippon* to target the student demographic, for the numbers of male students receiving a middle school education

⁸⁷ *Nippon*, August 7th 1894 p. 5. According to Iritani's study of the Meiji *kanshidan*, Kainan was one of a number of particularly purist *kanshi* poets who believed, for instance, that the *sakura* cherry tree should not be included in their poems on the grounds that it was too Japanese. Iritani Sensuke, *Kindai bungaku to shite no Meiji kanshi* (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 1989) p. 23

⁸⁸ The term *chihô* presumably should be taken as meaning ‘outside of Tokyo’, with particular focus on Japan's four other Higher schools in Sendai, Kyoto, Kanazawa and Kumamoto.

⁸⁹ Kawahigashi Hekigôtô, *Shiki no kaisô* (Tokyo: Chûsekisha, 1998) p. 186

had roughly quadrupled over the previous ten years and would break the 100,000 mark during the next ten, in 1904.⁹⁰ Given the still relatively small numbers in which newspapers circulated prior to the Sino-Japanese war, gaining the loyalties of such a demographic could make a huge difference to a newspaper's commercial viability.

Reader participation in *Shô Nippon*'s pages was not limited to the haiku contest; also influential was the experience of censorship. Although it had not initially carried any opinion or editorial pieces, these began to appear in *Shô Nippon* from March 13th onward, written by Kojima. The pressure to feature opinion pieces resulted in part from the continued censorship directed towards its parent publication, so it came perhaps as no surprise that *Shô Nippon* was also served with a ban order exactly one month after it began to feature Kojima's editorials. Imposed on April 13th and lasting for four days, the ban order was likely for an opinion piece the previous day that had criticized the government's handling of the treaty issue. Once the paper was able to resume printing on April 19th, Kojima's next editorial denounced the ban as an abuse of government power, comparing the Meiji government to the villainous Qin 秦 dynasty (221-207 BCE) of ancient China. The Qin rule lasted a mere fourteen years, its downfall traditionally attributed to its burning of books and persecution of scholars, and the parallel was surely not lost on *Shô Nippon*'s readers.

⁹⁰ Figures taken from Kôno Kensuke, *Tôki to shite no bungaku: katsuji, kenshō, media* (Tokyo: Shin'yōsha, 2003) p. 94.

This censorship prompted a hitherto largely apolitical *Shô Nippon* to introduce topical haiku into its pages. Since the newspaper was again banned in early May and on July 6th, haiku addressing the issue of censorship were particularly prevalent:

On the Ban Order

<i>yuku haru o</i>	the passing spring -
<i>mugon no hito no</i>	ah, the sadness of a man
<i>aware nari</i>	who has no voice. ⁹¹

発行停止 行く春を無言の人のあわれなり

On the Banning of the Extra Edition

<i>hototogisu</i>	there are some men who
<i>naku na to môsu</i>	would even tell the cuckoo
<i>hito mo ari</i>	that it should not sing. ⁹²

号外の発行停止 時鳥啼くなど申す人もあり

On April 26th, one week after the first ban was lifted, Fusetsu also added his own protest in the shape of a satirical cartoon entitled *Hakkô o teishi suru zu* (発光を停止する図, ‘A Picture of Someone Trying to Extinguish Radiance’), which punned on the homophones *hakkô* (発行, ‘publication’) and *hakkô* (発光, ‘radiance’) and depicted an unattractive woman trying unsuccessfully to blow out a glass-shielded gas lamp so that the light should not reveal her ugliness to onlookers.⁹³ A few days later, a reader responded to Fusetsu’s illustration and the

⁹¹ *Shô Nippon*, April 26th, p. 2.

⁹² *Shô Nippon*, May 10th, p. 2. No copy of record for the extra survives, so it is unclear exactly when the ban order was issued.

⁹³ See Fig. 5, p. 318. Yet again this use of artistic genres for political commentary seems to have been Kojima’s idea, and apparently Shiki was not happy about it, scolding Kojima as

themes it raised by sending in his own satirical haiku, and others followed addressing censorship in terms of light and darkness:

In Response to the “Ban Order Picture” (*hakkô teishi rei no zu ni taisu*)

hi o keseba they put out the fire,
mata kagerô no but the shimmering simply
moenikeri flared back up again.⁹⁴
 – Gokyô

はっこうていしのずにたいす
 題 発光停止図 火を消せば又陽炎の燃えにけり 五狂

The Ban Order

hitorimushi insects gathered round a flame -
yo wa tokoyami to the world now swathed
narinikeri in eternal darkness.⁹⁵
 - Sekkyô

発行停止 灯取虫世は常闇となりけり 石狂生

Readers also responded to the assassination in Shanghai in March of the pro-Japanese Korean politician Kim Okgyun, and to the mutilation and dismemberment of his body after it was returned to Korea:

Kim Okgyun’s Harsh Punishment

follows: “Hey, stop having him do that so much. He’s an artist, it doesn’t do to be using him for cartoons and that sort of thing (おい君、あまりあんなことにばかりあれを使うな、あれは芸術家だ。漫画なんぞに使っちゃ相済まん). Kojima, *Ichi rôseijika* p. 44.

⁹⁴ *Shô Nippon*, May 1st, p.2. Gokyô’s 五狂 location is listed the Rikuchû (Tôhoku) region, and he or she also had some verse published in the general haiku competition; beyond that, though, nothing is known about who this poet was.

⁹⁵ *Shô Nippon*, June 14th, p.2. Again, nothing is known about who Sekkyô 石狂 might have been.

nakigara mo his body, too
kuzurete haru no now broken -
tadon kana charcoal in the spring.⁹⁶
 – Muchô

金玉均の惨刑 亡き骸もくづれて春の炭団かな 無腸生

Muchô's gruesome imagery likens Kim's blackened and broken body to crumbling blocks of charcoal; normally associated with winter, the sight of charcoal in spring is, for the poet, a jarring incongruity that serves to highlight the injustice of Kim's treatment.

As the summer of 1894 approached, the prospect of war overshadowed much of *Shô Nippon's* activities. More and more space in the newspaper was devoted to accounts of events in China and on the Korean peninsula, as well as maps, illustrations and discussions of the Korean people and their customs. The build-up to war also meant an increasingly paranoid government, and on June 7th the paper was once again banned. Unusually, the ban was not for 'disturbing public order (*chian bôgai* 治安妨害)' under Article 19 of the 1887 Newspaper Ordinance, but rather under Article 22, which permitted the ministers of the Army and Navy to embargo articles relating to troop movements. *Shô Nippon* had reported the previous day that the Japanese government had notified the Qing government of the dispatch of troops, as had several other newspapers, but nevertheless the Meiji government elected to take the unusual step of prosecuting *Shô Nippon* and four other newspapers for this offence. The trial was held at the Tokyo District Court on June 28th, and the verdict returned the following day.

⁹⁶ *Shô Nippon*, May 1st, p. 2. Muchô's location is listed as Kamakura.

Somewhat surprisingly, *Shô Nippon* was found not guilty on the grounds that it had not reported troop movements *per se*, but on the fact that the Japanese government had notified the Qing of these movements.⁹⁷ This was a hollow victory, since the courts did not have the power to overturn a ban imposed at the ministerial level, and the damage had already been done in lost sales and advertising revenue. Furthermore, though the trial was quickly concluded, legal expenses would have been an unwelcome additional cost for a newspaper that had at times over the last few years struggled to pay its employees' salaries. *Nippon* itself had lost out on a substantial amount of revenue as a result of ban orders summing to nineteen days during May and June, and so it needed to economize further. *Shô Nippon* was therefore shut down on July 15th, to Shiki and his companions' understandable disappointment, although all of the staff were absorbed back into their parent publication rather than being deprived of their jobs. There was time for one last final insult from the government; *Shô Nippon* was once again prosecuted on July 16th, the day after it had ceased publication, with a guilty verdict being handed down on July 18th and the nominal editor and distributor sentenced to four and three months in prison without hard labor respectively.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Asaoka, "*Shô Nippon*" to Masaoka Shiki p. 25-26

⁹⁸ Asaoka, p. 26

Conclusion: Recuperation and Re-Invention

The use of topical haiku as commentary on political matters is most noticeable during the 1890s in Japan, although it did not completely disappear after this time. In addition to *Nippon*, other newspapers such as the *Mainichi shinbun* and the *Yorozu chōhō* continued to feature topical verse sporadically, and between 1913 and 1920 (Taishō 大正 2-9) the popular interest journal *Taiyō* 太陽 (‘The Sun’) ran a column specializing in topical haiku authored by the pseudonymous Kurohōshi 黒法師 (‘Purple Aeonium Flower’). Nevertheless, the vision of haiku that Shiki and the *Nippon* group later promoted and which became in large part the mainstream of “literary” haiku did not include its use as political commentary. In the first issue of its influential journal *Hototogisu* in January of 1897, *Nippon* group elder statesman Naitō Meisetsu laid out a manifesto detailing the group’s vision of haiku. Noting that many contemporary haiku exponents used the genre to satirize and point out flaws in human affairs (*jinji no ugachi o nasu* 人事の穿ちを為す), Meisetsu argued that if this was to be the main purpose of haiku, then one would do better simply to use *senryū*, which was more suited to this purpose (此の如きに止まるものならば川柳と何ぞ扱ばん否川柳寧ろ俳句に勝れり).⁹⁹ Rather than run the risk of lapsing into vulgarity, Meisetsu argued, the poet would do better to stick to depicting the natural world.

Two months later, Shiki himself echoed this notion that poems on political affairs

⁹⁹ “Rōbaikyō manpitsu”, *Hototogisu* vol. 1 no. 1 (January 15th, 1897) pp. 1-2.

such as governmental corruption were necessarily vulgar, and could not therefore be literary.

In a review in *Nippon* of Seigai's 1897 collection of verses from *Hyôrin*, *Dong Hu Poems*,

Shiki argued that “the materials it addresses are almost all vulgar, coarse, unclean and ugly.

This is extremely un-literary. Therefore for the most part *Hyôrin* is not literature, and we

should not judge it by the standards of literature (材料は殆ど皆俗なり野なり汚なり醜なり。

是れ極めて非文学的なる者なり。評林は既に大體に於いて文学に非ず、従つて文学を

以て評論すべきに非ず)”¹⁰⁰ Particularly after Shiki's death, with Takahama Kyoshi at the

helm of *Hototogisu*, topical haiku were marginalized in favor of a vision of the genre focused

on the natural world and on objective description.

Yet as the chapter has shown, the practice of writing haiku to address political topics during the early 1890s played a major role in establishing the genre within the newspaper

world and bringing it to the attention of the educated elite who would later become Shiki's

main constituency. Writing in late 1895, the haiku critic Okano Chijû listed several reasons

for the *Nippon* group's apparent success; among these were its “popularity among students

(書生間における勢力),” a “high and elegant tone (格調の高雅)” and, crucially, “that their

work contains a satirical element (諷刺の意を寓せし).” Of these reasons, Chijû felt that the

latter two were the most important, and that the verses produced in response to censorship had

¹⁰⁰ *SZ* 14:196; originally published in *Nippon*, March 22nd 1897. It should be noted that Shiki and Seigai were good friends, and the overall review is not as negative as this quotation might cause it to seem; one of his main aims was to defend Seigai from the accusation that he was a vulgar and unskilled poet.

been among the most powerful; as he wrote:

[T]hey do not hold back from interjecting haiku into current affairs, and they have carried over the best parts of the style of poems in [Seigai's] *Hyôrin*; that they have applied this to haiku must, without a doubt, be the reason why they have gained so many plaudits from Meiji haiku exponents, and why the *Nippon* group's style has such momentum.¹⁰¹

時事の問題にも俳句を挿まざるはなく、評林體詩の特色をうつし来りて、之を俳句に用ひしは、たしかに明治俳客の多數の喝采を得て、日本派風調の勢力を得たる理由ならずんばあらず。

Chijû's term "Meiji haiku exponents (*Meiji haikyaku* 明治俳客)" was intended to distinguish between the newer generation of educated haiku poets, of whom Shiki, Chikurei and Kôyô were part, and the so-called "old-school" masters, many of whom had been born before the Meiji Restoration and of whom Chijû and most other newspaper haiku columnists did not approve. These "old-school" masters generally did not write topical haiku or engage with overtly political issues. One of the most prominent of these masters, Mimori Mikio, used his journal *Meirin zasshi* somewhat later in 1901 to scold one of his disciples who had taken to writing haiku criticizing political corruption. Mimori argued that such haiku were "harmful to the body politic (御政体を誹毀するもの)" and were not in accordance with the "harmony with others (人と対してはよく和せしめ[る])" that should be found in the work of one who professed to follow Bashô.¹⁰²

One of Chijû's other stated reasons for the *Nippon* group's success, "popularity

¹⁰¹ Chijû, *Haikai fûbunki* pp. 29-32.

¹⁰² Mimori Mikio, *Haikai Meirin zasshi* no. 216 (December 1901). Quoted in Ichikawa Kazuo, *Kindai haiku no akebono* (Tokyo: Sangensha, 1975) vol. 1 p. 407.

among students,” also raises questions of audience and interaction. As shown above, *Shô Nippon*’s target audience was mostly made up of students and educators; it saw its mission as creating a highbrow and more intellectually respectable version of haiku. Although clearly identified with the *Nippon* group – on May 5th the paper featured a haiku in mourning for Shiki’s tutor and Hekigotô and Kitô’s father Kawahigashi Seikei, who had died a few days previously – *Shô Nippon* also provided a regular, open space in which readers outside of Tokyo could send in their verses and respond to those of other poets. To this extent, *Shô Nippon* had laid the foundations for *Hototogisu* to create an “imagined community” far larger than any Shiki and his colleagues had previously thought possible.

Exactly how far this shift towards a mass-participatory model of literary production was a result of the increase in readership that the Sino-Japanese war brought about is a difficult question to answer. As we have seen, the process of opening up the haiku column to a broader level of participation had begun over a year before war was declared, but it is hard to imagine that the war itself acted as anything other than a catalyst; certainly, *Nippon*’s opening up of its *kanshi* practice to a far broader audience seems, at least initially, to have been prompted by a wish to take advantage of the possibilities that the greater number of readers (and, perhaps, a greater patriotic fervor) had to offer. Somewhat ironically, Shiki’s reaction to the opening of hostilities would mean that for some time after he personally was in little position to take advantage of the new media environment; after persistently agitating to be

allowed to go to China as a war correspondent, Shiki's wish was finally granted, and he left Tokyo to head to the Chinese mainland at the beginning of March 1895.

Shiki had already experienced several bouts of tuberculosis, which would eventually spread to his spine and kill him, and even though he arrived too late to witness any actual hostilities, the rigors of military life and the unsanitary conditions in which he was forced to travel very nearly proved fatal. The appalling conditions to which he had been subjected on the journey to and from China affected his health deeply enough that he would never really recover. Left an invalid for much of the rest of his life, Shiki required a prolonged period of convalescence in Suma and later in Matsuyama after his return to Japan. Yet the same war that wrought such infelicitous changes in Shiki's personal circumstances had the opposite effect on the Meiji newspaper world; the constant desire for news from the front, realized in prodigious numbers of extra editions (*gôgai* 号外), and open patriotic fervor in support of the troops fighting in China and Korea had the effect not only of vastly expanding newspapers' circulation, profits and readership, but also of spurring considerable improvements, technological and otherwise, in terms of production capacity. Just as Shiki's life was changed irrevocably after the Sino-Japanese war, so too was Japan's print media.

Shiki's illness gave important opportunities to figures such as Kyoshi and Hekigotô, hitherto relatively minor players, and allowed them to forge their own paths to prominence. Further, while back in Matsuyama and staying with Sôseki, who had left Tokyo and moved to

Matsuyama as a middle school teacher, Shiki's illness proved no obstacle to him once again becoming the focal point for yet further socio-literary gatherings, which would in due course be instrumental in his schoolfriend Yanagihara Kyokudô's 柳原極堂 (Masayuki 正之, 1867-1957) inauguration of the magazine *Hototogisu* at the end of 1897. Where the Shii no tomo kai's journal *Haikai* had failed in 1893 to sell even three hundred copies, upon its 1898 debut in Tokyo *Hototogisu* would sell out its entire print run of fifteen hundred copies in mere hours. Through Shiki's efforts, as well as those of Kyoshi and Hekigotô, *Hototogisu* would attain a degree of success that would scarcely have seemed possible four years earlier.

Chapter Four

Japan's Plebeian Poetry: "Commoner Literature," Poetic Sociality and the New Haiku,

1895-1900

Introduction: Is the Haiku "Literature?"

In November 1946, literary critic and scholar of French literature Kuwabara Takeo 桑原武雄 (1904-1988) published a famous polemic, *A Second-Class Art (Daini geijutsu 第二芸術)*. In his article, which continues to be debated to the present day, Kuwabara asked whether haiku deserved to be called a truly modern art form, and his answer was quite emphatic – it did not. The reasons Kuwabara gave for haiku's status as a "second-class art" are illuminating, for not only do they reveal much about how Kuwabara defined "literature" in the post-war period, they also resonate with similar debates about haiku's status a little over fifty years earlier in the immediate aftermath of the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5.

Kuwabara's polemic rested on certain assumptions about the characteristics of modern art, mostly derived from his studies of French literature. Among these, one of the most important was that a work of art needed to be autonomous, standing apart from the social and historical context in which it was created. It was ridiculous, Kuwabara argued, that certain contemporary haiku verses could not be understood without a detailed explanation

from the poet who produced them, or that a poet's social standing within the haiku world often influenced how people perceived his verse. As was the case with the works of French poets such as Baudelaire and Verlaine, modern art should be autonomous and self-contained. That contemporary haiku apparently needed so many extra layers of interpretation beyond the poem itself “can only be explained as demonstrating its incompleteness – that is to say, fragility – as a work of art (芸術品としての未完性すなはち脆弱性を示すといふ以外に説明がつかない).”¹

A further problem was the question of elite versus popular art. In Kuwabara's view, under the influence of “a genre like haiku, which can be easily produced by anyone (俳句のごとき誰にも安易に生産されるジャンル)” it was not possible to cultivate “a genuine respect for art, nor will any great works of art be created (正しい芸術の尊重はあり得ず、また偉大な芸術は決して生まれない).”² Contrasting this with the French public, which he noted had great respect for the writer (*écrivain*), and which “did not regard art as something that can be created easily (手軽に作り得るものとは考えてゐない),” Kuwabara argued that haiku must therefore be classed as pastime or amusement in similar vein to flower arranging or growing bonsai trees. Nobody, Kuwabara stated, “would criticize...the elderly for devoting themselves to chrysanthemum arranging or bonsai in their spare time (老人が余暇に菊作り

¹ Kuwabara Takeo, “Daini geijutsu” in *Daini geijutsu* Kindai bungei hyôron sôsho no. 9 (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentô, 1990) p. 73.

² “Daini geijutsu,” p. 87.

や盆栽に専念し (略) 誰も咎めようと思ふまい),” yet “one hesitates to call the cultivation of chrysanthemums art (菊作りを芸術といふことは躊躇される).”³ Haiku poets should thus “stop calling for a return to the time of Bashô, when haiku was a first-class art, and frankly accept its status as amusement (第一芸術であった芭蕉にかへれなどといはずに、むしろ率直にその慰戯性を自覚).”⁴

These same categories of analysis – art as autonomous and personal as opposed to dependent on its social context, elite versus popular art, and serious art versus “play” – were also key elements in the notion of literary haiku advanced by the so-called “new haiku movement (*shinpa haiku undô* 新派俳句運動)” some fifty years earlier. The “new haiku” groups’ discussion of what literature was, and more importantly what it was *not*, had profound implications for poetic sociality in Japan. These “new haiku” groups, most importantly Masaoka Shiki’s 正岡子規 (1867-1902) *Nippon* group 日本派, Ozaki Kôyô 尾崎紅葉 (Tokutarô 徳太郎, 1867-1903) and Kakuta Chikurei’s 角田竹冷 (Shinpei 真平, 1857-1920) *Shûseikai* 秋声会 (‘Autumn Winds Society’) and Tokyo Imperial University’s ‘University Group’ (Daigaku-ha 大学派, also known as the Tsukubakai 筑波会 or ‘Tsukuba Society’), saw their task as being the re-shaping of haiku in line with European ideas of literature, especially lyric poetry. “Reform,” for these groups, meant the elimination or marginalization of practices that had thus far been mainstays of the so-called “old-school

³ “Daini geijutsu,” p. 85.

⁴ “Daini geijutsu,” p. 86.

(*kyûha* 旧派, also “*tsukinami* 月並”),”⁵ such as linked verse and “point-scoring *haikai* (*tentori haikai* 点取俳諧),” and of the notion that *haikai* masters could and should see substantial financial returns as a result of their activities.⁶

The rhetoric of these newer groups centered on the difference between their activities, which they referred to as “literary haiku (*bungeiteki haiku* 文芸的俳句),” and the activities of contemporary *haikai* masters, which were classified as “commoner haiku (*heiminteki haiku* 平民的俳句)” or, more broadly, “commoner literature (*heimin bungaku* 平民文学).” The “commoner literature” discourse outlined three main points on which “new haiku” differed from so-called “plebeian haiku,” each of which had significant implications for poetic practice and poetic sociality. The first major distinction, that of serious art as opposed to play, de-emphasized linked poetry; the idea of haiku as elite versus popular art reinvented the social space of haiku practice as exclusive rather than inclusive; and finally, the emphasis on haiku as cultural – as opposed to monetary – capital also changed how haiku journalism used print media as a venue for poetic sociality across distance.

⁵ Meaning literally “monthly,” the term *tsukinami* originally referred to the practice of meeting monthly in order to compose verse together. Shiki redefined the term to mean something along the lines of “banal” or “mediocre,” with such success that present-day dictionaries list this as one of the major definitions of the term.

⁶ In “point-scoring *haikai*,” participants paid a marking fee to the master, who would assign a point score to each verse to indicate its quality. Originally practiced for pedagogical purposes, “point-scoring *haikai*” rapidly acquired an unsavory reputation. Over time, the practice came to be that the authors of the verses judged as best by the *haikai* master would receive a material prize, such as large quantities of rice, high quality paper, or more frequently simply cash. Unscrupulous masters were known to take participants’ money and award the prize to a confederate, and even where not outright fraudulent it was often effectively a form of gambling. See Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory and the Poetry of Bashô* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998) pp. 154-7.

For the “new haiku” groups, the first major distinction of art versus play meant that virtually all modes of composition that did not depend on the direct, personal expression of the author’s emotions came to be classed as non-serious, and therefore not literature. This resulted in the marginalization of modes of poetic composition that were created by multiple participants, such as “verse-capping (*maeku-zuke* 前句付)” and popular linked verse (referred to as *renpai* 連俳 by most contemporary critics).⁷ Writing in 1893, Shiki condemned “verse-capping,” “putting on a straw hat (*mikasa-zuke* 三笠付)” and the offering of prizes for *hokku* as being similar to *shōgi* 将棋 or card games, and “of a completely different nature to literary *haikai* (文学的の俳諧とは異種類).”⁸ Although it was less obviously open to abuse as a money-making strategy and occupied an important position in the work of both Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉 (1644-1694) and Yosa Buson 与謝蕪村 (1716-1783), linked verse was also dismissed as a game. Much as Kuwabara had classified modern haiku along with flower arranging and bonsai cultivation, critics such as Tokyo

⁷ Most contemporary critics used the term *renpai* (literally, ‘linked *haikai*’) to refer to the popular form of linked verse (now usually known as *haikai no renga* 俳諧連歌). The term *renga* 連歌 was reserved for references to orthodox classical *renga*. I translate the former as “linked verse,” and where the latter appears translate it as “classical linked verse.”

⁸ Masaoka Shiki, “Bunkai yattsu atari” *SZ* 14:26-27. *Shōgi* and *Go* are traditional Japanese board games similar to chess and checkers respectively. Both “verse capping” and “putting on a straw hat” were popular forms of *haikai*-based games. Verse capping involved responding to a given verse in 5-7-5 or 7-7 meter by adding one’s own 7-7 or 5-7-5 verse, for a complete poem of 31 syllables. “Putting on a straw hat” likewise involved adding a 7-5 response to a five-syllable opening line. In both cases, participants paid to compete, and the judge would choose the best response(s) and assign prizes accordingly. Verse-capping was officially classified as gambling during the Kyōhō 享保 (1716-1734) period and punished accordingly, though it seems to have continued nonetheless. These games were still practiced into the Meiji era, and contributed to a stigma against *haikai* in general.

Imperial University's Ômachi Keigetsu 大町桂月 (Yoshie 芳衛, 1869-1925) and Sassa Seisetsu 佐々醒雪 (Masakazu 政一, 1872-1917) followed Shiki's rhetoric almost to the letter, arguing that linked verse was essentially the same as card games or board games such as *go* 碁 and *shôgi*.

A second major point of contention was haiku's status as an elite versus a popular genre, which for obvious reasons was at the heart of the "commoner literature" discourse. By the latter half of the 19th century, *haikai* had become Japan's most widely practiced literary genre. "Point-scoring" competitions in Osaka were known to gather as many as 130,000 entries, and even outside of the major cities such competitions could see over fifty thousand participants.⁹ Unlike *tanka*, which had the prestige of its associations with the imperial court, *kanshi*, with a distinguished scholarly tradition extending back over a thousand years, and "new-style" poetry (*shintaiishi* 新体詩), which could draw on the cultural prestige of European poetry, *haikai* had a large base of practitioners who did not belong to the educated cultural elite and could not plausibly be assimilated into it.

The discourse of *haikai* as "commoner literature" had begun in the early 1890s by viewing this association with the common people as a point in *haikai*'s favor and a reason to seriously consider it as a candidate for a "national poetry (*kokushi* 国詩)." The "new haiku" groups, however, took precisely the opposite approach; initially denying that *haikai* was

⁹ Sekine Rinkichi, "Mimori Mikio hyôden (5)", *Haiku* no. 27 vol. 8 (August 1978) p. 250.

“commoner literature” at all, they later argued that *haikai*’s status as “commoner literature” was one of its major defects, and that if it were to become truly literary it could not be a popular genre. In a series of critical essays entitled *Lashing Out at the Literary World* (*Bunkai yattsu atari* 文界八つあたり) published in 1893, Shiki suggested that “true literature is sublime and beautiful, and does not necessarily gain the approval of large numbers of people (真の文学は高尚優美必ずしも多数の賞賛を受くる者にあらず),”¹⁰ while the University Group positioned itself as educated “men of letters (*bungakusha* 文学者)” whose work was qualitatively different from that of the “commoner.” Even the relatively eclectic Shûseikai group, which did not necessarily shun the so-called “old-school,” nevertheless stated that its aim was the introduction of haiku to the “middle and upper classes (中等以上の社会).”¹¹

The “commoner literature” discourse thus had a marked effect on poetic sociality in terms of who tended to take part and the nature of the social space within which verse was composed. Until the very end of the 19th century, one of the major attractions of the *haikai* gathering had often been its social diversity. Through *haikai* composition, it was possible for people from different backgrounds – scholars, samurai, merchants, peasants or urban townsmen – to meet and exchange poetry in a space where one’s social status was less important than one’s skill in poetry.¹² This was certainly the image of *haikai* that the

¹⁰ *SZ* 14:25-26.

¹¹ Mori Muô, “Haidan zasso”, *Aki no koe* no. 6 (April 1897) pp. 18-19.

¹² Precise data is hard to come by, but the available evidence suggests that pre-Meiji groups

so-called “old school” masters strove to promote; one advertisement carried in the literary journal *Teikoku bungaku* during 1897 for a collection of “old-school” poetry described *haikai* as a genre that “ran through society as a whole (一般社会に通じ)” and in which “the voices of town and country, high and low, forever harmonize (都鄙貴賤共に吟哦の声絶えず).”¹³ By contrast, the groups that sprang up around the *Nippon* group’s journal *Hototogisu* from the end of 1896 onwards were drawn from a far narrower social background, in large part from students and faculty at Japan’s elite Higher Schools, especially those in the cities of Kyoto, Sendai and Kanazawa.

A third, related note within the “commoner literature” discourse was promotion of the idea of *haiku* as a source of cultural capital as opposed to economic capital. Most – if not all – “old school” *haikai* masters made a fairly good living from fees for acting as judge (*tenja* 点者) in “point-scoring,” charging for hosting *haikai* sessions and from fees levied for correcting the work of aspiring poets, which were known as *nyûka* 入花 (also *irebana*). Within this literary marketplace, a given master’s lineage was often very important, and some masters carried sobriquets proclaiming them part of a poetic tradition stretching back over

drew people from almost all walks of life, which was often part of their attraction. An unusually detailed booklet from 1846 listing the fifty winners of a *haikai* competition in modern-day Saitama prefecture, just north of Tokyo, shows twenty-eight being peasants, fifteen merchants, and the remainder lesser samurai, Buddhist and Shintô priests, and a medical doctor. See Eiko Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005) p. 211-212.

¹³ *Teikoku bungaku* vol. 4 no. 9 (September 1897), p. 3 (advertisements at rear). The collection being advertised was *Haikai bunko* 俳諧文庫 (‘Haikai Storecupboard’), edited by Kikakudô Eiki and Ashin’an Setsujin 阿心庵雪人 (1872-1958).

many generations. Mimori Mikio 三森幹雄 (1830-1910), one of Tokyo's most prominent *haikai* masters, was better known as Shunjûan Mikio 春秋庵幹雄, the sixth official bearer of the Shunjûan title.¹⁴ Likewise, Kikakudô Eiki 其角堂永機 (1823-1904) and his successor Kikakudô Kiichi 其角堂機一 (1856-1933) traced their line back to Takarai Kikaku 宝井其角 (1661-1707), a direct disciple of legendary *haikai* poet Matsuo Bashô. Although such titles did not always guarantee poetic competence and came under attack from Shiki in particular, they usually guaranteed access to a substantial client base and thus a regular income. For this reason, *haikai* sobriquets often changed hands for substantial sums of money; when Kiichi took over his former mentor's title, he reportedly paid him three hundred yen, equivalent to just under a year's salary for Shiki at *Nippon*.¹⁵

The clash between these contrasting visions of haiku and *haikai* played out for the most part in the arena of print media. Even before the Meiji Restoration, "point-scoring *haikai*" in the Kansai region was often practiced as an open competition, with masters advertising via handbill and receiving marking fees from the public at large. Run in similar fashion to a lottery, total entries could reach into the tens or even hundreds of thousands, making the

¹⁴ More accurately, Mikio was the sixth officially acknowledged inheritor. In actual fact there had been eleven by the time he assumed the title, five of whom proved dissolute or unworthy enough that they were erased from the official record. The last inheritor of the Shunjûan title died in 1975 and the post remains vacant to this day. See Sekine Rinkichi "Mimori Mikio hyôden (6)" *Haiku* vol. 27 no. 9 (September 1978) p. 261-2.

¹⁵ Murayama Kokyô, *Meiji no haiku to haijin tachi* p. 40.

competition hugely profitable for the organizers.¹⁶ The development of a nationwide postal system and large-circulation print media during early Meiji made it possible for *haikai* masters to reach even larger audiences, as in the case of Mimori Mikio's *Haikai Clear Morals Journal* (*Haikai meirin zasshi* 俳諧明倫雜誌), which was published from 1880 to as late as 1912 and which attained at its peak a circulation of around 2,100 copies, an impressive figure for the time. Mikio used the journal primarily for fundraising, soliciting for marking fees, fund-raising drives to raise statues to Bashô, and to advertise his own made-to-order paintings and calligraphic pieces.¹⁷

This previous model of having a single centralized journal supported by marking fees and the master's own personal income gave way, with the establishment of the *Nippon* group's enormously successful journal *Hototogisu*, to a more widely distributed model in which one journal acted as umbrella for a larger number of sub-chapters, which often had their own sub-journal. Unlike the "old-school" model, where the flow of money was largely one-way, this network model of haiku journalism was more mutually supportive and did not depend on marking fees or other direct income. Instead, it was far more dependent on income from sales of the journal and from advertising, an important shift that remains the basic model for haiku media to this day. The *Nippon* group also moved away from the other major model of haiku journalism, whereby both the leaders of the Shûseikai and "old-school" masters used

¹⁶ Sekine Rinkichi, "Mimori Mikio hyôden (5)" *Haiku* 27, no. 8 (August 1978) p. 250-252.

¹⁷ Ichikawa Kazuo, *Kindai haiku no akebono* (Tokyo: Sangensha, 1975) vol. 1 p. 321.

the far greater reach of the daily newspapers to run large-scale haiku competitions with substantial cash prizes for the winners. Although remaining a strong presence within the newspaper world, the *Nippon* group was insistent that haiku must represent cultural rather than economic capital, Shiki instructing his readers in 1895 that they should have nothing to do with any activities in which monetary or material prizes were offered for the composition of verse.

“A Universal Poetry, A Japanese Poetry:” Origins of the Term “Commoner Literature”

Given its significant impact on poetic sociality, it is helpful to examine the origins of the idea of *haikai* as “commoner literature.” The term did not originate with the “new haiku” groups, and their use of it in a pejorative sense was a relatively new development.¹⁸ The term was first used to refer to *haikai* in the *Yomiuri shinbun* newspaper during the summer of 1890, in a series of articles by a pseudonymous correspondent known only as ‘Winter Wren (Shôryôshi 鶯鷓子),’ which argued for the adoption of *haikai* as a “national poetry (*kokushi* 国詩).” In

¹⁸ After the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5 the term again came to be used in a positive sense. For instance, scholar Haga Yaichi’s 芳賀矢一 (1867-1927) preface to Iwaki Juntarô’s 岩城準太郎 (1878-1957) *Meiji bungakushi* 明治文学史 (‘A History of Meiji Literature,’ published by Ikuetsu in 1906) states that “commoner literature” (which included *haikai*) had played an instrumental role in spreading the “Bushidô” and “patriotism” that had contributed to Japan’s recent victory. Likewise, on the accession of the Taishô emperor in 1912, Kakuta Chikurei presented the sovereign with a collection of haiku so as to “introduce His Majesty to the subtle charms of commoner literature (平民文学の妙味を御紹介申し上げる).” Iwaya Sazanami, “Shûseikai no omoide” *Haiku kôza: gendai kessha hen* Kaizôsha haiku kôza no. 8 (Tokyo: Kaizôsha, 1932) p. 254.

these articles, ‘Winter Wren’ argued that “the natural societal need for *waka* and *kanshi* has faded away (和歌漢詩の社会的自然の必要は已に消滅し去りたり),”¹⁹ and that of all extant forms of poetry *haikai* showed the most promise. *Haikai* was suitable because it was “a commoner poetry, a universal poetry, a Japanese poetry, a uniquely oriental poetry (俳諧は平民的詩賦なり普通的詩賦なり日本詩賦なり東洋固有の詩賦なり),” and, moreover, “everyone among our people, even at the lowest levels of society, possesses a certain amount of artistic spirit (我邦人は下等社会のものすら多少美術心を有せざるはなし).”²⁰ In this conception of *haikai*, poetic community was essentially synonymous with national community; all Japanese subjects had within them the potential to become a poet.

‘Winter Wren’ was joined shortly after by other voices expressing interest in *haikai* as “commoner literature.” Writing sporadically in the literary journal *Waseda bungaku* 早稲田文学 from October 1891 to September 1892, fiction writer Aeba Kôson 饗庭篁村 (1855-1922) stated that “in my view, the essence of *haikai* is that it holds considerable interest as a sort of “commonerist” literature, to use contemporary terms (俳諧の本意と我がおもふ所は俳諧は今の世の言にて云はば平民主義の文学一種にて頗る面白し, emphasis in original).”²¹ *Heiminshugi*, translated as “commonerist,” had strong political

¹⁹ “Kanshi waka shintaishi no aiirezaru jôkyô o joshite haikai ni oyobu”, *Yomiuri shinbun* August 15th, 1890 (supplement). The piece was serialized in five installments on the 7th, 9th, 14th, 15th and 17th August.

²⁰ “Kanshi waka shintaishi no aiirezaru jôkyô o joshite haikai ni oyobu”, *Yomiuri shinbun* August 17th, 1890 (supplement).

²¹ Aeba Kôson, “Haikairon”, *Waseda bungaku* no. 23 (September 15th, 1892) p. 44-45. Kôson’s

overtone, as it had been widely used during the 1880s by the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement (*Jiyû minken undo* 自由民権運動) and in the writings of its leaders such as Tokutomo Sohô 徳富蘇峰 (Iichirô 猪一郎, 1863-1957), publisher of the *Kokumin shinbun* 国民新聞 newspaper.²² Much as ‘Winter Wren’ had done, Kôson thus saw *haikai* as belonging to – and potentially an authentic voice of – the common people.

Perhaps attracted by Kôson’s description of *haikai* as “commonerist” literature, two former Freedom and Popular Rights activists also chimed in while his piece was still in serialization. Poet Kitamura Tôkoku 北村透谷 (Montarô 門太郎, 1868-1894) wrote in *Jogaku zasshi* 女学雑誌 (‘Women’s Learning Magazine’) in July 1892 of how *haikai* came from the very “heart and soul of commoner society (平民社会の心骨より出でたるもの),” though he was more ambivalent than Kôson; for him, *haikai*’s scope and most common themes reflected what he saw as the “commoner nihilism (*heiminteki kyomu shisô* 平民的虚無思想)” of the Tokugawa period.²³ Journalist Yamaji Aizan 山路愛山 (Yakichi 弥吉,

largely positive assessment was out of keeping with *Waseda bungaku*’s overall stance on *haikai*. In the same October 1891 issue in which he Kôson began his serialized piece, *Waseda bungaku* had dismissed *haikai* on the grounds that “when compared to the electric light that is genuinely new literature, [*haikai*] is as a lamp burning vegetable oil (真に新文学の電燈に比ぶれば、種油の行燈にも似たりけり). See “Haidan no otozure (‘News from the *Haikai* World’),” *Waseda bungaku* no. 2 (October 30th 1891) pp. 8-10.

²² Sohô’s term *heiminshugi* has also been variously translated as “democratic” and “populist.” Here I follow Roger Bowen’s translation of “commonerism.” Bowen defines *heiminshugi* as referring to “the ideological and social underpinnings of wide-scale participation in the popular rights movement; democratic populism, perhaps, no less captures the essential meaning.” See Roger Bowen, *Rebellion and Democracy in Meiji Japan: A Study of Commoners in the Popular Rights Movement* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984) p. 125.

²³ Kitamura Tôkoku, “Tokugawa jidai no heiminteki shisô” *Kitamura Tôkoku, Yamaji Aizan shû* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 2001) vol. 6 p. 91. Originally serialized in *Jogaku zasshi* nos. 322-324 (July 2nd, 16th and 30th, 1892). In similar vein to Aizan, Kitamura detects in the

1864-1917) struck a similar chord in a three-part piece in Sohô's journal *Kokumin no tomo* 国民之友 in September 1892. Like Tôkoku, Aizan wrote that *haikai* did indeed have a strong connection with the common people, but that this damaged the genre since its scope and conventions came to reflect what he saw as the docility and innate pessimism of the Japanese commoner under Tokugawa feudalism. Pondering a case in which a teacher of popular linked verse in central Shizuoka 静岡県 prefecture was still venerated three hundred years after his death even though he “did not fight for the people, did not appeal the suffering of commoners tilling fields in their sedge hats in the rain to the officials at the levers of power, nor did he ever dig a ditch to irrigate a dry field (人民の為に戦ひしこともなく、政柄握れる官人に対して笠を着て雨に耕す平民の苦痛を訴えしこともなく、水なき原に溝を通ぜしこともなく),”²⁴ Aizan concluded that “*hokku* was a commoner poetry well suited to old Japan (発句は旧日本に相応する平民の詩なりき),” for it “had not within it the energy to struggle for freedom and equality, nor the spirit of accomplishment (其中には自由平等の為に争ふの元気なく、有為の精進なし)” and thus “the thoughts of the commoner continually flowed through this vessel (平民の思潮は此管を通じて流れつつありし也).”²⁵ For these two former Freedom and Popular Rights Movement members, *haikai* in its current state was

thought of the Tokugawa period a kind of “commoner nihilism (*heiminteki kyomu shisô* 平民的虚無思想)”, of which *haikai* is one part.

²⁴ Yamaji Aizan, “Heiminteki tanka no hattatsu (1)” *Kokumin no tomo* no.67 (September 23rd, 1892) p. 26. As the title suggests, Aizan views *haikai* and *tanka* as substantially the same, but with markedly different social characteristics.

²⁵ Yamaji Aizan, “Heiminteki tanka no hattatsu (3)” *Kokumin no tomo* no. 69 (October 13th, 1892) p. 32.

thus a relic from a feudal age of downtrodden commoners.

While they differed in terms of their view of *haikai*'s value and possible future, all four of the commentators cited above nevertheless shared the basic assumption that *haikai* was, for better or worse, a genre of the common people. One of the major characteristics of the “new haiku” groups was their inversion of this discourse, arguing at first that *haikai* was in no way a “commoner literature,” then later conceding that perhaps it was, but that if the “commoner” elements could be excised, it need not necessarily remain so. For his part, Shiki made no mention of the notion of “commoner literature” in his first extended critical piece, *Talks on Haiku from the Otter's Den* (*Dassai shooku haiwa* 瀬祭書屋俳話), which finished its serialization as Aizan's piece came out in October of 1892. Shiki had clearly paid attention to the ongoing discussion, however, since in one of his next major critical pieces, *Lashing Out at the Literary World*, serialized in *Nippon* in March of 1893, he made his views abundantly clear:

For the twin reasons that it is easy to compose and uses vernacular language, *haikai* of late has acquired the nickname of “commoner literature.” This is a new entry in the Meiji dictionary, to be sure, but nobody seems able to say for certain whether this is meant as praise or mockery; in fact, many people's judgment is that it's meant as a slur.... True literature is sublime and beautiful (*kôshô yûbi* 高尚優美) and does not necessarily gain the approval of large numbers of people, since if anything in many respects ‘commoner’ and ‘literature’ are almost completely incompatible. If the world really wants to call *haikai* “commoner literature” then for my part I obviously have no reason to stand in the way, but one should always bear in mind that this term “commoner literature” ceases to be a part of literature; rather, it is a new extra-literary concept. Just take a look at the people who make up *haikai* society. As we all know, while nativist scholars, nobles and various other kinds of people may become *tanka* poets, wealthy recluses, local raconteurs, vulgar entertainers,

uneducated farmers, idle lawyers, and useless actors all love *haikai*. If these can be called men of literature then Japanese literature has become no better than a group of women gathered around the village well, or something to keep one amused on the way back from daily prayers.²⁶

其句法の簡単なると其用語の卑俗なるとの二原因ありて存する者にして此頃に至りて平民文学といふ渾名を得たる所以なり。平民文学といふ言語は明治の字典に一新語を加へたるに相違なしと雖もこれか解釈を附するに当たりて其賞美の意を含むかはた嘲弄の意を含むかに至ては何人も容易く之を判断する能はざるなるべし。否之を判断するの人あらば多くはこれ嘲弄を意味する者となさんのみ（略）はた真の文学は高尚優美必ずしも多数の賞賛を受くる者にあらずして寧ろ平民と文学とは両立し難き点多ければなり。天下若し強いて俳諧を平民文学と謂はんと欲するの人あらば固より余に於いて之を拒むの理由なしと雖も其平民文学なる語は最早文学の一部分に非ずして文学以外の一新語なることを忘るべからざるなり。試みに如何なる人が俳諧社会を組織するかを見よ。国学者公卿等数種の人が歌人となりしは愚かの事、金持ちの隠居、町内の口きき、卑賤の芸人、無学の百姓、ひまな代言、不用な役人いづれか俳諧を好まざらん。これをしも猶文学者といふべくんば日本の文学は井戸端の会議に落ち御講の戻り道になりたりと云ふべけん。

For Shiki, “commoner literature” was thus a contradiction in terms, and popularity and ease of access were synonymous with vulgarity. This would remain a keynote for the *Nippon* group, even after Shiki’s death. Writing in early December 1902, *Nippon* group member Ueno Sansen 上野三川 (Ryôzaburô 良三郎, 1866-1907) stressed to a provincial audience in Nagano prefecture 長野県 that haiku was not an easy form of poetry that anyone could do. Much like *kanshi* and *tanka*, Ueno argued, one needed the right kind of background and training; haiku may have been a “commoner literature” under the old *haikai* masters, but under the new school it definitely was not.²⁷

²⁶ SZ 14:25-26.

²⁷ Ueno Sansen, “Kusagusa”, *Nagano shinbun* December 3rd to 6th 1902. Quoted in Miyazaka Shizuo, “Nippon-ha haiku undô no Shinano e no denpa no jôkyô: Shôseikai gaijô”, *Haiku*

Linked Verse, Literary Play and the Madman: Shiki and *Teikoku bungaku*

Shiki's iron-clad distinction between that which was "literary" and that which was not would become a major rhetorical device in his critical writings; virtually everything that he did not wish to see continue within contemporary practice, among which were later included haiku on political subjects, was classified as "non-literary." So too was linked verse; writing in his critical piece *Various Remarks on Bashô* (Bashô zôdan 芭蕉雑談) in 1895, Shiki made the sweeping and frequently-quoted statement that "*the hokku is literature, linked verse is not literature* (発句は文学なり、連俳は文学にあらず, emphasis in original)."²⁸

Although this is perhaps one of Shiki's best-known critical pronouncements, he was by no means the most consistent or the most thorough critic of linked verse practices. Far more vociferous on this point were the critics of the University Group, which published most of its work and criticism in the pages of the literary journal *Teikoku bungaku* 帝国文学 ('Imperial Literature'). Inaugurated in January of 1895, *Teikoku bungaku* saw its main aim as being the definition of a "national literature (*kokumin bungaku* 国民文学)" that lost nothing in comparison to English, French or German literature. This focus earned them a critical broadside from Shiki, who had little time for their project and did not believe that haiku

bungakukan kiyô no. 3 (June 1984) p. 36.

²⁸ *SZ* 4:258.

should be thought of as “national literature:”

I’ve noticed the term “national literature” here and there in journals and so forth, but I haven’t the slightest idea what it’s supposed to mean. If it is to be a literature large numbers of citizens can appreciate, then for the most part it will be literature of the very lowest rank, entirely unworthy of the term. If by “national literature” they mean something extra-literary, then that’s fine, but if not then I simply can’t understand what they mean by the term. (Could it mean the same thing as “commoner literature?”).²⁹

国民文学といふ語は雑誌などに散見せりといえども我は毫も其意を解せず若し国民の多数が味わひ得る所の文学ならば多くは最下等の文学にして甚だしきは文学といふべからざる者あり若し国民文学を以て文学以外と為さば即ち可なり然らざれば国民文学なる語は終に解すべからず（平民文学とは同意味なるや否や）

Shiki’s disapproval notwithstanding, the conceptual framework of “national literature” led *Teikoku bungaku*’s writers and critics to approach *haikai* as part of Japan’s literary heritage, and they tended to steer clear of the sweeping dismissals of the genre common in other journals of the time, particularly *Waseda bungaku*.³⁰ This did not necessarily mean, however, that the University Group were enthusiastic advocates for *haikai*; on the whole, their attitude was rather ambivalent. Even though their mission to define a “national literature” in theory implied identifying a literature that embodied the putative characteristics of the Japanese nation as a whole, the University Group’s understanding of what *haikai* was and who should

²⁹ “Bô sanmai”, *SZ* 12:132. Originally published in *Nippon*, December 21st 1895.

³⁰ Popular interest journal *Taiyô*, for instance, described *haikai*’s newfound popularity in January 1896 as “an omen of disaster for the literary world (文壇の凶事)” (“Haiku no ryûkô”, *Taiyô* vol. 2 no.2 (January 1896) p. 104), whereas *Waseda bungaku* the same month derided the genre as “cheap literature (*anchoku bungaku* 安直文学)” and lamented the depredations of the “*hokku* bacillus (発句バチルレン).” “Anchoku bungaku,” *Waseda bungaku* vol. 2 no. 1 (January 1896) pp. 11-13.

practice it was still predicated on distinctions of social class; *haikai* was certainly not a genre suited to all levels of Japanese society.

A consistent note in the University Group's critical writings was that *haikai* was closer to play or pastime than serious literature. Emblematic of the group's overall views on *haikai*, one commentator in June 1895 voiced skepticism that either *tanka* or *hokku* could express "fully rounded poetic thought (円満なる詩想)" but agreed that *haikai* might have some value if retained as a "purely subjective form of poetry (主観詩)," with which "those other than men of letters might broadly amuse themselves, and which can be preserved as an example of so-called "commoner literature" (文学者以外の者にも広く弄はしむべき、所謂平民文学として保存すべきの可なるを信ずる也)."³¹ *Haikai* was thus worth preserving as part of Japan's literary history, but not something that "men of letters" should actually practice themselves. In much the same way as Shiki had found the notion of "commoner literature" to be a contradiction in terms, this article posited a conceptual chasm between the playful literature of the commoner and the more serious work of the educated poet.

This attitude towards *haikai* stands in contrast to another major contribution of the group in the field of Japanese poetry, namely their later work on the Nara-period (710-784) collection of native Japanese poetry *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 ('Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves,' probably compiled ca. 785). As Shinada Yoshikazu shows, from around the turn of

³¹ "Tanka to haiku", *Teikoku bungaku* vol.1 no. 6 (June 1895) pp. 96-97.

the century the *Teikoku bungaku* group re-envisioned the *Man'yôshû* in a positive sense, as a “national poetry anthology (*kokumin kashû* 国民歌集),” whose attraction was that many of its poems were written by “the common people (*shomin* 庶民).”³² Strongly influenced by German notions of the *Volkslied* (folk song), *Teikoku bungaku*’s understanding of the *Man'yôshû* was underpinned by “the German distinction between *Volkspoesie*, the folk compositions of ordinary men and women, and *Kunstpoesie*, the more artistically conceived and crafted works by professional poets.”³³ The basic terms of analysis used in *Teikoku bungaku*’s discussions of *haikai* thus seem to anticipate this German-influenced schema, with the crucial difference that at this stage *haikai*’s status as “commoner literature” was in no way a positive aspect.

By the new year of 1896, *Teikoku bungaku* had been publishing for a full year and had had time to stake out its overall position on the role and future of *haikai*. It was thus in a good position to respond to what several commentators around the end of 1895 and beginning of 1896 remarked on as a sudden surge in the popularity of linked verse. Writing in the *Mainichi shinbun* in October 1895, Okano Chijû noted that a number of newspapers, in particular the *Yamato shinbun* やまと新聞, *Yomiuri shinbun* 読売新聞, the *E-iri nippô* 絵

³² Shinada Yoshikazu, “Man’yôshû: The Invention of a National Poetry Anthology”, in Haruo Shirane, Tomi Suzuki, eds., *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, Identity and National Literature* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999) pp. 41-45.

³³ Shinada, p. 46. After returning from study in Germany, Haga Yaichi introduced these terms into Japanese poetic discourse in 1902 by translating them as *kokuminshi* 国民詩 and *gijutsushi* 技術史 respectively.

入日報, and the *Mainichi* itself, had started carrying linked verse sequences in their literary columns.³⁴ Chijû voiced optimism that this would lead to a ““new linked verse” (所謂「新連俳」)” in much the same vein as the so-called “new haiku;”³⁵ likewise, discussing the same phenomenon a month later in November 1895, *Teikoku bungaku* noted what it called the “birth cries (*koko no koe* 呱呱の声)” of a new linked verse.³⁶ Writing again two months later in January 1896, *Teikoku bungaku* defended linked verse against attacks from other literary journals. Noting that it was a significant part of literary practice during the Tokugawa era, the journal argued that “even if we were to accept that linked verse is overly long and of no use to today’s literary world, it is nevertheless a fact that the larger part of Tokugawa literature is the domain of *haikai* practitioners. The need for historical research cannot simply stop with historical research into Western literature (若し連俳なる者が果して今日の文壇に無用の長物なりとするも、徳川文学の大なる部分は俳諧者流の領土なりしは事實也、歴史的研究の必要は單に西洋文学の歴史的研究に止む可きものに非ず).” Moreover, as both Bashô and Buson had seen linked verse as an important part of their activities, perhaps this new focus on linked verse would lead to increased study of both master poets, which could only be a good thing for the literary world.³⁷

³⁴ Chijû, “Haikai yûbunki” p. 74.

³⁵ Chijû, “Haikai yûbunki” p. 75.

³⁶ “Renpai no ryûkô” *Teikoku bungaku* vol. 1 no. 11 (November 1895) pp. 101-102.

³⁷ “Haikai haiseki no koe”, *Teikoku bungaku* vol. 2 no. 1 (January 1896) p. 114-115.

Yet as it did fairly frequently with its discussions of *haikai*, *Teikoku bungaku* undermined its own case by arguing that linked verse was fundamentally a form of play. By the end of 1896, an initial cautious optimism on the possibilities offered by linked verse had been entirely replaced by a definitive judgment that it was not worthy of the serious poet. Writing in September 1896, critic Ômachi Keigetsu 大町桂月 (1869-1925) laid out a historical narrative in which *haikai* and linked verse were only an intermediate stage in the evolution of Japanese verse, bridging the gap between classical *waka* and modern haiku. Although Keigetsu conceded that both classical *waka* and *haikai* were unique in world literature for their ability to express intricate beauty in spite of their short form, in his view Shiki's progress towards a modern haiku meant that this intermediate stage of *haikai* and linked verse had become obsolete. *Haikai* and linked verse had arisen during "the Ashikaga period, Japanese literature's most degenerate age (国文学の尤も廃れたる足利時代)" and were "not poetry, just as *go* and *shôgi* do not qualify as *Kunst* (俳諧の詩にあらざるはなほ碁将棋のクンストにあらざるが如し)."³⁸ Keigetsu's rhetoric, borrowing the language of German artistic criticism, articulates the link between the "commoner literature" discourse and the notion of art as play, placing linked verse firmly in the latter category. Modern haiku could become *Kunst*, or Art, if written and appreciated by educated specialists, but *haikai*, which was a vulgar and frivolous pursuit enjoyed primarily by ill-educated commoners, could

³⁸ Ômachi Keigetsu, "Waka, haiku oyobi *haikai* ni tsuite", *Teikoku bungaku* vol. 2 no. 9 (September 1896) p. 88. Keigetsu's argument against linked verse as literature was virtually identical to the one that Shiki had advanced in "Bashô zôdan" the previous year, to the effect that it depended on variation among verses for its appeal and was thus not literature.

not.

Running at the same time as Keigetsu's piece, and ultimately delivering the *coup de grace* to the possibility of the development of a "new linked verse," was Sassa Seisetsu's *A Short History of Classical Linked Verse* (Renga shôshi 連歌小史), serialized in over a dozen installments from *Teikoku bungaku*'s inaugural issue and published as a complete monograph with the revised title *A Short History of Linked Verse* (Rentai shôshi 連俳小史) in 1897. Tracing the history of both classical and popular linked verse practices from the earliest use of *waka*, Seisetsu's history stopped at the Tenpô 天保 period (1831-1845), thereby conveying the impression that the death of linked verse in the present day was an historical *fait accompli*. Describing how classical linked verse had arisen from a desire among court nobles to devise a word game in response to *waka*'s narrowing confines of subject matter, Seisetsu documented its spread among commoners, monks and warriors, and its assumption of an increasingly plebeian quality. Diverging from the *waka*, which stood alone as the expression of an individual consciousness, linked verse for Seisetsu was and always had been essentially a word game:

Classical linked verse was thus born under these circumstances, arising in response to the demand for a new word game. Its objective was not to express one's very own individual poetic emotion, but to link up with someone else's poetry. Thus opportunities to express one's poetic emotion were far fewer than those in late-era *waka*; contests of skill and intricacy played out for the main part in artifice on the level of language, and for this reason classical linked verse in terms of its essence is in fact a pure word game.³⁹

³⁹ Sassa Seisetsu, *Rentai shôshi* (Tokyo: Dai Nihon Tosho, 1897) p. 7.

連歌は斯る形勢の下に生れたり、新しき遊戯文字の需要に應じて起こりぬ、而て其物たる自己の詩想を咏出するを目的とする者に非ずして、他人の歌を連続する者たり、されば其詩想を吐露すべき機會は、彼の末代の和歌よりも更に僅少にして、其巧緻を争ふべき所は主として文字上の修飾なり、故に連歌は其性質上實に純全たる遊戯文字なり。

Seisetsu's conclusion to his critical piece was even more damning. Linked verse had been an important part of Japan's literary history, but its day was done:

As for linked verse in the future, as it is simply a word game, aside from the hope that it may become something that may afford one greater pleasure than *go*, card games or other similar diversions, I have no expectations for it...long forms of linked verse, which lack unity, and thirty six-stanza and one hundred-stanza linked verse, which depend on variation, cannot possibly compare with drama, prose fiction or the perfect lyrical and descriptive capacities of other forms of poetry, in much the same way as a bow and arrow cannot compare with a perfected firearm. If the world has perfected firearms, then what should we call one who would yet stand on the battlefield playing with bow and arrow, but a lunatic? I thus have no hesitation in saying of *haikai* in the Meiji era that where not practiced for amusement, it is the province of the madman.⁴⁰

吾人は未来の連歌としては唯遊戯文字として、囲碁よりも骨牌戯よりも其他種々なる遊戯よりも更に大なる快味を与へ得べきことを信ずるの外、何等の予期をも希望をも有せず（略）

統一なき連歌の長編、変化に専なる歌仙と百韻が到底戯曲小説其他の完全なる叙情叙事の詩に比するに足らざるは宛も弓と矢が完全なる鉄砲に比するべからざるに似たり。世界既に完全なる鉄砲あり、而して尚ほ弓矢を弄して戦場に立たんとする者あらば狂する者に非ずして何ぞや。されば予は明治の俳諧を以て、遊戯に非ざれば狂者の業なりとなすに躊躇せざるなり

Seisetsu's description of linked verse as depending on "variation (*henka* 変化)" echoed

⁴⁰ Seisetsu, *Renpai shôshi* pp. 190-191. Seisetsu uses the term *renga* (rather than *renpai*) consistently throughout his work, even where it is clear that he is talking about popular rather than classical verse, as is the case above. I have therefore translated Seisetsu's *renga* as "linked verse" so as to avoid confusion with classical *renga*.

Shiki's own account two years earlier of the mechanisms of linked verse. In Shiki's view, this "variation" between successive stanzas occurred on the spur of the moment and destroyed any possibility of continuity from one section to the next (全く前後相串連せざる急遽倏忽の變化); it was different in nature from "variation that occurs within a completely consistent order, a unity (終始一貫せる秩序と統一との間に變化する者)."⁴¹

Shiki and Seisetsu's understanding of "variation" here seems largely synonymous with the process of responding to and adapting verses by previous poets that, as the preceding chapters have shown, is a fundamental element in textually linked forms of poetry. Although not stated explicitly here, Shiki and Seisetsu's notion of formal unity seems to have been predicated on a vision of literary art that stressed its origins in the subjectivity of the individual author. This view would seem to be confirmed by an article in the newly inaugurated *Hototogisu* in October 1897, in which a pseudonymous writer by the name of Ryokusei 緑生 suggested that it was only to be expected that linked verse should seem fragmented, since it was "something that two or more people with different brains do (元より頭腦の同じからざる二人以上の者がものしたるもの)."⁴² In contrast to the "irksome (*mendokusaki* 面倒くさき)" rules that governed the production and linking of linked verse, "the single verse which derives from being able to state one's thoughts easily and without the

⁴¹ *SZ* 4:257-8.

⁴² "Omoide no mama" in *Hototogisu* vol. 1 no. 10 (October 30th, 1897) p. 9.

slightest restriction is already interesting enough (毫も専縛せらるるの點なく容易に其想を述ふるを得るにより一句既に面白きあり).” Here, in addition to affecting formal unity, *Hototogisu*’s correspondent seems to be suggesting that the rules and restrictions of linked verse are also an impediment to unobstructed personal expression.

Both Shiki and the *Teikoku bungaku* group agreed that *haikai* and linked verse, if left in its unreformed plebeian state, was little more than a form of low-class game that did not deserve to be called literature. In part, both *haikai* and linked verse were easy targets on account of their relative lack of cultural prestige; Seisetsu’s contrasting of linked verse with what he termed the “perfected” generic categories of prose fiction and theatre suggests a view of literature largely dominated by European ideas of genre. The *hokku*, if construed as individual expression rather than the first link in a chain of discourse, could be relatively easily assimilated within European ideas of poetry, but as Akio Bin points out, the rules and practice of linked verse could not.⁴³ Significantly, neither Shiki nor Seisetsu seems to have thought to extend their critique of linked verse in Japanese to attack linked verse in literary Chinese, still less to the far more widespread rhyme-matching. This fact rather highlights the value of the notion of “commoner literature” as rhetorical strategy for the “new haiku” groups; with *kanshi*’s far greater degree of cultural prestige, no critic was likely to label it as being plebeian in the same way as *haikai*.

⁴³ Akio Bin, *Kyoshi to Hototogisu: kindai haiku no media* (Tokyo: Hon’ami shoten, 2006) p. 123.

Autumn Winds of Change?: Chikurei, Kôyô and the Shûseikai

If both the *Nippon* and University groups were broadly in agreement over the need to excise “commoner” elements from the *haikai* tradition, the other main “new haiku” group in Tokyo, the Shûseikai, had nowhere near the same clarity of purpose. In contrast to the previous two groups, one of the Shûseikai’s main aims was to conduct research into developing a viable modern form of linked verse, and its overall position was one of eclecticism.⁴⁴ In announcing its formation in the *Tokyo Mainichi* on October 9th 1895, the group stressed that “we do not inquire as to whether one’s diction is old or new, nor whether one’s group or lineage is the same or different; what we wish is for ever greater numbers (詞調の新古門派の異同は問ふ所にあらずうたた其益々多からんことこそ願はしけれ).”⁴⁵ “Old-school” members participated occasionally in Shûseikai gatherings, and though there were plenty who were willing to argue with them – Shûseikai member and novelist Iwaya Sazanami 巖谷小波 (Sueo 季雄, 1870-1933) recalls heated arguments with Mikio’s adopted son Shunjûan Shôkô 春秋庵松江 (1859-1899) – overtly, at least, the Shûseikai showed none of the direct

⁴⁴ On the stated objectives of the Shûseikai, see Okano Chijû, “Shûsei ron” *Haisei* vol. 1 no. 5 (May 1901) p. 14.

⁴⁵ *Mainichi shinbun*, October 9th 1895 p. 1.

antagonism of the other two groups.⁴⁶

This may have been because the group was generally made up of fairly well-heeled individuals who saw their haiku practice primarily as a hobby, rather than as a vocation in itself. A report carried in the group's journal *Autumn Winds* (*Aki no koe* 秋の声) lists twenty-seven men as participating in one gathering, among whom were three lawyers, two judges, two journalists, two civil servants, one city assemblyman (*shikai giin* 市会議員) and one city councilman (*shi sanjikaiin* 市参事会員).⁴⁷ Writing in *Autumn Winds*, Shûseikai founder member Mori Muô 森無黄 (Teijirô 貞二郎, 1864-1942), made the case that the group's mission was to introduce haiku to the middle and upper classes:

There are those who, because they label *haikai* as “commoner literature” and think that it is something that even the illiterate workman class can grasp, make fun of Shiki on the grounds that it is completely misguided to advocate such difficult terms as ‘objective,’ ‘subjective,’ ‘space,’ ‘time,’ ‘impression,’ and so on, and discuss them as if they were hard to master. But if you don't use such terms, the educated classes will have trouble understanding it, and this is surely a necessary method in order to have the middle and upper classes learn about the way of haiku.⁴⁸

俳諧は平民文学とさへ渾号して一文不弁の職人社会さへ其味を知るを得るものと思ひ居たるに、主観、客観、空間、時間、印象など六かしき事を唱え出し、大變に学び難き物かの様に講釈して、却って舟を山に揚ぐるが如しと、子規子を嘲る人あり、然れども、斯くの如きことを云はざれば、教育ある社会には分り難きゆゑ、これも中等以上の社会をして俳道を知らしむるに必要な方法なるべし

⁴⁶ Sazanami, “Shûseikai no omoide” pp. 249-50.

⁴⁷ *Aki no koe* no. 2 (December 1896) p.23. Among the other occupations listed were two novelists (presumably Kôyô and Sazanami, or other members of the Ken'yûsha), two students, one soy sauce merchant, and one member listing his occupation as unemployed.

⁴⁸ Mori Muô, “Haidan zasso”, *Aki no koe* no. 6 (April 1897) pp. 18-19.

Approving thus of Shiki's attempts to apply the critical vocabulary of Western literature to haiku, on the following page Muô also demonstrated who the Shûseikai had in mind as its target audience, listing members of the nobility and political elite rumored to practice haiku. Included were several former daimyo and members of the House of Peers, including Hachisuka Mochiaki 蜂須賀茂韶 (1846-1918), then speaker of the House, and diplomat and member of the House of Peers Moriyama Shigeru 森山茂 (1842-1919).⁴⁹

At the time of its formation in October of 1895, the Shûseikai thus seemed as if it would make a major impact on Tokyo's haiku world. It had two wealthy and well-connected men as its leaders, one of them being the novelist Ozaki Kôyô, who was a major force in the Meiji literary world. Kôyô had acquired an interest in *haikai* through reading the works of the Edo-era prose author Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642-1693), who was himself a prominent *haikai* poet, and encouraged his followers to practice *haikai* themselves. The other leader of the Shûseikai was Dietman and lawyer Kakuta Chikurei. Admitted to the bar in 1880, Chikurei had an eventful career before entering the *haikai* world.⁵⁰ Elected as a Tokyo City Assemblyman (*Tokyo-fu kaigiin* 東京府会議員) in 1884, Chikurei not only contributed verses to Mikio's *Meirin zasshi* but was retained by him as counsel as the latter contemplated

⁴⁹ *Aki no koe* no. 6 p. 45.

⁵⁰ See Fujimori Masasumi, "Kakuta Chikurei hyôden", *Gakuen* no. 253 (January 1961) p. 56. Fujimori's biography provides a good overview of Chikurei's interesting career, although in common with most other accounts it does not appear to mention the major scandal in which he was involved, discussed below.

suing the *Tôkai shinpô* 東海新報 newspaper in Chiba Prefecture 千葉県, which had published remarks about Mikio's performance at a *haikai* gathering that were so unflattering as to be legally actionable.⁵¹ Three years later, Chikurei hit the headlines on a larger legal stage, acting as defense counsel in a so-called 'poison woman (*dokufu* 毒婦)' case for an entertainer named Hanai Oume 花井お梅 (1863-1916), who was accused of the murder of her male assistant.⁵² According to rumor, Chikurei claimed that he always had *haikai* books on him whenever he went to court.⁵³

Contemporary critics thus saw the Shûseikai not only as credible rivals to Shiki and his followers, but as the premiere haiku group in Tokyo. One month after the Shûseikai's formation in October 1895, *Teikoku bungaku* remarked that "there are many fine talents in Kôyô and Sazanami's Ken'yûsha, and they are to be found throughout [the newly formed Shûseikai], so we have great hopes for them (紅葉小波等の硯友社の秀才は多く、此新俳社に網羅されたりとすれば、予輩は頗る此社に向かつて望を属せんとす)."⁵⁴ Likewise,

⁵¹ See Ichikawa Kazuo, *Kindai haiku no akebono* (Tokyo: Sangensha, 1975) vol. 1 p. 438. Quite possibly, the "idle lawyers" Shiki referred to in his disparaging remarks on 'commoner literature' in *Bashô zôdan* was intended as a dig at Chikurei.

⁵² The term "poison woman" was applied to a series of high-profile murder cases featuring female defendants, many of whom had worked as female entertainers, during the 1880s. These were widely covered (and sensationalized) by the newspapers of the day, and often adapted into heavily embellished prose narratives, which in turn were usually serialized in those same newspapers, thus blurring the boundary between fact and fiction. For an overview of the "poison woman" genre in early Meiji, see Matthew Strecher, "Who's Afraid of Takahashi O-Den? "Poison Woman" Stories and Literary Journalism in Early Meiji Japan," *Japanese Language and Literature* vol. 38 no. 1 (April 2004).

⁵³ Fujimori, "Kakuta Chikurei hyôden" p. 56.

⁵⁴ "Renpai no ryûkô", *Teikoku bungaku* vol. 1 no. 11 (November 1895) p. 101-102.

when *Teikoku bungaku*'s commentators learned of plans afoot to move *Hototogisu* to the capital in the autumn of 1897, they expressed concern that the Matsuyama-based publication would end up playing second fiddle (二の舞いを演じる) to the Shûseikai, rather than the other way around.⁵⁵

Over the next five years, however, the Shûseikai completely failed to make the impact of which its supporters had believed it capable. Possibly because most of the members of the Shûseikai were already financially secure, their approach to haiku practice seemed to place more emphasis on enjoyment of the social experience of the haiku gathering than the creation of high-quality literature, thereby rather echoing the divide between social play and serious literature insisted upon by the other two groups. Iwaya Sazanami's recollections of the gatherings, usually held at Chikurei's home in Sarugaku-chô 猿楽町 in the Kanda 神田 area of Tokyo, stress the high quality of the food and drink, and the unhurried service members received from Chikurei's wife and daughters; it was easy, he wrote, to forget that one was in the city when the surroundings were "so rich in haiku flavor (俳味豊かなものであった)."⁵⁶

The *Nippon* group thus tended to look down on the Shûseikai as a group of dilettantes, characterizing their activities as "play haiku (*yûhai* 遊俳) or "leisure haiku

⁵⁵ "Haidan shoken," *Teikoku bungaku* vol. 3 no. 10 (October 1897) p. 85.

⁵⁶ Sazanami, "Shûseikai no omoide" p. 247.

(*kanpai* 閑俳).”⁵⁷ The Shûseikai did not help themselves in this respect by going to great lengths to organize extravagant entertainment at their gatherings. As an example, among the various modes of composition enjoyed at Shûseikai gatherings was a practice called “Haiku sumo (*kuzumô* 句相撲),” wherein those present would divide into two teams and have individuals face off against one another to compose a verse on a set topic within a set period of time. The judge for the competition would then read out the verses thus composed and ask for votes via a show of hands. To this extent, “haiku sumo” seems to draw on similar practices of competitive communal *hokku* composition such as *ku-awase* 句合わせ, which likewise featured two teams of competing poets and a judge. However, the Shûseikai seems to have carried this practice to extremes, with Kôyô and Chikurei going so far as to have a full-scale sumo ring (*dohyô* 土俵), complete with drapes, roof and an ornate fan for the referee, constructed in the lane outside Chikurei’s home.⁵⁸ In later recollections, Chijû felt that this sense of dilettantism had definitely been a problem; for one, instead of actually experimenting with different forms of linked verse as they had initially intended to do, the group had become bored with the practice after a handful of sessions and each member had subsequently pursued their own interests.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Murayama, “Shûseikai no aruita michi (jô)” p. 132; see also Okano Chijû, “Shûseikai ron”, *Haisei* vol. 1 no. 5 (May 1901) p. 14.

⁵⁸ Sazanami, “Shûseikai no omoide” p. 255.

⁵⁹ Chijû, “Shûsei ron” p. 14.

Another major problem for the Shûseikai was of an entirely non-literary nature, specifically Chikurei's involvement in a damaging public scandal early in 1896. On January 14th, the *Yorozu chôhō* newspaper published a series of allegations accusing Chikurei of rape (*gôkan kantsû* 強姦姦通). As befitting a paper that was making a name for itself with scandal journalism, the *Yorozu*'s column on the 14th whetted readers' appetites by fulminating against Chikurei's immorality and unfitness for high office, with the details of what he had allegedly done held over until the following day. The *Yorozu* alleged that in July 1893 Chikurei had raped Seshimo Kaoru 瀬下かほる, the wife of fellow Bar Association member Seshimo Kiyomichi 瀬下清通, at a restaurant in Hamamachi 浜町 in Tokyo. Subsequently, the allegation ran, Chikurei had met Kaoru at the same restaurant in order to apologize, and had been so persuasive that the two had conducted a two-year affair up until the summer of 1895. After Kiyomichi discovered their affair, Chikurei wrote a formal letter of apology to him, after which the matter had been considered closed.⁶⁰

The *Yorozu* painted itself throughout the 1890s as the voice of the underdog against a morally suspect political elite, and the Chikurei affair fit that narrative perfectly. The newspaper took pleasure in providing as much lurid detail as possible, its coverage of the affair extending over two months in more than thirty numbered installments, into March of 1896. The *Yorozu*'s satirical poetry column found the scandal to be a rich vein of material, the

⁶⁰ "Daigishi Tsunoda [sic] Shinpei no gôkan kantsû jiken (2)", *Yorozu chôhō* January 15th, 1896 p.2

Seshimo Kaoru and Kiyomichi, the effect on them was equally unpleasant, the *Yorozu* reporting on February 16th that Kiyomichi had left his wife and was planning to divorce her. The distasteful nature of the episode seems to have prompted at least two members to defect to the *Nippon* group, Ueno Sansen and Naono Hekireirô 直野碧玲瓏 (Ryônoshin 了之晋, 1875-1905), who both helped establish the Shûseikai 松声会 haiku group in Nagano.⁶³ Other members of the Shûseikai may well have felt uneasy about socializing with Chikurei after the scandal broke, especially as the group's meetings were usually held at his house with his wife and daughters in attendance.

Hekireirô and Sansen were not alone in defecting to the *Nippon* group from the Shûseikai; others included Noda Bettenrô 野田別天楼 (Yôkichi 要吉, 1869-1944) and Wakao Ransui 若尾瀾水 (Shôgo 压吾, 1877-1961), who would both be instrumental in creating “new haiku” groups in Kansai and Tôhoku respectively. With the exception of Itô Shôu 伊藤松宇 (1861-1943) and Mori Saruo 森猿男 (1861-1923) of the Shii no tomo kai in 1893, the process did not work the other way; as far as can be determined, no-one ever left the *Nippon* group in favor of the Shûseikai.

jânarizumu to 'hō' no shihai: *Yorozu chôhō* no aru 'kantsū jiken' kiji ni tsuite”, in Komori Yôichi, Kôno Kensuke, Takahashi Osamu, eds., *Media, hyôshō, ideorogî: Meiji sanjūnendai no bunka kenkyū* (Tokyo: Ozawa Shoten, 1998).

⁶³ Murayama, “Shûseikai no aruita michi (chû)” p. 120.

***Hototogisu*, New Media Models and Haiku as Cultural Capital**

The failure of the Shûseikai is reflected in the fate of its journal *Autumn Winds*, launched in November of 1896. In terms of numbers, the Shûseikai was doing reasonably well; Chikurei's membership roster in June of 1896 shows sixty different members who had attended at least one meeting in the eight months since the group's inauguration, with an average of fifteen to sixteen at any given gathering and the most at any one occasion being twenty-seven.⁶⁴ Yet after its launch *Autumn Winds* proved an unqualified failure, lasting a mere ten issues and folding in September of 1897, before *Hototogisu* had left its birthplace of Matsuyama. Oddly, *Autumn Winds* did not solicit haiku from the public until its third issue, even though to do so was standard practice in haiku journalism, and when it did do so in January 1897, the results were unimpressive. The best *Autumn Winds* ever managed was fifty-seven contributions from outside poets, the worst a mere seven. *Hototogisu*'s second issue, by contrast, carried around two hundred and fifty contributions from its readers.⁶⁵

Rather than disappearing completely, *Autumn Winds* was instead absorbed as the haiku column of the general interest journal *Taiyô* 太陽 ('The Sun'), which became the base of operation for much of Kôyô and Chikurei's subsequent activities. In theory, at least, this should have been a massive advantage, since *Taiyô*'s circulation dwarfed that of any other major journal, but in practice the Shûseikai offered little as Shiki's *Hototogisu* began to spread

⁶⁴ Murayama, "Shûseikai no aruita michi (jô)" pp. 126-8.

⁶⁵ *Hototogisu* vol. 1 no.2, published Feb. 15th, 1897.

its wings.⁶⁶ One area where Kôyô and Chikurei did achieve considerable success was in acting as judges for haiku competitions run by the *Yomiuri shinbun* and by the literary journal *Bungei kurabu* 文芸倶楽部 ('Literary Club'), the latter virtually the only major media outlets that featured work and critical writings by the so-called "old school" masters.

These contests were enormously successful, garnering in the high tens of thousands of entries, although it would be a mistake to conclude from this that the Shûseikai's brand of haiku was experiencing a revival. More likely, the participants were simply attracted by the prize money on offer. The *Yomiuri* ran three such competitions between June 1901 and January 1902, offering as much as two hundred and thirty-six yen as prize money and receiving in the high tens of thousands of submissions.⁶⁷ In 1904, Chikurei acted as judge for *Bungei kurabu*'s haiku competition to celebrate its tenth anniversary in which the prize money was a massive five hundred yen, well over a year's salary for Shiki at *Nippon*. The journal was rewarded for its generosity with nearly 100,000 entries.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ The disparity in circulation between *Taiyô* and other journals was enormous. *Teikoku bungaku* sold a miniscule 29,322 copies (average 2,443 per month) during the calendar year 1897, as against 574,950 (47,912 per month) for *Bungei kurabu* during the same period. *Taiyô*, by contrast, sold 2,448,654 copies during the same year, an average of over 200,000 monthly copies. See *Dai Nihon Naimushô tôkei hôkoku* vol. 13 pp. 352-353.

⁶⁷ The June 1901 competition offered 110 yen in prize money and attracted 87,509 entries, September 236 yen and 54,687 entries, and January 1902 75 yen and 78,657 entries. Aoki Makoto, "Meiji haidan to Nichiro sensô, kyûha, Shûseikai, Nipponha o chûshin ni", *Dôshisha kokubungaku* no. 61 (December 2004) p. 392.

⁶⁸ 97,753 entries were received, with the prize money divided up among 133 winners. Chikurei and Itô Shôu were among the judges, as was Naitô Meisetsu, who uniquely among the *Nippon* group seems to have been able to move between all contemporary haiku groups with relative ease. Aoki, p. 390.

Unsurprisingly, given their rejection of all elements perceived as “plebeian,” the *Nippon* group refused to have anything to do with such activities. As early as 1895, Shiki had cautioned his followers in his instructional manual *Haikai taiyô* 俳諧大要 (‘Essentials of Haiku’) to steer well clear:

It is good to compete with other people in the *unza* format or through “point-scoring,” but activities where the best verses are awarded prizes are vulgar and unworthy of a gentleman...and you should not engage in *mikasa-zuke*, haiku competitions with prizes and everything else that is of the nature of gambling and has to do with personal enrichment.⁶⁹

運座點取など人と競争するも善し秀逸の賞品を得るが如きは卑野にして君子の為すべき所に非ず（略）三笠附懸賞發句募集其外博奕に類し私利に関する事にはたつさはるべからず

Reiterating this keynote in 1896, Shiki noted in answer to a question concerning the appropriateness of scatological topics in haiku that dung and urine were not objectionable in haiku; rather, “that which we despise most of all [in haiku] is avarice (中にも吾等の最も嫌ふ所は銅臭なり).”⁷⁰ As many of the *Nippon* group’s members were students who could undoubtedly have benefitted from the money, this principled stance was a source of considerable amusement to the *Shûseikai*. As one correspondent noted archly in the group’s later journal *Haisei* 俳声 “It is indeed admirable that they keep to the spirit of their Godfather’s [*Haikai*] *taiyô* and avert their eyes from two hundred yen prizes. Or perhaps they

⁶⁹ *SZ* 4:354.

⁷⁰ *SZ* 4:441.

do enter, just under false names? (親分が定めたる「大要」の趣旨を守って二百円に眼をくれぬは、流石に見上げたものである、夫れとも変名で出ているカシラ).”⁷¹

This semi-serious criticism did highlight something of a paradox in the *Nippon* group’s activities. The group’s ethos demanded a high degree of dedication to haiku, sometimes to the point of giving up all other activities, as was the case with *Nippon* group member Matsuse Seisei 松瀬青々 (Yasaburô 弥三郎, 1869-1937), who went so far as to resign from his job working for an Osaka bank to come to Tokyo and study haiku with Shiki and Kyoshi. At the same time, however, the group’s principles closed it off from most potential avenues of revenue. It could not get involved either in running haiku competitions for prize money or in practices such as “point-scoring *haikai*” or charging readers to mark their verses. For his part, Shiki could support himself with his salary as a journalist at *Nippon*, but his two main disciples Takahama Kyoshi and Kawahigashi Hekigotô, both of whom had recently dropped out of the Second Higher School in Sendai, needed to find some way to support themselves.

At the time of *Hototogisu*’s launch in January of 1897, there existed two main prevailing models for using print media as a focal point for haiku sociality. Rather than forms of textually linked verse, which would have been difficult to manage in large numbers, both of these models depended on fixed-topic poetry; between one and three topics for

⁷¹ Jônán Inshi, “Haikai kûdan”, *Haisei* vol. 1 no. 5 (November 20th 1901) p. 15. Quoted in Aoki, p. 397.

composition would be announced, and readers would send in their verses in the hope of being selected for publication. This was the basic *modus operandi* of newspaper haiku, whether or not they offered monetary prizes. Judges for these competitions were usually leaders of the larger *haikai* groups, though Shiki was relatively unusual in being a full-time staff member of *Nippon*; most others, such as Chikurei and “old-school” masters, generally acted as judge as and when required, but were not salaried employees.

Fixed topic poetry was also at the core of the other main mode of media-based sociality, namely the member-supported journal. Where a daily newspaper could support itself with sales and advertising revenue, most specialist *haikai* journals did not have a large enough readership to make this viable and were dependent on secondary revenue sources, most often marking fees. This was part of the reason for their relative economic fragility, something that was true even for the largest and most successful *haikai* journals. Mimori Mikio’s *Meirin zasshi*, at the time Japan’s most widely-read *haikai* journal, had launched in 1880 with three hundred yen in capital from sixty benefactors, yet it ate through those initial funds inside six months.⁷² Unable to sustain itself on advertising revenue and its sales of around 2,100 monthly copies, *Meirin zasshi* was largely dependent on injections of cash from further investors as well as funds Mikio sank into the publication from marking fees and his “point-scoring” practice. Some groups simply reduced the journal model to its most basic

⁷² Sekine, “Mimori Mikio hyôden (4)”, *Haiku* vol. 27 no. 7 (July 1978) p. 252.

economic level; the Osaka-based Society for Revitalizing the National Essence (Kokusui shinkôkai 国粹振興会) made substantial sums of money by publishing nothing other than the selected verses, which were selected via a voting process that involved all participants and which took advantage of the nationwide postal system.⁷³ The best three hundred verses would win monetary prizes, but rather than having a central master select verses, readers were thus placed in the position of both judge and participant, reading and critiquing other entrants' verses as a necessary part of the process.

For this reason, *Hototogisu*'s inauguration was perhaps something of a gamble; it was deliberately rejecting the very practices that allowed other *haikai* journals to be even marginally sustainable. Echoing Shiki's rhetoric concerning the "gentleman" spurning monetary gain in haiku, *Nippon* group elder statesman Naitô Meisetsu's 内藤鳴雪 (1847-1926) preface to the first issue of the journal outlined their vision of the genre:

Some say that haiku is plebeian, and therefore it should be something that everyone can understand. I say that the plebeian is indeed one part of haiku, but there is also 'scholarly' haiku, 'distinguished' haiku, 'gentleman' haiku, and the most sublime part of haiku is to be found therein.⁷⁴

一 或人曰く俳句は平民的のものなり故に何人も解し得る所のものならざるべからずと余は曰く平民的のもの亦俳句の一部なり然れども尚此外に学者的大人君子的のものあり俳句の上乗なるものは特に茲に在りて存ずと

⁷³ See Akio Bin, *Shiki no kindai: kokkei, media, Nihongo* (Tokyo: Shin'yôsha, 1999) pp. 136-147 for a description of this group. Charging 30 *sen* for each ten verses submitted and with a monthly participation of around five hundred people, Akio estimates that the group probably made the substantial sum of around 150 yen per month.

⁷⁴ Naitô Meisetsu, "Rôbaikyo manpitsu," *Hototogisu* vol. 1 no. 1 (January 15th, 1897) p. 1.

Writing to Kyoshi shortly before his assumption of the editorship of the Tokyo version of *Hototogisu* in 1898, Shiki estimated that a journal would need a capital base of three to four hundred yen simply in order to sustain itself, and that even if at the same time one cut costs to the bare minimum, one was unlikely to see any kind of profit (別に利潤といふ事は無いやうぢや). A specialist haiku journal, in his estimation, would be unlikely to sell more than five hundred copies, “even if you adopt the vulgar methods of the “old-school” masters (たとひ宗匠的の卑劣手段を取るとしても).” Even more so, if Kyoshi were to make the journal as highbrow as possible, it would be no small task to make it sell (成るべく高尚にしておいてそれで売り出さうといふには大抵のことぢやない).⁷⁵

Although he admonished Kyoshi in the same letter that “I do not believe that you have the skills to produce a journal that will sell (その技倆即ち売れるやうな雑誌を拵える技倆が貴兄に無いと思ふ),” Shiki rather underestimated his junior associate. On its launch in Tokyo in October of 1898, *Hototogisu* sold out its entire print run of one thousand copies in a matter of hours, obliging Kyoshi to telephone the printer and order an additional five hundred copies to be produced. This favorable reception was no flash in the pan; *Hototogisu*’s February 1898 edition announced that the December edition had sold out in less than a week, and that although they had increased the print run for the January edition, those too had sold out in a matter of days. Not missing a sales opportunity, the same announcement stated that

⁷⁵ *SZ*19:298.

Hototogisu was now accepting orders for back issues.⁷⁶

Probably the main reason why *Hototogisu* was able to achieve such sustained success after its move to Tokyo was its deliberate cultivation of a network of affiliated groups throughout the rest of the country. Here, comparisons with the Shûseikai's *Autumn Winds* are instructive, since the latter group seems to have made almost no effort to develop a readership outside of the capital. From its earliest issues, *Hototogisu* featured updates from its regional affiliates, whereas *Autumn Winds* added a note to a list of members carried in its second issue to the effect that both women and those who lived outside of Tokyo were excluded.⁷⁷ A few months before *Hototogisu*'s inauguration in October 1896, the Kansai-based Mangetsukai 満月会 ('Full Moon Society') was introduced in the pages of *Nippon* as the group's main affiliate in western Japan, and in June 1897 the Hyakubunkai 百文会 ('Hundred Words Society') in Sendai and the Hokuseikai 北声会 ('North Wind Society') in Kanazawa made themselves known through the pages of *Hototogisu*.

That the first groups declaring themselves to be under the *Hototogisu* umbrella appeared in Sendai, Kyoto and Kanazawa was no coincidence, since these cities were home to the elite Second, Third and Fourth Higher schools respectively. Reflecting the impact of the "commoner literature" discourse, the Hokuseikai's correspondent from Kanazawa in June 1897 reported that the majority of its members were either teachers or students at the Fourth

⁷⁶ *Hototogisu* vol. 2 no. 5 (February 1898) p. 45.

⁷⁷ *Aki no koe* no. 2 (December 1896) p.23

Higher School. In Sendai, home to the Second Higher School, the ranks of new-style haiku poets had been bolstered by Sassa Seisetsu, formerly of the University Group, who had graduated in September 1896 and taken a job teaching at the school. This school subsequently proved a fertile recruiting ground, with the Hyakubunkai reporting in June 1897 that all but one of the six new members it had recently gained were students at the school.⁷⁸ Likewise in Nagano, a prefecture that took pride in its tradition of scholarly learning and in which the *Nippon* group did particularly well, the majority of members of the “new haiku” groups were educators, including Ueno Sansen, who studied at Nagano Teacher’s College and taught in Tokyo before returning home after a bout of illness.⁷⁹ *Teikoku bungaku* in March 1897 noted the burst of activity at the schools in Kanazawa and Sendai, and suggested that since Shiki’s friend and fellow poet Natsume Sôseki 夏目漱石 (1867-1916) was currently teaching at the Fifth Higher School in Kumamoto, things would soon start to move there too.⁸⁰

These new groups sprung up with startling speed, “like bamboo shoots after a rain shower (雨後の筍の如し),” as Shiki put it.⁸¹ By October 1899, one year after *Hototogisu*’s

⁷⁸ See “Ohu Hyakubunkai no haikyô” and “Kanazawa tsûshin”, *Hototogisu* vol. 1 no. 6 (June 1897) p. 11-13.

⁷⁹ Miyazaka Shizuo, “Nippon-ha haiku undô no Shinano e no denpa no jôkyô: Shôseikai gaijô”, *Haiku bungakukan kiyô* no. 3 (June 1984) p. 34. Miyazaka estimates that around sixty new groups formed in Nagano prefecture in the decade 1896-1906. Of these, the Shôseikai 松声会 (‘Pine Wind Society’) was the first and among the most prominent. See also Ichikawa, *Kindai haiku no akebono* p. 348.

⁸⁰ “Haidan kinkyô”, *Teikoku bungaku* vol. 3 no. 3 (March 1897) p. 111.

⁸¹ “Meiji sanjûnen no haikukai” (*SZ* 5:12). First appeared in *Nippon*, January 4th 1898.

move to Tokyo, one hundred and thirty-four separate groups had announced themselves in its pages. Some were even located outside of Japan, such as the Taihokukai 台北会 (‘Taipei Society’) in recently colonized Taiwan, the Ryûsakai 笠蓑会 (‘Sedge Hat Society’) in Vladivostok, and the Inchon Shinseikai 仁川新声会 (‘Inchon New Voices Society’) in Korea.⁸² A number of groups reported that they were making efforts to establish themselves within local print media; the Shizuoka Fuyôkai 芙蓉会 (‘Mt. Fuji Society’) noted in October 1897 that they had used their contacts at the local *Min’yû shinbun* 民友新聞 to get the newspaper to institute a moratorium on verses from the “old-school” appearing in its pages,⁸³ while the Hekiunkai 碧雲会 (‘Azure Clouds Society’) of Matsue 松江 in Shimane Prefecture 島根県 reported in August 1898 that they had been successful in swaying the local *Matsue nippô* 松江日報 newspaper to their cause. Although the competing *San’in shinbun* 山陰新聞 was still in the hands of a “clueless (*wakarazuya* 分からず家)” “old-school” master, the Hekiunkai reported, “the day is not far off when we will force the surrender of the “old-school” (月並原を降参さすも遠からざる事).”⁸⁴

In Kansai, the largest newspaper market in Japan, the situation was rather different.

Noda Bettenrô of the Kansai Mangetsukai complained in June 1898 that the *Osaka Asahi*

⁸² See “Chihô haikukai”, *Hototogisu* vol. 3 no. 1 (October 10th, 1899) p. 30 (supplement). The name Ryûsakai may have been intended to sound similar to ‘Russia’; the sedge hat was also a well-established metaphor for travel in *haikai*.

⁸³ Seki Hyôu, “Shizuoka haikyô”, *Hototogisu* vol. 1 no. 10 (October 1897) p. 23.

⁸⁴ “Matsue dayori”, *Hototogisu* vol. 1 no. 20 (August 1898) p. 12.

shinbun newspaper was uninterested in publishing their work and the *Osaka Mainichi* mostly lukewarm, having featured only a handful of their verses. This he attributed to the inability of the notoriously avaricious citizens of Osaka to grasp the notion of haiku as cultural rather than economic capital; both main Osaka newspapers he described as “completely indifferent to literature (共に文学には頗る冷淡に候)” and complained that “Osaka is a venal place where money makes the world go round...sublime literary import is not something that the residents here can understand, and the best you can expect is *mikasa-zuke* and *dodoitsu* songs (大阪は拝金主義の土地にて、万事金ならでは夜の明けぬ事に候 (略) 高尚なる文学趣味の如きは、到底市民の了解する能はざる所にて、笠附都々逸位が関の山に候).”⁸⁵ A particular source of frustration to the *Mangetsukai* was that “not only the illiterate and ill-educated lower orders, but even doctors, monks and others with a relatively good education rarely stray from the ranks [of the “old school”] (無学文盲なる分際のみかと申に左にあらず、医師僧侶など比較的文学あるものもおさおさ此仲間を外れず).”⁸⁶

The relationship between *Hototogisu* and its affiliates was not simply one of moral support. Taking advantage of post-Sino-Japanese war improvements in print technology, many of the regional affiliates also elected to start their own local magazines, and here again the *Hototogisu* umbrella proved useful. For local affiliates, *Hototogisu* acted as a national platform through which they could publicize their activities, and the journal frequently

⁸⁵ Noda Bettenrô, “Osaka haidan kinkyô” *Hototogisu* no. 18 (June 30th 1898) p. 26

⁸⁶ Noda, “Osaka haidan no kinkyô,” pp. 27-8.

cross-advertised its affiliates' publications; its March 1900 issue, for instance, contains advertisements for and details on how to subscribe to *Fuyô* 芙蓉 in Shizuoka, the Osaka Mangetsukai's *Kurumayuri* 車百合 ('Kochang Lily'), the Tōhoku-based *Haisei* 俳星 ('Star of Haiku'), Kanazawa's *Yukifu* 雪吹 ('Blizzard') and *Mushikago* むし籠 ('Silkworm Basket'), and Kyoto's *Tanefukube* 種ふくべ ('Seedless Gourd').⁸⁷ In part a result of improvements in and increased access to print technology after the Sino-Japanese war, this represented an important shift in that haiku groups throughout Japan were now beginning to move away from their dependency on national and local newspapers. According to Akio Bin's survey, the sixteen years from 1896 to 1912 saw the inauguration of close to one hundred and fifty new haiku publications, at a rate of nearly ten new magazines per year.⁸⁸

The relationship between *Hototogisu* and its regional affiliates was thus symbiotic, a form of mutually sustaining economic pyramid, since in addition to paying for advertisements in *Hototogisu*'s pages its regional affiliates also made frequent monetary donations to help defray the journal's operating costs. Some donations were only a few *sen*, but with so many affiliates the total mounted up. Donations from October 1898 to October 1899, *Hototogisu*'s first year in Tokyo, came to a total of just under fifty yen from a variety of individuals and groups, including five yen from Vladivostok and one yen from the Inchon Shinseikai in Korea. Those who could not send financial support contributed in other ways, as in a gift of twenty

⁸⁷ *Hototogisu* vol. 3 no. 6 (March 1900), unnumbered advertisements at rear.

⁸⁸ Akio, *Kyoshi to Hototogisu* pp. 147-152.

writing brushes from one Ashida Shûsô 芦田秋窓 (?-?) in Osaka, increased to one hundred the following year.⁸⁹ This level of member support did much to ensure *Hototogisu*'s financial stability during the potentially precarious first year, especially given Shiki's estimate that any new journal would need between three and four hundred yen to fund its activities.

The importance of the social groups within *Hototogisu*'s pyramidal economic structure demonstrates that for all the emphasis on the poetry of the individual within the "commoner literature" discourse, no major "new haiku" group ever completely discarded the notion that haiku was at base a group activity, and that the haiku society should be the basic unit of organization in the haiku world. As the number of new groups announcing themselves in the pages of *Hototogisu* grew, the average number of participants also dropped. Where the Mangetsukai and Hyakubunkai had recorded their average number of participants as between thirteen and sixteen people, the groups appearing during *Hototogisu*'s first year in Tokyo were noticeably smaller, usually with between four and seven members, sometimes as few as three.⁹⁰ Urging its affiliates to form larger groups, *Hototogisu* announced in May 1899 that it would not carry announcements from groups of three or fewer, and that aspiring poets should rather join existing groups, since "it is only natural that one will progress more quickly with a gathering of five than of three (三人の会合よりも五人の会合の方進歩早きは自然の理な

⁸⁹ See *Hototogisu* vol. 3 no. 4 (January 1900), p. 32.

⁹⁰ Yamagata's Oborotsukikai 朧月会 ('Misty Moon Society'), for instance, lists its membership as three in *Hototogisu* vol. 2 no. 8, as does Wakayama's Chôshôkai 聴松会 ('Pine-Listening Society') in the following issue.

り).”⁹¹

Other practices associated with poetic sociality continued to play major roles in the pages of *Hototogisu*. In addition to monthly fixed-topic poetry, which made up around half of the journal’s content, *Hototogisu* also allowed for the enactment of other important aspects of poetic sociality, particularly pedagogical practices such as critique and commentary. Where the pedagogical role of the “old-school” master was largely a matter of marking verses in return for *nyûka* marking fees, during *Hototogisu*’s first year in Matsuyama Shiki interacted with his readers by means of what can only be described as homework assignments:

Question 1. What does the following verse mean?

nishi fukeba higashi ni tamaru ochiba kana – Buson

[the west wind blows, they pile up in the east – ah, fallen leaves]

Question 2. Compare Baishitsu and Sôkyû and discuss their strengths and weaknesses.

Question 3. Compose a haiku containing at least four physical objects. Limit yourself to the winter season.⁹²

第一問 左の句の意義如何

西吹けば東にたまる落葉かな 蕪村

第二問 蒼虬と梅室とを比較して優劣を判ぜよ

第三問 有形物四個以上を包容せる俳句を作れ、但し冬季に限る

Calculated, perhaps, to feel familiar to the students and educators among Shiki’s audience, these assignments indicate a vision of haiku as depending on personal cultivation as an end in itself, entirely apart from the possibility of monetary or material prizes that characterized a

⁹¹ “Tôkô chûi”, *Hototogisu* vol. 2 no. 8 (May 1899) p. 36 (supplement).

⁹² “Shimon”, *Hototogisu* no. 10 (October 30th, 1897) p. 47. The answers to each question were printed in the following issue.

great deal of contemporary haiku journalism.

Conclusion: Whither Poetic Sociality?

In these three main areas of poetic practice, social spaces and print media, the “commoner discourse” of the 1890s thus had a major impact on how haiku was practiced throughout Japan. As shown above, perhaps its most important effect was to provide a conceptual justification for emphasizing a poetry of the individual over forms of textually linked poetry. It did not, however, change the notion that poetic composition is at base a group activity, as can be seen by examining *Hototogisu* in the present day. The journal is still very much in the hands of the Takahama family, with Kyoshi’s granddaughter Inahata Teiko 稲畑汀子 (1931-) a contributing editor and major figure. Examining today’s *Hototogisu*, it is striking to find how little the basic social organization and *modus operandi* of haiku composition has changed since the late 19th century. The social gathering is still fundamental to the way in which haiku is practiced; an article in the journal’s January 2012 issue reports on a *Hototogisu*-sponsored two-day gathering held in August 2011 in Toyama City 富山市 on the Sea of Japan coast, at which one hundred and twenty three “haiku friends (*kuyû* 句友)” were present, including Inahata, and which involved a “composition trip (*ginkô* 吟行)” to a local

memorial to Kyoshi.⁹³

This stress on following the legacy of a founding figure is not unique to the *Hototogisu* school; advertisements for haiku schools around Japan, such as those carried in the journal *Haiku* 俳句, often emphasize their affiliation with a specific figure. Tokyo's Manroku 萬緑 ('Myriad Greenery') group, for instance, positions itself as "correctly carrying on the spirit of Nakamura Kusatao 中村草田男 (1901-1983) (中村草田男の精神を正しく承継する)," while the Kobe-based Hiiragi ひいらぎ ('Holly Tree') group proclaims that it "encourages training in *shasei* composition, carrying on the spirit of masters Takahama Kyoshi and Awano Seiho 波野青畝 (1899-1992) (高浜虚子阿波野青畝師の精神を継承して写生の修練に励みます)." Many of these groups also emphasize a personal pedagogical element, with the group's main teaching figure available to correct beginners' verses; the Hiiragi group also promises that "our main teacher attends monthly composition meetings in Tokyo and provides instruction (月例の東京句会には主宰が出席して指導しております)." ⁹⁴ Had he lived to see it, such a contemporary emphasis on lineage and instruction from the master would likely have struck Shiki as ironic, given his attacks on the importance of lineage to the so-called "old-school" masters, but he would nevertheless recognize the basic

⁹³ The "composition trip" involves a group outing to a significant venue or place with a view of providing inspiration for the composition of haiku. This is also common practice in English-language haiku groups around the globe, and often translated as "haiku nature walk."

⁹⁴ See *Haiku* vol. 61 no. 3 (February 2012) pp. 31-32.

social structures of contemporary haiku and the way it uses print media as entirely familiar. Contemporary haiku is as dependent on interpersonal interaction and shared social space now as it was during the 19th century.

This dissertation is not the first study to argue for the importance of social spaces and exchange of verse in Japanese literary history; Ogata Tsutomu's *Za no bungaku* was first published in 1973, and in English scholars such as Haruo Shirane, Eiko Ikegami, and H. Mack Horton have all pointed to the role of poetic exchange and social spaces within medieval and early modern modes of literary production.⁹⁵ The present study differs in that it focuses on poetic sociality after the Meiji Restoration and on into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Previous studies have generally seen literary sociality as characteristic of pre-modern literature; Ogata, for instance, views the distinction between communal and individual production as one of the major points that separates pre-modern literature from its modern counterpart:

Japan's modern literature has developed around the axis of the individual. And this is profoundly connected with the fateful circumstances of its birth, namely that Japanese literature, having come into contact with modern Western individualist thought, set out with the establishment of the individual as a key issue.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ See, for instance, Haruo Shirane, *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory and the Poetry of Bashō* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), Eiko Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005), H. Mack Horton "Renga Unbound: Performative Aspects of Japanese Linked Verse" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* vol. 53 no. 2 (December 1993). See also Steven D. Carter, ed., *Literary Patronage in Late Medieval Japan* (Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1993) for a collection of essays on networks, commercial and social issues in late medieval *renga* practice.

⁹⁶ Ogata Tsutomu *Za no bungaku* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1973) p. 49.

日本の近代文学は、個を軸として展開してきた。それは、日本文学が西欧の近代個人主義思想に触れて、個の確立を課題として発足したという、その誕生の宿命と深くかかわっている。

Given these circumstances, Ogata argues, Shiki's famous declaration in 1895 that "linked verse is not literature," which he sees as having sounded the death-knell for linked verse practices, was an historical inevitability (歴史的必然だった).⁹⁷ Two years before the above declaration, Shiki had written about linked verse in rather more measured terms, trying to explain a lack of current interest in its composition. Writing in the short-lived journal *Haikai* 俳諧, Shiki suggested that one of the reasons linked verse had fallen out of popularity was that "a communal composition is not something one may take pride in as one's own individual work (合作のものは自己一人の著作として誇り難き事)."⁹⁸

Shiki's major critical writings thus seem to be broadly in line with Ogata's views, and it has become a commonplace in assessing Shiki's legacy to assert that he played a major role in bringing about the end of linked verse. Yet as is clear from his other provocative statements – such as the declaration in the same piece that nine-tenths of Bashō's poems were not worth reading – Shiki had a flair for polemic, and often made sweepingly broad assertions in order to get the reader's attention, not because he necessarily believed what he was writing. Shiki's subsequent actions bear this out; seemingly in defiance of his own pronouncement, the

⁹⁷ Ogata, p. 49.

⁹⁸ Masaoka Shiki, "Kinji manroku" in *Haikai* no. 2 (May 1893) p. 4.

eighth chapter of Shiki's 1895 instructional manual *Haikai taiyô* goes into considerable detail on how to compose linked verse, and he and other members of the *Nippon* group published linked verse sequences as part of a series of essays entitled *Yôa zakki* 養痾雜記 ('Various Notes While Recuperating') in *Nippon* during the autumn and winter of 1895.⁹⁹ The *Nippon* group's main rivals found this apparent inconsistency puzzling; *Teikoku bungaku* wondered in November 1896 why Kyoshi was publishing linked verse sequences in the literary magazine *Mesamashigusa* めさまし草 when the *Nippon* group had declared such practices worthless,¹⁰⁰ and Chijû noted that Shiki's inclusion of linked verse in *Yôa zakki* was "a very strange thing to do for someone who's the main promoter of the notion that linked verse isn't literature" (連俳非文学の主唱者にして之を成す頗る異象なり).¹⁰¹

The above examples suggest that the various attacks on practices of linked poetry never succeeded in marginalizing it completely, and that it is perhaps more accurate to speak of a shift in haiku's center of gravity rather than a complete elimination of textually linked poetry. This tension between a given poem as individual expression and as part of a larger sequence, an issue that was no less pressing for Shiki's predecessors Bashô and Buson, thus remained. Many poets who came after Shiki continued to believe that textually linked poetry had something to offer. Among them were several members of the *Nippon* group, which

⁹⁹ *SZ* 12:114-117. The entry in question appeared in *Nippon* on October 13th, 1895.

¹⁰⁰ "Haidan kinkyô", *Teikoku bungaku* Vol. 3 no. 11 (November 1896) p. 85.

¹⁰¹ Okano Chijû, "Haikai yûbunki" p. 73.

despite the views of its main figure was far from unanimous on the question of linked verse. Shiki and Naitô Meisetsu were generally opposed to it, but Kyoshi remained convinced that linked verse offered something of value. Writing in May 1899, for instance, he argued that linked verse could depict things that a single haiku could not, and asked whether it was just that “linked verse should finish its days forever scorned under the assessment that it is not literary? (連句は果たして文学的なもので無いといふ批評の下にいつ迄も軽蔑されるべきものであろうか).”¹⁰² In the same issue, Kyoshi and Matsuse Seisei also published their experiments in composing two-person linked verse sequences, a format that Kyoshi would later promote to try to maintain the viability of linked verse.

These divisions with the *Nippon* group continued after Shiki’s death, with Kyoshi and Meisetsu facing off once again on the same topic in a debate in *Hototogisu* of September 1904, Kyoshi defending linked verse and Meisetsu arguing against it in the following issue.¹⁰³ As another, later example of a continuing wish among *Nippon* group members to experiment with and perhaps even revive practices of linked poetry, another of Shiki’s disciples, Murakami Seigetsu 村上霽月 (Hantarô 半太郎, 1869-1946), published a series of experiments in the June, July and August 1926 issues of literary magazine *Shibugaki* 澁柿 (‘Sour Persimmons,’ published 1915-) in a mode of composition he called *tennagin* 転和吟

¹⁰² Takahama Kyoshi, “Renku no shumi”, *Hototogisu* vol. 2 no. 8 (May 10th, 1899) p. 6.

¹⁰³ See Takahama Kyoshi, “Renku ron” *Hototogisu* vol. 7 no. 12 (September 1904) and Meisetsu’s reply, “Kyoshi kun no “Renku ron” ni tsuite” *Hototogisu* vol. 8 no. 1 (October 1904). It is worth noting that both of these issues also feature linked verse sequences among Kyoshi, Sôseki, Hekigotô and various other *Hototogisu*-affiliated poets.

(also *ten'wagin*, literally “conversion harmony composition”). Seigetsu’s *tennagin* involved taking one or two lines from a *kanshi* and fashioning a response in haiku form. In the version Seigetsu published in *Shibugaki*, the target *kanshi* were taken from among those Shiki had written while still alive:

[Shiki’s original:]

寒扉人不到	No-one comes to my cold door;
静臥識陰晴	Quietly reclining, I contemplate sunlight and shadow.

[Seigetsu’s response:]

<i>yukidoke no</i>	it was the sound
<i>akei no oto to</i>	of melted snow, dripping down
<i>narinikeri</i>	the bamboo pipe. ¹⁰⁴

雪解の笕の音となりけり

Taken from a *kanshi* composed by Shiki in 1895 while recuperating from illness, Seigetsu retains the original’s presentation of Shiki as a snow-bound invalid confined indoors using his senses to discern what he can of the world around him. Seigetsu’s twist is to change the poem’s main axis from visual – Shiki observing the play of light reflected off the snow in the darkened room – to aural, imagining Shiki’s (or perhaps Seigetsu’s?) realization after a moment’s thought that the noise he just heard came from snow beginning to melt.

The above examples show that despite Shiki’s famous 1895 pronouncement, many of

¹⁰⁴ *SZ* 8:625. Originally published in *Shibugaki*, June 1st 1926. A *akei* is a bamboo pipe attached to the eaves of a Japanese-style house. The complete *kanshi* is entitled *Impromptu Composition While Recuperating* (病中偶成, see *SZ* 8:197). In his 1931 collection *Seigetsu kushū* 霽月句集 (Tokyo: Seikyōsha, 1931), Seigetsu also featured *tennagin* responses to verses by Sōseki and to Tang poets such as Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (689-740) and Wang Wei 王维 (c.701-761).

his disciples continued to view linked verse practices as important and experimented with ways to incorporate them into their own poetic activities. Seigetsu's *tennagin* seems, for instance, to adopt many of the same basic concepts as rhyme-matching poetry, particularly the imagining of a shared physical space and composing in response to the works of an admired yet deceased poet. Given both Kyoshi and Seigetsu's determination to fight for linked practices of poetry, as well as its continued importance within the *kanshi* world, it seems fair to say that both textually linked poetry and the broader notion of poetry as social activity remained alive and well long after the "commoner literature" discourse of the 1890s.

Conclusion – Sociality Then and Now

On September 14th, 1896, Buddhist monk and poet Amada Guan 天田愚庵 (1854-1904) published a sequence of twelve *kanshi* on the features of the gardens of his home temple in the pages of *Nippon*. Guan would probably have expected that his verse might draw a rhyme-matching response or two, as generally happened with newspaper poetry; he probably did not expect that responses to his poems would still be coming in to the pages of *Nippon* a little under ten months later. By July 5th, 1897, Guan's sequence had drawn no fewer than fifty separate responses. In this respect, the prolonged exchange was similar in nature to – although far more prolonged than – the exchange among Soejima and Seigai discussed in Chapter Two, and in fact Soejima, who was obviously still active and reading *Nippon*, was among the first few poets to match Guan's rhymes.

Where Soejima and Seigai's 1890 exchange had confined itself to the medium of *kanshi*, however, the exchange featured *kanshi*, *tanka* and haiku, thus covering all three of the major poetic genres of the day. The sequence did not appear any different from other rhyme-matching exchanges until New Year's Eve 1896, when one reader took the titles for each of the twelve *kanshi* and composed twelve haiku instead. Towards the end of January 1897, another reader did the same with twelve *kyôka*, and on February 1st Naono Hekireirô

直野碧玲瓏 (1875-1905) and several other members of the *Nippon* group's Nagano affiliate, the Shôseikai 松聲会, developed the dialogue one step further, with one haiku from each of three poets in response to each one of Guan's original titles. The Shôseikai thus responded to one form of linked poetry, rhyme-matching, with another, by turning Guan's poems into the basis for a series of fixed-topic poems. A little over a month later, on March 9th, another reader noted that since Guan was also known as a *tanka* poet, it would be fitting to add a sequence of *tanka* to the exchange.¹ From that point until the final contribution in the sequence on July 5th, 1897, the exchange shifted back and forth among *kanshi*, *tanka* and haiku, the exchange ending as it had begun with a rhyme-matching *kanshi*.

As Murakami Seigetsu was a participant in this exchange, this is almost certainly where he obtained the inspiration for his later elaboration of *tennagin* poetry, discussed in the previous chapter. Shiki too was obviously paying attention and was impressed by the possibilities the exchange seemed to offer, serializing a piece entitled *Haiku and kanshi* (Haiku to kanshi 俳句と漢詩) while the exchange was going on in which he offered a preliminary theory of how to transpose single lines or couplets from well-known verses by historical Chinese poets so as to create new haiku. What this prolonged exchange illustrates most clearly, however, is that the notion of poetic sociality, especially as expressed in the processes of dialogic poetry among multiple participants, was understood not as exclusive to

¹ *Nippon* March 9th 1897 (supplement p. 3). The reader's name was given only as "Miyako no Tatsumi みやこのたつみ."

any single genre, but as a phenomenon that cut across all forms of poetry, reflecting a fundamental assumption that poetic production was at least in part predicated on interaction and exchange with other poets.

In this sense, as the dissertation has argued throughout, any understanding of the poetry of the Meiji period, especially its relationship to print media, needs to account for the influence of poetic sociality. In addition to reading poems as self-contained textual objects, it is also important to recreate both the social and media context within which they were created in order to better understand the functions they were intended to serve. Perhaps more than other genres, this is particularly true of *kanshi*, in which the importance of reciprocal social exchange seemed only to increase as the actual number of practicing *kanshi* poets decreased, especially after the Sino-Japanese war. The war acted as a catalyst for language policy in Japan, inspiring the development of a notion of “national language (*kokugo* 国語)” as focus for national identity, within which schema the position of *kanbun* and *kanshi* became increasingly precarious. At the same time, Japan’s military victory over China diminished the prestige of Chinese learning of all kinds. As a result, although reading of *kanbun* continued to be taught as a compulsory subject in Japanese schools, writing was phased out, leading to a new generation of young students who for the most part had neither the interest nor the training to engage in the demanding process of composing poetry in literary Chinese.

Under these circumstances, with *kanshi* writing seeming increasingly archaic, it

became if anything more important to stress one's shared cultural bonds, and practices such as rhyme-matching remained an integral part of *kanshi* practice. We can observe this at work in the activities of the few remaining mid-20th century *kanshi* poets and particularly in Japan's last major *kanshi* group, the Zuiô ginsha 随鷗吟社 ('Following Doves Poetic Society'), founded in 1904.² Established with around eighty members, the Zuô ginsha expanded into an umbrella organization for those *kanshi* poets who still wished to practice their art, and reportedly had around five hundred members by the end of the Meiji era in 1912.³ Until it closed down at the height of the Pacific War in 1944, the Zuiô ginsha also continued to publish its own literary journal, *Zuiôshû* 随鷗集 ('Following Doves Collection'), which served as a vehicle for members' work and, inevitably, for rhyme-matching exchanges. The very first article in the first issue of *Zuiôshû* was a rhyme-matching sequence composed at the group's inaugural meeting by the banks of the Sumida River in 1904. Likewise, so-called "harmony collections (*shôwashû* 唱和集)" continued to be produced, presumably as a token of friendship or souvenir of convivial private gatherings, right up until the end of the Pacific War. *Kanshi*, for those who continued to practice it, was as much about a shared space of friendship as it was about personal expression.

² The group's name derives from a line of Li Bai poetry "The seafarer, his heart empty, follows the white gulls as they come and go (海客無心隨白往鷗)." See Yamabe Susumu, "Zuiô ginsha no sôritsu ni tsuite: Meiji kôki ni okeru kanshi kessha no katsudô" *Nishô gakusha daigaku higashi Ajia gakujutsu sôgô kenkyûjo shûkan* no. 36 (2006) p. 14. The name may also have been intended to invoke the legacy of Yoda Gakkai and Narushima Ryûhoku's Hakuô ginsha 白鷗吟社, a group in the early 1880s which also met near the Sumida River.

³ Iritani Sensuke, *Kindai bungaku toshite no Meiji kanshi* (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 1989) p. 102.

The presence of *tanka* as a poetry of exchange in the 1897 sequence mentioned above suggests that it would be entirely possible to develop a theory of sociality for *tanka*, outlining the nature and demographics of *tanka* groups, master-disciple relationships and how the genre functioned as medium of poetic exchange among individual poets. Furthermore, although the dissertation's focus is on specifically poetic modes of sociality, the question also arises of whether it is possible to develop a theory of prose sociality along the same lines. The effects of sociality are perhaps most clearly visible in poetry, especially in forms such as linked verse and rhyme-matching that cannot exist without response to other poets, yet I believe that sociality is a highly influential concept in prose fiction as well. Although a comprehensive investigation is beyond the scope of the present study, my research into the literary activities of Shiki and his companions during their early years strongly suggests that a study of prose sociality, of notions of communal composition and the group-based nature of literary production, would also be extremely valuable.

One suggestive example is *Yamabuki no hitoeda* 山吹の一枝 ('A Branch from a Yellow Rose Tree'), an unpublished and unfinished prose work on baseball and student life in general composed by Shiki and his friend Ninomi Hifû 新海非風 (1870-1901) around 1890. Significantly, *Yamabuki* was a communal composition (*gassaku* 合作), wherein Shiki and Hifû wrote alternate chapters, each developing the story by expanding the themes and events that the other had included in the previous chapter. The parallels with linked verse practices

are obvious; likewise, the prose work for which Shiki apparently had the highest hopes, his 1892 *Tsuki no miyako* 月の都 ('The City in the Moon'), is clearly intended as a response to Kôda Rohan's 幸田露伴 (1867-1947) novel *Fûryûbutsu* 風流仏 ('An Elegant Buddha,' 1889). Shiki's work retains the geographical setting of the Kiso 木曾 region that Rohan had used, and where Rohan prefaced each chapter of his work with one of the *jûnyoze* 十如是, ten Buddhist principles concerning the nature of existence, Shiki provided his own twist on this structural feature by prefacing each of his chapters in *Tsuki no miyako* with a line of divination from the Chinese *Classic of Changes* 易經 (Ch. Yijing, J. Ekikyô). Critical appraisals of *Tsuki no miyako* have tended to dismiss it as essentially an "imitation (*mohô* 模倣)" of Rohan's earlier work,⁴ yet I would propose that it is more productive to view Shiki's work as reflecting an understanding of literary production that emphasized adapting and responding to the work of other writers, in similar fashion to linked verse or rhyme-matching. The importance of these and other textually linked forms of literary production, as well as practices of critique, apprenticeship and the social structures and dynamics of literary coteries, would likely provide a fascinating basis for analysis of groups such as Ozaki Kôyô's Ken'yûsha 硯友社 group or the somewhat later Shirakaba 白樺 ('White Birch') group.

Sociality would also seem to be a potentially productive analytical lens for fields other than Japanese literature. As Chapter One demonstrates, the practices that underpinned

⁴ See, for example, Noyama Kashô "Kindai shôsetsu shinkô Meiji no seishun: Masaoka Shiki "Tsuki no miyako" (sono ichi)," *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kyôzai no kenkyû* vol. 36 no. 9 (August 1991) pp. 146-8.

kanshi sociality in Meiji Japan, such as linked verse and rhyme-matching, were originally developed in China and continued to be widely practiced there. That Korean envoys in early Meiji were also familiar with the cultural significance of rhyme-matching suggests its influence further afield, and also the possibility for a study of comparative and trans-national ideas of poetic sociality, especially with the far greater potential for exchange of ideas and movement of people of the modern era.

Lastly, I would argue that the question of sociality's relationship to media need not be entirely historical; rather, it is as relevant today as it was in the 19th century. With the rise of internet-based modes of communication and textual exchange, the multiple ways in which humans communicate, exchange ideas and gather together in virtual communities have become a major topic for both scholarly and popular investigation. The underlying practices of 19th century poetic sociality described in this dissertation at times appear strikingly similar to those held up as 'new' characteristics of online communities. As noted in Chapter Two, when Shiki left fifty blank pages at the end of his poetry collection *Nanakusashû* 七草集 on which his friends could comment and respond to each other, the basic spirit of mutual critique and social interaction underpinning this act has a great deal in common with present-day online social media, however different the underlying technology. To that extent, the modes of sociality described in this dissertation are perhaps not unique to Japan, but a significant feature of human textual interaction in general. In noting the existence of Facebook groups

dedicated to discussing and composing haiku, or the use of the microblogging service Twitter by large numbers of Japanese poets to organize linked verse sessions through cyberspace, we are perhaps observing the next chapter in the history of poetic sociality.⁵

⁵ See, for instance, the Twitter handle @zrenga, which features well over one thousand followers. The sequences produced among Twitter members are collated at <http://renga.heroku.com/> (accessed April 12th, 2012).

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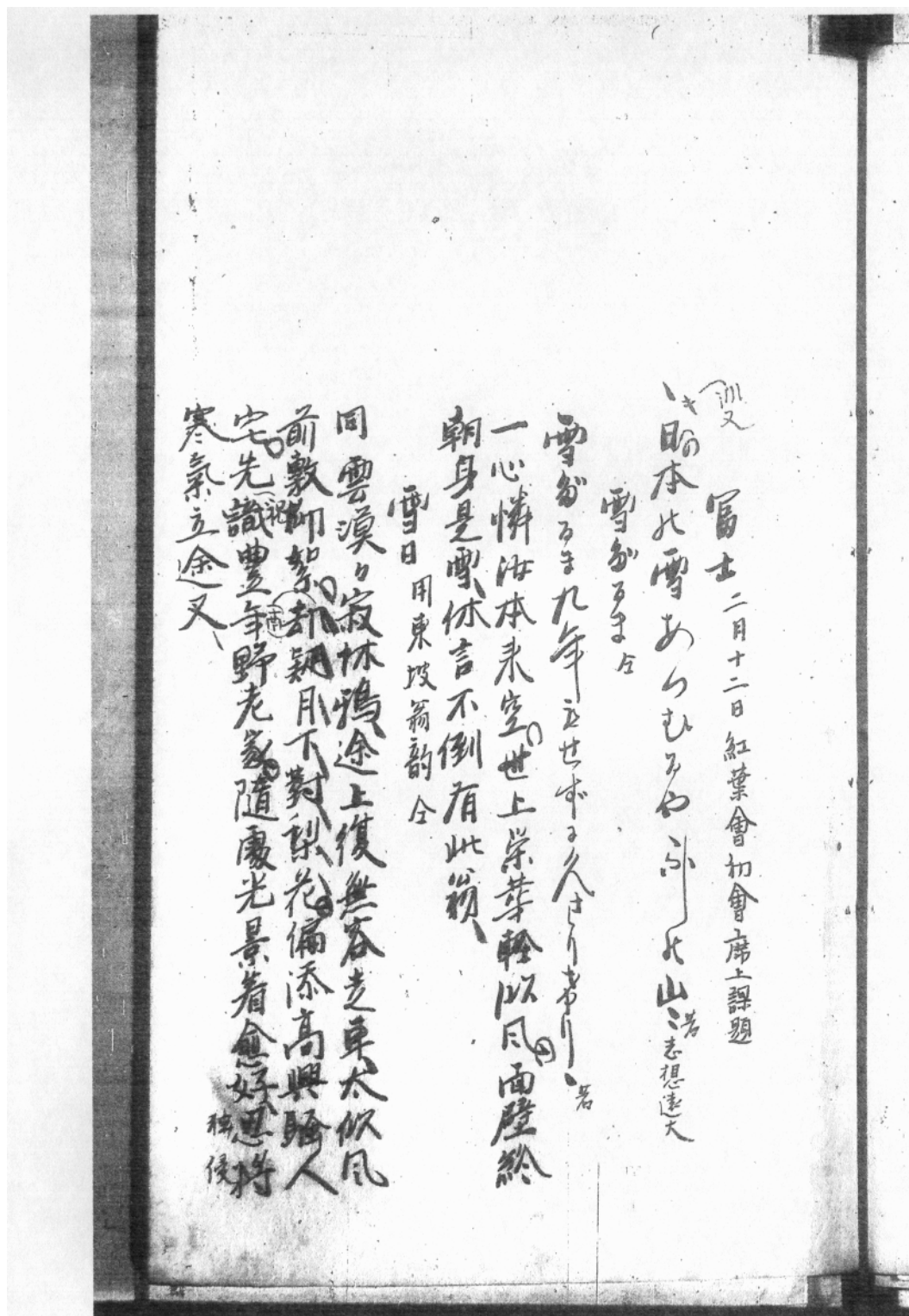


Fig. 1. Text from *Tsuzure no nishiki*, the hand-written 'journal' circulated at the Tokiwakai dormitory during the early 1890s. The left-hand poem is Kawahigashi Sen's rhyme-matching response to Chinese poet Su Shi's *Two Verses Written on the Wall of the Northern Terrace After Snowfall*, discussed on p. 136 of Chapter 2.



Fig. 3. Depiction of corrupt politician as frog, *Nippon* January 1st 1890. The caption at the right of the picture reads "Bribery (*wairo* 賄賂)."



Fig. 4. A novelist (*shōsetsuka* 小説家) asleep at his writing desk, *Nippon* January 1st 1890.

The graphs appearing in his dreams read “Naked beauties (*rabijin* 裸美人);” among his other activities are “selling his name by writing for the newspapers (*na o urite shinbun kisha* 名を売って新聞記者) and “going to the Yoshiwara [brothel district] for research purposes (*jichi kenkyū ni Yoshiwara* 実地研究に吉原).”

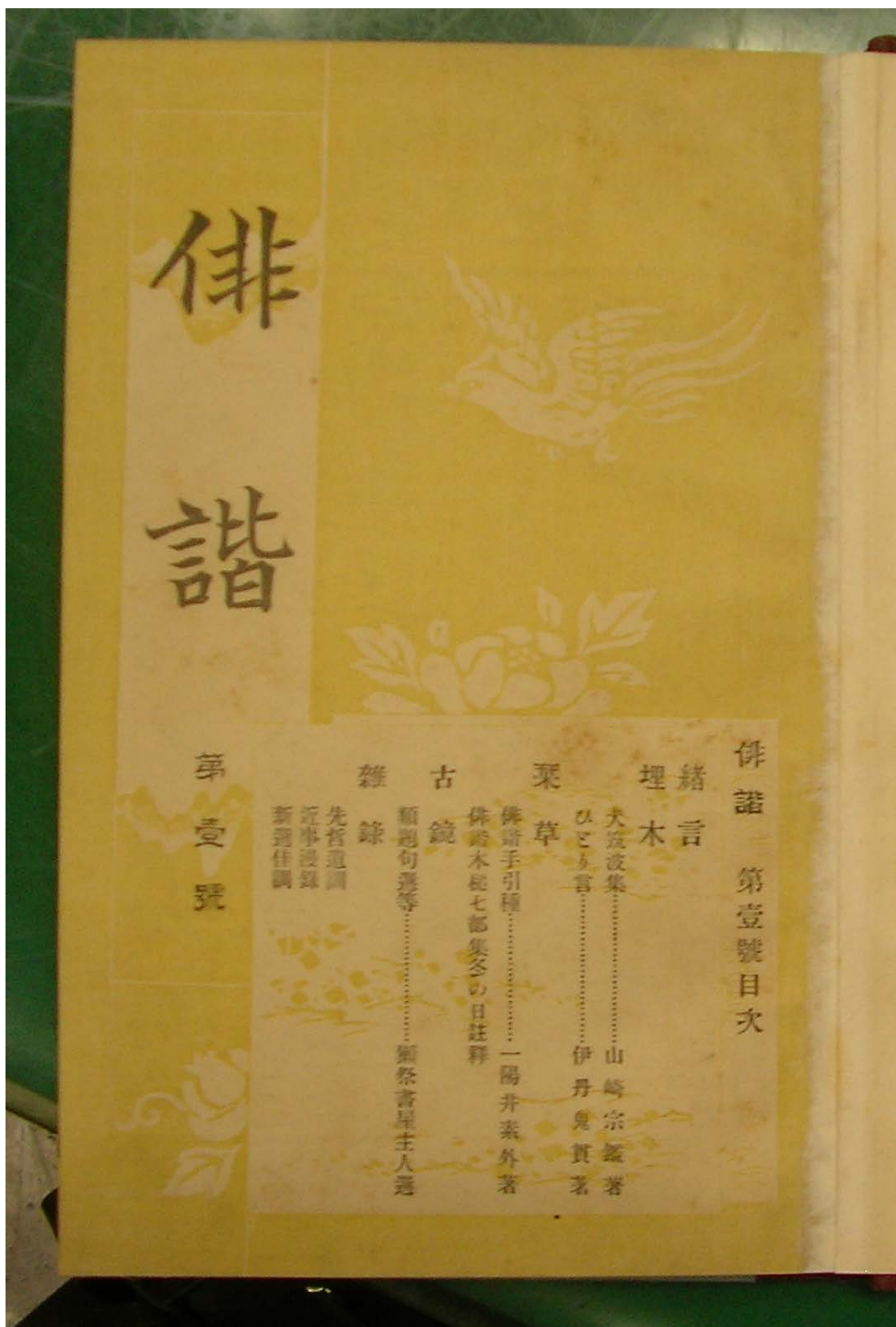


Fig. 6. Front cover of Issue 1 of *Haikai*, a short-lived haiku journal put out by Shiki and the Shii no tomo kai in the spring of 1893.



Fig. 7 Front cover of *Autumn Winds* (*Aki no koe* 秋の声), a journal established in November of 1896 by Ozaki Kôyô and Kakuta Chikurei's Shûseikai haiku groups. The journal proved unsuccessful, folding after ten issues.

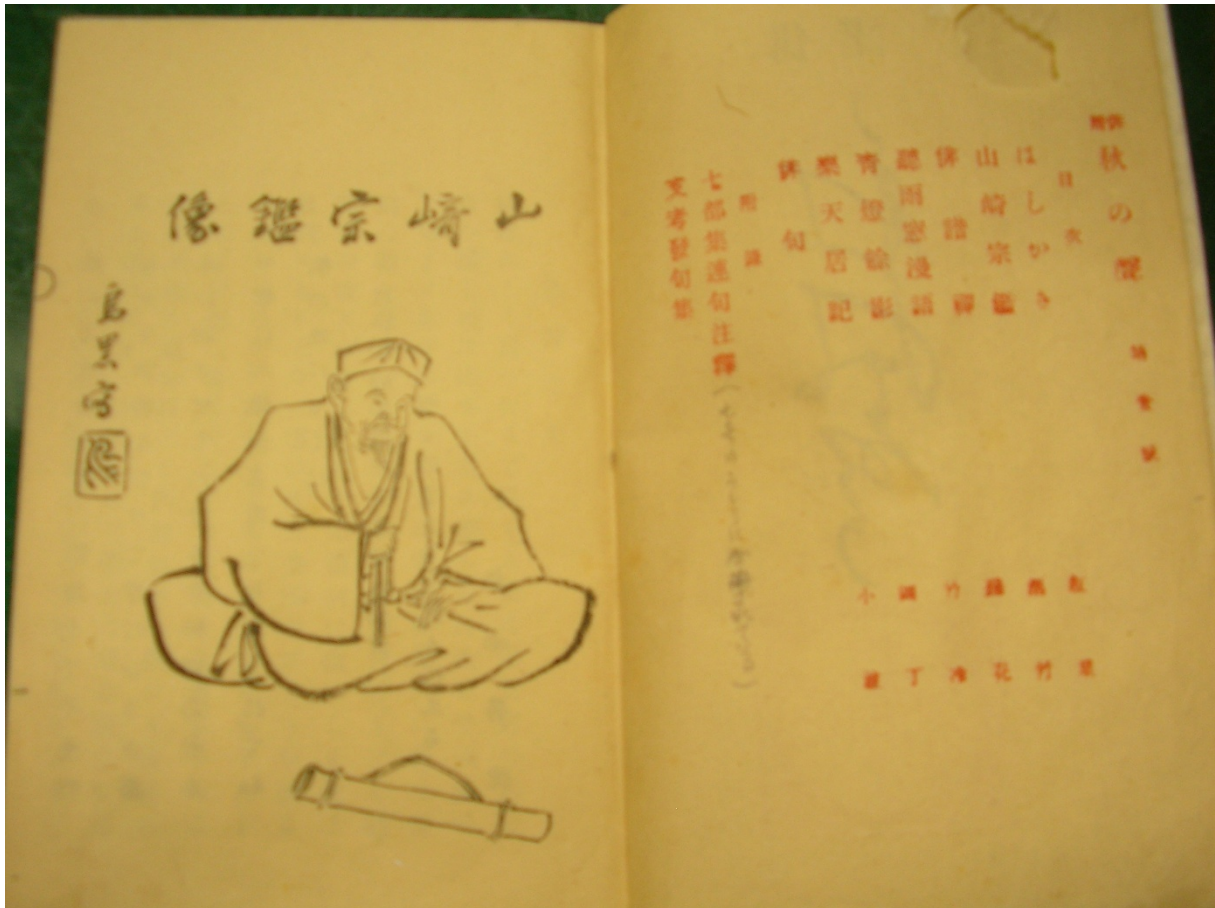


Fig. 8. Frontispiece to *Autumn Winds* no. 1, featuring an image of the medieval linked verse master Yamazaki Sōkan 山崎宗鑑 (?-c.1540). The Shûseikai had as one of its claimed objectives the study and possible revitalization of linked verse in Meiji, but a general lack of direction and discipline on the part of the group meant that they never made serious progress towards this goal.

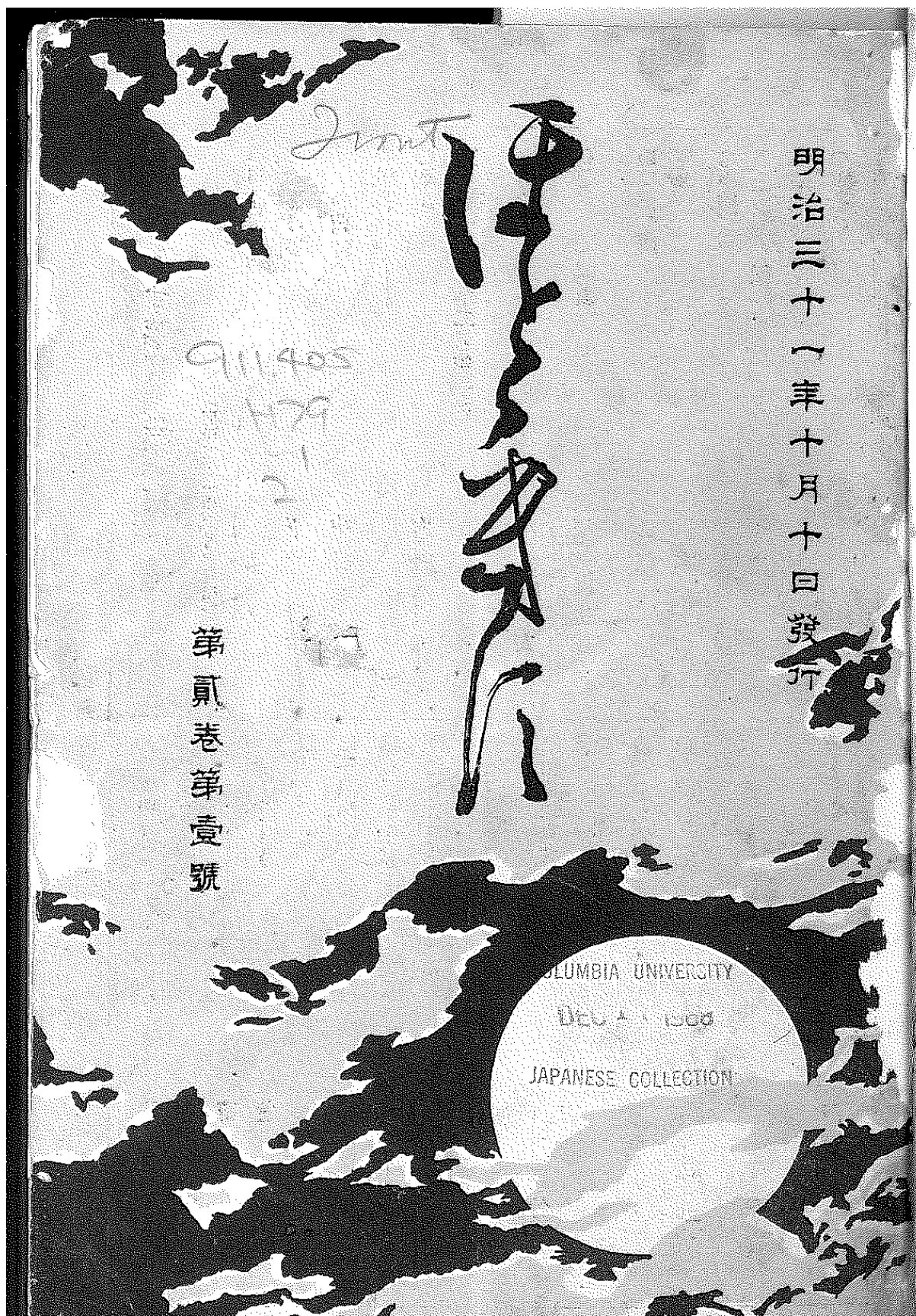


Fig. 9 Front cover of *Hototogisu* vol. 2 no. 1, the first issue after the journal's 1898 move to Tokyo. The cover art depicts a moon appearing among the clouds, a motif that would be retained with different colors over the next year.